Summer 2019 Readings
PRLC 1810 | Fall 2019

Dear Incoming PLCer,

Welcome to CU and PLC – we are so excited that you will be joining us this fall. In preparation for starting your PLC journey and our fall coursework, I would like you to complete the following readings prior to orientation weekend (24 Aug 2019). These readings are designed to get you thinking about big-picture topics we will be discussing in the upcoming semester and provide some framing for your continued leadership development more generally. While some of the readings have a more business/workplace tone, the core ideas and messages remain relevant to our setting and path of study. If you find yourself struggling to connect to the readings, consider replacing terms like "employee" with "student" or use other terms that would be more applicable in your immediate environment.

There are no required reports or write-ups to be submitted before classes start, but please be prepared to share your reflections and engage in discussion during orientation and/or during the first few class meetings of the semester. If you have any questions, concerns, or trouble accessing the files, please let me know: juliemarie.shepherdmacklin@colorado.edu.

I look forward to meeting each of you in person in a few short months! Enjoy the rest of your summer,

Dr. Shepherd Macklin

PLC Summer Readings

- Allio, R. J. (2013). Leaders and leadership – Many theories, but what advice is reliable? *Strategy & Leadership*, 41(1), 4-14. **[pages 2-13 of this packet]**

- Baker, S. (2007). Followership: The theoretical foundation of a contemporary construct. *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies* 14(1), 50-60. **[pages 14-24 of this packet]**

- Ayman, R., and Korabik, K. (2010). Leadership: Why gender and culture matter. *American Psychologist* 65(3), 157-170. **[pages 25-38 of this packet]**

- Bodell, L. (2014). Soft skills for the future. *Talent and Development* 68(3), 35-38 **[pages 39-43 of this packet]**

- Please watch this 2010 TED Talk by Simon Sinek: *How great leaders inspire action*

Masterclass

Leaders and leadership – many theories, but what advice is reliable?

Robert J. Allio

Robert J. Allio's management career includes both senior corporate and academic positions. A principal of Allio Associates, a strategy consultancy located in Providence, RI (rallio@mac.com), he is a *Strategy & Leadership* Contributing Editor and the author of *The Seven Faces of Leadership (2002)*. His *S&L* articles on leadership include: ''Masterclass: the radical and virtuous alternatives for reinventing management purpose,'' (Vol. 39, No. 4), ''In this recession's aftermath, CEOs face unique threats and opportunities,'' (Vol. 38, No. 4) and ''Leadership: the five big ideas,'' (Vol. 37, No. 2).

A plethora of guidance awaits managers seeking to become better leaders, but much of the advice is based on questionable evidence, most of it anecdotal. Leading academics don't even agree on what constitutes leadership or which leadership practices can be successfully emulated.

In the endless avalanche of self-help books on leadership there are recommendations for how to become a leader, behave like a leader, train other leaders, be a pack leader, a change leader, a mentor leader, a Zen leader, a tribal leader, a platoon leader, an introverted leader or a triple-crown leader. The popular press offers us myriad case histories of leaders from Steve Jobs to the captain of the ''best damned ship in the US Navy'' that showcase an example of success, formulate a set of principles based on it and prescribe those practices for leaders everywhere. None of the books I've seen, however, takes the next step and describes how managers who adopted the recommended practices fared as compared with their competitors who did not.

Despite this lack of proof of efficacy, managers' continuing need and appetite for leadership advice propels a massive market. Amazon offers almost 60,000 different books on the leader and over 80,000 on leadership, a more than six-fold increase over the past ten years. Google cites millions of references to leaders and leadership, and their recent Ngram analysis shows that the term ''leader'' has appeared in the literature from 1990 to 2008 almost 50 percent more often than the term ''manager'' – and ten times more often than the term ''follower.''

Some working definitions

Still, despite this deluge, we lack a Grand Unifying Theory, a tested leadership paradigm that identifies the source code or essence of leaders and a definition of the conditions that produce leadership. So we have to make do with working definitions of leadership, which include:

- The early simplistic paradigm (leadership is good management).
- The semantic description (leadership is the process of leading).
- The transactional definition (leadership is a social exchange between leaders and followers).
- The situational notion (leadership is a phenomenon that precedes and facilitates decisions and actions).
- The esthetic concept (leadership is an art or a craft).

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“Why are we still evaluating, analyzing, arguing about leadership?”

Leadership, like the Sufi proverb of the blind men describing an elephant in terms of its parts, is all of these – it has many facets, dimensions and aspects.

In this essay, I summarize several fundamental concepts that have shaped the current debate about leaders and leadership. I hope to dispel some leadership myths and offer some advice to leaders about how to perform more effectively in their roles.

Why are we still evaluating, analyzing, arguing about leadership? First of all, let's recognize that leadership is hard to study because opportunities to observe unretouched leadership actions in light of the alternatives it confronted are rare. More often we infer that a leadership event has occurred by reading about it, or by hearing a story about a presumed leader. And what do we then conclude was the exhibition of leadership – a speech or public statement, approval of a capital expenditure, the promotion of a subordinate?

Some scholars have attempted to differentiate leadership from management, asserting that managers coerce, while leaders persuade, or that managers take the short view, while leaders take the long view. But the reality is that managers must lead, and leaders must manage. In one framing of the differences, of course, we assign subordinates (rather than followers) to managers, and assert that leaders exert influence rather than rely on managerial authority. Still, we do instinctively label specific individuals as leaders or misleaders – those who took a consequential action or difficult decision – Truman, the A Bomb; Eisenhower, the federal highway system; George W. Bush, the invasion of Iraq; Obama: the healthcare initiative.

A risk to this simplified model is that we see leaders and leadership as a history of heroes and villains. But time tends to change such idealizations of an individual. Former GE chairman Jack Welch, once revered as a brilliant corporate leader, more recently has been excoriated as a purveyor of simplistic ideas.[1] Apple founder Steve Jobs, ousted in 1985, returned like a phoenix in 1996 to lead the company to a preeminent position in the industry. But his almost pathological mania for control, revealed in a flood of books following his death, makes him a dubious candidate for role model. In an even more precipitous reputational tumble, Harvard MBA Jeffrey Skilling, extolled as the canny architect of Enron's success, now serves time in a federal prison after his felony conviction for unethical conduct.

Thus the immediate certification of leadership depends on the perspective of followers, flattering scribes and the marketplace, but over time a reputation may either diminish or expand as historians gain a fuller understanding of how a leader managed his or her own myth.

Leadership actually emerges or develops over time – not at a unique specific instant. It seems to appear and then disappear; it is elusive. When we decide to study a leadership event, it has already occurred. We rarely experience leadership directly, other than in an occasional face-to-face meeting. Furthermore, leadership is complex. Invisible forces act on the leadership process: the expectations of the followers, the culture of the organization and the circumstances. The task at hand and the context seem to dictate when and how leadership appears. The leadership dynamic thus depends on the situation. An enterprise in crisis, for example, will conjure up a charismatic leader to steer the organization between Scylla and Charybdis and into a greater future; in tranquil or halcyon times, we demand only that our leaders maintain stability and maximize returns or market share!

So are there aspects of leadership about which we can all agree? How should we understand leading and leadership? How can we behave to achieve the best results? How can we become leaders who have a benign influence on the behavior and beliefs of the organization? How can we best evaluate leaders? How can we identify and nurture potential leaders?

A short history of leadership literature

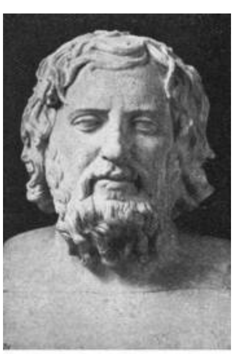
Leaders have fascinated us from the beginning of history it seems, and their stories form the bedrock of human culture. Modern management theorists – stymied by the absence of a coherent leadership model – often turn to ancient texts for guidance. Commentaries on leaders and how to lead appeared as early as the 6th century BC in writings by Confucius (*Analects*), LaoTzu (*Tao Te Ching*) and Sun Tzu (*The Art of War*), though they weren't known in Western culture until many centuries later. Readers interested in insights from this era on the leadership process may find guidance in an excellent summary prepared by Roger Ames.[2]

Starting in about the 4th Century BC, historians in the western world like Herodotus, Thucydides and Plutarch chronicled the follies and triumphs of kings and princes. Rediscovered in the Renaissance, the ancient historians, the philosophers Plato and Aristotle and the Greek and Roman playwrights comprised Western society's ''Leadership 101'' reading list, largely the study of power and survival and the battle between emotion and reason.

By the dawn of the industrial revolution the Great Man theory dominated explanations of leadership, highlighted by Scottish historian Thomas Carlyle's contention that ''the history of what man has accomplished is the history of the great men who have worked here.'' Hegel and Tolstoy disagreed. From their point of view, history simply unfolds, and leaders like Napoleon are merely pawns in a script that has already been written – and therefore leadership is a mirage. Of course the evidence does not fully support either the heroic or fortuitous model of leadership. Napoleon, for all his tactical virtues, distinguished himself largely because he was repeatedly able to muster the collective support of committed followers.

From this period, sociologist Max Weber's concept of charisma endures. Weber posited that a leader's power, his ability to influence his followers, could arise either from his position, his perceived competence, or his charisma – his personal charm or magnetism.[3] Writers often cite Gorbachev, Thatcher, Reagan and Kennedy as evidence for the importance of charisma; some suggest that followers can bestow charismatic qualities upon their leaders – that is, they endow leaders with the qualities necessary to satisfy the need for security, safety, direction.

It is naïve, however, to characterize leadership as a collection of traits, although we often succumb to the fundamental attribution error – ascribing organizational performance to the behavior of the leader, especially when the organization succeeds or fails spectacularly. Nevertheless, modern authors persist in linking the success of leaders to a particular personal virtue. Recent books tout the secret of leadership variously as judgment,[4] authenticity,[5] credibility and honesty,[6] likeability[7] and humility.[8] These simplistic prescriptions are not persuasive.



Xenophon, 4th Century BC Greek professional soldier and writer about leadership

The long march

Among the cases from ancient history that are still studied in leadership training classes, the Anabasis by Xenophon, a 4th Century BC Greek professional soldier and writer, narrates one of the great adventures in human history. An Athenian, Xenophon accompanied the Ten Thousand, an army of mercenaries stranded deep in enemy territory, its senior officers killed or captured by treachery.

Xenophon, one of three new leaders elected by the soldiers, played an instrumental role in encouraging the 10,000 to undertake the long march north across foodless deserts and snow-filled mountain passes towards the Black Sea and the comparative security of its Greek shoreline cities. The army had to fight its way, making life or death decisions about their leadership, tactics, provender and destiny, while a Persian army and hostile tribes constantly barred its way and attacked its flanks.

Ultimately this ''marching republic'' managed to reach the shores of the Black Sea, a destination they greeted with their famous cry of joyous exultation: ''*thálatta, thálatta*'' – the sea, the sea!

Theories based on leadership style became popular in the 1950s, following on the heels of Dale Carnegie's enduring homily about influencing people.[9] These models proposed that style – how the leader interacted with the followers – was the primary determinant of leadership effectiveness. Social psychologist Douglas McGregor contrasted the merits of autocratic leadership (Theory X) with participative style (Theory Y).[10] Later writers suggested a two-dimensional map that portrayed the relative importance of task-orientation and relationship to subordinates.[11]

The correlation between performance and leadership style alone was never strong. As a consequence, leadership scholars turned to contingency models. These models proposed that leadership effectiveness was the result of interaction among three variables: the nature of the task to be done, the relationship between leaders and followers and the power inherent in the position of the leader. The most comprehensive of the contingency models added another variable: the willingness of the followers to perform, in itself a reflection of the power of the leader.[12]

Some of the limitations of contingency models were addressed when political scientist and Pulitzer Prize winner James MacGregor Burns added another variable with his useful distinction between transactional leaders and transformational leaders.[13] Transactions describe the normal interaction between leaders and followers. Transformational leaders, by contrast, satisfy the higher needs of followers, and they raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morale. Transformational leaders – such as Gandhi, Nelson Mandela or Martin Luther King, Jr – enunciate an inspiring vision and challenging goals.

The catalog of essays on leadership would be incomplete without mention of the best-selling 1982 treatise *In Search of Excellence*.[14] Disappointingly, the leadership behaviors cited by the authors – a bias for action and productivity through people – have failed to prevent most of the so-called best-run companies from being abandoned by fickle customers, outmaneuvered by cutthroat competitors, or unable to change when facing discontinuity. In retrospect, their model disappoints; it epitomizes the anecdotal *post-hoc* narrative that subsequent writers, such as Jim Collins with his *Good to Great* exposition, have adopted.

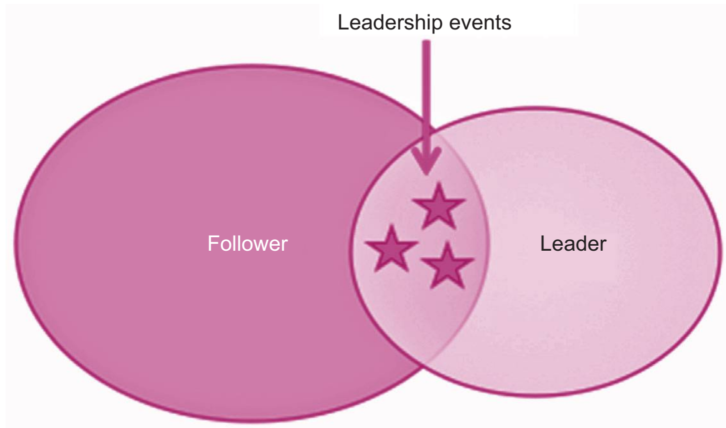
A contemporary perspective

We all agree that the act or process of leading requires leaders, followers and the context or situation. Often there is a cause behind which both leaders and followers unite. Leaders and followers then collaborate to choose a course of action; leaders depend upon followers to implement their agendas. Leadership manifests when the designated or nominal leader and the followers interact in a particular context and culture, usually working together in a common cause to produce a significant decision or action; the specific leadership event actually occurs periodically in the interstices or at the interfaces between the leader and follower or stakeholder (Exhibit 1).[15] The leader can emerge in different places in the organization as the need arises and latent leaders step forth. What we perceive to have been a leadership act on the part of the nominal leader such as the CEO, for example, may well be the result of an action taken by a follower or group of followers at some other place or time.

So the concept of leader, as historically defined, may be an artificial construct, an illusion we create to satisfy our dependency needs. One imagines a ghost in the machine, a mystical leadership spirit permeating the corridors of the firm, inspiring and motivating an implicit strategy.

The Higgs-boson prediction and confirming evidence offers leadership scholars a timely metaphor. According to theory, the boson is an elementary particle predicted by the Standard Model of nuclear physics. As it passes through a solid, it mysteriously imparts mass to other fundamental particles such as quarks and electrons. We observe the boson's footprint or shadow only after an event. Physicists are now confident that the Higgs boson exists, based on preliminary data. In the context of leadership, leaders act like Higgs bosons, activating and energizing the members of the organization as they interact. And like the boson, leadership may show up in the power it imparts to effective, committed followers.

Exhibit 1 The leadership interface



The dark side

When we do label an individual as leader, we invariably imply good leader, as opposed to bad or toxic leader. However, as a result of the recent plague of misleader CEOs – ''Chainsaw'' Al Dunlap at Sunbeam, Denis Koslowski at Tyco, Bernie Ebbers at WorldCom, Kenneth Lay at Enron – writers in recent years have dedicated more attention to the etiology of such faux leaders.[16] Even the *New York Times* recently decries the ''spreading scourge of corporate corruption.''[17] Other leaders simply fail their stakeholders, and some of them then lose their jobs; the average tenure of the CEO is diminishing. A recent survey of 2,500 large global firms revealed an annual CEO turnover in excess of 14 percent.

Why are we witnessing such an abundance of felonious and toxic leaders, and others who make bad decisions or betray the confidence of their constituents? Some bad leaders simply avoid reality – they ignore the emergence of new technologies or shifts in consumer needs that should dictate a change in corporate strategy. Others choose their own interests above all else and consciously act in ways that serve their own purposes. They act with *akrasia*, weakness of will, even when the righteous cause of action is clearly in sight.[18] For example, the Penn State University administration, by choosing to ignore the evidence in the case of a serial child molester, presents us with a classic illustration of toxic leadership.

What's the lesson for tomorrow's leaders? Weigh the moral consequences of expedient decisions, cultivate humility, stay the course with integrity, and resolutely earn the trust of stakeholders.

What leaders must do

We often look to leaders to clarify purpose and values, set direction, build community and manage change. In other words, leaders must practice strategic management – develop a researched vision, a viable strategy, a focused plan and a measured implementation process and then prepare for discontinuity by continuously monitoring the environment. Experience confirms that those organizations that are bereft of vision and strategy may simply drift along, buffeted by externalities. Organizations that are seemingly well managed yet lack a focus on customer value and authentic purpose may fall victim to despotism. Ones that lack community have the potential for anarchy.[19]

But it is becoming increasingly apparent that, despite leaders following best practices, the performance of an organization is largely determined by externalities – the economy plunges into a recession, the EPA or FDA imposes harsh new regulations, a critical supplier goes bankrupt. Or the firm's customer base shrinks and it lacks the skills to enter new markets. Or competitors get smarter, and innovators from elsewhere disrupt performance.

The rise of the followers

The increasing power of followers and opponents is the major variable in the struggle by leaders to set direction and control information. Followers and opponents have become more knowledgeable, more empowered, more connected and with easier access to an expanding universe of allies. We can identify two driving forces for this shift in power. The most important factor has been technology – the printing press, photography, the telegraph, the telephone, television, the Internet – that provided rapid access to information and greater ability to share it.

Nowadays, the importance of technology is nowhere more evident than in the rapid adoption of social media. Twitter reports 500 million active users, Facebook has some 900 million active users, and YouTube claims over 800 million unique visitors each month. The Internet and mobile phones allow a smart mob to be created in minutes. And activists can easily assemble on a national or international scale, as the Arab Spring in the Middle East and North Africa demonstrated

The corollary driving force was recognition by an expanding circle of stakeholders that they were entitled to a greater voice in the management of the state or enterprise–for example, Luther's theses challenged the authority of the Pope, Marx's publication of Das Kapital empowered the workers of the world, Martin Luther King summoned the disenfranchised to street demonstrations and the polls..

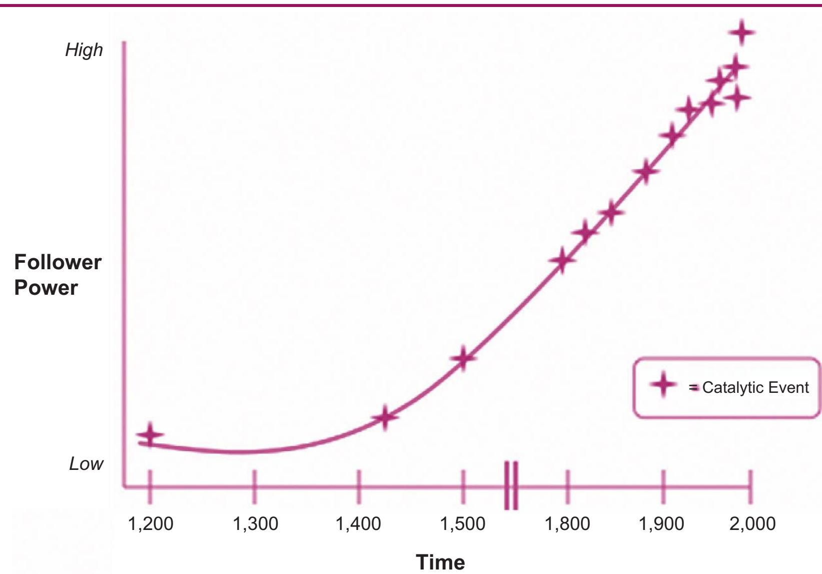
Exhibit 2 lists some of the noteworthy events that fueled the growth of follower power over eight centuries.

Once activists begin to unite, their power increases exponentially, as suggested by Exhibit 3, and the power of the leader decreases proportionately. If the trend continues, the very notion of a leader may become an anachronism, or perhaps the erstwhile leader will morph into a follower. No small surprise then that the behavior of followers is now starting to attract attention, as witness the concurrent release of several important books on followership and shared leadership.

Exhibit 2 Communication and the democratization of leadership

Catalyst	*Date*	*Key figure*
Magna Carta	1215	King John
Printing press	1440	Gutenberg
Protestant Reformation	1517	Luther
Women's Rights	1848	Stanton
Electric telegraph	1837	Morse
Das Kapital	1867	Marx
Civil Rights	1955	Parks
World wide web	1989	Berners-Lee
Google	1998	Page, Brin
Wikipedia	2001	Wales, Sanger
Facebook	2004	Zuckerberg
YouTube	2005	Hurley, Chen, Karim

Exhibit 3 The rise of follower power



No surprise then that, with a few exceptions, the life of the typical modern corporation is 40-50 years – and getting shorter by many accounts, despite the concerted efforts of their leaders to prolong the collective survival rate.[20] The average firm dies young; leaders that engage in a mindless quest for alpha status and the fountain of youth are doomed to disappointment.[21]

Corporations evolve like organisms: throughout their lifecycle they grow, prosper, or fail to thrive. Most decline and die or are devoured by other entities, although a few live on for hundreds of years. Only the adaptable survive – but the innovative process required to generate successful change is suppressed in most organizations.

Fostering a culture of shared purpose

The primary role of the leader then must be to develop a culture that enables individuals to coalesce around the shared purpose of the enterprise. Listening to the needs of the followers and responding accordingly is essential, for the collective intelligence of the followers can be a crucial asset. And since leaders must try to influence the direction of the enterprise, the art of communication is equally important. Leaders inspire and motivate, often by virtue of the stories they tell about the past, present and future of the organization. They enable followers to find meaning in their work.

Critics have assailed Steve Jobs for his management style – autocratic and arrogant – and his personality – abrasive and egoistic. But Jobs, as Apple's spiritual leader, demanded unwavering allegiance to its values, proclaimed a clear vision for the firm and built an organization that lined up behind him, as did Apple's customers. The results speak for themselves: Apple is now the world's most valuable publicly-traded company, with a distinctive and enduring set of competitive advantages and sustained market success.

Unfortunately, the aspiration of the leader to build a community is often handicapped and compromised by the resistance of the followers. British psychologist Wilfred Bion has contended that groups usually have hidden agendas that interfere with the overt agenda of the enterprise.[22] For example, the group may seek security and protection from the leader, or to survive by fighting or fleeing. For still other groups, the hidden agenda is to bond together to provide intellectual or emotional support to one another.

And of course the classic obstacle to building a community is always the temptation for members of the community to act in their own self-interest, producing the classic tragedy of the commons. As a result, the leader must strive to reward behavior that is consistent with collaboration and non-zero-sum behavior.

Developing leaders

Becoming a leader is a common aspiration of managers. And the market has responded to the surging demand for instruction on how to realize this dream with entrepreneurial fervor. Many management-consulting firms have established their own academies to help corporations develop more effective leaders. Consultants with Deloitte, for example, boldly claim ''leadership can be developed, that organizations can be set up to create long-term sustainable leadership capability.'' I am not convinced that any coaching firm can make such a guarantee. The research support for the effectiveness of such training is meager, and there's little evidence that leadership-academy graduates are uniquely equipped to lead. Harvard professor and leadership critic Barbara Kellerman agrees: she observes that most

> **“Leadership actually emerges or develops over time – not at a unique specific instant. It seems to appear and then disappear; it is elusive.”**

Is leadership a discipline?

The study of leadership is best classified today as a work in progress, for it lacks the usual characteristics of a discipline, as scholar Joseph Rost notes.[23] To begin with, a single dominant paradigm for leadership has not emerged. Case histories and surveys based on voluntary response to questionnaires have led to imperfect or flawed conclusions about the entire leadership process and the role of leaders. The inferences from correlations are intriguing, but a causal relationship between leadership behavior and organizational performance still eludes us. Scholars demonstrate little consensus as to what leadership is, how it is applied, what defines a leader and so on, as witness leadership scholar J. Thomas Wren's compilation.[24]

However, a more ecumenical approach to understanding leadership is emerging, as witness the recent Harvard Business School colloquium, organized by Harvard Business School professors Nohria and Khunara and the compilation of interdisciplinary views by leadership researchers Harvey and Riggio.[25,26] The importance of the leader-follower relationship (leader-member exchange theory and social-identity theory) is also receiving new attention.[27]

In another indicator of the emergence of leadership as a discipline, a community of practitioners is forming. The International Leadership Association, founded in 1999, now counts over 2,300 members in 74 countries and directs members to almost 1,700 leadership programs in 39 countries. And leadership now appears as a course offering, minor, or even degree option in many business schools.

subordinates don't consider their leaders to be either honest or competent, and she complains that the leadership industry is ''self-satisfied, self-perpetuating, and poorly policed.''[28]

Organizations that send high-potential individuals to leadership programs nonetheless are optimistic that they will become significantly better leaders. However, in a contemporary analog to the Hawthorne effect – the finding that any attention paid to workers, supportive or non-supportive, can improve performance – the performance of managers may improve after the organization confers on them the status of being ''promising'' leadership candidates. They and their colleagues – bosses, peers and followers – likely view their selection as tacit endorsement and reward for past behavior. Moreover, those who graduate from leadership programs do acquire a vocabulary that implies leadership literacy. This allows them to act with greater authority, regardless of the merit of their decisions, and their followers may be more inclined to support new leadership initiatives.

But there's no doubt that leadership can improve with practice. In Aristotle's model of virtue, men become brave by performing acts of bravery. They become just by performing just acts. So we infer that men and women can become leaders by performing acts of leadership. Leadership theory and principles can be taught, but my experience over the past six decades – as both a leader and a follower – suggests that leadership behavior must be both learned and put to use.[29]

Current assessments of leadership development suggest that individuals evolve into leaders as they experiment with approaches to new challenges and slowly integrate successful approaches into a personal leadership style. The path to leadership, in other words, entails experience – to enhance or acquire leadership skills and introspection – to establish an authentic personal identity that supports a leadership role.

For those charged with the responsibility to develop other leaders, the selection process is critical. They need to identify potential leaders who possess the core traits of character, creativity and compassion, those that have a clear sense of purpose and the energy to pursue that purpose. They must offer these apprentices new leadership challenges – the opportunity to gain experience in leadership roles, to acquire the necessary knowledge and to learn from others. And they need to provide mentoring and continuing feedback on performance. Men and women grow to be leaders only through this experiential process. Replicating leadership challenges using simulation and the participation in virtual communities, such as Second Life, Eve Online and other massive multiplayer online games (MMOGs) also offers the potential for accelerated learning by leaders.

Conclusions

Leadership and innovation are once again the fashionable topics in the management literature this year. Given the quagmire of literature facing the seeker after leadership truth, what insights seem most credible? My conclusions are based largely on thoughtful observation over a long association with many leaders and their organizations, large and small.

- Good leaders require both competence and integrity.
- They must understand the culture of the enterprise and the context within which it operates.
- Leadership can manifest at many places in the organization at different times. The best leaders leverage their own limited abilities by allowing and catalyzing the leadership that is latent in the organization.
- The power of the follower is increasing in today's world, while the power of the leader is diminishing. The corollary is that the leader must help followers to develop their skills. After all, followers do the research, develop and manufacture the product, sell it to the market and provide service to the customer; only they can implement any strategy.
- Leaders attend to the needs of multiple stakeholders; they balance economic and non-economic goals and they establish and monitor both short-term and long-term performance metrics.
- Although teaching leadership is still the holy grail of management education, going to school to learn how to lead is no substitute for practice; potential leaders need to learn from experience.

What a leader can do to improve his potential for success

When the last chapter of a corporate history is written, we will usually conclude that the leader had little direct influence over its performance. During the throes of a crisis of adaptation, leaders usually delude themselves into believing they have great power. They often do not. However, from their positions of authority, they can influence the culture of the organization – its beliefs, values and behavior.[30] Specifically, they can:

1. Staff with people who are motivated, principled and continuously learning.
2. Create and communicate the values and purpose of the organization both symbolically and by example, for these are the foundation for a flourishing enterprise. Tell stories that reinforce the meaning of the work of the enterprise.
3. Reward exemplary behaviors such as integrity and excellence in practice.

Guidelines for the apprentice leader

1. Accept leadership challenges and practice acts of leadership.
2. Emulate successful leaders and their leadership behavior.
3. Find a mentor or coach that can provide constructive feedback.
4. Attend leadership programs to polish specific skills, such as storytelling, and to learn from peers.
5. Work to develop personal traits of empathy, patience and fortitude.

Guidelines for the follower

1. Develop coalitions to share learning with other followers and to study strategy implications.
2. Give feedback to the leader; engage in creative dissent.
3. Recognize that the leader is often only the face of the organization; the real work of the enterprise takes place elsewhere – such as in teams promoting continuous process and product innovation – when followers assume leadership roles.
4. Take advantage of rapid and open access to information.

4. Encourage innovation by accepting risk and balancing change and stability.
5. Develop and nurture personal awareness, the precursor to authenticity, credibility and trust.
6. Listen to other views and encourage the voicing of alternative perspectives; establish a network of peers and others who can give guidance and feedback.

This is no small agenda – but it's one that matters.

Notes

1. *The Economist*, May 4, 2002.
2. Roger T. Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, UHi Press, 1983.
3. Maximillan Weber, *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, ''The nature of charismatic authority and its routinization'', translated by A.R. Anderson and Talcott Parsons, 1947.
4. Thomas A. Davenport and Brook Manville, *Judgment Calls*, Harvard Business Review Press, 2012.
5. Kerry A. Bunker and Michael Wakefield, *Leading with Authenticity in Times of Transition*, Center for Creative Leadership, 2005.
6. James M. Kouzes and Barry Z. Posner, *Credibility*, John Wiley, 2011.
7. Rohit Bhargava, *Likeonomics*, Wiley, 2012.
8. Jim Collins, ''Level 5 leadership,'' *Harvard Business Review*, January 2001.
9. Dale Carnegie, *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, Simon & Schuster, 1936.
10. Douglas McGregor, *The Human Side of Enterprise*, McGraw Hill, 2006.
11. Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton, *The Managerial Grid*, Gulf Publishing, 1964.
12. Paul Hersey, *Situational Leadership*, Center for Creative Leadership, 1995.
13. James M. Burns, *Leadership*, Harper & Row, 1978.
14. Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman, Jr, *In Search of Excellence*, Warner Books, 1982.
15. Donna Ladkin, *Rethinking Leadership*, Edward Elgar, 2010.
16. See, for example Jean Lipman-Blumen, *The Allure of Toxic Leaders*, Oxford University Press, 2005.
17. Eduardo Porter, *The New York Times*, July 11, 2012.
18. Robert J. Allio, ''Bad Leaders: how they get that way and what to do about them,'' *Strategy & Leadership*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2007.
19. As Roman statesman Seneca the Younger expressed the challenge: ''Our plans miscarry because they have no aim. When a man does not know what harbor he is making for, no wind is the right wind.''
20. Nevertheless, investors do appear to reward the apparent benefits of good leadership. According to Deloitte's recent survey, investment analysts accord a significant premium in valuation (over 15 percent) to firms exhibiting good leadership, as manifested by their strategic clarity (clear vision), successful execution (ability to meet objectives) and a culture of innovation (environment for ideas). Conversely, firms exhibiting poor leadership can expect almost a 20 percent reduction in valuation.
21. We can learn from history. Corporate trajectories mirror the rise and fall of the world's great powers. Portugal, Netherlands, Spain, and Great Britain each achieved virtual dominance in the Western world – but only for a short time as others displaced them from their leadership positions.
22. Wilfrid R. Bion, ''Experiences in groups,'' *Group Relations Reader*, GREX, 1975.
23. Joseph C. Rost, *Leadership for the 21st Century*, Praeger, Year.
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Corresponding author

Robert J. Allio can be contacted at: RAllio@mac.com

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Followership

The Theoretical Foundation of a Contemporary Construct

Susan D. Baker
Morgan State University

This article presents the theoretical foundation of followership. The words *follower* and *followership* are increasingly used in discussions of leadership and organizations, and many think that the field of followership began in 1988 with Kelley's "In Praise of Followers." Followership research began in 1955, and literature in the social sciences discussed followers and followership for decades prior. By examining why leadership rather than followership is emphasized; discussing antecedents, early theory, and research about followership; and identifying common themes found in the literature, this article provides the foundation that has been missing in contemporary discussion of the followership construct.

Keywords: *followership; leadership; leader role; follower role; relational nature of leader–follower; organizational behavior; management; authentic leadership*

Almost 30 years ago, Kelley's article, "In Praise of Followers," was published in *Harvard Business Review* (1988). It received wide attention in both academic and popular presses for its seemingly novel proposal that followers had an active role to play in organizational success: Success was not solely dependent on dynamic leaders. The idea that followers could be more than passive subordinates was echoed in the next decade by Chaleff's (1995) work about courageous followers.

These two publications by Kelley (1988) and Chaleff (1995) became the primary works on which subsequent discussions of followership were based. A small but growing body of work about followership developed into a field of its own, asserting that leadership could no longer be studied in isolation or with only a small nod to followers. Citing Kelley and Chaleff, theorists proposed behaviors, styles, and characteristics of effective followers and posited interdependency in the leader–follower relationship.

As theorists and selected researchers moved forward in their discussion of followership, few looked back across the decades preceding Kelley's (1988) work. The purpose of this article is to provide a theoretical foundation for the field of followership and to examine the roots from which it developed in the United States in the 20th century management literature. By discussing why management theorists focused on leaders rather than followers, identifying the early voices of followership theory, describing followership's antecedents, and identifying the common themes found in the literature, this article acknowledges the origins of followership theory and begins to set the foundation missing in contemporary discussions of the followership construct. It also acknowledges the limited followership-centric literature in the 21st century and identifies contemporary exploration of a common followership theme by leadership theorists. It concludes by proposing further areas for research in followership.

It is important to note that the body of followership literature, distinct from what is traditionally viewed as leadership literature, is small. A search of 26 electronic databases produced approximately 480 unique citations for the period 1928 through September 2004 (Baker, 2006); approximately 50 more have been added through December 2006. About half of the citations were relevant to the field of management, and the great majority of the citations were written by American authors and about American organizations. The citations included opinion pieces as well as articles published in popular and trade magazines and academic and scholarly journals. In general, followership theory developed in the latter half of the 20th century. With limited exception, the few dissertations and articles written about followership in the first few years of the 21st century have explored facets of followership theory posited in earlier decades.

The number of leadership citations in comparable publications dwarfs the body of followership literature. Why has there been so much emphasis on leadership and so little on followership? The next part of the article examines this question.

Why Is the Focus on Leaders Rather Than Followers?

From leadership theories as early as Great Man down to the 1970s, the common view of leadership was that leaders actively led and subordinates, later called followers, passively and obediently followed. As Follett (1996) observed in 1933, her contemporaries thought that one was "either a leader or nothing of much importance" (p. 170). Why were followers ignored as the spotlight shone so brightly on leaders?

In the early days of civilization, there were no leadership theories—only leaders and their followers. Early leaders were Great Men who functioned in a preindustrial and prebureaucratic period (Daft, 1999). The leadership talents and skills that set the Great Men apart from other humans were assumed to be inborn; natural abilities were thought to be inherited, not acquired (Galton, 1900). Those who did not inherit these abilities had no chance to acquire them. The Great Men had their followers, troops, or devotees who followed in their footsteps, obeyed their directives, and faithfully mimicked their actions.

Heroic Leaders

In a similar fashion, Burns (1978) saw leadership literature as dealing with historically heroic or demonic figures, where fame was equated with importance. The followers of the heroic leaders were the "drab powerless masses" (p. 3). This was the predominant idea about leaders and followers as the United States of America transformed from a rural, agricultural economy into an urban, industrial one in the latter part of the 19th century. The business enterprises that arose then followed the model of Great Man leadership. Follett (1960) described the business leader of that era as a "masterful man carrying all before him by the sheer force of his personality" (p. 310). She painted a stark picture of the leader–follower dynamic:

> Can you not remember the picture . . . of the man in the swivel chair? A trembling subordinate enters, states his problem; snap goes the decision from the chair. This man disappears only for another to enter. And so it goes. The massive brain in the swivel chair all day communicates to his followers his special knowledge. (p. 311)

That view continued into the 1970s when Hollander (1974) described the then-current view of followers as "nonleaders . . . an essentially passive residual category" (p. 23).

Idealized Leader Overshadows Followers

Hollander (1974) argued that the primary role filled by an organizational leader was that of executive or manager who directed the activities of others. Other leader roles such as change agent, adjudicator, and problem solver were overshadowed by the director's role. He further observed that leaders were thought to "hold" a position of authority, which led to thinking of the position as a fixed, static role. The fixed leader role was idealized, and its idealization led to making a sharp and distinct difference between leader and followers. With this distinction in mind, the fixed position of leader was honored, and the role that it contained received less attention. Hollander suggested that were people to view the leader position as less fixed and more fluid, they would have a better understanding of the leader's roles and would think more about leader–follower relations rather than only about leaders.

Vanderslice (1988) similarly saw a problem in operationalizing leadership "in individualistic, static, and exclusive positional roles" (p. 683). She observed that people thought of planning, decision making, and task responsibility as the province of those who filled the leader roles and wondered if these functions could be achieved without "invoking role-defined static power differentials" (p. 683). Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich (1985) believed that their culture held a view of a heroic, romanticized leader to whom was attributed all glory or all failure. Their concept of idealized leader overshadowed the follower.

Social Change Affects Followers

Social change in the United States and elsewhere also shaped people's views of followers. Although in the early 1930s Follett discussed the interdependence of leaders and followers, the active role of followers, the situational authority of those closest to the task or problem at hand, and the win-win nature of constructive conflict, her views were lost in the milieu surrounding World War II. The world at that time embraced hierarchical, authoritarian structures that were built on a win-lose proposition that had but one purpose: to conquer an enemy. Lived in epic proportions, leadership was embodied in Great Men such as Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and Hitler.

The organizations that prospered in America during and after World War II were mostly vertical organizational hierarchies (Useem, 1996). These postwar American corporations helped foster the "golden age" of prosperity within the United States (Smith & Dyer, 1996, p. 51), and the economy they led was admired and envied by "most of the rest of the world" (Kaysen, 1996, p. 3). As America achieved economic dominance in this era, corporations promised lifelong job security to employees in exchange for their loyalty, obedience, and hard work. Nothing more was asked of followers, and there was no need to examine the leader–follower relationship while economic conditions were stable. The leader's actions, not those of the followers, were instrumental to the company's success (Berg, 1998).

By the early 1980's, American industry had experienced a crisis that transformed its stable nature. The advent of a global economy; advancing technology; changes in the American labor force; and the ongoing dynamic between business, labor, and government that introduced many contractual obligations into the employment relationship were several of the forces putting pressure on the status quo of the modern corporate system. Applied in an era of reduced resources, these pressures gave birth to the takeover and downsizing trends of the 1980s and 1990s.

As corporate organizational structures flattened, power and responsibility were delegated to a wider range of people, including the traditionally dependent followers. Leaders expected more initiative and risk taking from their followers (Lippitt, 1982). But as these business organizations struggled to reform themselves, leaders found that their followers were ill equipped to take initiative or to collaborate with their superiors (Berg, 1998). Followers saw the challenge but avoided the risk of new responsibilities for which they had no training or support (Lippitt, 1982). When the need arose for a more active follower, the model of the omniscient leader and obedient, passive follower or subordinate was too entrenched to allow those subordinates to embrace a new role of active followership. Instead, the focus was recentered on leadership: developing new leadership skills and even developing those leadership skills in followers. There was no focus on the leader–follower relationship or on the demands placed on each role (Berg, 1998).

The demise of the psychological contract and the organizational pressures resulting from the downsizing trends of the 1980s and 1990s were viewed by some as an opportunity for employees to craft a new psychological contract by taking a partnership role with their leaders (Potter, Rosenbach, & Pittman, 1996). Nonetheless, the image of the "drab powerless masses" that Burns (1978, p. 3) described as followers in the historic leadership literature was slow to change. Berg (1998) reported that participants in his Leadership and Followership workshops conducted in the early 1990s used words like "sheep," "passive," "obedient," "lemming," and "serf" (p. 29) to describe followers, and he attributed these negative associations to the organizational and psychological demeaning of the follower role.

Moving to a View of Active Followers

Although management scholars in the first decades of the 20th century were slow to recognize and discuss followers, theorists in other behavioral science fields were not. In psychoanalysis and psychology, Freud in 1921 and Fromm in 1941 identified a psychological link between leader and followers; Erikson discussed a link between leader and followers in 1975 (Hollander, 1992b). In anthropology, Mead (1949) discussed the importance of examining the psychological relationships between leader, lieutenant, and follower; the effect those psychological relationships had in the lives of the individuals; and cultural and anthropological factors that affected the individuals and their roles.

In sociology, Sanford (1950) observed that "leadership is an intricate relation between leader and followers" (p. 183) and that leaders had to meet their followers' needs to maintain a desirable relationship with them. Homans (1950) discussed the "human group" and posited a connection between a leader and a group by whose norms the leader must live (pp. 425-429). In 1961 Homans was among the early writers to describe a process of exchange between leader and group members in which both parties give and take resources (Bargal & Schmid, 1989). It gave recognition to the group member, or follower, as well as to the leader. Homans's work laid the foundation for social exchange theory, which was antecedent to transactional leadership theory (Hollander & Offermann, 1990) and one of the forebears of active followership theory.

The Early Voices of Active Followership Theory

The theorists who began bridging the concepts of passive subordinates and active followers included those of social psychologist Hollander and his associates.

In 1955, Hollander and Webb (1955) argued that *leader and follower* was not an either/or proposition in which leaders and followers were found at opposite ends of a continuum. They proposed that the qualities associated with leadership and followership were interdependent. They conducted one of the earliest empirical studies about leaders and followers and concluded that non-leaders were not desirable as followers and that qualities of followership needed to be considered as a component of good leadership. Building on Homans's work about social exchange processes, Hollander and Julian (1969) reviewed then-recent studies and concluded that leadership encompassed a "two-way influence relationship" (p. 390) that contained an "implicit exchange relationship" (p. 395) between leaders and followers over time.

In 1974 Hollander advanced this line of thought when he authored "Processes of Leadership Emergence." In it he framed the central arguments about leaders and followers that arose from the traditional view of follower as subordinate:

> It is commonly assumed that a cleavage exists between those who lead and those who follow, and that being a follower is not being a leader. . . . Only some members of a group have "leadership qualities" . . . and stand out as "leaders." . . . Followers are treated essentially as "nonleaders," which is a relatively passive residual category. (pp. 20-21)

In his work, Hollander (1974) raised questions and identified topics that became central themes and issues in active followership literature. These included the ideas that leader and follower were roles and processes that should not be confused with the people filling them; that at least some of the time and to some extent, leaders were also followers; and that the behaviors needed to fill a leader's role at a particular time were not limited to leaders alone and that followers could also have those behaviors. Other concepts identified by Hollander that reappeared later in active followership literature included drawing a distinction about the source of a leader's authority and its affect on followers, the two-way influence process between leader and follower, and the role of the situation in the leader–follower relationship.

Other early voices spoke and wrote about leaders and followers but did not affect active followership theory. In these works, the authors urged leaders to focus on followers as a way of improving managers' leadership skills; they did not study followers in and of themselves. Wortman (1982) called these works "leadership studies that incorporate data about followers" (p. 373).

A few researchers did follow in Hollander's footsteps by examining the leader–follower relational component of active followership. Herold (1977) used a laboratory study to demonstrate how each party could influence the other party's behavior in a leader–follower relationship or dyad. He contributed to the growing body of literature that supported the idea that leader effectiveness must look beyond analyzing the effects of leader behavior on subordinates; subordinate effects on leader behavior must also be considered.

Frew (1977) contributed to followership theory by focusing on the importance of followers to a leader's success and by developing the first instrument that measured followership. His contributions were only beginning steps, though, because he examined followers to determine what kinds of leadership styles they preferred in their supervisors. His conclusions focused on making leaders more effective and improving organizational effectiveness by reducing managerial error; followers were not the focus of his conclusions. Additionally, although he studied followers and followership, he did not define the terms.

Steger, Manners, and Zimmerer (1982) advanced followership theory by proposing the first followership model built on two dimensions: followers' desire for self-enhancement and followers' desire for self-protection. Nine followership styles resulted from the followers' high, medium, or low attraction to each of the dimensions. Although they noted that "we are all followers in some way" (p. 22), Steger et al. did not provide definitions of *follower* or *followership*, although they did state that a followership theory would offer a taxonomy of subordinates' behavioral reactions to leaders.

Steger et al. (1982) raised two important issues that resurfaced in later decades as key issues in active followership theory: organizational structure and the use of power. In their view, a hierarchical structure was a given, and the only question was how much freedom the organization gave a manager to reward or punish subordinates. Power was not shared with followers; it was a managerial tool. Depending on a follower's style, a manager used direct power, supportive and developmental power, or devious and manipulative power to motivate followers to support organizational change.

Although Steger et al. (1982) took beginning steps in discussing follower behaviors and attributes, they also focused on followers as a means of improving managerial performance. They asserted that as managers moved up through the organizational hierarchy they encountered different types of "followerships" (p. 51) and that management training was needed to help a manager understand different follower styles and how to motivate the followers.

To reduce the complexity of leadership contingency theory, Zierdan (1980) proposed that the contingency model should focus on subordinates rather than a manager. In his model, a manager established performance and emotional objectives for his subordinates as well as ways to measure the objectives. The manager in this model needed to be aware of subordinates' attitudes and feelings and use that information to make informed decisions in the contingency framework. Tjosvold, Andrews, and Jones (1983) conducted an empirical study about causal links between leaders and subordinates, focusing on leaders' cooperative and competitive behaviors. The study suggested that to improve their own success, to improve subordinates' reactions to their leadership, to increase subordinates' satisfaction, and to build morale leaders should emphasize common goals held by leader and subordinates, help subordinates achieve their goals, encourage subordinate learning and development, exchange information and resources, and share the rewards of their combined efforts.

Theoretical Antecedents to Active Followership

The theorists and researchers described above were influenced by theorists in other disciplines. Recognition of followers and development of active followership literature had its roots in social exchange, attribution, and small group theories that grew out of the disciplines of sociology and psychology. The theories and observations found therein were eventually woven into the fabric of organizational behavior and followership literature.

Social exchange theories. Exchange theories posited that social interaction was a form of exchange in which a group member contributed to the group at a cost to himself or herself and received benefits from the group at a cost to the group. The exchange continued as long as members found it mutually beneficial (Bass, 1990). Homans's (1950, 1974) work was among the foundation blocks of the theory. His work was followed by that of Hollander (1974) and Hollander and Julian (1969), who noted that "an entire interpersonal system" (Hollander & Julian, 1969, p. 393) must be included in the evaluation of a leader's effectiveness. They developed theories about the implicit nature of the social exchange processes and applied them to leaders and followers. In their view of the leader–follower transaction, leaders provided benefits such as direction, and followers responded with increased esteem for and responsiveness to the leader. Recognition of this transaction led to transactional theories of leadership, which generally focused on a follower's perceptions and expectations of a leader.

Transactional leadership was named and popularized by historian Burns (1978). In this leadership theory, he recognized a "leadership act" (p. 20) in which one initiated an exchange with another. Their interaction was short-term and nonbinding. Burns contrasted this to another point on his leadership continuum, a point that he called "transforming leadership" (p. 20). In that leadership act, leader and follower interacted to transform each other and raise each other to higher moral levels. In Burns's theory, followers were recognized as important players in the leadership act.

The Leader-Member Exchange Model (LMX) was a social exchange theory that arose in the 1970s and provided another way to view followers. Developed by Graen, Scandura, Uhl-Bien, and others, it focused on the leader–follower dyad and examined how exchange processes affected the dyadic relationship over time (Schriesheim, Castro, Zhou, & Yammarino, 2001). As the dyadic relationship developed over time, informal exchanges between leader and follower replaced the formal exchanges required by the organization. The leader relied less on power and influence to negotiate with a follower for whom he or she had increasing trust. The leader began to share power and influence with the follower, empowering the follower to exercise more influence over the leader. LMX theory and its focus on the leader–follower dyad paralleled the discussion of the relational nature of the leader–follower role in the psychology literature: Both drew attention to the follower. Citing Graen and Uhl-Bien's (1995) classification of leadership theories into the three domains of leader, follower, and relationship, Howell and Shamir (2005) asserted that "while LMX theory emphasizes the importance of all three domains, its main contribution has been to shift the focus from the leadership domain to the relationship domain" (p. 98).

Attribution and small group theories. Arising in the 1970s, attribution theories presented a different framework through which to view the leader–follower relationship. These theories posited the importance of recognizing leaders' and followers' perceptions about leadership rather than focusing solely on a leader's traits or how he or she acted. Each leader and follower was thought to have his or her own implicit leadership theory about what a leader does and how he or she behaves. Either personal internal traits or external constraints were thought to cause the behaviors (Bass, 1990). Over time the focus of implicit leadership theories shifted from leaders' perceptions to followers' perceptions.

Meindl et al.'s (1985) research advanced attribution theory by proposing that leadership was a romantic and heroic concept thoroughly "entrenched" (p. 78) in the social fabric. Society's emphasis on leadership grew as business systems became large, complex, and difficult to understand. Observers, unable to understand the intricacies of a complex system of multilevel networks, attributed organizational success or failure to something more easily understandable—a person, in particular a leader, to whom was attributed control and responsibility. Further, Meindl et al. found that not only organizational outcomes but also the performance of entire industries were attributed to leaders' actions. The authors suggested that people's "infatuation" (p. 100) with the romantic, heroic, mystical view of leadership might be necessary to sustain followership and to motivate individuals to respond to the organization's needs and goals. Attribution theory did move in that direction, as Hollander and Offermann (1990) observed in 1990 that the focus was on "follower attributions of leaders that make followers respond" (p. 84) positively or negatively to the leader. Although attribution theory started with psychological research about the area of cognition, it began to integrate organizational research about leader–follower relations (p. 85).

Social scientists studied the behavior of members of small groups in the hopes of discerning patterns and principles that could be applied to larger groups. The small group was seen as a microcosm of society at large; its small size made detailed study possible (Homans, 1974). The study of relationships between group leader and small group members provided insight into leaders and subordinates in business settings on a larger scale.

While other fields were exploring social interactions in groups and cognitive approaches to leaders and followers, the field of management looked at interaction between supervisors—also called *bosses*—and their subordinates. With few exceptions, not until the 1980s did management literature adopt the term *follower*. Graham (1988) observed that in the emerging discussion of transformational leadership a distinction was drawn between *leader* or *manager* and *supervisor*. She drew a similar distinction between *follower* and *subordinate*, basing her argument on Hunt's (1984) application of French and Raven's (1959) classification of the bases of social power. Hunt proposed that leadership derived from the personal-power bases of expert and referent power but supervision derived from the position-power bases of reward, coercion, and legitimacy. Similarly Graham separated followers from subordinates by the degree of free choice that they exercised. She called subordinates those who followed orders because they feared punishment, had been promised rewards, or wanted to fulfill a contractual obligation.

Active Followership Gains Acceptance

Writing at the same time as Graham, Kelley published "In Praise of Followers" in 1988 and proposed that followers deserved praise and deserved to be studied. He reframed the arguments introduced in earlier generations and, by promoting a positive concept of followers and active followership, he recast management literature's traditionally negative image of the passive subordinate. He also linked follower effectiveness with organizational success. Kelley's article moved the heretofore theoretical and academic discussion of effective followers into the popular press. Similarly, Chaleff's (1995) book, *The Courageous Follower*, gained widespread popular acceptance. Chaleff recognized the danger that could derive from hierarchically bestowed leader power. He proposed a new model of leader–follower relations that was built on a leader's courage to be less than dominant and a follower's courage to be more dominant. In his model, the courageous follower had to be willing to assume responsibility, to serve, to challenge the leader, to participate in change processes when needed, and even to oppose leaders whose acts harmed the organization.

Themes in Followership Literature

Scholars writing about followership over the years sounded a similar note: There was a dearth of work about followership when compared to leadership. As early as 1978, Burns observed that one of the "most serious failures" (p. 3) in the study of leadership was the separation of leadership and followership literatures. In 1982 Heller and Van Til called it a "novelty" to link the concepts, noting that not only were leadership and followership rarely discussed as "co-equal concepts" but that discussion of followership by itself was rare (pp. 405-406). Gilbert (1985) saw little management literature on how to be a good follower but volumes on leadership and motivation. Gilbert and Hyde (1988) observed that obsession with the "romance of leadership" and "dependence on the 'ability to motivate'" (p. 962) were two major reasons for lack of research about followership. Lundin and Lancaster (1990) wrote that thousands of pages had been written about leadership but very few written about followership. Brown and Thornborrow (1996) observed that literature about followers and followership was “not extensive” (p. 5) and was written mostly by American authors who wrote from an American perspective. Berg (1998) saw an “overwhelming emphasis” (p. 28) in corporations and schools on leadership and development of leadership skills while followership received little attention. Bjugstad, Thach, Thompson, and Morris (2006) saw followership as an “understudied discipline” (p. 304), and Goffee and Jones (2006) observed that “the analysis of followership has barely begun” (p. 23).

In the work of those who did study followership, several themes were apparent. They included the idea that followers and leaders were roles, that followers were active rather than passive, and that leaders and followers shared a common purpose. A fourth theme, the relational nature of follower and leader, received great attention in the followership literature. This theme is receiving renewed attention in the leadership literature.

Followers and Leaders Are Roles, Not People With Inherent Characteristics

In proposing guidelines for studies about mental health and leadership that were to be conducted in the early 1950s, Mead (1949) identified the relationship between leaders, lieutenants, and followers as an important area of the studies. She questioned the psychological relationships and the roles that each individual played.

Hollander (1974) defined a *role* as “a set of behaviors which are appropriate for a position which an individual fills” (p. 19). He believed that a leader’s characteristics should fill the demands of the role and that followers were not permanently confined to their follower roles. Heller and Van Til (1982) asserted that “leadership and followership are best seen as roles in relation” (p. 406). Kelley (1991) stated that followership and leadership were roles, not people, and that most managers played the roles of both follower and leader (Kelley, 1988). Berg (1998) described participants in his workshops as managers who also filled the role of followers in their organizations.

Followers Are Active, Not Passive

In the early 20th century, followers in America were viewed as passive, obedient, and having nothing to contribute but manual labor. In the post–World War II era, followers were seen as obedient, dependent, and loyal to a leader or company—but still with only labor to contribute. In neither case were followers held in high regard. The values of obedience and loyalty were further tarnished by the aberrant behavior and actions of the Nazi followers of Adolph Hitler during World War II.

Contrary to that traditional view of followers as passively obedient people, other theorists in the 20th century held a different view: They widely agreed that followers were an active party in the leader–follower relationship. Going against the grain of her time, Follett (1996) proposed that followers had an active role in keeping the leader “in control of a situation” (p. 170). They did this by offering suggestions, by sharing their difficulties with work as well as their successes at work, by not being a “yes, yes” subordinate, and by not being passively obedient (pp. 170-172). Heifetz (1999) echoed Follett by observing that the “best leadership . . . generates people who are willing to take responsibility” (p. 20).

Barnard (1987) theorized that the subordinate held the power to a leader’s authority: Without a subordinate’s cooperation and assent, the leader had no authority. Extending Barnard’s idea, Litzinger and Schaefer (1982) theorized that because followers could withhold or grant their obedience to a leader, the leader was constrained to act in ways that the follower found consistent with organizational goals. They argued that the leader must therefore be a follower—of the organizational goals as understood by his or her own followers—and further that being a good follower helped to prepare one to be a good leader. Although they believed that a “personal history of good followership” (p. 81) was critical to good leadership, it alone was not sufficient to determine a leader’s success.

Also citing Barnard (1987), Hansen (1987) was one of the first to write about the active follower in his study of first-line supervisor effectiveness. Hansen linked supervisor effectiveness to subordinates’ willingness to follow the wishes of the supervisor. He described “active followership” (p. 44) as subordinates’ granting legitimacy to their supervisor’s orders and directions. More broadly, Hollander and Offermann (1990) described both leadership and followership as active roles. Hollander (1992a, 1992b) reiterated that point and added that followers could initiate activity and had the potential to make major contributions to successful leadership.

Burns (1978) drew distinctions among passive followers, who offered “undiscriminating support” in exchange for favors; participatory followers, who wanted to belong to the leadership group and selectively bargained to exchange their support for favors; and close followers of leaders who were in reality subleaders but still dependent on the leader (p. 68). Kelley

(1988) separated the effective from the ineffective follower. Distinctive characteristics of Kelley's effective follower included enthusiasm, intelligence, and self-reliant participation. Additionally, effective followers saw their role as one that was "legitimate, inherently valuable, even virtuous" (p. 143).

Followers and Leaders Share a Common Purpose

In an interdependent relationship, follower and leader should hold some things in common. Follett (1996) argued that followers and leaders must follow a common purpose on which their work is focused. Burns (1978) wrote that leaders and followers had "inseparable functions" (p. 20) but different roles. Gilbert (1985) coined the term *psychological commitment* (p. 452), akin to the organizational psychological contract, that described an implicit contract between boss and subordinate on very effective work teams. In such a commitment, both boss and subordinate exhibit a commitment to the organization's goals as well as to the success of each other. Hollander (1992a) theorized that a leader must engage followers in "mutually satisfying and productive enterprises" (p. 74). Vecchio (1997) observed that followers and leaders are interconnected and share responsibility for meeting goals.

The Relational Nature of Followers and Leaders

From the early writings of Follett (1960) and the early studies of Mead (1949) to contemporary authors, followership theorists recognized the interconnection between follower and leader and advocated the importance of examining the relationship between them. The relationship was described as interdependent rather than either/or (Hollander & Webb, 1955), a two-way influence process (Hollander & Julian, 1969), and reciprocal and complex (Burns, 1978). Herold (1977) saw the relationship as one in which dyadic partners influenced each other's behaviors and attitudes, and Frew (1977) observed that much of a supervisor's success was dependent on his or her acceptance by the staff. Heller and Van Til (1982) discussed a participative leadership–followership model and said that leaders and followers should be studied in relation to one another, not separately. Gilbert (1990) saw the relationship as one of partners. Hollander restated his contention that the leader–follower relationship was interdependent (1992a) and reciprocal (1992b), involving two-way support and influence (1997). He further believed that the "usual expectation" (1997, p. 13) that the follower role was passive with little power did not fit with the concept of active followers.

Berg (1998) promoted the idea of a collaborative follower–leader relationship. Potter et al. (1996) promoted the idea of a partnership relationship between leaders and followers in which follower initiatives were as important as leader initiatives, and Pittman, Rosenbach, and Potter (1998) described the best leader–follower relationship as a partnership. Kelley (1991) also promoted the idea of follower–leader partnership. In his version of partnership, both follower and leader were individually and collectively responsible for the actions of the organization, and both roles had equal weight.

As followership theorists discussed the relational nature of leader and follower, positing the interdependency of leader and follower and the idea of leader–follower partnerships, leadership theorists also discussed leader–follower relations but from a leader-centric perspective. Contingency theories posited a link between a follower's actions and a leader's behavior, and situational theories of leadership focused on a leader's ability to motivate workers or followers through situational control and design (Baker 2006). Substitutes for leadership theory questioned the importance of leaders in all situations (Gronn, 2003). LMX theory was one of the few leadership theories to recognize the follower's role in "the leadership processes" (Howell & Shamir, 2005, p. 98) and to posit that both leader and follower shared responsibility for the success of their relationship (Howell & Shamir, 2005).

Recently, leadership scholars Howell and Shamir (2005) echoed the decades-long call of followership theorists to examine the relational nature of leaders and followers. In their analysis of the role of followers in the charismatic leadership process, Howell and Shamir noted that "beyond paying lip service to the importance of followers, few scholars have attempted to theoretically specify and empirically assess the role of followers in the leadership process" (p. 96). They called for study of effective followers and concluded that "understanding followers is as important as understanding leaders" (p. 110).

Authentic leadership is a new construct that is being promoted by scholars to create positive leadership that can combat the post-9/11 "increase in societal challenges" as well as the concurrent "decrease in ethical leadership" (Cooper, Scandura, & Schriesheim, 2005, p. 476). Citing Howell and Shamir's (2005) call for inclusion of followers in leadership models, Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, May, and Walumbwa (2005) developed a model of "authentic leadership and followership." Part of their model emphasized the importance of self-identity in authentic followers. Lord and Brown (2001) and Collinson (2006) also discussed follower self-concept as a factor in the leader–follower relationship. Gardner et al. and Lord and Brown used a more leader-centric lens for their views and Collinson used a more follower-centric lens.

Other issues traditionally found in leadership literature and applied to leaders have recently been applied to followers. Vecchio (2002) noted that although gender advantage had been explored in leadership theory it had not been explored in followership theory. Eagly (2005) emphasized followers in her discussion of gender impact on leaders' building of relational authenticity with their followers.

The dark side of leaders is another issue addressed in leadership literature. Demonstrating another aspect of the relational nature of leaders and followers, authors have recently raised the question of the mutual accountability of both followers and leaders for bad leadership (Kellerman, 2004) and toxic leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 2005). Howell and Shamir (2005) discussed followers' responsibility for negative aspects displayed by leaders in personalized charismatic relationships.

Summary

This article has identified and presented the theoretical foundation of the construct of followership. Leadership scholars can look back across a century of theory and research works to identify origins, name founding fathers, trace movements and eras, discuss practical applications of older studies, and propose new avenues for future research in the field of leadership. Until now, those studying followership could not accomplish the same tasks because there have been no uniform acknowledgement and treatment of the body of literature that formed followership's roots. This article establishes that foundation for followership by examining why emphasis was placed on leaders almost to the exclusion of followers, identifying the antecedents from which followership theory developed, naming early followership theorists and researchers and discussing their work, and identifying the common themes in their work.

This presentation discusses the transition from the traditional view of a passive, unthinkingly obedient subordinate who was led by a Great Man to a contemporary image of an active, participative, effective follower who must be studied in relation to his or her leader. The theorists constructing the image of active follower shared four basic tenets of active followership theory: (a) that followers and leaders are roles, not people with inherent characteristics; (b) that followers are active, not passive; (c) that followers and leaders share a common purpose; and (d) that followers and leaders must be studied in the context of their relationship. This fourth theme has recently been re-emphasized in the leadership literature.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The field of followership has a rich and complex body of literature spanning the previous century. This article has identified foundation works in the literature and established a context for the field. Yet there is even more to be established from within the literature and from the field of practice. Followers are an integral part of organizations, and the leader–follower relationship in an important factor in organizational success. Understanding the context of followership theory is as important as understanding the context of leadership theory as researchers study effective organizations. The recent works by Howell and Shamir (2005), Gardner et al. (2005), and Collinson (2006) are perhaps the beginning of a merging of follower-centric and leader-centric works. However, the exploration of the relational nature of leaders and followers is but one of many facets of followership that needs further examination.

Other areas of followership literature that have yet to be explored include identification of the major questions and issues raised in followership theory, categorization of characteristics held by effective followers, and identification of followership models and styles. Additionally there is an opportunity for investigation and analysis of followership research. Baker (2006) identified six followership survey instruments that have been used in approximately 20 published empirical research studies and in numerous doctoral dissertation studies. The instruments and studies need to be assessed for their validity and contributions to the field of followership. The findings from that assessment could provide a common base of understanding that could inform future research.

As aspects of the existing followership literature are identified and examined through the lens of today's milieu, additional avenues of research should open and lead to further insights into the leader–follower partnership. Such insights can only add to continued learning about organizational behavior, dependent and independent behavior, and the interdependency of leader and follower for the effective performance of organizations and social systems.

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Susan D. Baker is an assistant professor of management in the Graves School of Business and Management at Morgan State University, Baltimore, Maryland. She earned her PhD in Organizational Behavior and Development from The George Washington University in 2006. Before beginning her doctoral studies, she worked as a production manager in the communications industry and as assistant dean for administration and finance at a business school. Those positions led to her research interests in followership, leadership, team effectiveness, and business ethics. She may be contacted at sbaker@jewel.morgan.edu.

Leadership

Why Gender and Culture Matter

Roya Ayman *Illinois Institute of Technology*
Karen Korabik *University of Guelph*

For decades, understanding of leadership has been largely based on the results of studies carried out on White men in the United States. We review major theories and models of leadership as they pertain to either gender or culture. We focus on 3 approaches to leadership: trait (including leadership categorization or implicit leadership theory), behavioral (including the two-factor, transformational–transactional leadership, and leader–member exchange models), and contingency (i.e., contingency model of leadership effectiveness and normative decision making). We discuss how dynamics related to either culture or gender (e.g., stereotypes and schemas, ingroup–outgroup interaction, role expectations, power and status differentials) can have an important impact on many aspects of leadership.

Keywords: leadership, gender, culture, diversity, ethnicity

Almost two decades have passed since the *American Psychologist* highlighted the importance of diversity in leadership (e.g., Hollander & Offermann, 1990; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). However, although interest in the role of diversity in leadership persists, the nature of the issues has changed since then. For example, during the 1990s the glass ceiling was a widespread metaphor used to explain why women and ethnocultural minorities often lacked access to leadership roles. Today, women and ethnocultural minorities still confront many leadership-related challenges. However, Eagly and Carli (2007) characterized these as taking the form of a labyrinth or maze consisting of many barriers that they must negotiate.

The articles in the recent special issue on leadership in the *American Psychologist* (Sternberg, 2007), although recognizing the contributions of individual men and women leaders from various cultural backgrounds, were largely founded on the assumption that leadership and its effectiveness are universal. Although for the most part the authors acknowledged the general importance of situational contingencies (Vroom & Jago, 2007; Zaccaro, 2007) and culture (Avolio, 2007) as contextual circumstances in determining leadership, they presented leadership as a phenomenon that is primarily gender and culture neutral. Thus, their focus was on the similarities, rather than the differences, among the situations faced by men and women leaders and leaders from various cultures and ethnic backgrounds. Taking this stance, however, fails to acknowledge that additional factors related to the labyrinth (e.g., stereotypes and schemas, ingroup–outgroup dynamics, role expectations, power and status differentials, and differential attributions made about and rewards given for similar behavior) can have an important impact on many aspects of leadership. Moreover, because these factors privilege those in majority groups, they can create obstacles that women and ethnocultural minorities need to overcome if they are to attain positions of leadership or be successful once they have done so.

We contend that studying leadership without the specific inclusion of the role of gender and culture limits the scope of knowledge in this area. At a practical level, a lack of attention to these factors and the dynamics that they produce can create problems (Chin & Sanchez-Hucles, 2007) in the development of the leaders of tomorrow. If leaders are to be effective in a diverse society, they need to understand their own preferred style and behaviors and how these may differ from those preferred by others. Otherwise, their interactions with others are likely to be fraught with misattributions, misunderstandings, and misinterpretations. At a basic scientific level, failure to include diverse groups in research limits the validity and generalizability of findings and the inclusivity of theories. By contrast, culturally inclusive research has many benefits, including expanding on theories, increasing the range of variables, unconfounding variables, and understanding the context in which behavior occurs (Triandis & Brislin, 1984).

The purpose of this article is to illustrate why gender and culture matter in our understanding of leadership. We first briefly define each concept. We then review the major mainstream theoretical approaches to the study of leadership, presenting the key findings pertaining to gender and culture. We acknowledge that gender and culture coexist in a symbiotic relationship. In addition, we argue that gender and culture have parallel dynamics in relation to leadership. However, because in the leadership literature very few studies have examined their joint effects, we discuss gender and culture separately.

Roya Ayman, Institute of Psychology, Illinois Institute of Technology; Karen Korabik, Department of Psychology, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, Canada.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Roya Ayman, Institute of Psychology, Illinois Institute of Technology, 3101 South Dearborn, Life Science Building, Room 252, Chicago, IL 60616. E-mail: ayman@iit.edu

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Roya Ayman

Definitions

Culture

Many have debated the definition of culture (Triandis, 1996). Overall, most agree with Kluckhohn's (1951) definition that culture is an acquired and transmitted pattern of shared meaning, feeling, and behavior that constitutes a distinctive human group. There are two reasons why it is necessary to distinguish among the definitions of culture, ethnicity, and gender. First, different leadership researchers have used different definitions when referring to these concepts. Second, leaders in a diverse and multicultural society need to become aware of these distinctions.

Although phenomenological discussions continue, culture primarily can be operationalized in two different ways, based on existing leadership research. The first is by means of characteristics that are visible and on the surface, such as country boundaries (House, Wright, & Aditya, 1997) or individuals' physical characteristics (e.g., skin color, hair texture, eye shape). These visible characteristics allow for categorization of people into social groups (e.g., by country or nationality).

The second operationalization is in terms of more invisible and deeper differences among people (e.g., their values and personalities). For example, Hofstede (2001) identified four cultural values that can define cultural categories at the country level (i.e., individualism–collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity–femininity). The underlying assumption tying together these two operationalizations of culture is that people who look alike, have similar languages, or live within the same geographic boundaries will have similar cultural values. In today's global village, however, this is not always the case. In a diverse and pluralistic society, many groups of people live together. These groups may vary in their appearance, in their cultural values, or in both—as do members of various ethnic groups.

Connerley and Pedersen (2005) proposed a more integrated definition of culture. They considered it to be a complex (multidimensional and multilevel) and dynamic phenomenon consisting of both visible and invisible characteristics that may influence leadership. Their categories of culture include demographic characteristics (e.g., place of residence and physical gender), status characteristics (e.g., economic and educational variables), ethnographic characteristics (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, and language), and affiliations. These cultural categories are socially constructed and become imbued with meaning. Therefore, people who differ from one another on these categories can "experience the world in different ways whether those differences are based on internal differences, external differences in the way they are treated by others, or a combination of the two" (Connerley & Pedersen, 2005, p. 4).

In leadership research, cultural differences are often studied with either a single visible or invisible cultural marker. Among these markers, national boundary, gender, and ethnicity are the subsets of culture that have been examined most often. In this article we include the research pertaining to national boundary, ethnicity, and cultural values in the section on culture. Because there is a large volume of research that has been directed specifically at gender and leadership, we have chosen to dedicate a separate section to gender.

Gender

Since the 1970s researchers have noted the need to differentiate between gender and sex (Bem, 1974; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975), and they have defined gender (i.e., whether someone is a woman or man) as pertaining to the psychosocial ramifications of biological sex (i.e., whether they are female or male; Unger, 1979). Most often researchers operationalize gender by either observing the behavior of men and women or by asking them to self-report whether they are male or female. In this article we use the term *sociodemographic gender* to refer to this aspect of gender.

Gender, however, consists of much more than sociodemographic gender. Gender is a multidimensional and multilevel phenomenon with many different facets (Korabik, 1999). These include intrapsychic aspects such as gender schemas and stereotypes; gender-role identity; and gender-role traits, attitudes, and values (Bem, 1993). They also include the manner in which men and women interact with one another (Deaux & Major, 1987) and the social roles that they are expected to, and frequently do, enact in a society (Eagly, 1987). Moreover, gender is an ascribed status characteristic. Men's higher social status means that they have more access to power and resources than women do and, consequently, they are accorded greater privilege (Ridgeway, 1992). Thus, gender is both "a hierarchical structure of opportunity and oppression as well as an affective structure of identity and cohesion" (Ferree, 1995, p. 125).

Karen Korabik

Gender, Culture, and Leadership

A direct parallel exists between the dynamics that are due to culture and those that are due to gender. Both culture and gender have physical (visible) and value (invisible) components. Both affect identity and group cohesion, interpersonal interactions, and access to power and resources. The cultural and ethnic values that people hold are learned intrapsychic beliefs in the same way that gender-role beliefs and attitudes are. The physical characteristics that differentiate people into different cultural and ethnic groups act as markers of status that prime stereotypes and endow privilege in the same manner that gender does. We now present an overview of how these dynamics operate in a leadership context, with gender as an example. Similar dynamics would be expected to occur for culture.

Perspectives on gender and leadership. When one examines research on gender and leadership, it is important to distinguish between the manner in which the research has been carried out and the manner in which it has been interpreted. Most research on gender and leadership has been carried out by applying the sociodemographic definition of gender. Thus, a plethora of studies have been conducted examining how men and women differ from one another in their leadership style, behavior, and effectiveness. The authors of some of these studies did not specify a theory about why gender is expected to have an impact on leadership, whereas those of the remainder drew upon a number of different theoretical perspectives when interpreting their findings. These include androgyny theory (Bem, 1974), social role theory (Eagly, 1987), expectation states theory (Berger, Wagner, & Zelditch, 1985), and status characteristics theory (Ridgeway, 1992). To bring some conceptual clarity to the literature, Korabik and Ayman (2007) have delineated three of the most common theoretical positions that underlie the study of gender and leadership. These are the intrapsychic perspective, the social structural perspective, and the interpersonal perspective, respectively.

Research done from the intrapsychic perspective focuses primarily on the internal intrapsychic characteristics of the leader. Here gender encompasses such things as gender schema; gender identity; and gender-role traits, attitudes, and values that are acquired through gender-role socialization. According to the intrapsychic perspective, the leader's intrapsychic gender-role characteristics (e.g., instrumentality/masculinity/agency and expressivity/femininity/communion) matter because they affect the leader's preferred style, behavior, and outcomes regardless of whether the leader is a man or a woman. Research done from this perspective might, for example, examine the impact that a leader's gender-role orientation (i.e., instrumentality, expressivity, or androgyny) has on his or her behavior and the outcomes achieved.

Some theorists who have adopted the social structural perspective focus on the different social roles that men and women are expected to play in society (Eagly, 1987). According to this formulation, the qualitative differences in men's and women's normative roles affect their leadership behavior and outcomes. Here, gender is important because the perception that men's roles are more congruent with the leadership role than are those of women can result in prejudice against women leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Other theorists who have adopted the social structural perspective have emphasized the status differences between men and women (Ridgeway, 1992). They have viewed sociodemographic gender as a visible status marker that affects others' perceptions, observations, and evaluations of leaders.

According to the social structural perspective, different outcomes will be attained by men and women leaders under certain conditions. This is because men are attributed higher status and privilege, and they are more likely to be in leadership roles that are congruent with their sociodemographic gender. In contrast, women are perceived as having lower status and less privilege, and the leadership role is seen as being incongruent with their sociodemographic gender. Meta-analytic findings support this perspective by indicating that women leaders are viewed as being less effective when they are in male-dominated settings or leadership roles that are defined as more masculine (Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995).

The interpersonal interaction perspective focuses on how leaders interact with their superiors, coworkers, and subordinates. This approach incorporates aspects of both the intrapsychic and social structural perspectives because interactions are viewed as a function of both sociodemographic gender cues, which are more visible and overt, and gender-related beliefs and expectations both about the self (schemas) and about others (stereotypes), which are less visible and more covert. In addition, these processes are influenced by situational cues (e.g., gender-typed tasks, skewed gender ratios in groups) that make gender more or less salient and induce priming. According to the interpersonal interaction perspective, gender makes a difference because men and women leaders will have different types of social interactions with their men and women supervisors, peers, and subordinates, and these interactions will influence the outcomes experienced by each party (Ayman, 1993; Korabik & Ayman, 2007).

Korabik and Ayman (2007) proposed an integrative model of gender and leadership that combines elements from each of these three perspectives. Here leadership is seen as a social interaction between leaders and their supervisors, peers, and subordinates. The nature of this interaction is influenced by intrapsychic processes (e.g., gender-role orientation, gender-role attitudes and values) in all of the parties. However, these processes are not as salient and observable as is someone's sociodemographic gender. Therefore, sociodemographic gender acts as a marker of status and privilege, as well as of expectations about prescribed role behaviors. As such it is a cue that activates stereotypes and attributions that affect initial judgments and evaluations. These processes are moderated by a variety of contextual cues (e.g., gender-typed tasks, skewed gender ratios in groups). The literature on gender and leadership supports this model by demonstrating that the following play an important part in the leadership process: gender-role socialization; gender-role beliefs, attitudes, and expectations; gender stereotypes; gender-based status differentials; group gender composition; and the gendered nature of tasks.

Culture and leadership. In a diverse workforce, people from different cultural or social groups must constantly interact with each other. In such settings, people's own cultural identities and their assumptions about and perceptions of others from different social groups (e.g., White and African American, Latino and Asian) relate to ingroup–outgroup dynamics, and these assumptions and perceptions may have an impact on the leadership experience (Ayman, 2004a). In these types of situations, the composition of dyads or work groups based on their gender or culture matters because it can affect a leader's ability to be successful. For example, in an experiment in which a Japanese leader behaved either as an American leader would or as a Japanese leader would, his American followers did not consider him to be as trustworthy when he was behaving like an American leader compared with when he behaved like a Japanese leader (Thomas & Ravlin, 1995).

Moreover, the increasing diversity in today's workforce means that to be effective, leaders need to develop a multicultural perspective and an understanding of the points of view of those who differ from themselves (Connerley & Pedersen, 2005). Doing so involves two things: (a) eliminating ethnocentrism (i.e., the belief that one's cultural values are the same as everyone else's, regardless of the evidence) and (b) increasing isomorphic attributions or the extent that people from culturally diverse social groups are able to reach a similar assessment of a given situation or action (Triandis, 1995). The elimination of ethnocentrism, by reducing the imposition of one's frame of reference on others, can result in less hostile judgments toward those in outgroups (Duckitt, Callaghan, & Wagner, 2005). In addition, by reducing the ethnocentrism present in leadership research, leadership models can become more inclusive of other cultures and representative of all social groups.

Gender, culture, and leadership. To develop more inclusive theories of leadership, both emic and etic perspectives (Berry, 1997; Gelfand, Raver, & Ehrhart, 2002) need to be included. The emic approach means studying leadership from within a culture or a social group, whereas the etic approach allows for validation of theories and models of leadership across genders and cultural settings. A version of the etic approach, imposed etic, is when a theory or a measure developed within one social group is validated in another. In leadership, most theories have been developed in North America and embody a primarily ethnocentric viewpoint. One of the effects of this situation is that the theory can privilege certain types of scientific knowledge and marginalize other viewpoints (McIntosh, 2003). Leadership researchers rarely have done cross-cultural studies to learn the limitations of their theories. Moreover, when validating their theories on other groups or in other countries, they rely on an imposed etic approach. Their interest has not been to understand how the theories worked, but only in seeing that they worked. To form an allocentric theory, as Triandis (1995) advised, researchers need a more inclusive effort where scholars from various countries using differing methods come together to share and gradually put together the pieces of the puzzle.

Furthermore, it is important to examine whether existing leadership constructs have similar equivalence of meaning across gender and cultures, as well as across sources (e.g., leader's self-report and subordinates' reports). As Raju, Laffitte, and Byrne (2002, p. 517) said, "Without measurement equivalence, it is difficult to interpret observed mean score differences meaningfully." Findings from meta-analyses on gender or cultural differences in leadership, therefore, can be construed as representing true between-groups mean differences only once equivalence of meaning (i.e., measurement equivalence) has been established for these groups.

Gender and Culture in Leadership Research

Both culture and leadership and gender and leadership have been studied using an emic approach. For example, Misumi (1985) and Sinha (1984) have approached leadership from Japanese and Indian perspectives, respectively. Moreover, feminist researchers have explored women's leadership experiences (see Chin, Lott, Rice, & Sanchez-Hucles, 2007). These studies have addressed the issue of whether women or people from different ethnocultural groups have unique ways of leading. In this article, however, we focus on the imposed etic approach to leadership as it pertains to gender and culture. We do so because we wish to address a different question: To what extent do North American models, which have been developed primarily by men and mostly validated on men leaders, apply to women and people from other cultures? Furthermore, we made this choice because these theories are currently the focal approaches to leadership in fields such as psychology, management, political science, and education. In addition, these theories served as the framework for the 2007 special issue on leadership in the *American Psychologist* (Sternberg, 2007). Our intention in this article is to highlight the role of gender and culture in the research that has been done within these paradigms, something that was lacking in the previous special issue.

Before doing so, however, it is important to acknowledge some previous leadership theorists (e.g., Ayman, 1993; Chemers, 1997; House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004) who have emphasized the important role that gender and culture specifically play in the leadership experience. Ayman (1993) did so by drawing from the cross-cultural approach and methodology. She argued that because leaders' and subordinates' gender or culture influences their frame of reference, these factors affect how leaders' behaviors are described and evaluated.

Chemers's (1997) integrative model of leadership explicitly acknowledged a role for culture and gender. In his model, gender and culture influence the leadership relationship in multiple ways (e.g., through social norms and the leader's and subordinates' interpretation of the situation). Both of these scholars have viewed gender and culture as leadership contingencies that are omnipresent in a diverse society and that cannot be ignored when leadership is studied.

The primary focus of the 62-country GLOBE research project (House et al., 2004) has been on establishing a universal model of leadership. Although specific findings about the interface of culture, gender, and leadership are still emerging, the picture that has been painted thus far is very complex. While some universals (such as value-based charismatic leadership) have been found, there is also extensive evidence that these universals are manifested in different ways in each region of the world. It may be that, as Graen (2006) has suggested, the research questions and approach used by GLOBE were too limited to portray a global picture of leadership. In support of this, van Emmerik, Euwema, and Wendt (2008) reviewed other research that indicates that certain leadership behaviors (e.g., the use of superiority, power, and close supervision) vary as a function of culture.

In the latest edition of *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*, Bass (1991) mentioned that leadership has many definitions. In this article we do not put forth a particular definition but rather acknowledge the variety of approaches to the way that leadership has been studied through existing theories and models. The main theories and models that we review include the following: trait approach (including leadership categorization or implicit leadership theory), behavior approaches (including the two-factor, transformational leadership, and leader–member exchange models), and contingency approaches (i.e., the contingency model of leadership effectiveness and the normative decision-making model). For each theoretical approach to leadership, we provide examples from the literature that illustrate why culture and gender matter.

In any discussion of the intersection of gender or culture with leadership it is particularly important to recognize that just because someone holds a leadership position, it does not imply that they are an effective leader. Likewise, the absence of individuals from certain groups (e.g., women or people of color) in leadership positions does not mean that they would be ineffectual leaders. It is also critical to point out that many of the studies on gender and leadership in the workplace have examined a selected group of women leaders who have attained leadership positions by meeting the expectations of the majority. The results of that research may not be generalizable to women in general. Similarly, because most cultural studies have examined people functioning in their own culture, we do not know how they would perform in cross-cultural situations.

The Trait Approach

In the interest of brevity we do not review the historical evolution of the trait approach, the oldest domain of investigation in leadership research (see Zaccaro, 2007; Zaccaro, Kemp, & Bader, 2004). Likewise, we do not deal with the many traits that have been associated with leadership emergence or effectiveness (see Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhart, 2002). Instead, we discuss only those traits that are both important to leadership and relevant to gender or culture.

Implicit leadership theory. To understand the traits associated with leaders, we first examine the literature on implicit leadership theory or leadership categorization. Implicit leadership theory examines the layperson's understanding of leadership. Overall, the results of studies in this area have demonstrated strong context effects. That is, the traits associated with leadership vary depending on whether the leader is, for example, a manager, military officer, or politician (Lord, Brown, Harvey, & Hall, 2001). Studies of culture and implicit leadership are limited, but those that do exist show a variation in the content of implicit leadership across cultures (Ayman & Bassari, 2009; Gerstner & Day, 1994; Ling, Chia, & Fang, 2000). Much research has demonstrated that across raters' age, work experience, and culture, the image of a leader is strongly associated with men and masculinity (Ayman-Nolley & Ayman, 2005; Heilman, 2001; Leffler, Ayman, & Ayman-Nolley, 2006; Schein, 2002). Furthermore, research shows that this stereotyped image develops as early as kindergarten (e.g., Ayman-Nolley & Ayman, 2005). However, these studies also have indicated that girls and women are not as likely to hold this masculine image of a leader as are boys and men. By and large, the fact that these stereotypes exist is detrimental to women's ascent into leadership positions (Korabik, 1997).

Cultural intelligence (CQ). Recently scholars have focused on the relationship between CQ and leadership. CQ is related to enhanced effectiveness in dealing with both those from foreign cultures and those from different subcultures within one's own culture (Ang & Van Dyne, 2008). Thus, it helps individuals meet the challenges of managing both globalization and workforce diversity. CQ has been shown to contribute to team, leadership, and managerial effectiveness in a number of settings (Ang & Van Dyne, 2008). Among the specific traits and competencies associated with CQ are self-monitoring, holding non-ethnocentric attitudes (Abbe, Gulick, & Herman, 2008), and being open to experience (Ang & Van Dyne, 2008), all of which are discussed individually below.

Self-monitoring. One trait that has been related to both leadership emergence and effectiveness is self-monitoring (Day, Schleicher, Unckless, & Hiller, 2002). Self-monitoring is the extent to which individuals regulate their self-presentation to achieve a desired public appearance (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000). In leadership research, self-monitoring is seen as an indicator of flexibility and responsiveness to social situations. Day et al.'s (2002) meta-analysis showed that self-monitoring was related to leadership ability by demonstrating that high self-monitors are promoted most often. Day et al. also reported, however, that women scored lower on self-monitoring than men. Based on this finding, it appears that women may have less chance of attaining leadership positions than do men. The results of a small group experiment supported this concept by demonstrating that self-monitoring was positively associated with leadership emergence more for men than for women (Ellis & Cronshaw, 1992). Further research on gender, leadership, and self-monitoring is needed to explore this explanation and to establish whether interventions aimed at enhancing women's level of self-monitoring could help them overcome the barriers they face in achieving leadership positions. Because we know little about self-monitoring cross-culturally or across ethnic groups, more research on culture and self-monitoring is also warranted. Moreover, the measurement equivalence for gender or culture for self-monitoring, to the best of our knowledge, still needs to be established.

The Big Five. The Big Five (neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness; Hofstede & McCrae, 2004) are considered to be superordinate, universal personality traits (Marsella, Dubanoski, Hamada, & Morse, 2000). Costa, Terracciano, and McCrae (2001), using studies from several countries across several years, while finding some similarities, did find some gender and cultural differences on the Big Five. Overall, the results pertaining to gender and culture (i.e., defined by country or cultural values) do not indicate conclusive evidence for the universality of the Big Five (Marsella et al., 2000). In a meta-analysis of the relationship of the Big Five to leadership, Judge et al. (2002) found that extraversion, conscientiousness, and openness to experience had significant relationships with leadership effectiveness and emergence. Agreeableness was related to leadership effectiveness but not emergence. However, this meta-analysis did not include culture or gender as moderators. Nonetheless, Eagly and Carli (2007), using Costa et al.'s (2001) findings, demonstrated that men and women differed on some of the facets that make up the Big Five traits. For example, women scored lower than men on the assertiveness aspect of extraversion, but they scored higher than men on the warmth and positive emotion aspects of extraversion.

Gender and leadership emergence. Two lines of research have been conducted on gender and leadership emergence. The most prominent one looks at the sociodemographic gender of the person who is chosen as the leader. The results of a meta-analysis of studies in this area (Eagly & Karau, 1991) are consistent with Eagly and Carli's (2007) findings regarding extraversion and showed that men and women tended to emerge as leaders in situations that were congruent with their social roles. The implication of this for women is that their leadership may be constrained to more stereotypically feminine areas.

A smaller, yet very significant, line of research has demonstrated that gender-role orientation, more than sociodemographic gender, matters in terms of who emerges as a leader. For example, a meta-analysis found that along with intelligence, agentic traits such as masculinity and dominance were most characteristic of those who emerged as leaders (Lord, De Vader, & Alliger, 1986). Similarly, other research has indicated that a masculine (i.e., high instrumentality, low expressivity) gender-role orientation was most related to leadership emergence (Goktepe & Schneier, 1989). In contrast, in more recent studies, where group gender composition and the nature of the task were incorporated as variables, there is more evidence that androgyny (i.e., high instrumentality, high expressivity) is important for leader emergence. For example, one study demonstrated that in groups composed of women, those who were intelligent and androgynous were more likely to emerge as leaders (Gershenoff & Foti, 2003). But, in groups of mixed sociodemographic gender, the results are not as clear and seem to depend on the nature of the task. Overall, a trend has been observed in which androgynous individuals have the same chance as masculine individuals to be identified as leaders (Kent & Moss, 1994; Moss & Kent, 1996). These findings are encouraging for women's leadership prospects. Androgyny may offer women a way out of the double bind they are put in when they are expected to have the instrumental qualities that are associated with leadership ability but also the expressive qualities associated with their prescribed gender role. Thus, adopting an androgynous leadership style may help women to negotiate their way through the labyrinth.

Summary. As the research cited indicates, the traits related to leadership are not culturally universal. Moreover, because traits have an impact on the way that men and women are perceived as leaders, gender can affect access to leadership positions. This is important because competency modeling is frequently used for the selection of managers. This approach relies heavily on inferences about which leadership traits and skills are the most effective. These inferences are susceptible to being influenced by implicit leadership stereotypes. Moreover, these traits and skills are assumed to function similarly for people regardless of their culture and gender. However, much more empirical evidence is necessary to validate this assumption.

The Behavioral Approach

This approach constitutes the largest body of literature in leadership research. Since the 1950s, the majority of researchers, regardless of their theoretical orientation, have primarily examined leaders' behaviors through self- or others' perceptions. In this section we highlight three behavioral approaches (the two-factor, transformational leadership, and leader–member exchange models) that have paid some attention to gender or culture.

The two-factor approach. Some researchers (e.g., the Ohio State and Michigan studies) have categorized leadership behaviors as falling into two factors: considerate–people oriented or initiating structure–task oriented, respectively (Bass, 1991). A meta-analysis (Judge, Piccolo, & Ilies, 2004) demonstrated that both types of behaviors were associated with effectiveness. But consideration was more related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment, whereas initiating structure was more related to performance and profit. The measurement equivalence of the two-factor theory for culture and gender is not well documented.

In terms of gender, the intrapsychic leadership perspective predicts that leadership behavior will be more a function of the leader's gender-role characteristics than of the leader's sociodemographic gender. We have carried out a series of studies (Korabik, 1996; Korabik & Ayman, 1987, 1989) with managers that provided support for this perspective. We found that gender-role orientation accounted for greater variance in self-reported leadership behavior than sociodemographic gender. We also consistently found instrumental (masculine) gender-role traits to be related to initiating structure, expressive (feminine) personality traits to be related to consideration, and androgyny to be related to both structure and consideration. Korabik (1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1990) and Zugec and Korabik (2003) replicated and extended these findings in a series of small group studies. They demonstrated not only that androgynous individuals had the ability to display both task- and person-oriented leadership behaviors but also that they were able to switch roles in a flexible, adaptive manner to take on whatever leadership function was lacking in a group.

The vast majority of studies on gender and leadership behavior have been conducted from the social structural and social interaction leadership perspectives. This research has compared the leadership behaviors of men and women (i.e., used the sociodemographic operationalization of gender). The results of these studies have been summarized in meta-analyses on gender and leadership style (Eagly & Johnson, 1990), gender and evaluations of leadership (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992), and gender and leadership effectiveness (Eagly et al., 1995). The results show that when studies are conducted in the field with actual leaders (who are presumably more equivalent in role definition and status), men and women do not differ in their considerate or structuring behavior (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). However, despite the lack of differences in the way that men and women leaders behaved, there were differences in their effectiveness and in the manner in which others evaluated them.

The social structural leadership perspective predicts that leadership behavior will be a function of the congruence between the leadership role and the leader's prescribed gender role, attributed status, or both. Consistent with this view, women leaders were particularly likely to be devalued when they adopted stereotypically masculine leadership styles, when they were in male-dominated leadership roles, or when they were evaluated by men (Eagly et al., 1992). Furthermore, men were more effective in male-dominated situations and in masculine leadership roles. In contrast, women were more effective in more feminine leadership roles (Eagly et al., 1995).

The interpersonal interaction leadership perspective predicts that differential effects will occur as a function of the gender of the leader or subordinate, or both, and that these will be moderated by the context and type of task. In support of this view, we (Becker, Ayman, & Korabik, 2002) found that in corporate, compared with educational, settings there were greater discrepancies between women leaders' ratings of the extent to which they engaged in both task- and person-oriented leadership behaviors and their subordinates' ratings of the extent to which the women used these behaviors.

For decades researchers have examined the two-factor approach across cultures. One study (van Emmerik et al., 2008) was able to establish measurement equivalence, but the findings from other studies (Ayman & Chemers, 1983; Smith, Misumi, Tayeb, Peterson, & Bond, 1989) have been inconclusive. In particular, Ayman and Chemers (Ayman & Chemers, 1983; Chemers, 1969) referred to two studies: In both cases the subordinates were Iranians, but in one study the leaders were Americans (Chemers, 1969), whereas in the other they were Iranian (Ayman & Chemers, 1983). The results showed exactly the same factor structure, making it likely that they were more a function of the implicit leadership theory of the subordinates than of the leader's behavior. Additionally, Ayman and Chemers (1983) found evidence for a benevolent paternalistic leadership dimension in Iran (before the Islamic revolution). This included both consideration and initiating structure behaviors on a single factor. While defined a bit differently in different cultures, this same dimension has shown up in many Asian countries, such as India (Sinha, 1984) and China (Cheng, Chou, Wu, Huang, & Farh, 2004). Thus, the cultural evidence questions whether the distinction between these two behaviors is universal.

We could find only one study (van Emmerik et al., 2008) that examined the joint effects of gender and culture in the context of the two-factor model. That study included data from 42 countries grouped into 10 cultural categories. Overall, women were found to be higher in both initiating structure and consideration than men. However, there were few gender differences outside of Western countries. Both initiating structure and consideration were found to vary as a function of culture. Moreover, culture exerted more of an impact on leadership behavior than gender, particularly when it came to initiating structure.

The transformational leadership approach. Transformational leadership theory assumes that a leader who is perceived as behaving in a transformational manner inspires subordinates to high levels of effort and dedication. The dimensions of transformational leadership behavior are idealized influence, inspirational motivation, individualized consideration, and intellectual stimulation (Bass & Avolio, 1993b). Multiple meta-analyses have provided strong support for this leadership theory as it relates to various effectiveness indices (e.g., Judge & Piccolo, 2004; Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996).

Antonakis, Avolio, and Sivasubramaniam (2003) demonstrated that the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (the most frequently used measure; Bass & Avolio, 1993a) had measurement equivalence for gender when subordinates of the same sociodemographic gender as the leader did the ratings. However, the measurement equivalence was compromised for heterogeneous dyads and in some other contexts. Therefore, any gender differences or lack thereof reported in the literature should be considered in light of this important information.

Research from the intrapsychic leadership perspective has demonstrated that gender-role orientation is related to transformational leadership behavior (Korabik, Ayman, & Purc-Stephenson, 2001). Gender-role instrumentality was predictive of higher self-ratings on all four subdimensions of transformational leadership. Gender-role expressivity was predictive of higher self-ratings on idealized influence, individualized consideration, and inspirational motivation. Thus, androgyny was related to transformational leadership. In addition, the more leaders reported being androgynous and transformational, the more both they and their subordinates reported lower job stress and higher job satisfaction.

In a meta-analysis, Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen (2003) examined the differences between men and women on transformational leadership. Women were found to be slightly more transformational than men as assessed both by self- and others' reports. As well, women scored higher than men on contingent reward and lower on active and passive management by exception and laissez faire leadership. However, transformational leadership may not be as effective when used by women leaders as when used by men. For example, Ayman, Korabik, and Morris (2009) found that the higher women's transformational behavior was in terms of intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration, the less effective their men, but not their women, subordinates thought they were as leaders. These findings provide support for both the social structural leadership perspective and for role congruence theory.

In most cultures, although the three styles of laissez faire, transactional, and transformational leadership have been found, the behaviors defining them are not the same (e.g., Den Hartog, Van Muijen, & Koopman, 1997). Bass (1997) affirmed this point by providing an example that in Indonesia boasting about one's competence is inspirational and builds confidence in subordinates, but in Japan this behavior is considered to be unseemly. On the whole, however, many cross-cultural studies have demonstrated the validity of transformational leadership (Judge & Piccolo, 2004). Nonetheless, the limited evidence for the measurement equivalence of transformational leadership across culture and gender suggests that caution must be used when recommending specific behaviors for individuals in specific social groups. This becomes critical when we move from validation studies to implementation and training. Overall, this very valuable leader behavior may not work as effectively for those in heterogeneous work groups. Further research may help identify the limitations of this paradigm and the processes that impede its generalizability.

The leader–member exchange (LMX) approach. This dyadic leadership model assumes that leaders treat their subordinates distinctly and that some employees feel included whereas others do not (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Those who experience high LMX feel part of the ingroup and describe their leaders as transformational and trustworthy. Those who experience low LMX feel like they are not closely connected to the ingroup and describe the leader's behavior as transactional and contractual (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). This construct assesses the subordinates' perceptions of their leader's ability, benevolence, and integrity. Scandura and Dorfman (2004) stated that trustworthiness, honesty, and supportiveness, major components of LMX, are universal characteristics of leadership. Because this paradigm maintains that the leader treats each subordinate differently, it has high potential for understanding the role of diversity and leadership (Scandura & Lankau, 1996).

Meta-analyses have established a positive relationship between LMX and leadership effectiveness (Gerstner & Day, 1997; Ilies, Nahrgang, & Morgeson, 2006). However, a number of ways of measuring leader–member relationships have been proposed (Gerstner & Day, 1997), and not much has been done to establish the measurement equivalence of LMX over culture or gender. Nevertheless, in response to Scandura and Lankau's (1996) call for a need to study LMX with diverse dyads, investigations of the effects of culture or gender on LMX have been carried out. The majority of the studies on diversity and LMX have compared dyads in which the members are similar to one another in sociodemographic gender or ethnicity, or both, with dyads in which the members are different from one another (e.g., Green, Anderson, & Shiver, 1996; McColl-Kennedy & Anderson, 2005). The results are mixed and inconclusive. Studies seem to show that in heterogeneous dyads of employed individuals, the quality of LMX suffers (e.g., Green et al., 1996; Vecchio & Brazil, 2007; Vecchio & Bullis, 2001). In particular, women managers experience lower LMX when they have men rather than women subordinates (Green et al., 1996). In addition, Ayman, Rinchiuso, and Korabik (2004) found that gender dyad composition moderated the relation between LMX and employee satisfaction. As the number of these studies is small and their methodologies and results are inconsistent, future research is warranted.

A few studies have examined LMX in countries other than the United States, such as Germany (Schyns, Paul, Mohr, & Blank, 2005), Turkey (Erdogan, Kraimer, & Liden, 2005), and China (Aryee & Chen, 2006; Chen & Tjosvold, 2007). In these studies, similar to those done in the United States, LMX was related to positive outcomes, such as higher subjective performance, job satisfaction, and commitment. However, some differences were also found. For example, in China organizational climate was a moderator between LMX and outcomes, and in Germany tenure did not affect LMX, whereas span of supervision did. Chen and Tjosvold's (2007) study is one of the very few that have incorporated cross-cultural dyads (i.e., an American manager with Chinese subordinates). It also included the Chinese concept of *guanxi* (personal relationship). Their results demonstrated that *guanxi* had a major impact on the openness of the interaction between the subordinate and the manager. These international studies do show some support for the LMX paradigm, but they also provide evidence for the need for this model to expand and incorporate contextual factors. The future development of research in this area is promising.

Summary. Research from all three behavioral approaches demonstrates that leadership behaviors are not necessarily culturally universal. Thus, there needs to be more examination of cultural values as well as country boundaries in leadership research. In addition, leadership is not a gender-neutral phenomenon. When women leaders adopt stereotypically masculine leadership behaviors, are in male-dominated settings, or are evaluated by men, they are particularly susceptible to being rated negatively. This illustrates some of the additional barriers that women encounter as they attempt to negotiate their way through the labyrinth. Androgynous leaders, however, are more likely to adopt leadership behaviors that combine a task and person orientation and are transformational in nature; this is related to enhanced leadership effectiveness.

Contingency Approaches

Contingency models were introduced during the 1960s and 1970s. They include trait approaches (the contingency model of leadership effectiveness and cognitive resource theory) and behavioral approaches (path–goal theory, situational leadership, and normative decision making; Ayman, 2004b). Here we discuss only how gender and culture relate to Fiedler's (1978) contingency model of leadership effectiveness and Vroom and Jago's (1988) normative decision-making model.

The contingency model of leadership effectiveness. Ayman (2002) summarized and updated the research on Fiedler's (1978) contingency model of leadership effectiveness. This model predicts that the leader's work orientation, as defined by the Least Preferred Coworker Scale (LPC; Ayman & Romano, 1998), will interface with the leader's control over the situation to affect group effectiveness. In this model situational variables include the quality of the leader–member relationship, the structure of the task, and the position power of the leader. Although there have been many challenges to it, the model has been demonstrated to have validity in predicting performance (Peters, Hartke, & Pohlmann, 1985; Schriesheim, Tepper, & Tetrault, 1994; Strube & Garcia, 1981). In addition, there is a validated training program based on the model (Burke & Day, 1986).

Research shows some support for the model cross-culturally (see Ayman, 2002). The model not only incorporates culture in its conceptualization of the situation (Triandis, 1993), but it also has been validated in several countries. When the leader and followers are from different cultures, the leader's assessment of the quality of the leader–member relationship is likely to be low to moderate. In particular, leaders interacting with a diverse work team will be more susceptible to having a volatile team relationship because there may be cultural misunderstandings. This is because multicultural teams, more so than culturally homogeneous teams, have the potential for team members to hold very different cultural assumptions about social interactions and mental models of a team. In the studies in which American leaders worked with non-Americans, the leader–member aspect of the situation was greatly affected (Chemers, 1969; Fiedler, 1966). Overall, the model has been shown to be supported in some countries but not in others. More research is needed to understand why this is so.

Less is known about the impact of the gender composition of the work team. Men and women leaders do not differ on LPC scores. Nonetheless, it is possible that, depending on the sociodemographic gender composition of the group and the type of task, women and men with the same LPC scores may lead groups differently. For example, Offermann's (1984) study demonstrated that men leading all-women groups had high LPC scores (i.e., were more relationship oriented), whereas women leading all-men groups had low LPC scores (i.e., were more task oriented). Offermann assumed that because she gave the measure of LPC after the group exercise, the sociodemographic gender composition of the group affected the men and women leaders' LPC scores. However, two studies on leader emergence in teams of mixed sociodemographic gender, in which the task was consensus building, found that low LPC (task-oriented) individuals were more likely than high LPC (relationship-oriented) individuals to emerge as leaders (Groag-Blavvise, Scheuer, Ayman, & Roch, 2007; Kuo & Ayman, 2008). When the sociodemographic gender of the leader was also examined, women seemed to have more chance than men of being chosen as a leader (Kuo & Ayman, 2008). Thus, although there is some indication that sociodemographic gender can affect the relationship between LPC score, situation, and outcome, more investigations are needed.

The normative model of leadership decision making. The normative approach to leadership decision making presents five decision-making processes that are based on the leader's choice of actions, from highly autocratic to highly participative (Vroom & Jago, 1988). This approach predicts that, on the basis of prescribed decision rules, each of these styles can lead to effective outcomes. Depending on the type of outcome desired and the nature of the situation, different behaviors are prescribed. For example, if the focus outcome is group cohesion, a participative style is recommended. But, if there is conflict in the group, a consultative style may be better. On the other hand, if quality of decision is needed, then which style is chosen is highly dependent on the knowledge of the leader and the followers. In this model the role of the situation is the focal point (Vroom & Jago, 2007), and it is assumed that the leader is responding to the situational determinants.

Research using this model has indicated that sociodemographic gender makes a difference in terms of leadership style and effectiveness. In general, women were more likely to use a participative leadership style than were men (Eagly & Johnson, 1990), and women's preferences were more in line with the prescriptions of the normative decision-making model (Jago & Vroom, 1982). However, although men leaders were able to use autocratic decision strategies with some success, women leaders who used autocratic styles were rated more harshly than men leaders who did so.

Cross-cultural studies examining this leadership approach are few. Ayman (2004b) pointed out that the political situation could be a determinant of managers' acceptance of the model. In post-Communist Poland, managers became more accepting of using a participative instead of an autocratic style (e.g., Jago, Maczynski, & Reber, 1996). Likewise, the preferred decision-making style was found to be different in three different German-speaking European countries (Szabo, Reber, Weibler, Brodbeck, & Wunderer, 2001).

Summary. The contingency approaches to leadership have considered various situational factors, such as task expertise, subordinate support, and group cohesion, as well as the leader's position power. However, these approaches have not extensively addressed the role of gender, nor, to the best of our knowledge, have the measures used in these models been tested for measurement equivalence across gender or culture. Therefore, we would suggest caution in recommending the use of certain leadership decision-making strategies for individuals from diverse groups. Regarding Fiedler's (1978) model, it is possible that leaders functioning in multicultural and mixed sociodemographic gender groups may be faced with low quality leader–member relationships. However, the model provides a prescription for the leader to manage this.

Summary

As can be seen from this review, gender and culture are important to the leadership experience. Studies on gender, culture, and leadership provide support for the influence of intrapsychic processes, social structural processes, and interpersonal processes. Thus, both gender and culture matter because they can affect a leader's style, behavior, emergence, and effectiveness in many complex ways. For example, gender and culture matter because leaders' gender-role identities and cultural values can affect the choices they make about the manner in which they will lead. Moreover, the low social status that is attributed to leaders who are women and people of color can result in the devaluation of their accomplishments by others. In addition, when there is a lack of congruence between people's implicit stereotypes of leadership and the traditional roles associated with women and people of color, leaders from these social groups experience a higher level of scrutiny and have more trouble legitimizing their authority (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

The purpose of our review is to illustrate that both gender and culture do make a difference when it comes to leadership. Leadership is not universal; rather, it can vary as a direct function of either gender or culture. Furthermore, both gender and culture can moderate the relationship between leadership behaviors and outcomes. For example, a poor leader–member relationship appears to be more detrimental for men leaders with women subordinates than for women leaders with men subordinates. However, a transformational leadership style appears to be less effective for women leaders with men subordinates than for men leaders with women subordinates. Thus, leadership theories are not generalizable over all individuals, regardless of their gender or culture.

Future Research Directions

As we look to the future we see that work still needs to be done to better understand the role of cultural norms and values in the leadership process, as well as to understand the dynamics attributable to sociodemographic gender, gender-role orientation, and their intersection. Furthermore, research is needed that explores how the relation between leadership and outcomes is affected by dyad or group diversity. For example, more investigations need to be carried out that examine the interactions of leaders and subordinates who represent different nationalities or ethnicities with differing cultural values and assumptions. In particular, researchers need to be mindful of the status and privilege that are accorded to North American and Western European leaders working with culturally diverse workgroups. Likewise, more research that examines the impact of both overt and covert sexist and ethnocentric attitudes on the leadership process is important.

It is critical in a diverse society to be cognizant of the impact of people's appearance and values in social interactions, as suggested in Chemers's (1997) integrative model. Therefore, gender and culture should become variables that are incorporated into theory building in leadership. As well, our models and measures should be validated across social groups. In addition, we recommend that more research teams be composed of people from diverse backgrounds with diverse perspectives who work together as equals.

Conclusion

Over time, the image of leadership has been evolving. As early as the 1950s, Bales (1951) maintained that the socioemotional leader was the true group leader because people skills were not context dependent in the same way that task skills were. Nonetheless, a masculine leadership prototype has prevailed (Heilman, 2001; Schein, 2002). Lately, however, there has been more recognition of the importance of people skills for leaders. Scholars have associated the increased prominence of the transformational leadership and leader–member exchange paradigms in the last three decades with the "feminization" of leadership (e.g., Eagly & Carli, 2003; Rudman & Glick, 2001). This perspective has led to a more androgynous conception of leadership. A move toward inclusion of more women and ethnocultural minorities in the workplace could be one factor that has precipitated this change. Globalization also has had an impact, particularly due to the influence of Asian management styles, which have been noted to be more relationship focused (Triandis, 1993).

It may be that this more androgynous conception of leadership, which gives equal emphasis to task and people skills, will open up more opportunities for women and ethnocultural minorities to be considered as leaders and will assist them in negotiating their way through the barriers within the labyrinth (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Other factors that can facilitate this process include eradicating the masculine stereotypical image of a leader, eliminating the ethnocentrism that creates ingroup–outgroup biases, and equalizing access to power and privilege. Moreover, increasing the cultural awareness of leaders about different norms of conduct should enhance the level of trust in their relationships with their subordinates.

An examination of the effects of gender and culture has the potential to change our definition of what constitutes leadership and what is considered to be effective leadership. This more inclusive conceptualization can expand the vision of leadership to represent all human beings.

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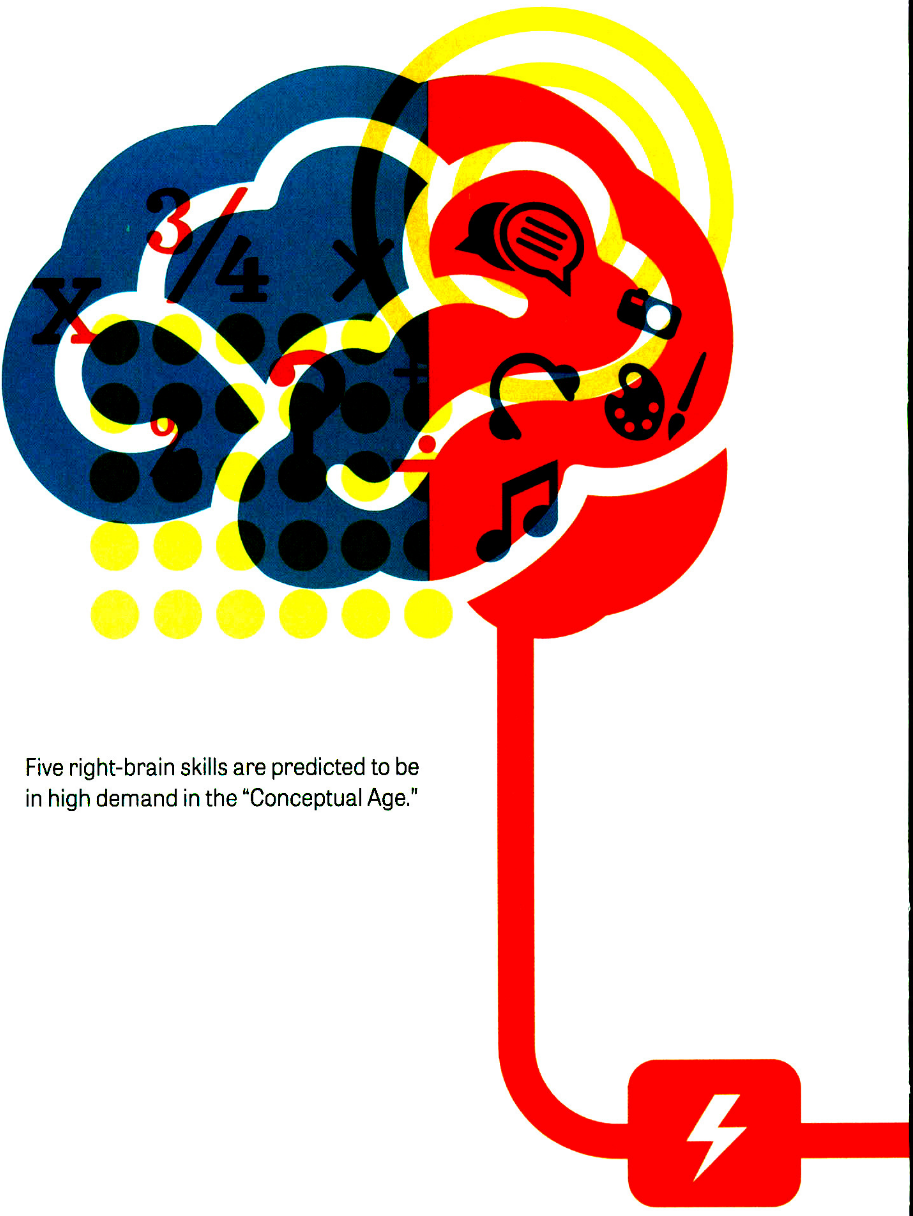
pg. 34



Five right-brain skills are predicted to be in high demand in the "Conceptual Age."

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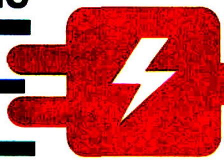

BY LISA BODELL

Creativity is emerging as the most important leadership quality for success. The business world is shifting from exclusively valuing left-brain skills, such as subject expertise and technical competency, to seeking individuals with right-brain skills, such as adaptability and imagination. America is moving out of the Information Age and into the Conceptual Age, where creative thinking will become as essential as logical thinking.

According to Daniel Pink, who coined the term "Conceptual Age," three catalysts are responsible for the era change: Asian outsourcing, automation, and abundance. For the Western workforce to compete with inexpensive overseas labor, automated computers, and technology, and demand for products that move beyond function to enhancing the meaning of our lives, we must develop right-brain skills.

Desirable skills

There's been evidence that the Conceptual Age already is well under way. For decades, big organizations that have benefited from analytical and functional left-brain aptitudes are now finding themselves in need of softer, right-brain skills. Fiscal responsibility and global knowledge no longer are sufficient to maintain competitive advantage.

So which soft skills will employees and organizations need in the coming years? They are the skills that empower organizations to challenge the status quo and look into the future. They turn employees into visionaries and help them seek new growth opportunities. They enable organizations to anticipate the blessings and burdens of change. My book, *Kill the Company*, explores the five most critical skills of the Conceptual Age—and simple ways to cultivate them.

Future skill #1: Strategic imagination

Today's employees are so mired in busywork that their ability to visualize the bigger picture has atrophied. But tomorrow's employees and leaders must learn to "dream with purpose," which means actively imagining future possibilities and creating scenarios to act on them.

To imagine how things can be done differently, we need to think differently. This means breaking our routine and introducing new sources of information. Take a different route to work. Go to a concert or show that's outside your usual repertoire. Get your information from a different news source. Invite unusual suspects to your next meeting.

Spur your employees toward strategic imagination by providing resources that fuel future thinking, such as Innovation Watch, Trend Watching, and TED Talks. Follow up by inviting them to envision their business unit

15 Interview Questions to Hire Employees With Tomorrow's Skills

The list below, compiled by highly effective and creative business leaders, offers interview questions for determining a candidate's capacity for success in the Conceptual Era.

Strategic imagination questions

- What systems, methodologies, or protocols were changed at your current or previous job as a result of your suggestions? How did these changes benefit the organization?
- What inspires you?
- What new customer segments will emerge in five years? How will customers five years from now discover our product?

Provocative inquiry questions

- What would our target market say about our offerings compared with the leading competitor's offerings?
- If you came onboard and needed to hire a group of innovators for this company, what traits would you look for?
- What two things could our competitors do to make our product or services irrelevant?

Creative problem-solving questions

- What steps do you take when you need to make an immediate decision but there's little data available?
- Share an example of when you tried to solve a problem with a totally different approach than what is traditionally used. What was the result?
- In which situations do you seek the help of others to make decisions?

Agility questions

- What do you do when priorities shift quickly? Give an example.
- Share an example of a time when there was a decision to be made and procedures were not in place. What did you do? What was the outcome?
- Tell me about a decision you made when you were under pressure.

Resilience questions

- Share an example of when you failed at something. How did you then proceed?
- When you are considering a new idea but unsure of an outcome, what do you do?
- You've presented a great idea to management but they're not buying in. What's your response?

in the year 2020. Ask them to draw their vision—create a magazine cover or an org chart, for example—and then lead a discussion about the myriad perspectives informing their collective vision.

Future skill #2: Provocative inquiry

Transformative power lies in asking questions that make us rethink the obvious, and the ability to ask smart and often unsettling questions is known as provocative inquiry. One of my favorites is "What business are we in anyway?" When Starbucks asked itself this question, the answer was transformative: "We aren't in the coffee business serving people. We're in the people business serving coffee."

A provocative inquiry often begins with *how, which, why*, or *if*, and is specific without limiting imagination. A provocative version of "Who has an idea for improving our product or service?" would be "If we hosted a forum called 'How Our Products and Services Are Terrible,' what topics would be on the main stage?" An equally effective version is "Which two things could our competitors do to render our product or services irrelevant?"

Spark inquiry by sending team members a handful of questions such as "What are the unshakable beliefs about client or customer needs in our industry—what if the opposite were true?" and "If you had five minutes with our CEO, what would you ask that would make her rethink our business?" By encouraging curiosity, you set the stage for dialogue that supports solutions and innovation.

Future skill #3: Creative problem solving

To survive the fierce competition of the Conceptual Age, employees will need creative problem-solving skills: the application of best practices from unexpected sources to create fresh solutions. Inventor James Dyson exemplified this skill when he applied the mechanics of a local sawmill—a giant cyclone-shaped dust collector—to a household vacuum. The result? The bestselling vacuum in the United Kingdom.

Hone this reflex in employees at your next meeting by using an exercise called RE:think. Offer people an everyday object (for example, a paper clip or scissors) and ask them to pretend they've never encountered it before. What does this new product do? What are its benefits and how would they position it? Such activities will strengthen your team's ability to approach problems in unconventional ways.

Another method for cultivating creative problem solving is called "forced connections." Introduce it in a stalled brainstorm—which typically happens after 20 minutes of ideation—by asking the group to select a random item in the room, such as a pen. Ask for five or more characteristics of the object (blue, detachable cap, pocketsize) and write these on a whiteboard.

Now choose three of these characteristics to apply to your initial brainstorm topic: Is there a market for a pocketsize version of your product? Is there value in a detachable component? These prompts will stretch your thinking in unpredictable—and often productive—directions.

BY ENCOURAGING CURIOSITY, YOU SET THE STAGE FOR DIALOGUE THAT SUPPORTS SOLUTIONS AND INNOVATION.

Future skill #4: Agility

Change is the only constant, which means a Plan B—and C, D, and E—are truly critical. Quick thinking and resourcefulness in the face of unexpected situations is the very definition of agility. Individuals who confidently handle unforeseen scenarios will become extraordinarily valuable in the Conceptual Age.

A recent example of agility in action is Nissan. As other automakers responded to rising oil costs and environmental concerns by branching into hybrid vehicles, CEO Carlos Ghosn guided Nissan down a different, more expensive and time-consuming path.

Despite the industry's lack of electric-car technology and skepticism from all sides, Nis-

INDIVIDUALS WHO CONFIDENTLY HANDLE UNFORESEEN SCENARIOS WILL BECOME EXTRAORDINARILY VALUABLE IN THE CONCEPTUAL AGE.

san debuted the world's first affordable electric car in 2011. The Nissan Leaf launched as the only zero-emissions car on the market and has since received numerous global awards.

Cultivate an agile mindset by leading your teams through a "wild card" scenario. Using a current project, ask the group to present a brief project plan. Then break into smaller teams and challenge each to succeed despite wild cards such as 50 percent less budget, or half the research and development time, or severely restrained resources or technology. Planning for success under constraint helps employees gain agility and prepare for change before it is forced on them.

Future skill #5: Resilience

Building on agility, employees also will need to demonstrate resilience, which translates to tenacity and courage in the face of obstacles. Tim Westergren, founder of Pandora, is the very portrait of resilience.

His idea for streaming radio unfortunately coincided with the dot-com crash, which meant investors were scarce. During a three-year period, he pitched Pandora to 300 venture capitalists—all of whom rejected the idea. Instead of giving up, he worked for years without pay and convinced others to do the same. Eventually, funding was secured and Pandora went public in 2011, closing its first day of trading with a market cap of $2.8 billion.

Teach your teams resilience by practicing the art of "impossible to possible." Ask groups to write answers to these questions: What would a customer say we should do for them but never would? What would make us the industry leader—although hell would have to freeze over for it to happen? What impossible thing would make your job infinitely better?

Then, ask teams to swap lists and find a way to turn their list of impossible things into possibilities. I assure you that people will rise to the challenge. This exercise truly awakens the competitive spirit and gives rise to a solution-driven mindset.

As we seek to transform our cultures to compete in the Conceptual Age, our employees and leaders must demonstrate more than knowledge or technical expertise; they must cultivate new skill sets. The valued leaders and successful employees of the Conceptual Age will be firing on all cylinders—and many will involve right-brain functions. To avoid extinction, we must fuel the kind of daily future thinking that will enable our teams to conceptualize—and handle—the demands of a new era.

Lisa Bodell is founder and CEO of futurethink, an innovation research and training firm; lbodell@futurethink.com.