Leadership in Public Organizations

Now in a completely revised and updated Third Edition, *Leadership in Public Organizations* provides a compact but complete analysis of leadership for students and practitioners who work in public and nonprofit organizations. Offering a comprehensive review of leadership theories in the field, from the classic to the cutting-edge, and how they relate specifically to the public sector context, this textbook covers the major competency clusters in detail, supported by research findings as well as practical guidelines for improvement. These competencies are graphically portrayed in a leadership action cycle that aids readers in visually connecting theory and practice. Including questions for discussion and analysis and hypothetical scenarios for each chapter, as well as an easily reproducible leadership assessment instrument students may use to apply the theories they've learned, this Third Edition also explores:

- The rise of e-leadership, or the relationship between leadership and information and communication technologies, as well as the role leaders play in selecting those technologies
- The challenges of nonprofit management leadership, including an extensive case study designed to illustrate the differences between public and nonprofit sector leadership curricula
- Separate, dedicated chapters on charismatic and transformational leadership; distributed leadership; ethics-based leadership; and power, world cultures, diversity, gender, complexity, social change, and strategy.

Leadership in Public Organizations is an essential core text designed specifically with upper-level and graduate Public Administration courses on leadership in mind, but it has also proven an indispensable guidebook for professionals seeking insight into the role of successful leadership behavior in the public sector. It can further be used as supplementary reading in introductory courses examining management competencies, in leadership classes to provide practical self-help and improvement models, and in Organizational Theory classes that wish to balance organizational perspectives with individual development.

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Leadership in Public Organizations

An Introduction

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With Paul Suino

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Preface to the Third Edition

Leadership in Public Organizations addresses the need for a compact but nonetheless complete analysis of leadership for students and practitioners who work in public and nonprofit organizations.

The first half of *Leadership in Public Organizations* addresses the basic issues and theories related to leadership; the second half looks at leadership as a cycle of action requiring an array of competencies. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the leadership literature, focusing on issues related to the public sector administrative context. Chapter 2 discusses how to examine leadership theories comparatively and examines the ten styles used in leadership theories, although under a variety of names. Chapter 3 examines the foundation of leadership studies by examining the early classical management and trait theories, as well as a sample of prominent transactional theories. Chapter 4 compares charismatic and transformational theories of leadership. Chapter 5 reviews leadership when it is distributed more broadly, such as with informal leaders and teams. Chapter 6 focuses on the relationship of ethics and leadership. Chapter 7 covers the topics of power, world cultures, diversity, gender, complexity, social change, and strategy. Chapter 8 focuses exclusively on competency approaches in order to prepare readers for the competency framework that organizes Part II of the book.

The applied model used in the second half of the book is called the leadership action cycle. Readers, instructors, and trainers can easily reverse the order for various purposes (essentially starting with the competencies of leadership in Chapter 9). The book features one or two substantial hypothetical scenarios at the end of every chapter (except the last chapter, which contains a historical case study), along with questions for discussion and analysis. The book also features a leadership assessment instrument (Appendix A) that is in the public domain so that it can be freely copied and used. Because the assessment instrument is modeled on the book, debriefing and development based on the instrument are relatively easy. The use of the assessment instrument by students in writing original papers about leaders has been extraordinary. When I ask students to produce an analytical paper on an actual leader they know, they can supplement their

interview with a data-rich self-assessment by the leader, and use assessments by subordinates and colleagues.

In this third edition not only is the text updated, but it includes more references to e-leadership—that is, leadership mediated by information and communication technologies, as well as the roles leaders play in selecting them. Another important addition to the text is an extensive nonprofit management leadership example in Chapter 8 that discusses the modest but very significant differences in public and nonprofit sector curricula in leadership.

The academic audience for this book is upper-division college students and general master's-level students. *Leadership in Public Organizations* is primarily designed as the principal text for classes on leadership, but it may be used as an auxiliary text in introductory classes in which a competency review is desired, in Management classes to provide a practical self-help guide to improvement, and in Organizational Theory classes balancing organizational perspectives with a text focusing on individual development.

Trainers should find the text particularly attractive because of the versatility of the public-domain leadership assessment instrument and the matching "guidelines for improvement" incorporated in the discussion for each competency. Instructions for the assessment instrument are provided in Appendix B. Instructors should note that the very substantial scenario in Chapter 8 is intended not only as an analytical exercise illustrating integrated leadership theories, but also as an opportunity to demonstrate the instrument used in this book—Assessment of Organizational Conditions and Leader Performance.

I hope that you find this third edition of *Leadership in Public Organizations* a useful text and reference, and I encourage instructors to contact me if they have questions regarding the text or suggestions for the next edition.

Monty Van Wart
Riverside, California

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Although the serious study of leadership is only about a hundred years old, interest in leaders and leadership dates back thousands of years. In addition to the enormous power that leaders have had over their people—literally life and death—leaders often attained godlike status themselves.

Despite modern efforts to curb excessive powers of all leaders—political, financial, religious, and so on—many leaders around the world continue to wield incredible amounts of power. In countries where democratic institutions are weak, political leaders may be as powerful as they were in ancient times. Nor should one think that leaders in wealthy democratic states have been emasculated of their power; they simply must use it more deftly. In the United States, presidents still send troops into battle without declarations of war and governors spare the lives of those on Death Row. Billionaires like Sam Walton changed the face of rural commerce, forcing tens of thousands of country businesses to reinvent themselves or go out of business, while Bill Gates dominated the world of computers as powerfully as Charlemagne ruled Europe. The rise of religious activism around the world has allowed the Dalai Lama to become a political force and icon even outside his own followers, evangelical leaders in the United States to increasingly affect social policy, and ayatollahs in Iran to largely direct the affairs of the country. One determined "leader," Osama bin Laden, was able to simultaneously destroy the largest buildings in the world and damage the Pentagon, bringing the United States to an unprecedented standstill. He successfully encouraged hundreds of his followers to sacrifice their lives for the glory of their cause in suicide bombings. While considered a demonic mass murderer in the United States, in most Arab countries, he gained grudging admiration even among political moderates for his ability to project such a powerful anti-American statement which ultimately led to the founding of a new caliphate in the Middle East. Given the tremendous impact and divergent personalities of leaders around the world, it is nearly impossible to read, watch, or listen to any news source and not be inundated with issues related to leadership, just as the topic is enormously common in the stories and topics relayed in entertainment.

Ultimately, then, there are two major reasons for the enduring human interest in the topic of leadership. First, the effect of leaders on our lives is omnipresent. Leaders affect us on a grand scale in that they determine the success or failure of our societies, countries, and localities. Hitler destroyed Germany, while Churchill saved Great Britain. The leaders of the accounting firm of Arthur Andersen destroyed a highly successful company with their unwise profiteering, while CEO Lee Iacocca saved Chrysler from economic implosion. Social leaders as disparate as Jerry Falwell (the evangelical Christian movement), Ralph Nader (the environmental movement), Gloria Steinem (the women's movement), Sarah Palin (the conservative movement), and Jesse Jackson (the minority rights movement) fight for, or against, our most deeply held convictions. In China, Mao Zedong used his political position to reshape the social landscape, and more recently Liu Xiaobo, the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize winner, has agitated for greater democracy in a country whose communist system is now allowing enormous disparities of wealth. Leaders affect us just as much in our daily settings. A bad supervisor sends us scurrying for a new job. A good team leader makes a difficult assignment seem easy because of good organization and encouragement. The personal problems and lack of discipline of a father cause him to be a bad role model for his children. Second, we are compulsively fascinated by people in leadership positions, or those who assume the roles of leaders. No matter whether the leader is a spiritual saint like Joan of Arc or a demonic despot like Joseph Stalin, a great success like the Duke of Wellington, who defeated Napoleon at Waterloo, or a flawed ruler like the mythical Oedipus, we are equally mesmerized.

There are several reasons for the importance of leadership in our current study. Since leaders affect us so profoundly on a grand as well as a personal scale, it is important to understand how leadership functions. We should be able to recognize the types of leaders we have in terms of their strengths and deficiencies, and also assess the types of leaders we need and the particular competencies they should possess. Another important reason for studying leadership is that all of us function as leaders from time to time. To achieve professional success, managers need to be good leaders, and the study of leadership can help all of us be at least marginally better—and in some cases it can have a dramatic impact. Indeed, because of the complexity of leadership and the myriad situations in which leaders find themselves, the study of leadership cannot help but improve the rate and degree of success. It is true that great leaders often start with great talents, but these abilities rarely find expression without study, mentoring, and practice. It is an explicit purpose of this book to help readers become both better analysts of leadership and better practitioners in organizational settings.

Because leadership is such a large subject, we next distinguish among the major types of leadership and identify the type of leadership on which this book focuses.

MAJOR TYPES OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership is such a broadly used concept that it can be ambiguous if not defined more narrowly. One way to define types of leadership is by the kind of "followers" being led, and another is by the nature of the work that is the primary focus of the leader. Some leaders spend most of their time with followers over whom they have authority, such as employees; other leaders primarily represent their followers, such as constituents (e.g., voters); and still others do not have authority over or direct authority from followers, but nonetheless have intellectual sway over adherents as role models, based on the leader's creativity or ideological clarity. Additionally, the work of leaders can vary in fundamentally different ways. Some people are leaders because they are in charge of getting things done (execution); others are leaders because they are in charge of determining policies; and still others are leaders because they come up with new ideas or well-expressed ideologies that others emulate or admire. In mature organizations and systems, these roles are often quite distinct, but in some special cases, such as new entrepreneurial organizations, the roles are merged, as was seen in the case of Steve Jobs at Apple and Mark Zuckerberg at Facebook. The impact of strong initial leaders can be profound in the public sector too, when they are able to bridge multiple functions, such as the lasting influence of the first U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, and the first major head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), J. Edgar Hoover.

The main focus of this book is organizational leaders who have a primary or sole focus on employees. The best examples of organizational leaders who focus on execution and implementation are managers. Managers have programs to run, projects to complete, and deadlines to meet. Organizational leaders who focus on the policies that their employees execute and are empowered either to make exceptions or to recommend policy changes to legislative bodies are either management executives or political executives. For example, a city manager routinely provides policy alternatives to the city council, and a strong mayor (one who acts as the chief executive officer) still hires and fires department heads in addition to their role as policy leader. The organizational leader focused on new ideas is a transformational leader who could be found at any level in the organization where the planned change efforts are being attempted.

Leadership also occurs outside organizational settings, relying primarily on paid employees. Many leaders hold their formal or informal positions by satisfying constituents. The ability to reward and punish is usually negligible, but they do rely on their position, expertise, and personal popularity. Such leaders who are interested in getting things done generally have volunteers rather than employees; community leaders such as those in charge of the local PTA or a volunteer community project director function in this way. Legislators are an example of leaders who have constituents and focus on

policy, as are advisory board members. Lobbyists and policy entrepreneurs represent constituents and bring new ideas to legislators and executives.

Finally, some leaders have neither much formal power stemming from a formal position nor the ability to reward or punish; nonetheless, they have a powerful influence on others. Such leaders rely primarily on their expertise or force of personality alone. A small group of people who are thrown together for the first time and yet must get a project done quickly will find that one or two people will emerge as leaders. On a broader scale, some leaders without organizations actively encourage specific social change (policy change) by some combination of reason, passion, and personality. Think of the influence of Mahatma Gandhi (nonviolent resistance), Ralph Nader (consumer protection), or Rachel Carson (author of *The Silent Spring* and a philosophical founder of the clean water environmental movement). Finally, some leaders focus on the newness of ideas rather than working on specific policies that might need to be changed; examples in this category include philosophical zealots (e.g., historical figures such as St. Francis of Assisi, Adam Smith, and Karl Marx) and social trend setters (e.g., Jacqueline Kennedy in fashion or the Beatles in musical tastes in the 1960s). Exhibit 1.1 identifies these different types of leaders.

EXHIBIT 1.1

A Simplified View of Different Types of Leaders

		Types of work		
		Execution	Policy	New ideas
Types of followers	Employees	Managers	Executives with policy responsibilities	Transformational leaders
	Constituents	Community leaders of volunteer groups	Legislators and advisory board members	Lobbyists and policy entrepreneurs
	Adherents	Small-group leaders	Leaders of social movements	Philosophical zealots and social trend setters

Of course, leaders often cross these conceptual distinctions because they carry out several types of leadership simultaneously or change their leadership roles over time. Political executives who may emphasize employees or constituents depending on their preferences and background are an excellent example of dual leadership types. Presidents and governors are both the putative heads of enormous organizations and, at the same time, recommend legislative initiatives and enact laws by signing them.

George H.W. Bush (Senior) was a bureaucrat by training, kept a close eye on the morale of the federal bureaucracy, and was personally responsible for several personnel initiatives. George W. Bush (Junior) and Barack Obama both have relied more heavily on their legislative background and focused almost solely on their constituents and policy. Trump started his presidency with enormous business experience but without either policy or administrative experience. In terms of changing the type of leadership over time, leaders of social movements often acquire formal status. Famous examples in the twentieth century include Nelson Mandela (South Africa), Lech Wałęsa (Poland), and Kim Dae-jung (Korea), who ended up as the leaders of their respective nations. Candy Lightner of Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) started out as an outraged mother and ended up heading an organization that influenced legislative agendas across the country.

The reason for making these distinctions, despite the fact that the lines can get blurred and some leaders practice multiple types, is that different competencies are involved. Good legislators do not necessarily make good managers, and good managers frequently do not have the skills necessary to become elected officials. Different skills are needed to motivate workers versus voters. Managerial executives may have little taste or ability to stimulate social action, and leaders of social movements may find themselves much criticized for their awkward management style when they do successfully create formal organizations. Our focus on organizational leaders allows us to be more specific in our analysis and leadership guidelines than if the text were focused on all types of leaders. Even though a focus on organizational leaders provides an opportunity for more powerful generalizations, important distinctions among organizational leaders are worth reviewing next.

VARIATIONS IN ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Even though this book focuses on all organizational leaders with an emphasis on those in public and nonprofit settings, many important distinctions can be made that affect the situations in which organizational leaders must operate. These distinctions can make a difference in what framework one uses in theoretical terms (e.g., classical management theory, transformational leadership theory, or self-leadership) as well as in practical competencies accentuated. Business leaders will tend to focus on market-driven needs and profits, public sector leaders on publicly authorized needs and legal accountability, and nonprofit leaders on unmet public good needs and charity. For the purpose of this book, all those who lead others, no matter whether they are frontline supervisors or the heads of organizations, have leadership roles. Indeed, even lead workers can have important leadership roles. However, the type of leadership practiced will vary. The

frontline supervisor will tend to focus on task completion, while at the other extreme the executive will focus on intellectual tasks such as policy planning and systems design. The frontline supervisor will need good one-on-one interpersonal skills, while the chief executive may need excellent public speaking skills (Katz 1955).

Another important distinction is between the types of leadership exhibited in different fields or even in different parts of a large organization. Agencies (or parts of agencies) that focus on regulation have slightly different emphases than those focusing on service, and both of these are a bit different than the emphasis of a self-funded or entrepreneurial agency or department. Commanders in law enforcement agencies and managers in accounting divisions tend to have different styles than managers in park services, public gaming agencies, or self-funded public fairgrounds. Such distinctions should not be exaggerated since most of the basic principles of public-sector leadership still apply; nonetheless, it is important to realize that nuanced differences do exist.

Another important difference affecting leadership competencies is the amount of change in the environmental context. Examples of environments calling for change in public agencies include calls for resource reduction (e.g., tax cuts), demands for service increases with or without resource increases, perceptions of poor management or scandal, opportunities to improve through major technological changes, mandated mergers or separations of agencies or divisions, and impending management crises, such as declining recruitment standards and increasing turnover. With a more turbulent public-sector environment, as well as enormous growth in the nonprofit sector, change management skills have become far more important since the 1990s.

Other useful distinctions to keep in mind when analyzing the situations of leaders are the maturity of the organization, the differences among line and staff, the differences in resource levels, and the size of the organization. Older organizations tend to have more established policies and a more delineated culture that must be followed, unless the needs for rejuvenation have become explicit and widely accepted. Line leaders (e.g., department heads) will focus on employees, and staff leaders (e.g., deputy directors not in charge of a department) will function more as extensions of their boss. Some agencies are well funded and expected to function at a state-of-the-art level; other agencies are poorly funded and may be expected to "get by." Leadership challenges in poorly funded agencies are generally more acute. Finally, the scope of leadership will vary significantly for leaders in large versus small agencies. Leaders in small agencies will need a wide array of skills, but may not be expected to be extremely sophisticated in their use. The city manager of a small town may be directly involved in most hiring, budget planning, public relations, and policy recommendation. The city manager of a large city will have specialists in each of these areas and will spend more time coordinating their functions and presiding as a liaison between departments and the city council and as a figurehead to the community.

In summary, organizational leaders as a class have a great deal more in common than, say, legislators or community leaders do. Nonetheless, organizational leaders work in different situations, and those differences are important in analyzing their specific leadership roles and thus the competencies they need to emphasize.

Next we turn to organizational leadership history. This will provide a brief introduction to the major schools of thought on the subject, which will be expanded upon in later chapters.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Although the modern scientific study of leadership dates only from the turn of the twentieth century, interest in leadership defines history from its earliest writings. Indeed, one can even go back further by examining the biological antecedents of leadership.

Most higher-level animals exhibit patterns that can be recognized as rudimentary to advanced behaviors related to leadership. The popular reference to the "pecking order" comes from Murchison (1935), who investigated social status in *Gallus domesticus* (roosters). By placing roosters in successive pairings and establishing their relationships, he identified a clear and consistent pattern of dominance—a primitive form of leadership. Douglis (1948) found that hens follow suit and that they can recognize exact status differentials among a group of up to twenty-seven individuals. In primates, the similarities to human conceptions of leadership become more pronounced. Early studies of primates established strict pecking orders or dominance hierarchies, with additional similarities too. Dominant males eat sooner and better, thus maintaining their strength and status. They also have preference in mating, thus ensuring a Darwinian selection bias. The presence of dominant males reduces intragroup fighting, while leadership succession temporarily increases it. Significantly, a strong dominant male substantially increases the group's territory, establishes the direction that the group takes in its meandering, and regulates the group's interactions with outside groups.

Characteristics associated with leadership typify all human societies, from nomadic to urban (Lewis 1974) although they become more pronounced in "advanced" societies with greater role specialization (Bass 1990). Historically, Egyptians had hieroglyphics representing *leadership*, *leader*, and *follower*; pharaohs were exhorted to be authoritative, perceptive, and just. Early Chinese philosophers such as Confucius focused on the instruction of emperors, enjoining them to be fair and focused on the needs of the people. The Bible is replete with discussions of and advice for leaders (e.g., Moses, David, and Solomon), as are many other major religious texts, such as the Upanishads and the Koran. Most of the great early stories of the world—the Babylonian *Gilgamesh*, the

Homeric *Iliad*, the Norse *Beowulf*, the French *Chanson de Roland*, and the more recent Spanish classic *Don Quixote*—are about the virtues and weaknesses of leaders. Greek and Roman philosophers focused a great deal of attention on leadership. Plato, in *The Republic*, examines the traits of the ideal philosopher king, Aristotle examines the need to cultivate virtue and encourage education for good leadership, and Plutarch shows the similarities between great Greek and Roman leaders in *Parallel Lives*. In writing about leadership in his military campaigns in Gaul, Julius Caesar explained that it was important *both* to be highly task-oriented and simultaneously to create a sense of concern for the well-being of the troops, a finding that was empirically reestablished in the human relations leadership theories of the 1960s. Machiavelli's fascinating study of leadership, *The Prince*, is still a must-read in leadership studies because of its complex blend of idealism and practicality. According to the medieval commentator, leaders need to maintain order, continuity, and political independence, preferably through the esteem of the people and fairness, but should be willing and able to use guile, threats, and violence as necessary.

The nineteenth century was dominated by the notion of the "great man" thesis. Particular great men (women were invariably overlooked despite great women in history, such as Joan of Arc, Elizabeth I, and Clara Barton) somehow move history forward due to their exceptional characteristics as leaders. The stronger version of this theory holds that history is handmaiden to men; great men actually change the shape and direction of history. Philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche and William James firmly asserted that history would be different if a great man were suddenly incapacitated. Thomas Carlyle's 1841 essay on heroes and hero worship is an early popular version of this theory, as is Galton's 1869 study of hereditary genius (cited in Bass 1990, 37–38). Such theories have an implicit class bias. A milder version of the theory is that as history proceeds on its irrevocable course, a few men will move history forward substantially and dramatically because of their greatness, especially in moments of crisis or great social need. This sentiment was expressed by Hegel, who thought that the great man was an expression of his times. Economic determinists such as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, although not theorizing about leadership per se, implied that great men overcome the obstacles of history more effectively and quickly than do lesser individuals. Although these lines of thinking have more sophisticated echoes later in the trait and situational leadership periods, "hero worship" is certainly still alive and well in popular culture and in biographies and autobiographies. It has as its core a belief that only a few very rare individuals in any society at any time have the unique characteristics to shape or express history. Although this thesis may serve sufficiently for case studies (essentially biographies), it is effectively nonrefutable and therefore unusable as a scientific theory, and it is equally unsatisfying as a leadership-teaching tool.

The scientific mood of the early twentieth century fostered the development of a more focused search for the basis of leadership. What traits and characteristics do leaders seem to share in common? Researchers developed personality tests and compared the results of average individuals with those perceived to be leaders. By the 1940s, researchers had amassed very long lists of traits from numerous psychologically oriented studies (Bird 1940; Jenkins 1947). This tactic had two problems. First, the lists became longer and longer as research continued. Second, and more important, the traits and characteristics identified were not powerful predictors across situations. For example, leaders have to be decisive but they must also be flexible and inclusive. On the surface, these traits are contradictory. Without situational specificity, the endless list of traits offers little prescriptive assistance and descriptively becomes nothing more than a long laundry list. In 1948 Ralph Stogdill published a devastating critique of pure trait theory, which subsequently fell into disfavor as being too unidimensional to account for the complexity of leadership.

The next major thrust looked at the situational contexts that affect leaders, and attempted to find meaningful patterns for theory building and useful advice. One early example is the work that came out of the Ohio State Leadership Studies (Hemphill 1950; Hemphill and Coons 1957; Shartle 1950). These studies began by testing 1,800 statements related to leadership behavior. By continually distilling the behaviors, researchers arrived at two underlying factors: consideration and the initiation of structure. Consideration describes a variety of behaviors related to the development, inclusion, and good feelings of subordinates. The initiation of structure describes a variety of behaviors related to defining roles, control mechanisms, task focus, and work coordination both inside and outside the unit. Coupled with the humanist/human relations revolution that was occurring in the 1950s and 1960s, these and similar studies spawned a series of useful, if often simplistic and largely bimodal, theories. Argyris's maturity theory (1957), Likert's motivational approach (1959), and McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y (1960) implicitly encourage more consideration in all leadership behavior. Maslow's eupsychian management (1967) recommends that leadership should be assigned based on the needs of the situation so that authoritarian tendencies (excessive structure) can be curbed. This line of thinking was advanced and empirically tested by Fiedler, who developed a contingency theory and related leader-match theory (1967; Fiedler, Chemers, and Mahar 1976). Blake and Mouton's managerial grid (1964; 1965) recommends that leaders should be highly skilled in both task behaviors (initiating structure) and people-oriented behaviors (consideration). Hersey and Blanchard's life cycle theory (1969; 1972) relates the maturity of the followers (in terms of both expertise and attitude) to the ideal leader behavior—telling (directing), selling (consulting), participating, and delegating. (For an early example of this insight, see Exhibit 1.2.)

EXHIBIT 1.2

The Administrator as Leader

If administration is to be leadership and not command, then it were well that the high echelons of hierarchy were Escoffiers or Rembrandts, sensitive to the flavor and shades of coloring in the group relationships. Such leadership requires not just an understanding of the organizational interrelationships of the hierarchy. It requires some knowledge of the psychological dynamics of group behavior, of belief systems, of status values, and of the learning process itself. The administrator who is a leader must also be a teacher. For such leadership he requires not only formal education in administration but also apprenticeship and on-the-job training.

Source: Marshall (1953, 13).

These early situational theories were certainly useful as antidotes to the excessively hierarchical, authoritarian styles that had developed in the first half of the twentieth century with the rise and dominance of large organizations in both the private and public sectors. They were also useful as teaching tools for incipient and practicing managers, who appreciated the uncomplicated models even though they were descriptively simplistic. As a class, however, these theories failed to meet scientific standards because they tried to explain too much with too few variables. Of the major theories, only a decision-making model by Vroom broke out of this pattern because it self-consciously focused on a single dimension of leadership style—the role of participation—and identified seven problem attributes and two classes of cases: group and individual (Vroom and Jago 1988; Vroom and Yetton 1973). Although the situational perspective still forms the basis of most leadership theories today (Vroom and Jago 2007), it has largely done so in a strictly managerial context (i.e., a narrow level of analysis) on a factor-by-factor basis, or it has been subsumed in more comprehensive approaches to leadership at the macrolevel.

Although ethical dimensions were occasionally mentioned in the mainstream literature, the coverage was invariably peripheral because of the avoidance of value-laden (normative) issues by social scientists. The first major text devoted to ethical issues was Robert Greenleaf's book *Servant Leadership* (1977). He was ignored by mainstream theorists, who were dominated by positivists, despite his affiliation with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard, Dartmouth, and the University of Virginia, and he ultimately founded the Center for Applied Ethics. In contrast, James MacGregor Burns's book on leadership burst onto the scene in 1978 and had unusually heavy ethical overtones. However, it was not the ethical dimension that catapulted it to prominence but its transformational theme, which is discussed below. Both Greenleaf (a former business executive) and Burns (a political scientist) were outside the usual leadership academic circles, whose members came primarily from business and psychology backgrounds.

A number of contemporary mainstream leadership theorists, both popular and academic—such as DePree (1989); Gardner (1990); Rost (1991); Block (1993); Bennis, Parikh, and Lessem (1994; in contrast with Bennis's other work); Zand (1997); Fry (2003); Trevino, Weaver, and Reynolds (2006); and Newman, Guy, and Mastracci (2009)—have continued in this tradition, to one degree or another. For an example of the profound difference this one element can make, however, see Exhibit 1.3. This theme was covered earlier and more frequently (at least in terms of ethical uses of discretion) in the public-sector literature and will be discussed separately.

EXHIBIT 1.3

Two Great Visionary and Entrepreneurial Leaders in the Public Sector—with One Big Difference

Great cities must occasionally reinvent themselves or else they get stuck in the notions and needs of past ages. Two public servants—Austin Tobin and Robert Moses—thoroughly reinvented New York to make it the greatest city (at least in terms of population, wealth, and power) on earth in the latter part of the century.

Austin Tobin (1903–1978) joined the Port Authority of New York in 1927 and became its executive director in 1942. Although a lawyer by training, he mastered the internal and technical dynamics of leading a large organization. He inherited an agency that was largely independent because it was self-funding through fees; he was able to expand his legal purview over the years through his political connections and knowledge of the law; and he was able to use the variety of projects and responsibilities of the Authority (later called the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey) as a great source of power. During his tenure as executive director, Tobin was responsible for the inclusion of all three major airports in his agency—Newark, LaGuardia, and Idlewild (now Kennedy)—added the Newark seaport, created the Elizabeth seaport, added terminals in Brooklyn, two tubes to the Lincoln Tunnel, and a second tier to the George Washington Bridge, built the largest bus terminal in the world, and set the stage for the building of the World Trade Center. His vision of New York as the leading commercial center in the world was not diminished by the extraordinary challenges of managing across the various jurisdictions of many mayors, borough presidents, and two very powerful governors. His entrepreneurial flair helped him create massive projects that were brilliantly executed and stood the test of time.

Robert Moses (1888–1981) had no less impact on New York than his sometimes rival Tobin. Moses became the chairman of the State Council of Parks in 1924, and in 1933, he went to work in New York City as the city parks commissioner. He went on to become chairman of most of the major bridge and tunnel authorities in New York (which ultimately included the Triborough Bridge, Brooklyn Battery Tunnel, and the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge) with their immense revenue base. He further added to his power later on by becoming the city construction coordinator and a member of the City Planning Commission. During his career he masterminded and built the immensely successful Jones Beach State Park, the East Side Highway (FDR Drive), the crucial Cross-Bronx Expressway, the 1964 World's Fair, and many of the modern port facilities. Just as Tobin's vision was New York as a commercial powerhouse, Moses's vision was New York as a great metropolis of fluid movement and great parks. A genius of detail and the creation of timeless projects, he was a virtuoso of power, able to defy mayors and governors with relative ease.

Plutarch noted that "the most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest signs of virtue or vice in men; sometimes a matter of less moment informs us better of their character and inclinations." So it

can be argued about these two "great" men. Tobin was known for his stand on diversity in an age when such notions were not popular. He promoted Jews and women in the mid-1940s (over opposition) and fought extremely hard for the integration of the trade unions in the 1960s. He provided internal development programs, had a widespread reputation for equitable treatment of the rank-and-file employees, and inspired great loyalty despite his toughness and occasional rigidity. Finally, his tenant relocation programs were considered models of compassion and integrity. On the other hand, Moses was a thoroughgoing elitist in the worst sense. His staff was as ethnically pure and male dominated as any other of his age. He worked with the white-dominated labor unions to keep Puerto Ricans and African-Americans out. Lastly, his tenant relocation programs—affecting tens of thousands of citizens over the years—were legendary uses of brutal state force that provided no state assistance, even in an era of severe housing shortages.

So we are left with a question about the greatness, and perhaps even about the leadership, of these two extraordinary men. Both were technically brilliant entrepreneurial geniuses; both had great visions that they were able to execute. Both transformed the New York City miniregion into a leading world commercial and community center. Yet, Tobin's personal side reveals a caring for employees, a sense of social fairness, and a compassion for those affected by his projects that is totally lacking in Robert Moses. It is unlikely that anyone would argue that Austin Tobin was not a great leader, but do you consider Moses a great leader, just a leader, or neither?

Until 1978, the focus of the mainstream literature was on leadership at lower levels, which was amenable to small-group and experimental methods with simplified variable models, while executive leadership (with its external demands) and more amorphous abilities to induce large-scale change were largely ignored. Burns's book on leadership dramatically changed that interest by introducing the notion that only transactional leadership was being studied and that the other highly important arena—transformational leadership—was largely being ignored. This claim struck an especially responsive chord in the nonexperimental camp, which had already been explicitly stating that nationally there was an abundance of managers (who use a "transactional" mode) and a serious deficit of leaders (who use a "transformational" mode) (Zaleznik 1977). Overall, this school agreed that leaders have special responsibility for understanding a changing environment, they facilitate more dramatic changes, and they often energize followers far beyond what traditional exchange theory would suggest. Overstating for clarity, three subschools emerged that emphasized different aspects of these "larger-than-life" leaders. The transformational school emphasized vision and overarching organizational change (e.g., Bass 1985; Bennis and Nanus 1985; Burns 1978; Tichy and Devanna 1986). The charismatic school focused on the influence processes of individuals and the specific behaviors used to arouse inspiration and higher levels of action in followers (e.g., Conger and Kanungo 1998; House 1977; Meindl 1990). Less articulated in terms

of leadership theory was an entrepreneurial school that urged leaders to make practical process and cultural changes that would dramatically improve quality or productivity; it shared a change emphasis with the transformational school and an internal focus with the charismatic school (Champy 1995; Hammer and Champy 1993; Peters and Austin 1985).

The infusion of the transformational leadership school(s) led to a reinvigoration of academic and nonacademic studies of leadership as well as a good deal of initial confusion. Was the more transactional leadership that the situationalists had so assiduously studied really just mundane management? Or was the new transformational leadership an extension of more basic skills that its adherents were poorly equipped to explain with more conventional scientific methodologies? Even before the 1980s, some work had been done to create holistic models that tried to explain more aspects of leadership (Winter 1979). Yet it was not until the 1980s that work began in earnest and conventional models routinely incorporated transactional and transformational elements. Bass's work is a good example in this regard. Even his original work on transformational leadership (1985) has strong transactional elements (transformational leaders being those who not only master transactional skills but also are able to capitalize on transformational skills), which were strengthened in later work (Bass 1996; Bass and Avolio 1990). In the third edition of *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*, Bass was able to assert that the field "has broken out of its normal confinement to the study of [leader group] behaviors" to more studies on executives, more inclusion of perspectives from political science, and more cross-fertilization among schools of thought (Bass 1990, xi).

Not surprisingly, then, scholarly cross-fertilization and new economic, social, and philosophical trends brought new perspectives to the study of leadership. First, fresh efforts to find integrative models were common, starting in the 1990s (Chemers 1997; Hunt 1996; Van Wart 2005; Yukl 1998). There was a tremendous need to find ways of conceptualizing the different schools of thought as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Second, there was an enormous resurgence in looking at leadership as less hierarchical and more distributed (Manz and Sims 1991; 1993; Pearce and Conger 2003), with ramifications for structures such as teams, training focusing on empowerment and self-leadership, and acculturation leading to tighter cohesion and less internal competition. Finally, postmodern perspectives emphasized leadership as a process rather than an event and as a group dynamic rather than the artifact of individuals (Kiel 1994; Uhl-Bien 2006; Wheatley 1992). (See Exhibit 1.4 for a summary of the eras of mainstream leadership theory and research.)

EXHIBIT 1.4

Eras of Orthodox Leadership Theory and Research

Era	Major time frame	Major characteristics/examples of proponents
Great man	Pre-1900; continues to be popular in biographies	• Emphasis on emergence of a great figure such as Napoleon, George Washington, or Martin Luther who has substantial effect on society • Era influenced by notions of rational social change by uniquely talented and insightful individuals
Trait	1900–1948; resurgence of recognition of importance of natural talents	• Emphasis on the individual traits (physical, personal, motivational, aptitudinal) and skills (communication and ability to influence) that leaders bring to all leadership tasks • Era influenced by scientific methodologies in general (especially industrial measurement) and scientific management in particular (e.g., the definition of roles and assignment of competencies to those roles)
Contingency	1948 to the 1980s; continues as basis of most rigorous models but with vastly expanded situational repertoire	• Emphasis on the situational variables with which leaders must deal, especially performance and follower variables. Shift from traits and skills to behaviors (e.g., informing and delegating versus consulting and motivating). Dominated by bimodal models in its heyday • Era influenced by the rise of human relations theory, behavioral science (in areas such as motivation theory), and the use of small-group experimental designs in psychology • Examples emphasizing bimodal models include Ohio, Michigan, Hersey–Blanchard, managerial grid; leadership theory involving maximal levels of participation (generally with three to seven major variables) includes Fiedler, House, Vroom
Transformational	1978 to present	• Emphasis on leaders who create change in deep structures, major processes, or overall culture. Leader mechanisms may be compelling vision, brilliant technical insight, and/or charismatic quality

Era	Major time frame	Major characteristics/examples of proponents
		• Era influenced by the loss of American dominance in business, finance, and science, and the need to reenergize various industries that had slipped into complacency • Examples (academic and popular) include Burns, House, Bennis, Iacocca, Kouzes and Posner, Senge, Tichy and Devanna, Bass and Conger
Servant	1979 to present	• Emphasis on ethical responsibilities to followers, stakeholders, and society. Business theorists tend to emphasize service to followers; political theorists emphasize citizens; public administration analysts tend to emphasize legal compliance and/or citizens • Early proponents include Greenleaf and Burns. Contemporary and popular proponents include Covey, Rost, Gardner, Bryson and Crosby
Multifaceted	1990s to present	• Emphasis on (a) integrating the major schools, (b) distributed and horizontal leadership, and (c) postmodern perspectives emphasizing process and groups • Era affected by the need to provide a more sophisticated and holistic framework for leadership, more democratic models, and theories relevant to contemporary notions of a diverse and rapidly evolving society • Proponents include Yukl, Hunt, Chemers, House, Van Wart, Pearce and Conger, Uhl-Bien

Given such brief space, this cursory review cannot do justice to the wealth of perspectives on specific leadership topics, such as the types of leaders, leader styles, the types and effects of followers, and the relevance of societal and organizational cultures on leadership.

PERENNIAL DEBATES IN LEADERSHIP THEORY

Another way to analyze the leadership literature is to examine major debates that have shaped both leadership paradigms and research agendas. For simplicity, only four of the

broadest are discussed here. What should leaders focus on? Does leadership make a difference? Are leaders born or made? What is the best leadership style to use?

What Should Leaders Focus on—Technical Performance, Development of People, or Organizational Alignment?

We expect leaders to "get things done," to maintain good systems, to provide the resources and training for production, to foster efficiency and effectiveness through various controls, to make sure that technical problems are handled correctly, and to coordinate functional operations. These and other more technical aspects of production are one level of leadership focus. It is particularly relevant for leadership at the lower levels of the organization, closest to production.

Another perspective is that leaders do not do the work; they depend on followers to do it. Therefore, the followers' training, motivation, maturation and continued development, and overall satisfaction are critical to production and organizational effectiveness. This insight is not new. As Lao-tzu said 2,500 years ago, "When a good leader, one who talks little and listens much, has done his work, the people will say we did this ourselves." Popular writers today echo these thoughts: "The signs of outstanding leadership appear primarily among the followers" (DePree 1989, 12). Indeed, as stated by some of the foremost researchers studying the stumbling blocks for leaders, "Many studies of managerial performance have found the most critical skill for beginning managers, and one most often lacking, is interpersonal competence, or the ability to deal with 'people problems'" (McCall, Lombardo, and Morrison 1988, 19).

The emergence of the transformational leadership paradigm in the 1980s brought the idea that "the essential function of leadership is to produce adaptive or useful change" (Kotter 1990). (This notion was, in reality, resurrected from the "great man" theories in political science and the Weberian charismatic theory in sociology.) Similarly, Edgar Schein asserted that "*the only thing of real importance that leaders do is to create and manage culture*" (1985, 2; emphasis in original). Indeed, it was popular to assert that "true" leaders delegated management issues and focused squarely on the "big picture" and big changes. The more extreme rhetoric has subsided, but the perspective has not disappeared.

Certainly not a major theme in the mainstream, if not altogether absent, was the additional notion that leadership is service to the people, end consumers, society, and the public interest (rather than to followers per se). Although it is common for biographies of religious and social leaders to advance this claim most strongly, exemplars in public service do so nearly as strongly (e.g., Cooper and Wright 1992; Riccucci 1995; Rugeley and Van Wart 2006). This notion does not displace technical performance, follower development, or organizational alignment, but often largely downplays these dimensions as "givens."

Lastly and logically, leadership can be seen as a composite of several or all of these notions. When we think of great leaders, we typically think of people who contribute in all domains. Not only did Alexander the Great reinvent warfare and realign the world, his men also happily followed him as he conquered previously unknown lands. Napoleon, whose empire building was ultimately unsuccessful despite his extraordinary popularity among the French, nonetheless rebuilt the modern administrative state. George Washington, a technically talented general and a capable president, was trusted and beloved by soldiers and fellow statesmen alike and, undoubtedly, was a dedicated servant to his society. Such a composite perspective has both logical and emotional appeal. Leaders typically are called upon to do and be all these things—perform, develop followers, align their

EXHIBIT 1.5

Possible Definitions of Leadership in an Administrative Context

Leadership can focus strictly on the ends—for example, getting things done (technical performance)—and the means by which things get done—for example, the followers (their motivation and development)—or it can concentrate on aligning the organization with external needs and opportunities (which can result in substantive change). A definition of leadership can also emphasize the spirit with which leadership is conducted. In the public sector this is invariably a public service commitment. Of course, generally, definitions are a blend of several of these elements but with different emphases. One's definition tends to vary based on normative preferences and one's concrete situation and experience.

- *Administrative leadership is the process of providing the results required by authorized systems in an efficient, effective, and legal manner.* This narrower definition might apply well to a frontline supervisor and would tend to be preferred by those endorsing strict political accountability.
- *Administrative leadership is the process of developing/supporting followers who provide the results.* Because all leaders have followers and because it is the followers who actually perform the work and provide its quality, it is better to focus on them than on the direct service/product. This is a common view in service industries with mottoes such as "Our Employees Are Our Number One Priority."
- *Administrative leadership is the process of aligning the organization with its environment, especially the necessary macrolevel changes, and realigning the culture as appropriate.* This definition tends to better fit executive leadership and emphasizes the "big picture." Many public-sector analysts are concerned about the application of this definition because of a breakdown in democratic accountability.
- *The key element to administrative leadership is its service focus.* Although leadership functions and foci may vary, administrative leaders need to be responsive, open, aware of competing interests, dedicated to the common good, and so forth, so that they create a sense of public trust for their stewardship roles.
- *Leadership is a composite of providing technical performance, internal direction to followers, and external organizational direction—all with a public-service orientation.* This definition implicitly recognizes the complex and demanding challenge to leaders; however, it eschews the tough decision about defining the proper emphasis or focus that leaders may need to—and operationally do—make.

organizations, and foster the common good. Yet this perspective also sidesteps the problem to some degree. Most leaders must make difficult choices about what to focus on and what they themselves should glean from the act of leadership. This composite perspective therefore begs the question: how do leaders make the correct choice of definition and emphasis? For an array of possible definitions related to administrative leadership, see Exhibit 1.5.

To What Degree Do Leaders Make a Difference?

Burns (1978, 265) tells the cynical story of a Frenchman sitting in a café who hears a disturbance, runs to the window, and cries, "There goes the mob. I am their leader. I must follow them!" Such a story suggests that, at a minimum, we may place too great an emphasis on the effect that leaders have. In many situations, the effect of leaders themselves is less important than the economy, organizational culture, or level of resource availability, and in such cases leaders' importance may be overestimated because of the "romance" typically revolving around leadership (Meindl, Ehrlick, and Dukerich 1985). Yet, no matter whether "great man" or transformational theorists are comparing Hitlers to Chamberlains, or situational theorists working with small groups are comparing the results of finite solution problems, the answer is generally, "Yes, leaders do make a difference," and over time, they tend to make a critical difference (Kaiser, Hogan, and Craig 2008; Trottier, Van Wart, and Wang 2008; Tummers and Knies 2013). Nonetheless, it is important to remember that leaders do not act in a vacuum; they are part of the flow of history and set in a culture with an environment filled with crises, opportunities, and even dumb luck. In practical terms, however, the question about whether leaders make (any) difference is generally translated into the questions of how much difference and when.

In its various permutations, the question of how much difference leaders make takes up the largest part of the literature, especially when the question relates to the effect of specific behaviors, traits, and skills or their clusters. At a more global level, the transformational and "great man" devotees assert that great leaders can make a great difference. Some of the best practical writers, however, caution that leaders' effects are modest only because of the great constraints and inertia they face (e.g., Barnard 1938; Gardner 1990). It is also likely that this wisdom is directed largely at the excessive reliance on formal authority and insulated rationalistic thinking that some inexperienced or weak leaders exhibit.

At the level of the discrete effects of individual or clustered behaviors, the comparisons are easier for social scientists. For example, how much difference does monitoring followers make versus scanning the environment, and, of course, in what situational contexts? One important variant line of research examines the substitutes for leadership (Kerr and Jermier 1978). That is, some organizations over time acquire positive features that diminish the need for formal leadership in some task and interpersonal situations.

Another particularly important dimension of the question about the effect of leadership relates to the levels at which leadership occurs. At the extreme, some theorists emphasize leadership that is almost exclusively equivalent to grand change (Zaleznik 1977) while minimizing or even denigrating the notion that leadership occurs throughout the organization. On the contrary, the small-group research of the 1950s through the 1970s suggests that leadership is fundamentally similar at any level. Some research, especially the customer service and excellence literature, emphasizes the importance of frontline supervisors (Peters 1994; Vermeeren, Kuipers, and Steijn 2014). The more comprehensive models of the current leadership literature tend to emphasize the idea that there are different types of leadership required at different levels, especially because of the increasing levels of discretion allowed as one moves higher in the organization (Hunt 1996). Different levels simply require different types of skills (Katz 1955).

Are Leaders Born or Made?

An implicit assumption of the "great man" theories is that leaders (invariably heads of state and of major businesses such as banks and mercantile houses) are essentially born, probably enjoying some significant early training as well. That is, either you have the "stuff" of leadership or you do not, and most do not. Of course, in an age when leadership generally required either membership of the privileged classes (i.e., the "right stuff" included education, wealth, connections, and senior appointments) or, in rare instances, extraordinary brilliance (such as Napoleon's) in a time of crisis, there was more than a little truth to this. In a more democratic era, such factors have less force, especially insofar as leadership is conceived so much more inclusively.

Today the question is generally framed as one of degree rather than as a strict dichotomy (Bennis 2007). To what degree can leaders be "made" and how? The developmental portion of leadership has two major components, according to most researchers and thoughtful practitioners. Although part of leadership is the result of formal training, this may actually be the smaller component. Experience is likely to be the more important teacher. In the extreme, this position states that although leadership cannot be taught, it can be learned. As Nietzsche noted, "a man has no ears for that to which experience has given him no access." Of course, random career paths might or might not provide a useful string of experiences, and a mentor might or might not be present to help the learner to extract significant lessons from both the challenges and failures that experience provides. Ideally, high-potential leaders in the making get appropriate rotational assignments.

More formal training is not without its virtues, too, providing technical skills and credibility, management knowledge, external awareness, coaching, and encouragement

toward reflection. Leaders must have (or, in some instances, acquire) the basic technical knowledge of the organization, often more for credibility than for the executive function itself; formal training can assist greatly here. Management is a different profession altogether from doing line work; again, training can greatly facilitate the learning process, especially for new managers. Formal leadership training, when properly done, is excellent for providing an awareness of different models of managing and leading for different situations, often outside one's own industry. Because mentors are hard to find, and good mentors are downright rare, formal training often plays this role, giving attendees a chance to process their experiences with instructors and fellow participants. Finally, good leaders more often than not are people of action, which means that opportunities for reflection are even more important for leadership improvement; formal training structures opportunities for reflection, forcing doers to alternate thinking and action. Thus, although the black-and-white debate about leaders being made or born is largely considered sophomoric, the more sophisticated debate about the relative importance of innate abilities, experience (unplanned or rotational), and formal training is alive and well (Seidle, Fernandez, and Perry 2016).

What is the Best Leadership Style to Use?

Although leader style is really just an aggregation of traits, skills, and behaviors, it has been an extremely popular topic of research and debate in its own right. One of the most significant issues has been definitional. What is leader style? Although leader style can be thought of as the cumulative effect of *all* traits, skills, and behaviors, it is generally used to describe what is perceived as the key, or at least a prominent, aspect of the universal set of leader characteristics. Examples include follower participation styles, such as command, consign, consult, and concur (as discussed by Zand 1997, 43); change styles, such as risk-averse or risk-accepting; and personality styles, such as those based on the Myers–Briggs Type Indicator. Other leader style definitions involve communication, individual versus group approaches to leadership, value orientations—especially involving integrity—and power and influence typologies.

A slightly different approach to the issue of style examines it in relation to function. Much of the situational literature addresses the style issue in this light. Leaders have to get work done ("initiate structure") and work through people ("consideration"). How they are perceived to balance these factors can be operationally defined as their style. A somewhat different but very useful insight into functional style preference has to do with the type of situation that the leader prefers or excels in: a maintenance situation, a project or task force situation, a line versus function situation, a "start-up," or turning a business around (McCall, Lombardo, and Morrison 1988).

Another important set of issues regarding style has to do with whether, and to what degree, it can be changed in adults. Not many have taken the hard line that changing style is nearly impossible. Fiedler (1967; see also Fiedler, Chemers, and Mahar 1976) is probably most prominent in this regard, largely advising that it is better to figure out the situation first and find the appropriate leader second. Yet, even assuming that change in style is possible, most serious researchers warn against excessive expectations of dramatic change, although radical style-change anecdotes do pepper the popular literature. If style can be changed, then how the change can be accomplished is the important issue that emerges (and this becomes largely an applied training issue). In addition to style need (situational demands), style preference, and style range (a leader's repertoire of different styles) is the issue of style quality. Each style requires an extensive set of skills that must be artfully integrated into an evolving situation, but that may be beyond the abilities of a particular neophyte manager or inept leader (House 1996; Allen 2012; Kelman, Sanders, and Pandit 2016).

Debates and Discussions in Administrative Leadership Theory

Although these debates have strong echoes in the public-sector literature, the differences in the debate structures are as important as the similarities (Van Wart 2013). Of the four major questions, only the first regarding the proper focus is discussed as robustly in the public-sector literature as it is in the mainstream; indeed, from a normative philosophical basis, the administrative leadership literature probably argues this issue even more thoroughly. However, the question of proper focus is translated into the discretion debate, which has taken numerous forms affecting the proper role of administrative leaders. For the sake of simplicity, the first era (1883 to the 1940s) can be conceptualized as the time when a dichotomy between the political world of policy decisions and the neutral world of technical exercise and nonideological implementation was the overarching ideal. It was generally argued that good administrative leaders made many technical decisions but referred policy decisions to their political superiors. The role of discretion was largely ignored or downplayed. The second era (the 1940s to the 1980s), adopting a less idealistic model, recognized that the interplay of the political and administrative worlds is far more intertwined than a simple dichotomy would explain. The dominant model during this period was one of administrative responsibility—that is, the appropriate and modest use of significant discretion. The most recent era (from the 1990s), driven by a worldwide governmental reform agenda, has interjected entrepreneurial uses of discretion for public administrators. The debate about what to reform in government (e.g., the size, cost, processes, structures, or accountability mechanisms) and how to reform it has stirred huge controversies in both the public space and

scholarly communities. The newer models tend to encourage creative and robust uses of discretion and diffuse authority among more stakeholders and control mechanisms.

The issue of discretion has shaped the proper-focus debate primarily in terms of a management orientation (transactional) versus a change orientation (transformational). If leaders should not exercise significant discretion or be too activist, then they should *not* play a substantial change role but should focus on management issues. In a contrasting position, many in the New Public Management school (a widely diverse school of thought that unifies around the importance of public administrators and their role as managerial leaders and moral mainstays of the political system) echo the strains of the mainstream school of the 1980s in asserting that public administrators are uniquely qualified to play a large role that will otherwise leave a critical leadership lacuna.

The debate about the importance of leadership is much more muted and underdeveloped. Although some argue from the perspective of democratic theory that administrative leaders should *not* be important from a strictly political perspective, most public administration scholars and almost all practitioners simply assume or assert the importance of public administrators. Unfortunately, there is a great tendency to treat all the situations in which leadership is important as a single monolith rather than to explore the ramifications of different types of leadership in different contexts with varying missions, organizational structures, accountability mechanisms, environmental constraints, and so on. This means that the issues of the technology of leadership are much less articulated in the public sector than they are in the private sector.

The debate about whether leaders are born or made is also not particularly well developed from a theoretical perspective. In the 1960s, the situational models presented relatively elementary task–people matrices. Both task and people skills could be taught, and a more humanistic approach that was less reliant on directive styles was encouraged. This was adopted in the public-sector literature. In the 1980s, when the mainstream field was searching for a more comprehensive and complex model, some good examples of sophisticated training models did emerge on the public-sector side (Faerman, Quinn, and Thompson 1987; Flanders and Utterback 1985), but this part of the literature was largely dormant in the 1990s. In pragmatic terms, the requirement for more management education in public sector positions (e.g., requirements or expectations of MPA and MBA degrees) has continued to escalate in the last twenty years. The "born" side of the argument recognizes the importance of recruitment and the selection of exceptional individuals. Such discussions have been relatively common in the human resource context, especially in reports recommending ways to strengthen the public sector (e.g., National Commission on State and Local Public Service 1993; National Commission on the Public Service 2003), but have not been integrated in an explicit leadership discussion.

A DISCUSSION OF SOME IMPORTANT TERMS AND CONCEPTS

A major challenge in leadership studies is the specialized language used for concepts that often have a lay usage or are used in contradictory ways by different researchers. Some of the more important terms and concepts are defined or described here.

Levels of Leadership Analysis

One of the most important distinctions has to do with the level of analysis used for leadership actions, which varies from specific activities to overarching classifications used to simplify the vast array of leader responsibilities. The narrowest level of analysis is tasks, which are the discrete functions common to many jobs. Examples of tasks are "conduct briefings or other meetings" or "serve as agency representative in outside meetings or activities" (U.S. OPM 1997). Behaviors, traits, and skills are at the next level of analysis. Behaviors are observable patterns of leader activities, primarily used to link related tasks. All leader behavior is typically broken down into ten to thirty behaviors, which, according to most theories, are the elemental building blocks. Frequently, "behavioral" taxonomies are a combination of both direct behaviors and more indirect traits and skills. In this case, the term "competency" is often used to apply to both. The next level of analysis is style. A style is a moderate-sized cluster of leader behaviors, primarily used to describe or prescribe actual or ideal leader patterns. The highest level of analysis is metacategories. A metacategory is a very large cluster of behaviors used to analyze the universe of leader functions. Typically, such taxonomies include two to five elements. The purpose of metacategories is conceptual elegance; that is, they are meant to explain how many different tasks or behaviors can be rolled into a few for purposes of conceptual simplicity and clarity. Styles, on the other hand, have a more applied focus and less elegance.

Level of Organizational Conceptualization

Another way to think about leadership is to focus on where it occurs (Yammarino and Dansereau 2008). If the focus is between leaders and followers, it is called dyadic; that is, the leadership occurs between two people—a dyad—in which one might consider the effects of the leader's behaviors on a follower, or a follower's attributions of a leader. Often, all followers of a leader are conceptualized as a single entity. Another increasingly common focus is the group level of analysis. How does leadership emerge from an unstructured group? How do leaders transform low-performing groups into high-performing or self-managed teams? A still higher level of analysis is the organization. What type of leadership does an organization need in a time of crisis as opposed to a time

of effectively implemented innovation? What are the competency differences between a frontline supervisor and a chief executive officer?

Leadership versus Management

A heated debate about the meanings of and relationship between leadership and management emerged in the late 1970s (Zaleznik 1977). First, what do these terms mean? Is leadership about interacting with followers only (Mintzberg 1973), is it about everything that a leader does (Bass 1985), or does it imply a special obligation to change the organizational direction or culture? Is management about basic task and general management functions (human resources, finances, etc.), is it everything that an executive does, or does it simply imply the maintenance of ongoing operational activities? Zaleznik and others (Bennis and Nanus 1985; Kotter 1990) have suggested that leadership is about producing change and movement and thus focuses on vision, strategizing, aligning people, and inspiring, while management is about order and consistency and thus emphasizes planning, organizing, controlling, staffing, and budgeting. They assert that leaders are both more important than managers and in short supply. Mintzberg, on the other hand, has asserted that managing many things is what executives do, and only one of those things is leading followers. This text will follow the convention common to leadership studies that leaders do many things, including leading people, leading production, and leading change. (The operational definition below will elaborate.) The terms "leaders" and "managers" will be used interchangeably in the sense that managers (at any level) rarely have the luxury of focusing only on maintenance or change, or of focusing only on followers or tasks or organizational alignment. One of the enormous challenges of great leadership is the seamless blending of the more operational-managerial dimensions with the visionary leadership functions.

Descriptive versus Prescriptive Studies

Descriptive studies attempt to define and describe leadership processes, typical behaviors, and contingency factors. Descriptive studies include case studies, experimental studies in laboratory settings, experimental studies in the field, factor analysis of survey feedback instruments, unobtrusive observation of leaders, interviews, and so forth. They essentially form the basic science of leadership studies in which evidence for relationships is established. Prescriptive studies attempt to make applied recommendations from descriptive findings, logical argumentation, and values assertions. What must leaders do to be more effective and under what conditions? For example, the following might be asserted: "Research shows that it is hard to perform many other supportive activities unless consultation has occurred first; therefore, consult with employees early and regularly." Many

studies include both descriptive and prescriptive elements, and the line between the two is not always very clear. Nonetheless, it is a useful distinction to keep in mind.

Universal versus Contingency Approaches

A universal approach to leadership assumes that at some level there is an ideal pattern of leadership behavior that fits nearly all situations. A contingency approach to leadership assumes that the situations in which leaders find themselves are crucial to determining the appropriate behavior and style. Early trait theory sought a universal approach but failed to achieve one, and thus universal approaches have been somewhat discredited. However, at a high level of abstraction, they are still attractive. For example, Blake and Mouton's managerial grid (1965; 1985) is still popular even though it ultimately recommends a single style across situations (the "team" approach); more recent transformational leadership theories are largely universalist in their approaches, too. However, contingency approaches are generally more powerful for defining the concrete relationships of tasks and behaviors to effectiveness, and for more detailed prescriptions.

Formal versus Informal Leadership

Formal leadership stems from occupying a defined position (legitimacy). With their authority and resources, formal leaders generally have some ability to reward and coerce members. They augment their formal or position power with personal power that comes from expertise, wisdom, trust, and likability. Informal leaders, on the other hand, have little or no position power and must rely nearly exclusively on personal power. When leaders emerge from ill-defined social movements, they do so as informal leaders; however, over time they may acquire formal positions. Certain followers may be so well liked and crucial to operations that they have more power than the formal leader.

Vertical versus Horizontal Leadership

Vertical leadership is commonly expressed in hierarchical relationships when the bulk of the power is with the formal leader. Leaders can express their vertical leadership not only by being directive but also by largely limiting participation to input only. Horizontal leadership occurs when hierarchy is reduced or eliminated. It emphasizes employee or follower empowerment and delegation as well as partnering relationships. Vertical leadership tends to provide tighter accountability chains and efficiency. It is also prone to corruption of the leadership process for the needs and preferences of the leader. Horizontal leadership tends to provide greater input, participation, adaptability, and creativity. It is also prone to loss of accountability and inefficiency. Contemporary organizations tend to use both forms of leadership, and much organizational design is concerned with getting an optimum balance of the two.

Leaders versus Leadership

Because of the importance of individualism in Western culture, it is easy to exaggerate the role of the leader (Graen 2007; Kort 2008) and to confuse leaders with leadership. Eastern culture tends to be more sensitive to the roles of culture, tradition, and the group. Although much leadership research focuses on an individual leader's perspective, leadership is a process that includes not only leaders, but followers and the environment. For example, in contexts in which leaders inhabit networks, a collaborative mindset may be far more optimal than a more leader-centric one (Weber and Khademain 2008).

AN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF LEADERSHIP

Definitions of leadership abound. They can be short or long and they can be scientifically oriented or practitioner oriented. The bias toward practical utility and moderate complexity determines the type of definition used here—an operational definition of moderate length.

Leadership is a complex process involving numerous fundamentally different types of acts. Leadership is technical competence and achieving results, working with and through people, making sure that the organization is in alignment with the environment, and making sure there is appropriate and consistent adherence to the organization's norms.

Leadership involves assessing one's environment and one's leadership constraints. Leaders cannot get somewhere (achieve goals) if they do not know from where they are starting. A rigorous assessment process requires looking at the major processes of organizational effectiveness and a realistic review of one's own constraints.

Leadership involves developing numerous leadership traits and skills. Before leaders ever act, they need to utilize and develop natural talents and sharpen acquired skills into a coherent set of leadership characteristics.

Leaders must refine and modify their style for different situations. Whether refining their preferred style for a narrower set of situational factors or modifying it to handle situations of considerable variety, leaders must be in command of their style. Occasionally leaders shift tasks to others because of a more suitable style fit.

Leaders achieve predetermined goals. Leaders' assessments, characteristics, and styles are only the tools or means to acting. Yet actions are themselves only a means to an end: goal achievement.

Leaders continually evaluate their own performance. Just as effective organizational and environmental assessment is necessary for effective leadership, continual self-evaluation is critical, too.

Bringing all these factors together is a tall order, and this explains why consistently high leadership performance is relatively uncommon. A compilation of this leadership profile, an operational definition, is provided in Exhibit 1.6.

EXHIBIT 1.6

An Operational Definition of Leadership

Leadership is a complex process involving the acts of:

1. assessing one's environment and one's leadership constraints;
2. developing the numerous necessary leadership traits and skills (such as integrity, self-confidence, a drive for excellence, and skill in communications and influencing people);
3. refining and modifying one's style for different situations;
4. achieving predetermined goals; and
5. continually self-evaluating one's performance and developing one's potential.

CONCLUSION AND ORGANIZATION OF THIS BOOK

Leadership excites great interest because of the enormous effect that leaders have on us in our communities, in our jobs, and in the welfare of our countries, and also because we tend to be fascinated by those in positions of power. The study of leadership is important because it is complex and its nuances are not easily understood, and all of us must both serve as leaders and critique the leadership of others in detail. Although leaders in political, community, organizational, and ideological contexts have some similarities, the differences are extremely important, especially in regard to the type of followers and leaders' relationships to them. This book focuses on leaders in public and nonprofit organizational settings. Further, there are variations in organizational settings that are significant: sector, management level, field of activity, maturity of organization, and size of organization.

Although the scholarly field of leadership is only a hundred years old, interest in the subject is ancient, and patterns of leadership exist elsewhere in the animal kingdom. The literature can be organized into several major schools of thought: the great man, trait, contingency, transformational, servant, and multifaceted approaches. Some perennial debates have affected most of these perspectives. These debates include what leaders should focus on, to what degree leadership makes a difference, whether leaders are born or made, and what the best style is for leaders to use. Although frequently framed in absolute terms, these issues are translated into issues of degree and context for scholars and reflective practitioners.

Those studying leadership must be careful not to make sweeping generalizations but rather to define the context of their analysis. Some of the more important concepts to keep in mind are the level of leadership being examined (task, behavior/skill, style, or metacategory), the level of organizational conceptualization, definitions of leadership and related concepts like management, descriptive versus prescriptive approaches, universalist versus contingency approaches, formal versus informal leadership, leadership as a horizontal rather than a vertical phenomenon, and the difference between leaders as individuals and the leadership process.

The operational definition used here is that leadership is a complex process involving the acts of assessing one's environment and one's leadership constraints, developing numerous leadership traits and skills, refining and modifying one's style (behaviors) for different situations, achieving predetermined goals, and continually evaluating one's own performance and developing one's potential.

The seven chapters in Part I review theories of leadership in more detail. Chapter 2 looks at a framework for analyzing different theories and specifically at the different styles that those theories emphasize. Chapter 3 examines classical management and early transactional theories. Chapter 4 explores charismatic and transformational theories and contrasts them to transactional theories. Chapter 5 looks at how leadership is distributed broadly throughout the organization. Chapter 6 focuses on the important intersection of leadership and ethics. Chapter 7 examines specialized approaches to leadership studies, including power, world cultures and diversity, gender, complexity, social change, and strategic issues. Chapter 8 provides an overview of competency approaches to leadership and introduces the competency framework used in this book—the leadership action cycle—more fully.

Part II reviews the elements of leadership using the leadership action cycle. Chapters 9 and 10 cover traits and skills, respectively. Chapter 11 covers leader assessments and goal setting. Chapters 12, 13, and 14 examine task, people, and organizational behaviors of leaders. The final chapter covers leadership development and evaluation. The appendices provide a leadership assessment instrument that can be used in conjunction with this book.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the problem with an oversimplified definition or model of leadership?
2. Do you think there are many truly excellent leaders in organizations today? Why or why not? What differentiates a good leader from an excellent leader?
3. What is the contribution of the "great man" notion of leadership? What is (are) the inherent weakness(es)?

4. What is the contribution of the trait approach to leadership? What is (are) the inherent weakness(es)?
5. What is the contribution of the contingency approach to leadership? What is (are) the inherent weakness(es)?
6. What is the contribution of the pure transformational approach to leadership? What is (are) the inherent weakness(es)?
7. What is the contribution of the servant approach to leadership? What is (are) the inherent weakness(es)?
8. A multifaceted model of leadership has the appeal of combining the strengths of all the other approaches. What are some of its inherent challenges for teaching and for research?
9. Discuss your opinion about each of the four perennial debates. (What is the proper focus—task, people, alignment/change? Does leadership make a difference? Are leaders born or made? And what is the best style to use?) To what degree might your answers change as the context changes?
10. How are the perennial debates different in the public-sector leadership literature and why?
11. Use the operational definition (Exhibit 1.6) to evaluate Robert Moses's leadership (Exhibit 1.3).

SCENARIO: THE STORY OF JIM

Jim is sitting in his office—dazed. How did it happen? What went wrong? He had worked so hard. Everyone knew it too! He had cleaned up all the messy details that his predecessor was so poor at. And Jim knew his integrity was by far the highest in the department. Jim had been in his academic profession for over twenty-five years. For ten years he had badly wanted to be promoted to his current job. He had known that he could do it better than the series of recent incumbents, who had all failed in their turns. Finally he did get his turn. And now, somehow, despite long, arduous hours that he was spending at the job, he was perceived to be failing, too, after just one year.

Jim had in front of him a stack of the annual evaluations of his work from members of his department. It was not difficult to tell who had written most of them. The only two consistently good evaluations were from colleagues who were not the most productive members of the department. In fact, one was from a colleague whom Jim had taken pity on and had insulated from the bulk of the job that he was not very good at. Another

favorable evaluation was from a senior colleague, Dick, who was rather overpaid, a pot-boiler, and a bully. In the past, Jim had had many disagreements with Dick, but this last year, he had come to rely on him more and more while struggling with the department's problems. Some of the evaluations were polite and accented Jim's earnest, hardworking qualities. His numerous harsher critics suggested that even his virtues were of dubious value and that they perceived his handling of details as not-too-subtle authoritarianism. Jim made sure that everything of consequence in the department needed his approval. Some of this criticism, Jim knew, was due to his firm handling of several employees in the department who were relatively productive but had completely unrealistic notions of their self-worth. Just because most of the senior members of the department had gotten contractual "deals" and pay that was beyond their true market value, Jim was not going to compound the problem by giving in to those of medium tenure. Even the new crop of young employees, who were acknowledged to be exceptional, generally treated Jim politely but viewed him with considerable suspicion. Jim had high expectations of junior faculty and was careful not to spoil them with praise until they had done their time. Yet clearly Jim was not viewed as the savior he had hoped to be. Instead, half of the department accused him of outright manipulation and "dealing," although he felt his democratic process was exceptional. Two-thirds of the department suggested in one way or another that "change" in his administration was quite awkward and painful at best, and going in the wrong direction at worst. And everyone who commented on his vision for the department either felt that it was petty and geared toward the status quo or claimed that he simply lacked vision altogether.

As Jim sat at his desk with the evaluations in front of him, he wondered what he should do.

Questions and Exercises

1. What clues do we have that Jim underestimated the job?
2. What clues do we have that Jim was oblivious to his own leadership biases? What might some of those weaknesses have been?
3. What might Jim have done to better prepare for the job of being chair?
4. How might Jim have gotten some feedback earlier?
5. What should Jim do now that he has received the feedback?

PART I

Theories and Approaches to Leadership

CHAPTER 2

Understanding Theories of Leadership and Leadership Styles

Because leadership is a large and highly complex social phenomenon, we should not be surprised that many theories have been advanced to explain it. Consider the famous fable of the ten blind Indian men who had never seen an elephant. Each was trying to discover the nature of the elephant by investigation. After touching the side of the animal, one blind man asserted that the elephant was like a wall, and another on the other side of the elephant agreed. However, these men were contradicted by the third blind man who, after feeling the leg, stated that the elephant was really like a tree, and the three other men feeling the legs agreed with this wisdom. The seventh blind man, touching the trunk, corrected the overstatement of those feeling legs by stating that the elephant was like a snake, while the eighth blind man scoffed at them all, saying, as he handled the tail, that the elephant was little more than a rope. The two men feeling each of the tusks were adamant that the elephant was similar to a spear-like weapon. Not only could the men not agree on a simple description, but also they had not yet begun to investigate the interesting questions of the elephant's strength, endurance, speed, or uses. Similar to our blind men, a bewildering number of theories have been advanced to explain a variety of aspects of leadership, each with its own partial wisdom or advantages. To appreciate these numerous theories, we will compare their contributions and liabilities.

This chapter sets up a framework for discussing theories that will be used in the next six chapters. The framework asks: what performance goals tend to be achieved with what leader styles, under what conditions? This allows for a comparative perspective. Additionally, for each theory, the following aspects are briefly discussed:

- What is the background of the theory and what have researchers tried to explain?
- Which contingency factors does the theory emphasize, if any?
- Which style or styles does the theory emphasize?
- What type of performance goals does the theory emphasize?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the theory or approach?

Next, the chapter identifies ten overall styles that have been recommended by the various theories. Different theories use different numbers of styles to explain leadership effectiveness, and they define each style in significantly different ways. The array of styles presented here is more comprehensive than that found in most theories, which often have a narrower focus. With these theoretical building blocks in place, the following chapters will examine specific theories in more detail.

USE OF A CAUSAL-CHAIN MODEL TO COMPARE APPROACHES AND THEORIES

Theories of leadership come in all shapes, sizes, and formats. Some attempt to be elegant; that is, they try to explain a good deal with as few variables as possible. Particularly notable for this type of analysis are universal theories. Such theories attempt to explain leadership in a uniform fashion, regardless of the situation. Others pride themselves on being comprehensive; they try to consider all significant factors. Some theories try to explain a narrow aspect of leadership very well—say, the causes and effects of leader attribution processes on followers. Other theories try to account for a broader array of leadership functions simultaneously, explaining, for example, not only production and worker satisfaction but also the need for external alignment and organizational change. Sometimes leadership styles are experimentally treated as independent variables, sometimes as dependent variables, and at other times as contingencies. In order to provide a consistent basis for comparison, however, all of the theories will be discussed in terms of a similar causal-chain model.

The generic causal-chain model of leadership that is used here incorporates three different types of factors: leader styles, contingency factors, and performance goals. *Leader styles* are at the beginning of the causal chain because they are the first demonstrable action toward followers, organization, environment, and so forth. From a social science perspective, leader styles include all the behavioral variables exhibited by the leader. They also lead the chain in terms of *practitioner* interest: what actions lead to what performance?

The next elements considered are the *contingency factors*, which can be of two types. Some contingency factors affect which behavior or style should be selected to enhance the desired outcome. In other words, what are the ideal conditions for a specific leadership style to be used? These factors are sometimes called *intervening variables*. Other contingency factors affect the strength, quality, or success of a particular behavior or style. They are sometimes thought of as *strategies for success*, in lay terms, or *moderating variables*, in scientific terms. The most common types of moderating variables have to do with leader expertise in executing the desired style. For example, the ideal behavior

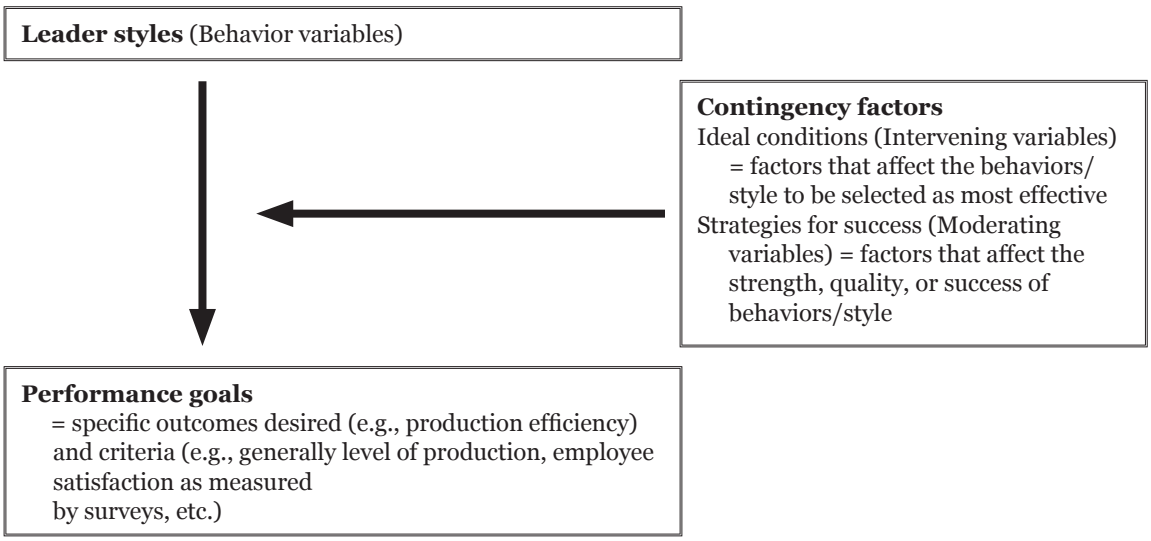
in a given situation may be supportive, but the leader may demonstrate this behavior in a clumsy fashion that makes followers feel as if the attention they receive is micromanagement.

The third part of the causal-chain model is *performance goals*. Originally, performance was seen almost exclusively from an organizational perspective as production efficiency or as organizational effectiveness in dividing work and coordinating business activities. Over the years, this was recognized as a narrow focus for the organization that wanted to be high performing in the long term. Performance goals (or variables) can include production efficiency, follower satisfaction and development, external alignment, and organizational change, among others.

Exhibit 2.1 displays the causal-chain model that will be used throughout the following four chapters. To review, how a leader behaves directly affects performance. The behaviors or styles the leader uses affect how much is accomplished, how followers feel, how well the organization adapts, and so forth. However, important factors influence this relationship. Some contingency factors (intervening variables) are so important that they determine what styles will work most effectively in a given situation. For example,

EXHIBIT 2.1

A Generic Causal-Chain Model of Leadership



in some cases a directive style is most effective, while in others an inspirational style is best. Other factors (moderating variables) affect only the impact of a style. For example, a leader who correctly assesses that an inspirational style is called for and attempts to employ it, but who lacks the trust of followers and who has weak motivational speaking skills, is likely to have limited success.

CONTINGENCY FACTORS

An immense number of factors affect the leader's preferred modes of action (exhibited as styles) and the degree of effectiveness of those actions. What does the leader think the overall goals should be? What are the task skills of the followers? What is subordinate effort like? How good is the organization of the work and how does this align with performance strategies? What types of constraints do leaders have to incorporate, including their own abilities, such as traits, skills, and behavioral competencies? The social scientist studying leadership wants to know not only which contingencies are important but also exactly how important they are. In other words, how much explanatory power does each contingency provide in different classes of situation? For example, a social scientist may test the common assumption that emergencies (one type of task contingency) require a directive mode of leadership (one type of leadership style). Ideally, the researcher can examine situations in which identical emergencies are handled with and without a directive style. Further, the researcher would compare different types of emergencies using experimental and control groups.

It is easier to understand the effects of contingencies on leadership styles when only one or a few contingencies dominate. (More typically, of course, combinations of contingencies call for combinations of styles.) Below is a series of situations provided as examples in which the specific contingencies would generally call for relatively pure leadership styles (identified in parentheses).

- Sam, a frontline supervisor, has an employee who has become increasingly schizophrenic over the past six months. The worker refuses to acknowledge the problem, which is probably due to a biochemical imbalance, and is becoming highly disruptive due to extreme paranoia and mood shifts (directive).
- Susan, also a frontline supervisor, has a new employee who has tremendous potential but is a slow learner and highly insecure. The employee has the right social skills and disposition for the job, but is currently overwhelmed by the extensive technical demands of certifying clients and denying benefits (supportive).
- Steve is the director of information technology *not* because he is a technical expert but because he has first-rate management skills. The last three directors all failed

because of their general lack of management skills and tendencies toward autocratic micromanagement. His small agency has to change its backbone information system. Although each of Steve's subordinates has an opinion about the best system to use, they do not agree on the same system. Steve is also aware that no one has consulted with the other departments that would be major users of the system, such as finance and human resources (participative).

- Sylvia is the director of the agency. Because of her position, she receives many legitimate, routine requests that must be channeled to departments to handle (delegative).
- Sean is a manager in charge of a group of lawyers. To keep productivity up, he must appeal to their sense of personal accomplishment and provide benchmark standards they can customize to their specialized jobs (achievement-oriented).
- Shelly is in charge of fleet maintenance for a state university that is under intense pressure to reduce costs. The large fleet maintained by the university provides convenience and control for the institution, but currently at a premium price. If fleet maintenance is not to be privatized, she believes that she will need to dramatically change the business model, work routines, and performance standards. Her employees are only vaguely aware of the threat and are likely to become less motivated if they are not convinced that a positive change is likely and will be attractive to the group (inspirational).
- Demetrius is the director of parks for a midsized suburban city. The city has experienced a home and park building boom for seven years. A recession has recently hit the private sector, and a downturn in the public sector is only a matter of time. In the past, in order to maintain public safety, cuts to city parks have been double in size. Although authorized to do so, Demetrius is not filling vacancies and, where he has discretion, he is simplifying some of the project designs. He is also considering some selective service cuts (strategic).
- Helena is the division director for support services in a sheriff's department. Although busy with her operational duties, she finds time to do several outside activities. First, she serves as the liaison for the sheriff on the regional crisis response board, which brings together public safety, various governments, the private sector, and nonprofits; this position becomes a major responsibility for her during emergency response exercises. She also serves on the regional law enforcement roundtable and this year is serving as chair of the group (collaborative).

The range of contingency factors is extensive: types include leader characteristics (traits and skills, behaviors, leader perceptions of followers, leader power and ability to influence), task characteristics (role, task, and organizational clarity and complexity),

subordinate characteristics (follower traits and skills, task commitment, and follower perceptions of leader), organizational characteristics (power relationships, organizational design, external connectedness, and environmental uncertainty), and other characteristics (such as ethics, gender, and national and organizational culture). See Exhibit 2.2 for a listing of these factors.

Leadership theories in the first half of the twentieth century tended to emphasize leader characteristics; task and subordinate characteristics were most heavily emphasized in the 1950s through the 1970s; and organizational and other characteristics were more emphasized from the 1980s to the present. These contingency factors will be more

EXHIBIT 2.2

Factors Commonly Included in Major Leadership Theories

A. Leader characteristics:

1. Trait and skill characteristics
2. Behavior characteristics
3. Leader attributions of followers
4. Leader power, influence, and negotiating

B. Task characteristics:

5. Role, task, and organizational clarity
6. Task clarity and complexity
7. Task interdependence

C. Subordinate characteristics:

8. Follower traits and skills
9. Task commitment
10. Follower attributions of the leader

D. Organizational characteristics:

11. Power relationships and organizational design
12. External connectedness
13. Environmental uncertainty

E. Other characteristics:

14. Ethics
15. Gender
16. National culture; organizational diversity

thoroughly discussed in the theory chapters. However, in order to provide a simple comparison of what can be a bewildering variety of leader style recommendations, we need a fuller discussion of types of leader styles, to which we next turn.

TYPES OF LEADER STYLES

What are the predominant leader styles? Not surprisingly, different theories have somewhat different answers. Many use similar concepts but provide different names. Some use the same name for different concepts. And many theories do not try to comprehensively capture all aspects of the major leader functions. This analysis aims to provide an overview of "generic" styles, as discussed in the literature. The ten styles identified are distinct enough to be separate categories and are relatively comprehensive of all leader functions. Nonetheless, three warnings are in order. First, the ten styles identified overlap considerably. Second, few leaders use a single style all the time; most vary their styles with different situations or contingencies. Third, some "ideal" styles that are recommended by researchers are really fusions of two or more styles; these conglomerates are called *combined styles* for this taxonomy.

Laissez-Faire Style

The laissez-faire style occurs when the leader exhibits passivity or indifference about tasks and subordinates or purposely neglects areas of responsibility. It can be considered a hands-off style, a nonstyle, or, on occasion, a conscious strategy when competing demands necessitate overlooking some areas of responsibility. It tends to be identified in universal, hierarchical approaches to leadership as the bottom or worst style. Most contingency approaches do not discuss a laissez-faire style. However, this does not mean they do not assume that such a style exists. Because contingency theories focus on the most effective styles of leadership, rather than a survey of all leader styles, they simply do not address suboptimal styles.

This is the only style identified that is nearly always poor. This is not to say that all leaders may not occasionally resort to a laissez-faire style when overwhelmed by excessive job demands that cannot be simultaneously met. For example, a leader may consciously neglect a low-priority responsibility for a year or more while attending to other more pressing concerns. Therefore, a laissez-faire style is sometimes the best style in terms of postponing low-priority actions. It is also not to say that the other styles are not sometimes poor or ineffective as well.

A laissez-faire style is typified by low leader control, low leader goals and performance expectations, and little or no motivational stimulation for followers. It can mean that the

leader is not focusing on either the internal or external aspects of the organization, or that the leader's focus on external matters leads to a laissez-faire style internally.

It is not uncommon for those who use a laissez-faire style to frequently experience significant difficulties. Such leaders often consider that their only job is to fix problems, crises, and scandals after subordinates have failed to carry out their duties properly; therefore, when such negative events occur, the leader is often quite unapologetic, springing to action and taking decisive, firm steps to correct others' failings. In many instances an inattentive laissez-faire leader can appear to be the hero by seizing the initiative, fixing the problem, and punishing innocent parties. That is, inattentive leaders may fail to do their job in preventing problems by proper monitoring and then blame others as they belatedly fix a "mess" of their own making.

Directive Style

A directive style is exhibited when a leader lets subordinates know what they are expected to do, gives directions and guidance, asks subordinates to follow rules and procedures, and schedules and coordinates work activities. Behaviorally, it emphasizes task skills such as monitoring, operations planning, clarifying roles, informing, and delegating in relation to the assignment of work projects. At the organizational level, it also involves general management functions, such as human resource management, as an extension of coordinating and scheduling functions. A directive style assumes high leader control, average (or above-average) performance expectations, a formalistic notion of motivation based on legitimacy of command, reward, and punishments, and an internal focus. It is also known as task-oriented (Fiedler 1967; Fiedler, Chemers, and Mahar 1976), authority-compliance (Blake and Mouton 1965), autocratic decision-making (Vroom and Jago 1988; Vroom and Yetton 1973), strong man leadership (Manz and Sims 1989; 1991), top-down leadership (Locke 2003), and the one-best-way in scientific management (Taylor 1911), among other labels.

A variety of subtypes can be identified that have distinctly different connotations. Several of the prominent subtypes point to the fundamental importance of the leader's making sure that the work of the organization is done properly. An *instructive* style emphasizes the telling, informing, and clarifying aspects of directing. Followers need instruction on what they do not know how to do, what they are doing improperly, or what will be done differently because of changes in mandate or technology. They also need to know what the rules are, what rule infractions mean, when exceptions are allowable, and how to interact with others. Finally, they need help with their questions and problems. Followers who do not get this task support may be untrained, error-prone, and frustrated. A related subtype is *structuring*. This means that work activities are arranged in advance, work schedules are coordinated, and contingency plans have

been developed. There is always much behind-the-scenes work that managers and leaders must do to make sure that operational problems do not occur and that resources are properly received and allocated. Structuring also includes a good deal of task monitoring, whether that is reading reports, analyzing data trends, or managing by walking around. The absence of good structuring can mean a substantially higher incidence of problems and crises.

A directive style often has negative connotations, which are generally identified with terms like "authoritarian." Telling becomes commanding or being bossy, informing becomes dictating, clarifying becomes threatening, and planning becomes micromanaging. At its worst, this substyle is typified by rigidity, complete lack of input from others, leader-centeredness, and the treatment of subordinates as replaceable parts. A strong directive style was more common and accepted in the first half of the twentieth century. Since then, it has become less popular and less acceptable. Nonetheless, in times of crisis or when major change is imperative, people often expect a stronger style; in such circumstances an authoritarian style may be considered appropriate as a short-term approach. Even here, though, the general rule of thumb is that time must also be crucial for this substyle to suit the circumstances and gain a minimum of acceptance.

Supportive Style

A supportive style is demonstrated by showing consideration toward followers, displaying concern for their needs, and creating a friendly work environment for each worker. It focuses exclusively on people-oriented behaviors: consulting (especially the listening modality), coordinating personnel, developing staff, motivating, and, to a lesser degree, building and managing teams and managing conflict. Planning and coordinating personnel is different from operations planning; it refers to matching the talents, interests, and preferences of people to the work, rather than vice versa. A supportive style does not directly imply a lack of leader control if a leader can direct and support at the same time. However, if doing so distracts a leader, then this style does imply low control. Supportive behavior assumes at least average performance, and many researchers assert that the absence of some supportive behavior generally negates the prospect of high performance. In terms of motivation, this style emphasizes human compassion and dignity. Highly influenced by the human relations school (e.g., Argyris 1957; McGregor 1960), it assumes an internal approach to the organization that specifically focuses on followers.

The predominant subtype is a caring model. First, leaders may use a cheerful tone of voice, friendly body language, and inclusiveness in the social aspects of work to make sure that subordinates or followers feel socially connected and that they are part of a group. Leaders make sure that followers feel good about themselves and valued in the

work context by providing individual attention, soliciting information, and offering praise. Second, supportive leaders are attuned to followers' personal and career needs. This concern may be exhibited by adjusting a schedule for the parent of a newborn child or recommending a management training class for an employee who wants to advance. These behaviors should lead to an atmosphere of trust in the workplace (because the employees' interests are considered alongside work interests) and increased liking of and respect for the leader.

A negative subtype also exists when a supportive style squeezes out proportionate concerns for production. Blake and Mouton (1964) call this the "country club" style (a 1,9 style in their grid approach). In this style, the emphasis on personal satisfaction, interpersonal relations, and personal development becomes overweening, while the tougher demands of trying to achieve high standards, fix short-term problems, and confront vexing long-term issues are overlooked.

Participative Style

Leaders using a participative style consult with subordinates and take their opinions into account, provide suggestions and advice rather than direction, and establish a friendly, creative work environment for the team as a whole. Behaviors include consulting (in the discussion mode), coordinating personnel, developing staff, motivating, building and managing teams, managing conflict (especially as it arises out of constructive disagreements and creative tensions), and managing personnel change by including followers in change decisions. It also includes a modest amount of delegation in the task domain. Supportive and participative styles are similar; however, supportive styles emphasize listening and empathy, whereas participative styles emphasize discussion and inclusiveness in work decisions and problem-solving. The participative style assumes only moderate control, at least average performance goals, appreciation of competence and involvement as motivators, and an internal focus.

One subtype is an inclusive style of leadership. The leader seeks to discuss surface problems with individuals and get a broad base of information and input, coordinates the needs of the group such that individual needs are not neglected, and motivates by providing robust inclusiveness. A second subtype is a self-conscious team approach. The leader facilitates team discussions, provides relatively wide decision parameters, and tends to implement team decisions as recommended, given the range of decision-making that the leader has established for the group. This subtype focuses on interactive meetings, group learning, and managing complex group processes. There is not really a negative subtype of participative leadership per se. However, contingency approaches point out that a participative style is only one of several and that circumstances may not be ideal for this mode much of the time. Leaders who are always in

a participative mode may be inefficient a good deal of the time even though they are blessed with a good team—when, for example, an executive mode (i.e., a directive style) would be more effective in some cases and a delegative style would better conserve group resources in others. Stated differently, sometimes the group wants the leader to handle business unilaterally because it does not want to be bogged down in detail, and at other times the assignment of a problem to an individual makes more sense than a more time-consuming group process.

Delegative Style

A delegative style is defined as one that allows subordinates relative freedom *for* decision-making and freedom *from* daily monitoring and short-term reviews. The main behavior of this style is the designation of responsibility and allocation of authority. Providing additional responsibility is similar to job enlargement. Allocation of authority means greater decision-making independence and thus is a form of power. It is the latter element that is considered especially critical to true delegation. Additional behaviors involved in this style include developing staff and motivating. A delegative style assumes low leader control and at least moderate performance goals. The motivational assumption is that followers seek independence as a form of self-fulfillment. In addition, they often perceive delegation as recognition of professional mastery and superior competence. The style does not necessarily assume either an internal or external focus on the part of the leader. Delegation should free up the leader's time for other activities, which can include other production–people issues, public relations, strategic issues, or even personal pursuits.

Theory on leadership indirectly substitutes but powerfully addresses the delegative style (Kerr and Jermier 1978), asking the question: when can you reduce leadership functions? It identifies primary situations in which leadership can be reduced:

- Followers have ample education, training, or experience in their jobs.
- Followers have a professional orientation and have internalized work standards and ethical norms.
- The work itself is somewhat structured so that relatively few substantial issues arise. The roles and procedures are clear.
- Feedback is provided as a part of the job.
- The work is intrinsically satisfying—which is, of course, a self-referential perception.
- The work group is cohesive so that there is more support for peer training and intermember routine problem-solving.

In other words, when these types of situations exist, less leadership or more delegation is a realistic option to explore, assuming that other factors do not contravene—and complicate—the leadership situation.

There are two forms of delegating. The first occurs when subordinates are given additional duties, functions, or tasks to perform. The leader maintains the same level of monitoring, clarifying, and review. The second form occurs when subordinates are given additional decision-making power over processes, problems, exceptions, and the like. This authority is closer to what is generally considered true delegation and is often referred to as *empowerment*. Under the right conditions, such as those specified by the leadership substitutes theory, empowerment can enhance motivation and the efficiency of both the subordinate and the leader. However, with greater empowerment must also come greater accountability and—generally—shifts in types of accountability. Thus, the subordinate who receives a project (responsibility) and the ability to handle it in whatever way seems most appropriate without prior approval (authority) must be accountable for the quality of the decisions made under the circumstances. Greater empowerment and authority generally mean that accountability shifts from a prior-approval approach using an item-by-item method to a post-performance review on an aggregate basis, perhaps for an entire project or series of projects. Greater empowerment and authority also generally signal a shift to more "internalized" control mechanisms such as professional norms and a sense of virtue or character regarding the organization's interests. (See Exhibit 2.3 for an example of the U.S. president as delegator.)

EXHIBIT 2.3

The President as Delegator

The president of the United States is a busy person. Of course, he or she is in charge of the famous fifteen—the cabinet departments—including old departments such as State and Treasury and newer departments such as Education and Homeland Security. The president has varying levels of responsibility for over sixty independent agencies and government corporations, including the United States Agency for International Development, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the General Services Administration, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Office of Personnel Management, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the U.S. Postal Service. His or her personal office—the Executive Office of the President—includes over a dozen major divisions and councils, including the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the Council of Economic Advisers, the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, and the Office of the Vice President. Just selecting the top appointees is a major job, with approximately 1,200 requiring Senate approval and another 2,000 not requiring it. It is not uncommon for the heads of smaller agencies never to meet with their boss in a one-on-one meeting! The president must delegate by the nature of his or her overextended span of control, which ultimately includes nearly 2.5 million civilians and approximately as many in the armed forces.

The president's delegation rarely reflects a true laissez-faire style, however.* Agency heads and their deputies are expected to have or to acquire the professional capacity to run their agencies effectively with the help of career executives. The delegated control of staff agencies such as the OMB and the Government Accountability Office will point out agency faults. If found wanting by the president, replacement is a real option that is exercised occasionally. While delegation is the president's major style vis-à-vis the federal bureaucracy, he or she can and does use other styles from time to time. For example, the president frequently sends directives through senior staffers, and less frequently through executive orders. Agency heads are invited to add to the policy mix with other key players. Given that Congress sets many bureaucratic policies, including pay, agency staffing levels, agency structure, personnel rules, benefits guidelines, and others, the president's delegation is not really unreasonable. Presidents who have become more involved in administrative affairs, such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jimmy Carter, and Bill Clinton (through Vice President Al Gore), have primarily become involved in structural reforms rather than daily operations.

* Notable exceptions might be Warren Harding and Ronald Reagan. While Harding appointed some exemplary officials to lead the government, his choices for Veterans Affairs, attorney general, and the Interior generated separate scandals that later became known collectively as the Teapot Dome (one of the sites where oilmen secured government leases through bribing Albert Fall, secretary of the interior). Reagan's appointments in the Department of Housing and Urban Development (under the Pierce administration) cost $2 billion in fraud and mismanagement, his appointees in the savings and loan debacle made a bad situation much worse, and his misplaced trust in Oliver North was the only reason that he ever slipped from exceptional popularity.

Achievement-Oriented Style

In an achievement-oriented style, a leader sets challenging task goals, seeks task improvements, emphasizes excellence in follower performance, and shows confidence that followers will perform well. The primary behaviors involve a combination of both people and task domain types. In terms of task focus, it includes clarifying roles, informing, delegating, problem-solving, and managing innovation and creativity. In terms of people focus, it includes consulting, developing staff, and building and managing teams. It assumes a medium level of leader control and an internal organizational focus on the part of the leader. The achievement-oriented and inspirational styles (discussed next) are the only two styles that explicitly focus on challenging goals and high expectations. The primary motivational base of the achievement-oriented style is individual achievement, which will be contrasted with inspirational style, a more group-achievement approach.

The theoretical basis for this style is anchored in the social exchange literature that emerged in the 1950s (Homans 1958), which emphasized the transactional basis of most social behavior. The achievement factor was much advanced by McClelland (1965; 1985), who studied the trait more than the style but whose insights are nonetheless useful (see the discussion of achievement in Chapter 4, this volume). In particular, he points out the limitations of an achievement-oriented approach in terms of the excesses to which it is prone and the potential problems with obsessed, selfish leaders and