From the Editor

Dail Fields *Regent University*

This issue of the *International Journal of Leadership Studies* continues our diverse international offerings. The diversity of the research presented by our authors offers all of us an opportunity to develop global perspectives on the role of leaders and followers in organizations. Our authors continue to bless us with excellent material, and we continue to work hand-in-hand with authors to present interesting, educational, and professional research.

Prospective authors should take note that the IJLS now has more than 2,500 subscribers, receiving our issues free of charge via the Internet. We continue to seek new manuscripts, so bring them on!

I'm very happy to announce that Dr. Brenda Johnson of Gordon College has agreed to serve as Associate Editor of the *International Journal of Leadership Studies.* I am grateful that she has agreed to accept this role and look forward to working together with her to continuously improve IJLS.

The Relationships among Servant Leadership, Organizational Citizenship Behavior, Person-Organization Fit, and Organizational Identification

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This study proposes that there is a relationship between servant leadership and organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) and that person-organization fit and organizational identification moderate that relationship. One hundred fourteen participants completed a cross-sectional self-report survey. Hierarchical regression analysis revealed that servant leadership behavior partially predicts organizational citizenship behaviors and that person-organization fit and organizational identification partially moderate the relationship between servant leadership and organizational citizenship behavior. One implication is that leaders who want to encourage citizenship behaviors among employees would do well to model those same behaviors toward others.

There has been a flurry of interest in recent years surrounding a theory of servant leadership and the dimensions that make up the construct. What started out as a twofold concern of Greenleaf (1977) that individuals who want to tackle the problems of the world do so only intellectually, and that individuals who want to serve often miss the opportunity, servant leadership has become a theory for moral (Graham, 1991) and ethical (Sauser, 2005) leadership that focuses on follower development, community building, authentic leadership, and shared leadership (Graham, 1991; Laub, 2003; Sendjaya, Sarros, & Santora, 2008). Stone, Russell, and Patterson (2004) proposed that "the motive of the servant leader's influence is . . . to motivate and facilitate service and stewardship by the followers themselves" (p. 356). Indeed Greenleaf argued that the best indicator of servant leadership is that followers are "more likely themselves to become servants" (p. 14). But what does service look like for a follower within an organization? Could organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), which is voluntary behavior that benefits both co-workers and the organization, be considered service and stewardship? This study investigates the relationship between servant leadership and organizational citizenship behavior to determine if servant leader behaviors predict follower OCB. This study focuses on servant leadership theory because of its emphasis on the follower and its de-emphasis on the leader.

Also investigated in this study is the role that person-organization fit and organizational identification play in the servant leadership-OCB relationship. Research has suggested an association between person-organization fit and OCB (O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986; Cable & DeRue, 2002; Netemeyer, Boles, McKee, & McMurrian, 1997), as well as a correlation between organizational identification and OCB (Riketta, 2005; Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008). Although these associations establish more of a direct link than a moderating effect, it is proposed that follower attitudes toward the organization, comprised of fit and identification, influence employee behavior over and above the effect of leader behavior (see Figure 1). In the following sections, a literature review of the constructs and the related hypotheses are given, along with the theoretical framework and implications for the study. The research method and procedures are laid out, followed by the results of a cross-sectional self-report survey. Finally, limitations and recommendations for further research are provided.
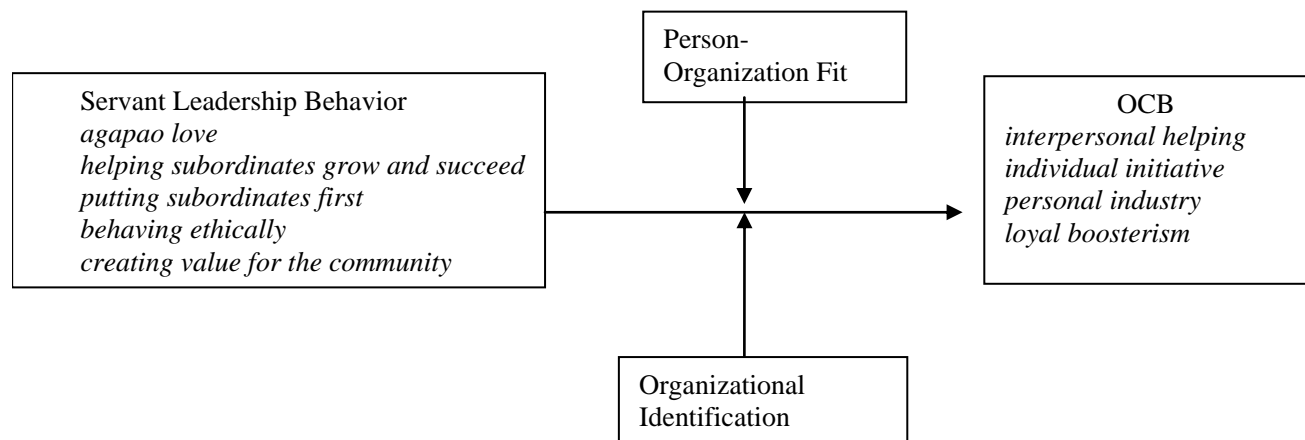
Figure 1. Model of relationship between servant leadership behaviors and follower organizational citizenship behavior moderated by person-organization fit and organizational identification.

Organizational Citizenship Behavior

Organizational citizenship behavior, although that term was not yet used, was suggested in the mid-1970s as a form of worker contribution that had not been measured previously as part of an individual's output (Organ, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie, 2006). Early research (Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983) revealed there were some employee behaviors that managers wished for but could not necessarily demand or reward. These behaviors were categorized as "helping" and "compliance" behaviors. Helping behaviors were focused on other individuals, such as assisting co-workers with work completion due to absence or overload. Compliance behaviors consisted of more general behaviors that benefit the organization, such as punctuality, not taking unnecessary time off work, etc. These behaviors were eventually described as "discretionary" because they are not a formal part of a follower's job description, although they "promote the effectiveness of the organization" (Moorman & Blakely, 1995, p. 127). Organ et al. pointed out that although attendance at work and not engaging in personal matters while at work, for

example, could be considered part of the job description, individuals have discretion in the degree to which they comply. Thus, these behaviors can be considered citizenship behaviors. Ehrhart (2004) referred to OCB as behaviors that support the "'core' task behaviors" (p. 62). Scholars have distinguished anywhere from two dimensions (Williams & Anderson, 1991; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990) to seven dimensions for OCB (Bergeron, 2004; Kernodle, 2007). Moorman and Blakely (1995) created an instrument based on the four dimensions proposed by Graham (1989). These dimensions are interpersonal helping, individual initiative, personal industry, and loyal boosterism. Interpersonal helping focuses on helping co-workers. Individual initiative describes communication to others that improves individual and group performance. Personal industry relates to specific tasks that are not part of the job description, such as not missing work. Loyal boosterism promotes the organization's image to others (Moorman & Blakely, 1995). These dimensions were chosen because of the emphasis on participation in different facets of organizational life.

Servant Leadership

A central tenet of servant leadership theory is to place followers' interests above one's own (Joseph & Winston, 2005). Several authors suggested servant leadership may be more conducive to organizational citizenship behaviors due to its focus on follower development, community building, authentic leadership, and shared leadership (Graham, 1991; Laub, 2003; Sendjaya et al., 2008). Winston (2003) proposed that the leader's service to the follower results in the follower's reciprocal service to the leader. Stone et al. (2004) argued that "the motive of the servant leader's influence is not to direct others but rather to motivate and facilitate service and stewardship by the followers themselves" (p. 356). Followers' service to others and stewardship of organizational resources could be construed as organizational citizenship behavior.

Several models (Table 1) have been offered in the last 10 to 15 years to describe servant leadership (Spears, 1998; Farling, Stone, & Winston, 1999; Page & Wong, 2000; Sendjaya & Sarros, 2002; Russell & Stone, 2002; Patterson, 2003; Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006; Sendjaya et al., 2008; Liden, Wayne, Zhao, & Henderson, 2008). For this study, Liden and colleagues' (2008) recent contribution of a servant leadership instrument was utilized. Their study focused on developing and validating the instrument as well as providing evidence that servant leadership explains community citizenship behaviors, in-role performance, and organizational commitment over and above transformational leadership and LMX. Based on their results, four of the seven dimensions (helping subordinates grow and succeed, putting subordinates first, behaving ethically, and creating value for the community) were selected to test the relationship with OCB. Emotional healing, empowerment, and conceptual skills were not shown to be significant in their hierarchical linear model (HLM) and were therefore not included in this study.

Table 1

Constructs of Servant Leadership

Spears (1998)	Farling et al. (1999)	Page & Wong (2000)	Russell & Stone (2002)	Patterson (2002)	Barbuto & Wheeler (2006)	Sendjaya et al. (2008)	Liden et al. (2008)
Listening	Vision	Integrity	Vision	Agapao love	Altruistic calling	Voluntary subordination	Emotional healing
Empathy	Influence	Humility	Honesty	Humility	Emotional healing	Authentic self	Creating value for the community
Healing	Credibility	Servanthood	Integrity	Altruism	Persuasive mapping	Covenantal relationship	Conceptual skills
Awareness	Trust	Caring for others	Trust	Vision	Wisdom	Responsible morality	Empowering
Persuasion	Service	Developing others	Service	Trust	Organizational stewardship	Transcendental spirituality	Helping subordinates grow and succeed
Conceptualization		Empowering others	Modeling	Empowerment		Transforming influence	Putting subordinates first
Foresight		Visioning	Pioneering	Service			Behaving ethically
Stewardship		Goal-setting	Appreciation of others				
Commitment to growth of people		Leading	Empowerment				
Building community		Team-building					
		Shared decision making					

Liden and associates (2008) showed that helping subordinates grow, behaving ethically, and creating value for the community were significantly related to community citizenship behaviors, which include personal and organizational community service. Helping subordinates grow and succeed is supported as a way for servant leaders to influence followers to perform OCB (Ehrhart, 2004). Results from Liden and colleagues' study showed a significant negative relationship between helping subordinates grow and community citizenship behaviors. Although putting subordinates first was not shown to be significant in their results, it was added to this study because it was inter-correlated with community citizenship behavior and was an effect of the self-sacrificial nature of the leader's behavior toward followers. Ethical leader behavior is suggested as a precursor to followers' civic virtue whereby they engage in citizenship behavior (Graham, 1991). The results showed that behaving ethically had a significant negative relationship with community citizenship behavior, and creating value for the community showed a significant positive relationship with those same behaviors.

In addition to Liden and colleagues' constructs, the 'agapao love' dimension from Patterson's (2003) seven-virtue servant leadership model was included in this study. The rationale is that love formed the basis for the servanthood of Jesus Christ, and Jesus commanded his disciples to love others just as he had loved them (see John 13:34, 15:9). Winston (2002) described this type of love as a moral love displayed by the leader in his or her concern for the human and spiritual needs of followers. Thus, leader love goes beyond liking someone to genuine care and compassion for followers. Dennis and Bocarnea (2005) created an instrument to measure Patterson's (2003) model. As the instrument had some issues with validity, only the 'agapao love' dimension was selected to test for follower OCB. If love for others is modeled by the leader, it is conjectured that the follower will in turn show love through the performance of citizenship behavior.

It is suggested that servant leadership predicts follower OCB. The theoretical framework for this argument is derived from Greenleaf (1977), who believed that leaders who serve their followers would produce followers who serve others. Thus, a leader is a role model for followers, and OCB is influenced by models (Smith et al., 1983). People learn from observing others and modeling what they see. Therefore, the implication of Greenleaf's thesis for this paper is if followers experience and observe a leader serving others, followers themselves will in turn serve others. This service could entail helping co-workers, promoting the organization to outsiders, and encouraging others to express their ideas and opinions. Moorman and Blakely's (1995) four dimension OCB construct—interpersonal helping, individual initiative, personal industry, and loyal boosterism—was selected for the study because each dimension focuses on different aspects of organizational life. Thus, it seems likely that servant leader behavior would be an antecedent of follower organizational citizenship behavior, such that:

H1a: The servant leadership behaviors of agapao love, helping subordinates grow and succeed, putting subordinates first, behaving ethically, and creating value for the community predict the follower organizational citizenship behavior of interpersonal helping.

H1b: The servant leadership behaviors of agapao love, helping subordinates grow and succeed, putting subordinates first, behaving ethically, and creating value for the community predict the follower organizational citizenship behavior of individual initiative.

H1c: The servant leadership behaviors of agapao love, helping subordinates grow and succeed, putting subordinates first, behaving ethically, and creating value for the

community predict the follower organizational citizenship behavior of personal industry.

H1d: The servant leadership behaviors of agapao love, helping subordinates grow and succeed, putting subordinates first, behaving ethically, and creating value for the community predict the follower organizational citizenship behavior of loyal boosterism.

Person-Organization Fit

Scholars who have focused on person-organization fit (Cable & DeRue, 2002; Kristof, 1996; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005; Piasentin & Chapman, 2006) have distinguished the concept in several ways. In a literature review of person-organization fit (P-O fit), Piasentin and Chapman (2006) noted that values were the most commonly assessed items of fit, followed by personality traits, goals, and skills and abilities. For the majority of the person-organization fit studies Piasentin and Chapman examined, the concept is generally defined as the extent to which a person perceives a fit between his or her values and the values of the organization for which he or she works. Thus, that is the definition adopted for this study.

It is suggested that person-organization fit moderates the servant leadership-OCB relationship. The theoretical framework for this argument is derived from O'Reilly and Chatman (1986), Cable and DeRue (2002), and Netemeyer et al. (1997), who proposed that strong value congruence between people and their organizations predicted a higher likelihood of citizenship behaviors. Chatman (1991) asserted that P-O fit focuses on how a person's values, when they come in contact with an organization's value system, affect that person's behavior. These scholars offered a main effects explanation for person-organization fit and OCB; however, a moderating effect is proposed for this study as ''moderation implies that the causal relation between two variables changes as a function of the moderator variable'' (Baron & Kenny, 1986, p. 1174). The implication of a moderating effect for this study is that the servant leadership-OCB relationship will be stronger when the values between the follower and the organization are congruent. Hence, the following is predicted:

H2: Person-organization fit moderates the relationship between servant leadership and follower OCB, such that the link between servant leadership and OCB will be stronger for followers whose values fit the organization.

Organizational Identification

Organizational identification is the degree to which a person both cognitively and emotionally identifies with his or her organization and ranges from primarily a cognitive awareness of membership with the organization to a fuller affective connection, including value and goal congruence (Ashforth et al., 2008). Ashforth et al. suggested that the stronger the identity between the individual and the organization the more identification results in not only cognitive and affective traits, but also in behaviors, such as citizenship behaviors. Martin and Epitropaki (2001) found that employees with high organizational identification not only shared the organization's goals, but they also saw the leader as embodying the same values and goals as the employee. Employees with low organizational identification, they suggested, were motivated to pursue self-interest needs rather than the collective good. Riketta (2005) meta-analyzed the research on organizational identification and considered all its correlates, including in-role and

extra-role performance, as well as its distinction from organizational commitment. His meta-analysis showed evidence that supported the high correlation between organizational identification and extra-role performance because, he noted, organizational identification measures focus on the causes of extra-role behaviors. One study has thus far supported the moderating effect of organizational identification on work group identification and OCB (Van Dick, Van Knippenberg, Kerschreiter, Hertel, & Wieseke, 2008).

In this study it is suggested that organizational identification moderates the relationship between servant leadership and OCB. The theoretical framework for this argument is derived from social identity theory (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), in which the perception of oneness with or belongingness to an organization defines the individual in terms of the organization. This identification with the organization leads the individual to act in ways that are congruent with that identity (Ashforth & Mael). The implication of a moderating effect of organizational identification for this study is that the servant leadership-OCB relationship will be stronger when followers identify with the organization. Hence, it is suggested:

> H3: Organizational identification moderates the relationship between servant leadership and follower OCB, such that the link between servant leadership and OCB will be stronger for followers who identify with the organization.

Method

Sample

The sample was a non-probability sample from the population of working individuals. One hundred thirty people who are employed across various industries throughout the United States and who are personal contacts of the author were invited by email to participate in an online survey. The objective of the sample was to obtain a minimum of 15 observations per independent variable. The recipients of the email were also asked to forward the email to their friends and co-workers (snowball method). One hundred fourteen responses were collected. Of the 114 participants, the majority were female (61%), Caucasian (81%), and their ages range between 40 and 49 years. The majority of participants have worked for their organization between 6 and 10 years (32%) and are in non-supervisory positions (SD=.50). More than 75% of respondents have worked for their current supervisor for five years or less. Forty-one percent of respondents work in educational organizations, followed by 15% in non-profits, 8% in healthcare organizations, and the remainder (36%) in various other industries, including finance and government.

Measures

Servant leadership. The servant leadership instrument is comprised of seven constructs (Liden et al., 2008); however, only four of the seven dimensions were chosen for this study. The dimensions were shown by Liden et al. through a hierarchical linear model to predict community citizenship behaviors. Those dimensions are helping subordinates grow and succeed, putting subordinates first, behaving ethically, and creating value for the community. In addition, four items from the Servant Leadership Assessment (Dennis & Bocarnea, 2005), which deal with agapao love, were added to the servant leadership section to determine if the love dimension correlates to the other four dimensions of Liden et al.'s instrument and if a leader's love predicts

follower OCB. The tests for internal consistency of the constructs in this study were .96 for 'agapao love', .96 for 'behaving ethically', .91 for 'creating value for community', and .94 for 'helping subordinates' (the two dimensions "helping subordinates grow and succeed" and "putting subordinates first" factored as one dimension in this sample).

Person-organization fit. Perceived person-organization fit was measured with Cable and DeRue's (2002) three item instrument that addresses congruence of personal values with the values of the organization. Cronbach's alpha was .96.

Organizational identification. The follower's identification with the organization was measured using Mael and Ashforth's (1992) six-item instrument that includes such statements as, "When I talk about [organization], I usually say 'we' rather than 'they'" and "When someone praises this [organization], it feels like a personal compliment." The organizational identification scale represents "the perception that one shares the experiences, successes, and failures of the focal organization, and that these successes and failures apply to and reflect upon the self just as they reflect upon the organization" (Mael & Tetrick, 1992, p. 816). The coefficient alpha was .85 in the study sample.

Organizational citizenship behavior. Organizational citizenship behaviors were measured using Moorman and Blakely's (1995) 19 item instrument that includes the dimensions of individual initiative (communication-oriented), interpersonal helping (other-oriented), loyal boosterism (organization-oriented), and personal industry (task-oriented). The coefficient alphas ranged from .76 to .85.

The separate measurements were combined into one instrument and respondents were asked to rate their answers on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from, for example, Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree, or Never to Always. The OCB scale was originally used as a 7-point Likert scale. The organizational identification scale was originally measured on a 5-point Likert scale. The authors of the person-organization fit and servant leadership scales did not indicate how the items were measured. Finally, gender (0=male; 1=female), ethnicity (0=Caucasian; Other=1), position (0=supervisory; 1=non-supervisory), age, and organizational tenure (years) were control variables.

Procedure

The data in this study was collected via an online survey website in which people were asked to rate the degree to which their supervisors exhibit certain servant leadership behaviors, the extent to which the respondents identify with their organization, the extent to which the respondents perceive a fit between their values and the values of the organization, and to what degree they perform certain extra-role behaviors. Responses were exported to SPSS 15 for analysis.

Analyses and Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations

Descriptive statistics were run for the independent, dependent, moderating, and control variables (Table 2). A correlation matrix is provided in Table 3. The independent variables were significantly inter-correlated, ranging from r=.51 to .75 (p<.01). Person-organization fit was moderately correlated with the servant leadership variables (r=.36 to .41, p<.01) and two of the

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations of Servant Leadership, Person-Organization fit, Organizational Identification, OCB, and Control Variables (N=114)

Variable	M	SD
Interpersonal helping	4.01	.60
Individual initiative	3.79	.58
Personal industry	4.09	.54
Loyal boosterism	3.67	.73
Agapao love	3.84	.89
Creating value for the community	3.29	.88
Behaving ethically	3.78	.94
Helping subordinates	3.18	.84
P-O Fit	3.55	.93
OI	3.52	.71
Ethnicity	.19	.40
Gender	.61	.49
Organizational Tenure	1.71	1.34
Position (supervisory/non-supervisory)	.58	.50

Table 3
Correlation Matrix among Servant Leadership, Person-Organization Fit, Organizational Identification, and Organizational Citizenship Behavior

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Agapao love	-									
Creating value for the community	.51**	-								
Behaving ethically	.68**	.57**	-							
Helping subordinates	.75**	.56**	.72**	-						
Person-organization Fit	.40**	.40**	.41**	.36**	-					
Organizational Identification	.26**	.18	.17	.31**	.37**	-				
Interpersonal helping	.28**	.26**	.28**	.18	.29**	.38**	-			
Individual initiative	.25**	.37**	.18	.19*	.10	.17	.41**	-		
Personal industry	.16	.14	.05	.07	.13	.16	.31**	.28**	-	
Loyal boosterism	.40**	.44**	.40**	.35**	.55**	.61**	.51**	.38**	.38**	-

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

dependent variables, interpersonal helping (r=.29, p<.01) and loyal boosterism (r=.55, p<.01). Organizational identification was somewhat correlated with love (r=.26), helping subordinates (r=.31), and two of the dependent variables, again interpersonal helping (r=.38) and loyal boosterism (r=.61) all at the p<.01 level. Person-organization fit and organizational identification were moderately correlated at r=.37, p<.01.The personal industry OCB was not significantly correlated with most of the variables, whereas the loyal boosterism OCB was significantly and moderately correlated with all the variables. The remaining two OCB,

interpersonal helping and individual initiative were somewhat significantly correlated with the variables.

Factor analysis

Factor analysis indicated that the five original servant leadership constructs (agapao love, helping subordinates grow and succeed, putting subordinates first, behaving ethically, and creating value for the community) loaded on four factors (Table 4). Helping subordinates grow and succeed and putting subordinates first loaded on the same factor. Consequently, although Liden and colleagues (2008) defined these dimensions as separate constructs, for this study, the two were combined as one variable, called "helping subordinates."

Multiple regression analysis

Regression analysis was conducted for each of the four constructs of OCB. In the first block of the regression, ethnicity, gender, age, organizational tenure, and position were entered to control for possible effects of these variables on the dependent variables. In the second block, either P-O fit or organizational identification was entered with the servant leadership variables. Because there are two moderating variables, they were regressed separately to increase the likelihood of detecting moderation. In a subsequent third block, individual interactions were tested between each moderating variable and the servant leadership variable and regressed on each OCB variable, making for 24 tests. This procedure was necessary because moderation is difficult to detect with smaller sample sizes.

None of the independent and control variables was significant for personal industry, suggesting that servant leader behaviors do not predict task-oriented behaviors, such as performing tasks with extra care and ahead of schedule. This conclusion is in line with Moorman and Blakely's (1995) findings perhaps because, as they suggested, personal industry can be viewed as a normal part of job performance. When organizational identification and the servant leadership variables were regressed on interpersonal helping, helping subordinates grow was a significant and negative ($p<.05$, $\beta=-.36$) predictor. Interpersonal helping includes welcoming new employees and helping them get settled into their job. None of the independent variables was significant for interpersonal helping when regressed with person-organization fit. Creating value for the community ($p<.01$, $\beta=.40$) was a significant and positive predictor of individual initiative when regressed with person-organization fit, organizational identification, and the demographic variables. Individual initiative includes communicating with others to increase participation in the group or organization. When person-organization fit and the servant leadership variables were regressed on loyal boosterism, creating value for the community was significant and positive ($p<.10$, $\beta=.18$). Loyal boosterism is promoting the organization to outsiders or defending the organization against criticisms. Creating value for the community ($p<.01$, $\beta=.28$), behaving ethically ($p<.05$, $\beta=.23$), and helping subordinates ($p<.05$, $\beta=-.27$) were significant predictors of loyal boosterism when regressed with organizational identification, although helping subordinates had an inverse effect.

Table 4
Factor Analysis of Servant Leadership Items

Component	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
SL1	-.10	**.87**	-.10	.09
SL2	.04	**.78**	-.07	.13
SL3	-.05	**.87**	-.04	.04
SL4	.23	**.84**	.09	-.08
SL5	**.72**	.09	-.08	.07
SL6	**.81**	-.09	-.03	.15
SL7	**.69**	-.07	-.06	.10
SL8	**.88**	-.05	.02	.06
SL9	**.87**	.07	.03	.00
SL10	**.72**	.20	-.10	-.03
SL11	**.79**	.13	-.07	-.07
SL12	**.36**	-.02	-.41	.15
SL13	.15	-.03	**-.91**	-.08
SL14	.02	.04	**-.86**	.05
SL15	.01	-.03	**-.98**	-.03
SL16	-.12	.06	**-.92**	.06
SL17	.05	.07	**-.79**	.08
SL18	.02	.02	-.09	**.84**
SL19	.13	-.03	-.01	**.86**
SL20	-.05	.09	.00	**.93**
SL21	.06	.01	.04	**.94**

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.
Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Testing interactions

To test for moderation of organizational identification and person-organization fit, interactions were created for both organizational identification and person-organization fit with each of the servant leadership variables: organizational identification X helping subordinates, organizational identification X behaving ethically, organizational identification X creating value for the community, organizational identification X agapao love, person-organization fit X

helping subordinates, person-organization fit X behaving ethically, person-organization fit X creating value for the community, and person-organization fit X agapao love. Each interaction was then entered in the third step of a regression analysis for each OCB.

Interpersonal helping OCB. When the organizational identification X helping subordinates interaction was regressed with the interpersonal helping OCB, the interaction was significant and positive with an R square of .30 ($p < .10$, $\beta = .94$). The interaction of organizational identification X creating value for the community was also significant and positive ($R^2 = .34$, $p < .01$, $\beta = 1.63$). Finally, organizational identification X agapao love was a significant and positive interaction with an R square of .29 ($p < .10$, $\beta = 1.06$). These results show that organizational identification augments the relationship between some servant leader behaviors and followers helping others (Table 5). There was no significant interaction between the person-organization fit X servant leader dimensions for interpersonal helping, which suggests that a follower's values congruence does not affect the relationship between the leader's servant behavior and the follower helping others.

Individual initiative OCB. The interaction between organizational identification X creating value for the community was significant and positive ($R^2 = .23$, $p < .05$, $\beta = 1.22$) for the individual initiative OCB. Furthermore, organizational identification X helping subordinates was significant and positive with an R square of .21 ($p < .10$, $\beta = .91$). Finally, organizational identification X agapao love was significant and positive ($R^2 = .23$, $p < .03$, $\beta = 1.35$). These results indicate that organizational identification does moderate the relationship between some servant leader behaviors and individual initiative (Table 6).

Person-organization fit X helping subordinates was a significant and positive interaction with an R square of .25 ($p < .01$, $\beta = 1.47$). Person-organization fit X behaving ethically was also significant and positive ($R^2 = .24$, $p < .01$, $\beta = 1.69$). Finally, the interaction between person-organization fit X agapao love was significant and positive with an R square of .24 ($p < .05$, $\beta = 1.45$). These results show that person-organization fit does moderate the relationship between some servant leader behaviors and individual initiative (Table 7).

Loyal boosterism OCB. The organizational identification X helping subordinates interaction was significant and positive with an R square of .55 ($p < .10$, $\beta = .70$). Furthermore, the organizational identification X creating value for the community interaction was significant with an R square of .55 ($p < .10$, $\beta = .79$). These results indicate an augmenting effect of organizational identification on some servant leader behaviors and loyal boosterism (Table 8). There was no significant interaction between person-organization fit and any of the servant leadership variables.

Table 5

Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Interaction between Organizational Identification and Servant Leader Behaviors on Interpersonal Helping OCB

Variable		b (SE)
Step 1		
Ethnicity		-.30 (.14)**
Gender		.10 (.12)
Age		.07 (.05)
Organizational tenure		-.05 (.05)
Position (supervisor vs. non-supervisor)		-.03 (.12)
	ΔR^2	.02
Step 2		
Love		.15 (.09)
Creating value for the community		.11 (.07)
Behaving ethically		.14 (.09)
Helping subordinates		-.26 (.11)**
Organizational Identification		.33 (.09)*
	ΔR^2	.20*
Step 3		
Helping subordinates X Organizational Identification		.14 (.07)***
	ΔR^2	.22**
Total R^2		.30 (F=3.49)***
Creating value for the community X Organizational Identification		.24 (.07)*
	ΔR^2	.27*
Total R^2		.34 (F=10.65)*
Agapao love X Organizational Identification		.14 (.08)***
	ΔR^2	.22***
Total R^2		.29 (F=3.24)***
Behaving ethically X Organizational Identification		-.04 (.08)
	ΔR^2	.19
Total R^2		.27 (F=.22)

*p<.01; **p≤.05; ***p<.10

Table 6

Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Interaction between Organizational Identification and Servant Leader Behaviors for Individual Initiative OCB (N=114)

Variable		b (SE)
Step 1		
Ethnicity		-.16 (.14)
Gender		.01 (.11)
Age		-.03 (.05)
Organizational tenure		-.02 (.04)
Position (supervisor vs. non-supervisor)		-.21 (.11)***
	ΔR^2	.01
Step 2		
Love		.08 (.10)
Creating value for the community		.25 (.08)*
Behaving ethically		-.04 (.09)
Helping subordinates		-.08 (.11)
Organizational Identification		.06 (.09)
	ΔR^2	.11*
Step 3		
Helping subordinates X Organizational Identification		.13 (.07)***
	ΔR^2	.13***
Total R^2		.21 (F=2.92)***
Creating value for the community X Organizational Identification		.17 (.08)**
	ΔR^2	.14
Total R^2		.23 (F=5.09)**
Agapao love X Organizational Identification		.17 (.08)**
	ΔR^2	.14**
Total R^2		.23 (F=4.85)**
Behaving ethically X Organizational Identification		.10 (.08)
	ΔR^2	.12
Total R^2		.20 (F=1.60)

*p<.01; **p≤.05; ***p<.10

Table 7

Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Interaction between Person-Organization Fit and Servant Leader Behaviors for Individual Initiative OCB (N=114)

Variable		b (SE)
Step 1		
Ethnicity		-.16 (.14)
Gender		.01 (.11)
Age		-.03 (.05)
Organizational tenure		-.02 (.04)
Position (supervisor vs. non-supervisor)		-.21 (.11)***
	ΔR^2	.01
Step 2		
Love		.10 (.10)
Creating value for the community		.27 (.08)*
Behaving ethically		-.03 (.09)
Helping subordinates		-.07 (.11)
Person-organization Fit		-.07 (.07)
	ΔR^2	.11*
Step 3		
Helping subordinates X Person-organization Fit		.17 (.06)*
	ΔR^2	.17*
Total R^2		.25 (F=7.46)*
Creating value for the community X Person-organization Fit		.08 (.05)
	ΔR^2	.12
Total R^2		.21 (F=2.31)
Agapao love X Person-organization Fit		.15 (.06)**
	ΔR^2	.16**
Total R^2		.24 (F=6.75)**
Behaving ethically X Person-organization Fit		.17 (.06)*
	ΔR^2	.16*
Total R^2		.24 (F=7.01)*

*p<.01; **p≤.05; ***p<.10

Table 8

Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Interaction between Organizational Identification and Servant Leader Behaviors for Loyal Boosterism OCB (N=114)

Variable		b (SE)
Step 1		
Ethnicity		-.37 (.17)**
Gender		.15 (.14)
Age		.10 (.06)
Organizational tenure		-.06 (.05)
Position (supervisor vs. non-supervisor)		-.26 (.14)***
	ΔR^2	.06**
Step 2		
Love		.13 (.09)
Creating value for the community		.24 (.07)*
Behaving ethically		.18 (.09)**
Helping subordinates		-.24 (.11)**
Organizational Identification		.59 (.08)*
	ΔR^2	.49*
Step 3		
Helping subordinates X Organizational Identification		.12 (.07)***
	ΔR^2	.50***
Total R^2		.55 (F=3.00)***
Creating value for the community X Organizational Identification		.14 (.07)***
	ΔR^2	.51***
Total R^2		.55 (F=3.69)***
Agapao love X Organizational Identification		.08 (.08)
	ΔR^2	.49
Total R^2		.54 (F=1.12)
Behaving ethically X Organizational Identification		.05 (.08)
	ΔR^2	.49
Total R^2		.54 (F=.41)

*p<.01; **p≤.05; ***p≤.10

In order to observe the slope of the interactions, the values were entered into an Excel spreadsheet and graphed. The slopes are shown in Figures 2-12.
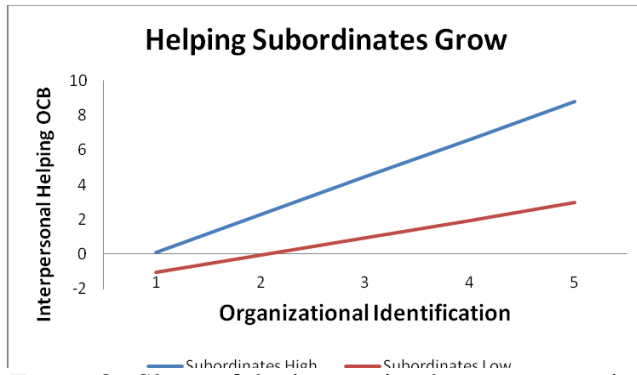
Figure 2. Slope of the interaction between organizational identification and helping subordinates grow on interpersonal helping OCB.
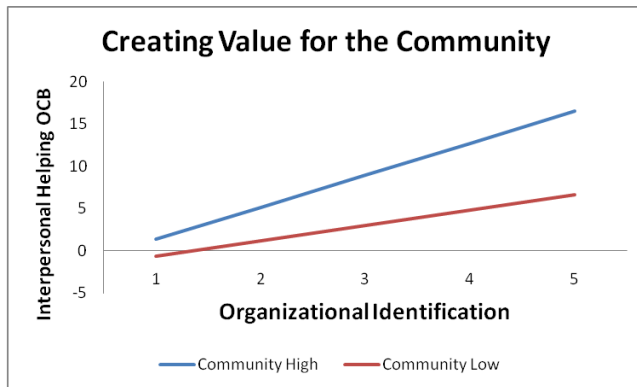

Figure 3. Slope of the interaction between organizational identification and creating value for the community on interpersonal helping OCB.
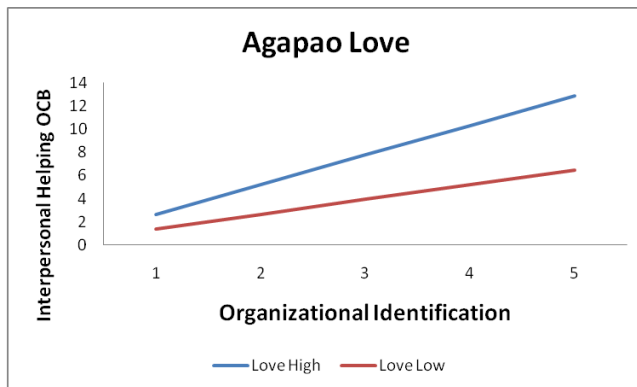

Figure 4. Slope of the interaction between organizational identification and agapao love on interpersonal helping OCB.

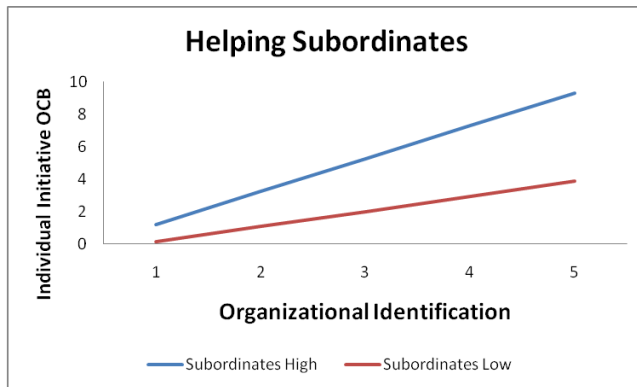*Figure 5*. Slope of the interaction between organizational identification and helping subordinates grow on individual initiative OCB.

Figure 6. Slope of the interaction between organizational identification and agapao love on individual initiative OCB.

Figure 7. Slope of the interaction between organizational identification and creating value for the community on individual initiative OCB.

Figure 8. Slope of the interaction between person-organization fit and helping subordinates grow on individual initiative OCB.

Figure 9. Slope of the interaction between person-organization fit and behaving ethically on individual initiative OCB.
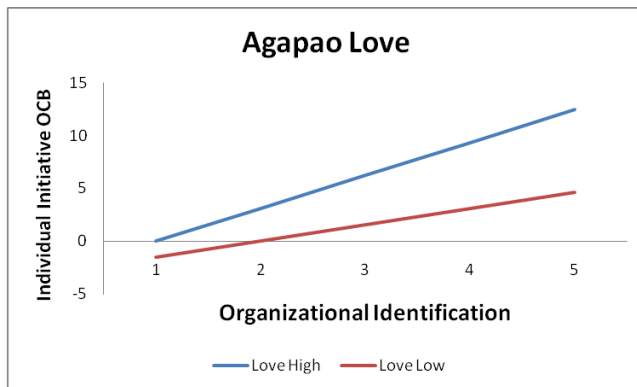

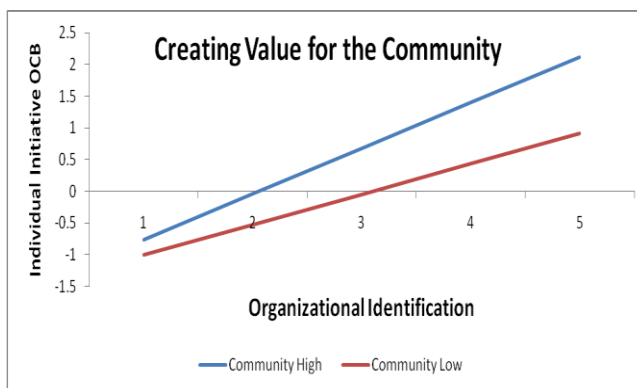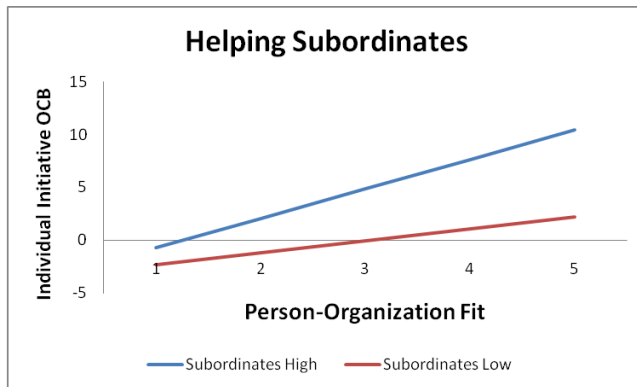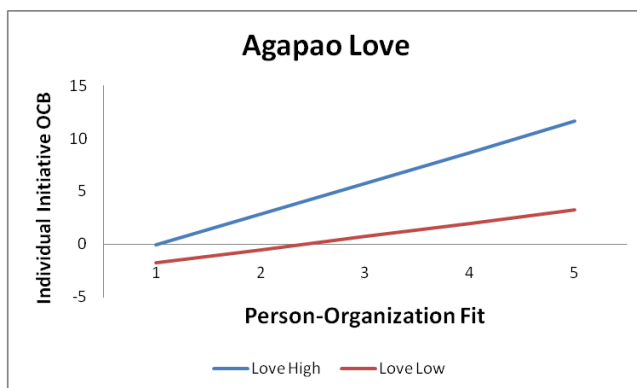*Figure 10.* Slope of the interaction between person-organization fit and agapao love on individual initiative OCB.
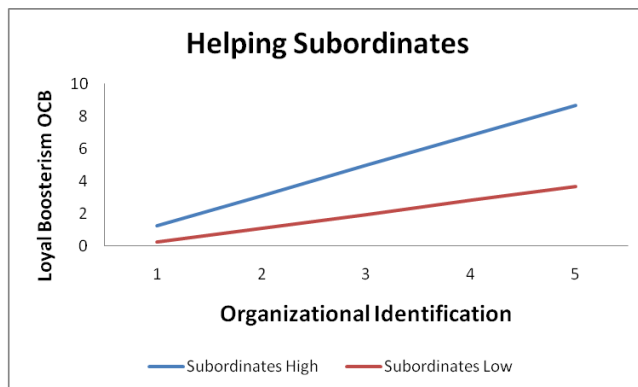
Figure 11. Slope of the interaction between organizational identification and helping subordinates grow on loyal boosterism OCB.
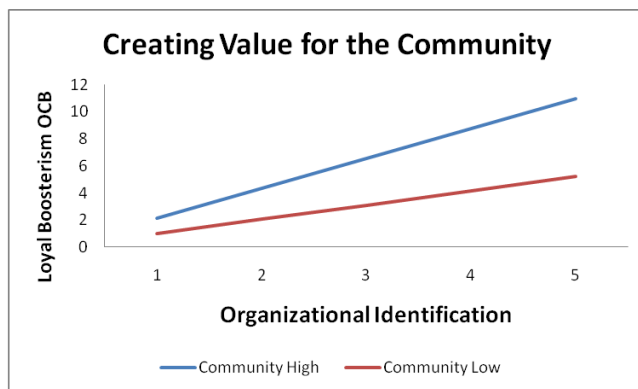

Figure 12. Slope of the interaction between organizational identification and creating value for community on loyal boosterism OCB.

Discussion

Overall the results presented offer support for the hypotheses. Hypotheses 1a-1d stated that servant leadership predicts the follower organizational citizenship behaviors of interpersonal helping, individual initiative, personal industry, and loyal boosterism. The rationale for these hypotheses was that servant leaders serve not only the organization, but also their followers. Greenleaf (1977) suggested that if leaders serve followers, followers will be inspired to serve others. Organ and colleagues (2006) proposed followers who see their leaders help subordinates develop, who provide personal support to followers, and who show genuine interest in their followers will be motivated to reciprocate and to give to others.

Each of the constructs was tested in regression analysis. Although moderately to strongly correlated with the other servant leadership constructs, agapao love did not predict any of the follower OCB dimensions (H1a-d), suggesting that leader behavior that is less tangible, such as showing interest or compassion, is not as easily replicated by followers as more concrete behaviors, such as community activity.

A leader's creating value for the community predicted employees' individual initiative (H1b) and loyal boosterism (H1d). This finding is congruent with Liden et al. (2008), who found a positive and significant relationship between creating value for the community and community

citizenship behaviors. Although Liden and colleagues found a negative relationship between behaving ethically and citizenship behaviors, the current analysis examined the effects of ethical behavior with organizational identification and found a positive and significant relationship to loyal boosterism (H1d).

Helping subordinates grow predicted both the employee's interpersonal helping (H1a) and loyal boosterism (H1d). Even though it was proposed that followers who experience a leader's help would in turn be inspired to help others, helping subordinates negatively and significantly predicted interpersonal helping and boosterism. A negative but significant relationship was also found by Liden et al. (2008) between helping subordinates and community citizenship behaviors. It appears that the more the leader focuses on helping the follower achieve career goals and skill development and makes the follower's job easier, the less the follower performs citizenship behaviors for others and the organization. One explanation could be that the follower believes that the leader provides the same level of support for other followers, making it unnecessary for the follower to help others.

None of the servant leader behaviors correlated with personal industry, and subsequent to regression analysis, results showed that task-related behaviors, such as not missing work and doing one's work well, were not predicted by servant leader behaviors (H1c). In sum, although H1c was not supported, H1a, H1b, H1d were all partially supported.

This study provides further evidence that leader behavior does make a difference in follower attitudes. For example, a leader's focus on community service instills follower behaviors that both encourage others to participate in the organization and promote the organization to outsiders. Thus, if it is important to the organization to have members who invest in the organization by performing citizenship behaviors, then leaders would do well to examine their own practices and adjust their behavior where necessary as a means to model the desired behaviors.

It was hypothesized (H2) that person-organization fit moderates the influence of the servant leader on organizational citizenship behavior, such that the relationship between servant leader behaviors and follower organizational citizenship behaviors would be stronger for followers whose values fit the organization. Based on the data, H2 was only partially supported. According to the regression analysis, person-organization fit moderated the relationship between helping subordinates grow, behaving ethically, agapao love, and the individual initiative OCB. This result in interesting for two reasons. First, there was no significant moderation of person-organization fit on any of the other citizenship behaviors. Values congruence with the organization does not apparently influence the degree to which leader behaviors predict certain extra-role behaviors, such as helping others and promoting the organization. On the other hand, person-organization fit did moderate the degree to which employees encourage co-workers to voice ideas and opinions. The leader behaviors involved in this interaction are altruistic by nature. Self-sacrifice, concern for others, and ethical principles seek the good for others. The individual initiative OCB could also be seen as altruistic, but so too is interpersonal helping. It is unclear why values fit would moderate only the one citizenship behavior.

An implication of this finding is that organizations may want to hire people whose values are similar to the organizations. Instead of focusing on putting a person with the requisite skills in a job, companies should focus more on how well the employee fits with the organization's culture (Bliss, 1999). Skills can be taught, but core beliefs and values are less flexible. An organization that values openness and honesty between itself and the community needs employees who are open and honest with each other and leaders.

Hypothesis 3 suggested that organizational identification moderates the effect of servant leadership on organizational citizenship behaviors, such that the relationship between servant leadership and follower OCB would be stronger for followers who identify with the organization. Regression analysis showed a moderating effect of organizational identification between helping subordinates grow and interpersonal helping, individual initiative, and loyal boosterism. Furthermore, organizational identification also moderated the relationship between creating value for community and interpersonal helping, individual initiative, and loyal boosterism. Finally, organizational identification was also a significant moderator of the relationship between agapao love and interpersonal helping and individual initiative. Thus, H3 was partially supported.

The findings that organizational identification moderates the servant leadership-OCB relationship are in line with the understanding that OI creates a sense of oneness with the organization whereby individuals are led to internalize the organization's mission as their own (Van Dick, Hirst, Grojean, & Wieseke, 2007). In particular, it can be inferred that an employee who defends the organization against criticisms, above and beyond the impact of the servant leader's own modeled behavior, has a strong identity with the organization. It is also understandable that an employee with a strong identification would be willing to encourage others to participate in the organization and to help co-workers. The implication for organizations then, is that in order to increase behaviors that supervisors wish for but cannot pay for, it is important for leaders to connect followers' self-identity to their social identity with the group and to model the types of behaviors sought (Van Dick et al.).

Strengths, Weaknesses, Directions for Future Study

This study sought to provide evidence for the relationship between servant leadership and organizational citizenship behaviors, which it did in part. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that person-organization fit and organizational identification moderated the servant leadership-OCB relationship. Moderating effects indicate that follower values and identities do influence extra-role behaviors over and above the leader's behavior.

There are, however, limitations to this study. The first is the type and size of the sample. There were ultimately 11 independent variables. As such, an ideal sample size would have been 15 observations per variable for a total of 165 respondents. The sample size was 114, enough for 10 observations per variable. In addition, the sample was convenient in that many of the participants were acquainted with the researcher and were responsible for additional respondents (snowball method), which does not allow for generalizability of the results.

Another limitation is the potential for common method bias due to the cross-sectional, self-report method of collecting data. The nature of the dependent variable, OCB, lends itself to the inflated self-reporting of extra-role behavior due to social desirability. It is also possible that leniency bias affected respondents' ratings of supervisors (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). In an ideal situation, supervisors could have reported on their own behavior and on employees' OCB, which could have balanced any inflation due to self-reporting and leniency on the part of employees. Time and resources did not allow for collecting data from multiple sources; thus, the findings should be regarded sensibly in light of potential biases.

One other limitation also opens up the possibility for future research. This study focused on the individual-level of follower behavior. It would be beneficial to focus on group-level behaviors and their impact on organizational citizenship behavior, in particular the interaction of

followers with each other and the interaction of followers as a group with the leader. In addition, further study of servant leadership and the applicability of Liden et al.'s instrument, or any other instrument to measure servant leadership, is a needed area of research. Finally, a continued search for the follower's place in the leader-follower relationship will serve to broaden our understanding of the unique and valuable contribution followers make to organizations.

About the Author

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Character and Leadership: Situating Servant Leadership in a Proposed Virtues Framework

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Leadership scholars and practitioners have emphasized the important connection between ethics and leadership over the years. This connection is emphasized even more within the field of servant leadership. While the servant leadership models proposed over the past two decades have advanced our understanding of servant leadership and its application, there is an increasingly obvious need for a common vocabulary and framework for engaging the ethical dimensions of leadership that can be used to facilitate further research into the antecedents and philosophical foundations of servant leadership. In this paper, the authors (a) provide an overview of virtues and servant leadership, (b) propose a model of character and virtues that frames ethical discussion and answers a void in the servant leadership literature, and (c) demonstrate how this model relates to several prominent servant leadership models.

The contemporary study of servant leadership may be traced to the groundbreaking work of Greenleaf (1977). Over the last decade, study of servant leadership has expanded into areas such as alternative models (Cerff & Winston, 2006; Laub, 1999; Patterson, 2003; Poon, 2006; Rennaker, 2005; Spears, 1998; Winston, 2003; Wong & Page, 2003), leader characteristics (Patterson, 2003; Pepper, 2003; Spears, 1998; Whetstone, 2005), follower interaction (Patterson, 2003; Whittington, 2004; Winston, 2003), worldviews (Boyum, 2006; Dyck & Schroeder, 2005; Koehn, 1998; Wallace, 2006; Warren, 2002), organizational cultures (Laub, 2003; Rennaker, 2005; Whetstone, 2005), comparisons with other leadership models (Matteson & Irving, 2005; Patterson, 2003; Whittington, 2004), and contextual applications (Brookshire, 2001). More recently, explorations of the philosophical foundations of servant leadership have emerged with accompanying efforts to present a consistent model of its ethical components. Lawson (2007) stated that we can best understand leadership in light of its moral activities. Boyum (2006) noted that one of the limitations of servant leadership is that it lacks a philosophical foundation, and that therefore empirical theory building and empirical research are hindered. Patterson (2003),

Parolini (2004), Wallace (2006), Winston (2003), Whetstone (2005), and Covey (2005) have presented research that contributes to our understanding of the connections between ethical leader characteristics and servant leadership. Reinforcing this connection, Liden, Wayne, Zhao, and Henderson (2008) identified "behaving ethically" as one of seven scales in their multidimensional model of servant leadership. Even so, there is variation among many of the authors noted above. What is still lacking in the literature on servant leadership is a common vocabulary and framework for engaging the ethical dimensions of leadership that can be used to facilitate further research into the antecedents and philosophical foundations of servant leadership. We propose that an approach using virtues provides this common vocabulary and framework.

Overview of Virtues

In order to discuss virtues and their relationship to servant leadership, there must first be an understanding of what virtues are and how they relate to similar concepts such as character, values, and personal attributes.

Early work in identifying and defining virtues was done by Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Confucius, and Buddha, among others (Ciulla, 2001). History contains a long list of those who have developed theories and practical frameworks. Peterson and Seligman (2004) noted that every major religion has some articulation of virtues. Kinnier, Kernes, and Dautheribes (2000) developed a list of common universal values from a variety of religious and non-religious sources dating back more than 2000 years. Seligman (2002) described an exercise in which his team of researchers pored through 200 virtues lists covering 3000 years of history.

MacIntyre (1981) stated that it was Aristotle, drawing on Plato, who gave us one of the first coherent articulations of character and virtue, considering the "end," or *telos*, of man. He spoke of virtues as character traits that are the means of bringing man from what he happens to be to what he could be if he realized his essential nature. Aristotle also defined "happiness," or *eudaimonia*, as a well-lived life and believed that right action flows from right character. In the Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas (McDermott, 1993) and Moses Maimonides (Weiss, 1991) added to Aristotle's thinking by including divine and eternal elements. The underlying assumption among them and the reason why virtues are important, according to MacIntyre, is that man possesses "an essential nature and an essential purpose or function" (p. 58). McKinnon (1999) supported this idea, arguing it would be inconsistent to recognize that animals possess specific natures but then to say humans do not.

While there are many sources from which to draw when studying virtues, Western history has yielded several schools of ethical thought as noted in Table 1, and not all of them consider character, nor do they all define or consider virtues in the classical sense. During the Enlightenment, Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, DesCartes, Pascal, and others brought rationalism and science to ethics, separating ethics from its theistic foundations in the belief that individual reason and experience are the ultimate guides to moral norms (Israel, 2002). Descartes, for example, rejected all prior assumptions of objective or universal truth in favor of the individual's perception of truth, which he believed could be discerned from one's reasoning abilities (Hooker, 1996). However, this introduction of rationalism eventually shifted consideration from character and the end (*telos*) or purpose of man to a more categorical, rules-based approach, leading the discussion of ethics to focus on the abstract identification of universal rules and principles (MacIntyre, 1981).

Out of this new direction of thought emerged deontological, or duty, ethics, which focus on moral acts rather than moral agents and duties somewhat independent of their consequences. Using a normative approach, proponents of deontological ethics such as Immanuel Kant used reason and logic to discern societal norms and thereby prescribe categorical principles and rules by which moral decisions could be made. These rules in the deontological framework, because they are seen as universal, are often linked to a concept of virtue (Crisp, 1998). However, they make the character of the individual secondary to the fulfillment of moral obligations. One potential issue with the deontological approach is that abstract rules can be carried to practical extremes. For example, Clark and Rakestraw (1994) presented a dilemma in which someone following the rule "do not lie" would have felt morally bound to tell a Nazi soldier where innocent Jews were hiding.

Jeremy Bentham, J. S. Mill, and their contemporaries later drew upon deontological and teleological concepts in the development of utilitarianism (Crisp, 1998). They redefined happiness as the maximization of pleasure and the absence of pain, focusing on outcomes or consequences of actions rather than the character or duties of the individual. Utilitarianism subsequently emerged as a dominant ethical framework that focuses moral decision-making on what brings the most good to the greatest number. McKinnon (1999) observed that one of the key limitations of utilitarianism is that it places the individual decision maker as the arbiter of the good, when individuals generally do not possess the traits required to make consistently correct calculations regarding the greatest happiness in outcomes and consequences.

Table 1
Characteristics of ethical approaches

	Virtue Ethics	**Duty Ethics**	**Utilitarian Ethics**
Key operational question	Who ought I to be?	What ought I to do?	What brings the greatest happiness to the greatest number?
Definition of Happiness	Fulfilling one's purpose or function	Adherence to moral absolutes	Maximization of pleasure, absence of pain
Focus	Character of the individual	Rules and resulting obligations of the individual	Outcomes and consequences

Note. Each of these "schools" of ethics has variations. For example, Crisp (1998) noted that utilitarianism can be divided into rule utilitarianism, motive utilitarianism, and act utilitarianism.

We see more recently in the works of MacIntyre (1981), Bennett (1996), Hursthouse (1998), and Foot (2003), for example, a resurgence in virtue ethics as a competing framework for ethical behavior and decision making in modern times. One reason for this is likely the inability of other ethical models to satisfactorily address contemporary issues. For example, McKinnon (1999) discussed more specifically the key distinctions between virtue ethics and its competitors, duty ethics and utilitarianism, noting that these other schools of thought cannot properly explain

the importance of integrity or discernment because those traits are not necessarily tied to determinate actions.

One challenge for virtue ethics, however, is that despite all that has been written about virtues over time, no single dominant view or construct currently exists. Differences of opinion are readily apparent regarding the definition and nature of virtues. With regard to definition, there is little consensus regarding what actually constitutes a virtue. Ciulla (2001) argued that virtues are good habits that come from the daily practices of a society or organization. Garrett (2005) defined virtues as admirable character traits—generally desirable dispositions which contribute to social harmony, enable us to act in accordance with reason, enable us to feel appropriately and have the right intention, and are orientations towards a mean, rather than extremes. Note that these definitions, useful as they are in framing desirable leadership traits, lack the philosophical underpinnings that would lend themselves to the consistent interpretation of such phrasings as "good habits," "admirable character traits," and "desirable dispositions."

Offering a contrast to the perspectives common in leadership studies, Peterson and Seligman (2004) defined virtues within the field of positive psychology as core characteristics valued by moral philosophers and religious thinkers. While this definition includes (by reference) a moral component, it offers us little in terms of practical application. From yet another perspective, Whetstone (2005) stated that virtues are essential moral attributes of individuals. Similarly, Clark and Rakestraw (1994) defined virtues as "specific dispositions, skills, or qualities of excellence that together make up a person's character, and that influence his or her way of life" (p. 276). It is important to note in this discussion that the focus is on personal attributes and character traits as opposed to observed behaviors, corresponding with Winston's (2006) assertion that character focuses on the necessity of being good as opposed to simply doing good. This aligns our discussion with the school of virtue ethics as opposed to duty ethics or utilitarianism.

It is also generally recognized that there is little agreement as to the nature of virtues. Brookshire (2001) suggested that the virtues enumerated by Aristotle, the New Testament writers, Ben Franklin, and others were simply contextual representations of virtues at specific points in history. McKinnon (1999) agreed, stating that different cultural or social arrangements can influence what counts as good character. Winston (2006) described the seemingly contextual nature of virtues, comparing the virtues articulated by Aristotle with those of traditional Christianity and Patterson's (2003) servant leadership model. Whetstone (2005) generally agreed, going so far as to state that all virtues are contextual by nature, not only historically but situationally as well, meaning that what is considered virtuous in one situation might not be so in another.

Offering an opposing view, MacIntyre (1981), drawing on Aristotle, asserted that if man has an essential nature that is shared by all individuals, there are then virtues that apply to all individuals as well. He contended that the contextual appearance of virtues is due to the subtraction of this essential nature from the discussion of ethics. Peterson and Seligman (2004) confirmed that while all cultures emphasize sets of character traits they deem important, there is a strong convergence across religions, cultures, and time with regard to certain core virtues. Covey (2005) made a similar assertion regarding the concepts of honesty, respect, and the innate sense of right and wrong that are shared across cultures. Jacobs (2001) noted a consistency in the acquisition of the vices across cultures throughout history.

Given their ability to demonstrate the consistent appearance of specific virtue concepts throughout history and explain contextual appearance, we concur with the arguments of

MacIntyre (1981) and Peterson and Seligman (2004). In contrast to Whetstone's (2005) assertion, the contextual appearance of some virtues, both historically and culturally, is better explained by the fact that certain virtues are emphasized more in some situations or cultures than others. In another example, Pava (2005) considered a model that recognizes only three virtues in a leadership context—restraint, modesty, and tenacity—and omits other identified virtues—courage, optimism, and strength—because the latter are generally required only in heroic circumstances.

Drawing these various perspectives, we propose a practical definition of virtue as: A set of related personal attributes or dispositions that (a) is universal and not contextual (MacIntyre, 1981; Peterson & Seligman, 2004), (b) has moral implications that extend beyond the individual (Ciulla, 2001), (c) has recognition that possessing it without excess is considered good and lacking it is considered harmful (Koehn, 1998), and (d) can be attained through practice (Strang, 2005).

The first proposition that virtues are universal and not contextual is consistent with the extensive research of Peterson and Seligman (2004), MacIntyre's (1981) historical perspectives, Covey's (2005) discussion regarding conscience, Lewis's (1944) observations on the agreement across cultures throughout history on what is good and what is evil, Geisler and Turek's (1998) transcultural examples of common moral law, and Garofalo, Geuras, Lynch, and Lynch (2001) and Jacobs' (2001) assertions that many aspects of moral corruption are also universally recognized.

Second, we propose that virtues have moral implications beyond the individual. For instance, Koehn (2001) described how a lack of individual trustworthiness affects one's relationships with others. Ciulla (2001), Englebrecht, Van Aswegen, and Theron (2005), and Locke (2006) have all described how corruption in organizational leaders impacts stakeholders within and beyond the boundaries of the organization. Dyck and Schroeder (2005) also discussed the impact of organizational corruption on economic systems.

Third, we propose that possessing virtues is good and lacking them is harmful. Possession of virtues is good by definition. Corruption, or lack of virtue, is considered harmful, as noted by Garofalo et al. (2001), Strang (2005), and Koehn (1998).

Our fourth proposition is that virtues can be acquired through practice. As asserted by Strang (2005), the acquisition of virtue is like the acquisition of any habit. One must first perform acts consistent with virtue, and after the habit has formed (or during the process) one comes to realize that these virtuous acts are valuable in themselves; then, one can decide to pursue the acts because one loves acting virtuously. The more virtuous one becomes, the easier it becomes to resist corruption (Strang).

Likewise, Jacobs (2001) addressed the acquisition of vices through practice, noting that a good deal of vicious behavior is not really a lapse in the pursuit of virtue, but instead a success in the pursuit of wrong values. Hursthouse (as cited in Darwall, 2003) underscored the necessity of practice in the acquisition of virtues, noting that there are no "moral whiz-kids" in the way there are mathematical whiz-kids.

Our definition considers virtues to be categorical or thematic concepts rather than singular concepts. One advantage of this approach is that moral concepts that have eluded definition can be treated with clarity. Audi and Murphy's (2004) exploration of integrity serves as an example, wherein they demonstrated that virtually every attempt to define integrity as a singular concept has failed. However, if integrity is instead treated as a *category* of attributes, it enables us to include within it many commonly associated singular attributes, such as honesty,

authenticity, trustworthiness, faithfulness, and transparency. Additionally, when using this approach, virtues can more easily be distinguished from other concepts such as values, abilities, and personality traits.

The distinction between virtues and values can be recognized based on context. For instance, courage is widely considered a good character trait, leading to its recognition as a virtue. In contrast, independence is considered a good character trait in the United States, but not in Japan. Generally speaking, we propose that values tend to define cultures or characteristics of roles within an organization or social construct, while virtues transcend cultures and other socially-embedded constructs. Lennick and Kiel (2008) affirmed the universality of virtues, and compare them to values at cultural, corporate, and individual levels. They argued that virtues supersede values in a sort of moral hierarchy. This is consistent with the previously noted observations of MacIntyre (1981) and Peterson and Seligman (2004).

The distinction between virtues and abilities can be recognized based on attainment and moral implications. For example, a disposition of gratitude can be acquired through practice and attention to one's attitudes. Once attained, it may cause one's life and relationships to flourish; without it, relationships often suffer and die. In contrast to gratitude, there are many people who have no ability when it comes to woodworking, for example, and they are morally no worse off because of it.

One additional characteristic of virtues is that they do not function independently, but interdependently. Consider the virtue of courage without the virtues of discernment and temperance, or diligence without integrity. MacIntyre (1981) noted,

> For Plato, the presence of one virtue requires the presence of all. This strong thesis concerning the unity of the virtues is reiterated by both Aristotle and Aquinas. The presupposition which all three share is that there exists a cosmic order which dictates the place of each virtue in a total harmonious scheme of human life. Truth in the moral sphere consists in the conformity of moral judgment to the order of this scheme. (p. 142)

The interdependency of virtues is useful when considering the virtues that are generally called upon by various leadership models.

Overview of Servant Leadership

Servant leadership has received more attention in recent years, even in the media and popular press. From Stone Phillips' (2004) Dateline interview with Larry Spears of the Greenleaf Center for Servant Leadership to Gregen's (2006) article in U. S. News & World Report, it is becoming evident that a model of leadership that once was peripheral in discussions of organizational life is receiving greater attention and respect. In his article creatively titled *Bad News for Bullies,* Gregen noted that "Increasingly, the best leaders are those who don't order but persuade; don't dictate but draw out; don't squeeze but grow the people around them" (p. 54). He added that rather than holding onto power, these servant leaders, "push power out of the front office, down into the organization, and become a leader of leaders," understanding "that the people in an organization are its No. 1 asset" (p. 54).

Not only is servant leadership receiving more attention in the media and popular press, but many key organizations are implementing servant leadership in practice. Among others, companies such as Starbucks, Southwest Airlines, Vanguard Investment Group, The Men's Wearhouse, Synovus Financial Corporation, and TD Industries are taking seriously principles related to servant leadership. Phillips (2004) noted that as many as 20% of Fortune magazine's

top 100 companies to work for have sought out guidance from the Greenleaf Center for Servant Leadership.

While interest in servant leadership is growing, the practice of servant leadership is not a new concept. In fact, it is not uncommon for students of servant leadership to trace its ancient roots to the model and teaching of Jesus Christ (e.g., Bekker, 2006; Gyertson, 2006; Irving, 2005b; Irving & McIntosh, 2009; McIntosh & Irving, 2010). From Jesus' washing of the disciples' feet (John 13) to his challenging the disciples when they were focused on vying for positions of status (Matthew 20:25-27), Jesus called his followers to a different way. On this point Blanchard (2002) noted that in Jesus' teaching, he talked about a "form of leadership very different from the model familiar to the disciples; a leader who is primarily a servant. He did not offer them a Plan B. Servant-leadership was to be their mode of operation. And so it should be for all leaders" (p. xi).

Beyond mentoring his disciples in service and showing them the way by modeling such acts as washing their feet, Jesus provided the ultimate example of service and self-sacrifice in his death on the cross. As Stone Phillips (2004) pointed out in his interview with Larry Spears, "Being willing to give his life on the cross… in service of others," was "the ultimate example of this [service]" in the life of Jesus. With this ultimate act of service in view, early church leaders emphasized the importance of following this model. For instance, in Philippians 2:5 the church is called to: "Have this mind among yourselves, which is yours in Christ Jesus" (English Standard Version). What specifically was this attitude or mind that they were to have? The passage goes on to describe Jesus Christ as the one,

> …who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but made himself nothing, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form, he humbled himself by becoming obedient to the point of death, even death on a cross. (Philippians 2:6-8)

The attitude of humility and service that characterized Jesus Christ in life and death is the attitude that is to characterize his followers as well. This ancient call is making its way into the present as contemporary leaders seek to engage in the practice of servant leadership in their organizations.

While the practice of servant leadership has both present and ancient examples, the contemporary study of servant leadership traces its roots primarily to Greenleaf (1977), who captured the essence of servant leadership for a modern audience through his writing and work with AT&T. Posing the question "Who is the servant-leader?" in his book, Greenleaf answered by stating, "The servant-leader *is* servant first. . . . It begins with the natural feeling that one wants to serve, to serve *first*. Then conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. That person is sharply different from one who is *leader* first" (p. 27).

This "servant first" emphasis is a hallmark of servant leadership studies and has captured the attention of leadership scholars and practitioners alike. Built upon this understanding, Laub's (1999) definition of servant leadership emphasized the understanding and practice of leadership that places the good of those led over the self-interest of the leader. Emphasizing the means by which servant leaders accomplish this, Whetstone (2005) noted that servant leaders are characterized by persuasion and example rather than command and control.

From Greenleaf's early work in the 1970s, servant leadership theories began to emerge in the 1990s and early 2000s. The following table from Irving and McIntosh (2007, p. 788) provides an overview of several of these key models.

Table 2
Servant Leadership Theories

Graham (1991)	Buchen (1998)	Spears (1998)	Farling et al. (1999)	Laub (1999)	Russell (2001)	Patterson (2003b)
Inspirational	Self-identity	Listening	Vision	Valuing people	Vision	Love
Moral	Capacity for reciprocity	Empathy	Influence	Developing people	Credibility	Humility
	Relationship building	Healing	Credibility	Building community	Trust	Altruism
	Preoccupation with the future	Awareness	Trust	Displaying authenticity	Service	Vision
		Persuasion	Service	Providing leadership	Modeling	Trust
		Conceptualiza-tion		Sharing leadership	Pioneering	Empowerment
		Foresight			Appreciating others	Service
		Stewardship			Empowerment	
		Commitment				
		Community building				

Based upon these models, the field of servant leadership studies has been gradually shifting from theory and conceptualization to empirical testing. These empirical studies include: Barbuto and Wheeler (2006), Bekker (2005, 2006), Dannhauser (2006), Dennis (2004), Dennis and Winston (2003), Dingman and Stone (2006), Drury (2004), Hebert (2004), Helland (2003), Irving (2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2008), Irving and Longbotham (2006, 2007a, 2007b), Koshal (2005), Laub (1999, 2003, 2005), Ledbetter (2003), Liden et al. (2008), McIntosh and Irving (2010), Parolini (2005), Rennaker and Novak (2006), Sendjaya (2003), Sendjaya, Sarros, and Santora (2008), Washington, Sutton, and Field (2006), and Winston (2004).

Connections between virtues and Servant Leadership

Having considered virtues and servant leadership separately, what are the connections between them? There is general agreement as to the connection between morality and leadership. For example, Covey (2005) proposed that moral authority is what makes formal authority work; Ciulla (2001) stated that leadership is morality and immorality magnified; and Engelbrecht et al. (2005) asserted that integrity lies at the heart of leadership.

As noted previously, contemporary leadership theory has emphasized the moral dimension of servant leadership from the days of Greenleaf's work. More recently, this dimension has received increasingly open discussion. Patterson (2003) clearly established that servant leadership is a virtuous theory, describing it as encompassing seven virtuous constructs, which work in processional pattern. The virtues Patterson described are *agapáo* love, humility, altruism, vision, trust, empowerment, and service. Wong and Page (2003) identified integrity, humility, and servanthood as relevant components of the servant leader's character. Matteson

and Irving (2005, 2006) found a correlation between servant leadership and self-sacrificial leadership in the virtue of altruism. In evaluating team effectiveness and servant leadership themes, Irving and Longbotham (2007b) identified the virtues of providing accountability, valuing and appreciating, and engaging in honest self-evaluation among leadership themes. Cerff and Winston (2006) argued for the inclusion of hope as a virtue in the servant leadership model. Lawson (2007) demonstrated the connections between servant leadership and virtue ethics, and additionally connected virtue ethics to the virtuous constructs contained in Patterson's (2003) servant leadership model. Covey (2006) also connected servant leadership with the virtues of humility, integrity, love, courage, patience, self-control, gratitude, and respect. As noted by Spears (2002), the concepts of character and virtue are inseparably tied to servant-leadership.

Making the case for a philosophical foundation for servant leadership more directly, Wallace (2006) explored the connections between servant leadership and various worldviews and philosophical approaches. He argued that absent some form of metaphysical grounding, any ethic as a basis for action is simply another expression of relativism; aside from utilitarian outcomes, there would be no compelling reason to choose one form of leadership over another. In discussing character as a component of the Judeo-Christian worldview, he enumerated essential character traits from a Christian perspective, including wisdom, teachableness, lovingkindness, joyfulness, peace making, humility, meekness, longsuffering, gentleness, patience, self-control, courage, self-sacrifice, trustworthiness, truthfulness, empathy, and foresight.

While Wallace's (2006) case for a philosophical foundation for servant leadership is significant, there is considerable variety between what is recognized as virtuous and the differentiation among other authors in their definitions of individual virtues. Furthermore, while there is significant value in the work that has already been done in servant leadership studies, the literature points to the need for a common vocabulary and a consistent approach to distinguishing virtues from other essential leadership traits. With this in mind, we propose a model for character and virtues as a response to this need in the literature.

A Model of Character and Virtues

Figure 1 shows a hierarchical construct that consolidates virtue constructs from many sources into eight categories or themes. Each category contains a set of example attributes that clarify the scope of the category, but do not fully represent its definition. This model is drawn primarily from a Judeo-Christian worldview through the study of character and virtues in the Old and New Testaments. This approach is consistent with the work of Wallace (2006), who extensively explored the appropriateness of the Judeo-Christian worldview as a complementary ethical basis for servant-leadership theory, concluding it provides the best fit when compared to other major world religions. This is supported by Colson (1999), Buchholz and Mandel (2000), and Slingerland (2001), who noted that for most of Western history virtues have been developed on theistic foundations, as well as by Habermas (2008), who asserted that the identity of Western culture is rooted in Judeo-Christian values. Additionally, it reconciles in many respects with virtue constructs from other world religions and writings in the field of virtue ethics. As an extension of this work, we present comparisons with several servant-leadership models.

In comparison with research done in the field of psychology, and with positive psychology in particular, there are many similarities but also some notable differences. For instance, comparison with Peterson and Seligman's (2004) character strengths model yields

similarity in terms of hierarchical structure, but a mixture of similarities and differences in terms of the contents of the hierarchy. The reason for this is twofold and highly instructive. The first reason is that the rules used for selection of virtues differ considerably between the two models. Our criteria consist of four components—(a) universal and not contextual, (b) moral implications that extend beyond the individual, (c) recognition that possessing it without excess is considered good and lacking it is considered harmful, and (d) attainment through practice—that are focused on personal attributes; Peterson and Seligman's criteria consist of ten components that include behavioral criteria, resulting in what they call "character strengths" in addition to virtues. The second reason is the contrast in accounting for the origins of virtue. Our work is based upon a Judeo-Christian worldview, while theirs is based upon a biological origin process (p. 13).
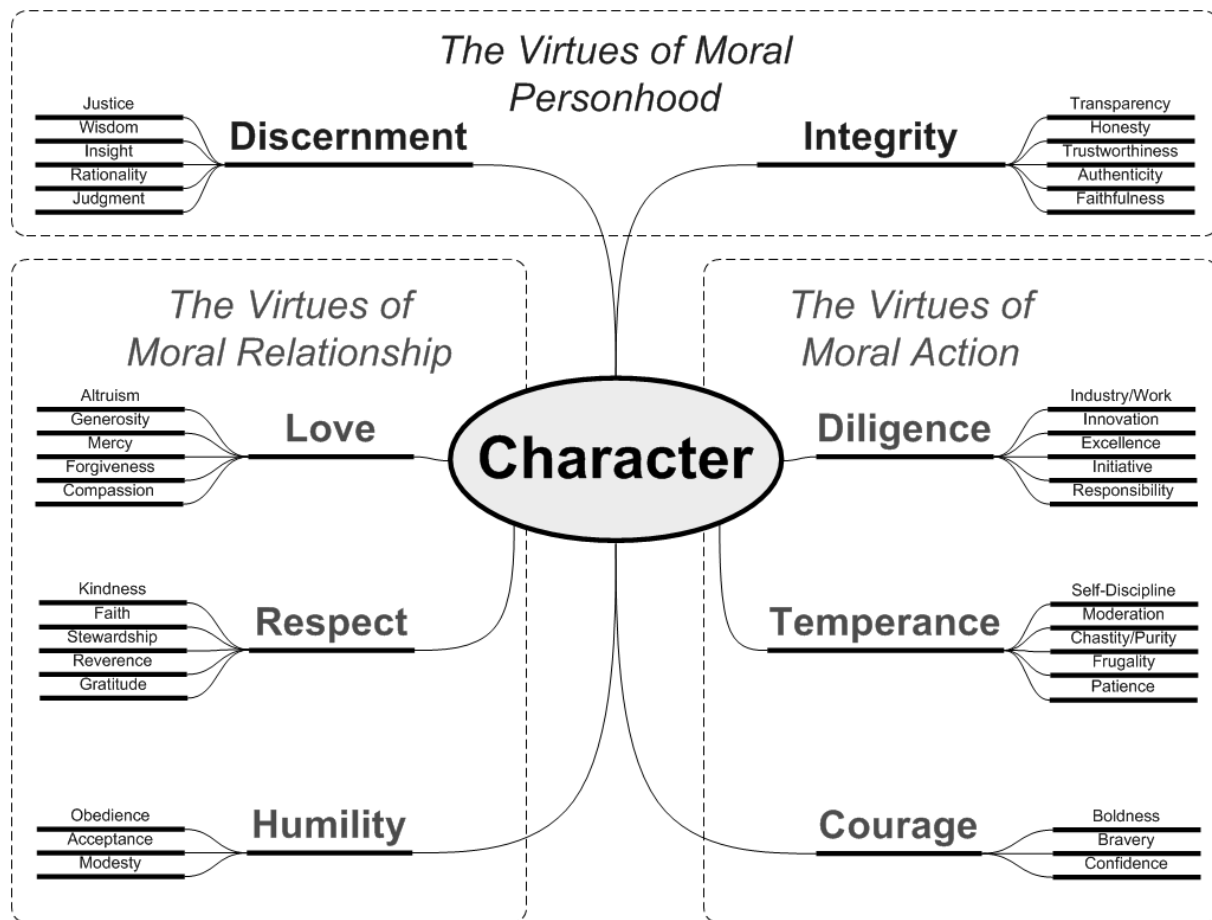
Figure 1: Character/Virtue Model

Definitions of the Virtues

As previously stated, we propose that virtues are categorical rather than singular concepts. This idea originated in an attempt to reconcile lists of virtues from a variety of sources into a single comprehensive set. The attempt proved quite unwieldy, leading to the construction of categories as shown in Figure 1. Definitions were then developed for each of the categories by using related terms from the original languages in the Old Testament (Hebrew) and the New Testament (Greek) consistent with the comparative work done by Wallace (2006). These

definitions were then compared back to the source lists to determine whether or not there was general agreement between the sources and the definitions. While there will likely be ongoing discussion regarding these definitions and the approach used to derive them, we are hopeful they can serve as the foundation for a common vocabulary in the context of servant leadership and for advancing research into its ontological foundations. Following are definitions for each of the virtue categories:

- **Integrity** – Personal attributes related to the consistent alignment of motives, words, actions, and reality over time. Examples of attributes in this category include transparency, honesty, trustworthiness, authenticity, and faithfulness.
- **Discernment** – Personal attributes related to accurate moral perception and distinction. Examples of attributes in this category include justice, wisdom, insight, rationality, and judgment.
- **Love** – Personal attributes related to unselfish concern for the needs, best interests, and wellbeing of others. Examples of attributes in this category include altruism, generosity, mercy, forgiveness, and compassion.
- **Respect** – Personal attributes related to correctly estimating the value of everything external to one's self. Examples of attributes in this category include kindness, faith, stewardship, reverence, and gratitude.
- **Humility** – Personal attributes related to correctly ascertaining one's place in life and one's value in relation to others. Examples of attributes in this category include obedience, acceptance, and modesty.
- **Diligence** – Personal attributes related to the active pursuit of value, timeliness, and excellence in outcomes. Examples of attributes in this category include industry, work, innovation, excellence, initiative, and responsibility.
- **Temperance** – Personal attributes related to restraint in one's appetites, desires, attitudes, thoughts, words, and actions. Examples of attributes in this category include self-discipline, moderation, chastity, frugality, and patience.
- **Courage** – Personal attributes related to confidently advancing or defending what is true or right in the face of opposition or uncertainty. Examples of attributes in this category include boldness, bravery, and confidence.

Comparisons to Other Virtue Constructs

Development of a model that represents the virtues enables one to compare various models. Table 3 presents comparisons of several models, revealing model-specific concentrations in some virtues and gaps in others. For instance, Benjamin Franklin's 13 virtues are largely centered on facets of temperance, but courage is absent from his list. A weakness in Locke's model is that independence is counted as a virtue, but independence is better defined as a value among Western cultures, especially the United States.

Table 3
Virtue/Character Trait Comparisons

Virtue Category	Plato/ Aquinas (Drefcinski, 1998)	Franklin (1868)	Lewis (1952)	Maitland (1997)	Peterson & Seligman (2004)	Locke (2006)
Integrity		Sincerity		Trustworthiness	Courage	Honesty Integrity
Discernment	Justice Wisdom	Justice	Justice Prudence	Fairness Justice	Justice, Wisdom	Rationality Justice
Love			Charity Forgiveness	Sympathy	Humanity	
Respect		Silence	Faith Hope		Transcendence	
Humility		Humility	Humility		Temperance	Earned Pride
Diligence		Industry		Industry Inventiveness	Courage	Productivity
Temperance	Moderation	Chastity Frugality Moderation Order Resolution Temperance Tranquility	Temperance Chastity	Self-Control	Temperance	
Courage	Fortitude		Fortitude		Courage	
Additional Attributes		Cleanliness				Independence

The Concept of Virtue and Vice

Patterson (2003) described servant leadership virtues as constructs that are components of the servant leader's character, stating that these constructs have a moderating effect on the leader's behavior. This corresponds with Aristotle's assertion that a virtue is an ideal situated between extremes. Following these concepts, Figure 2 shows each virtue as a midpoint between deficiency and excess.
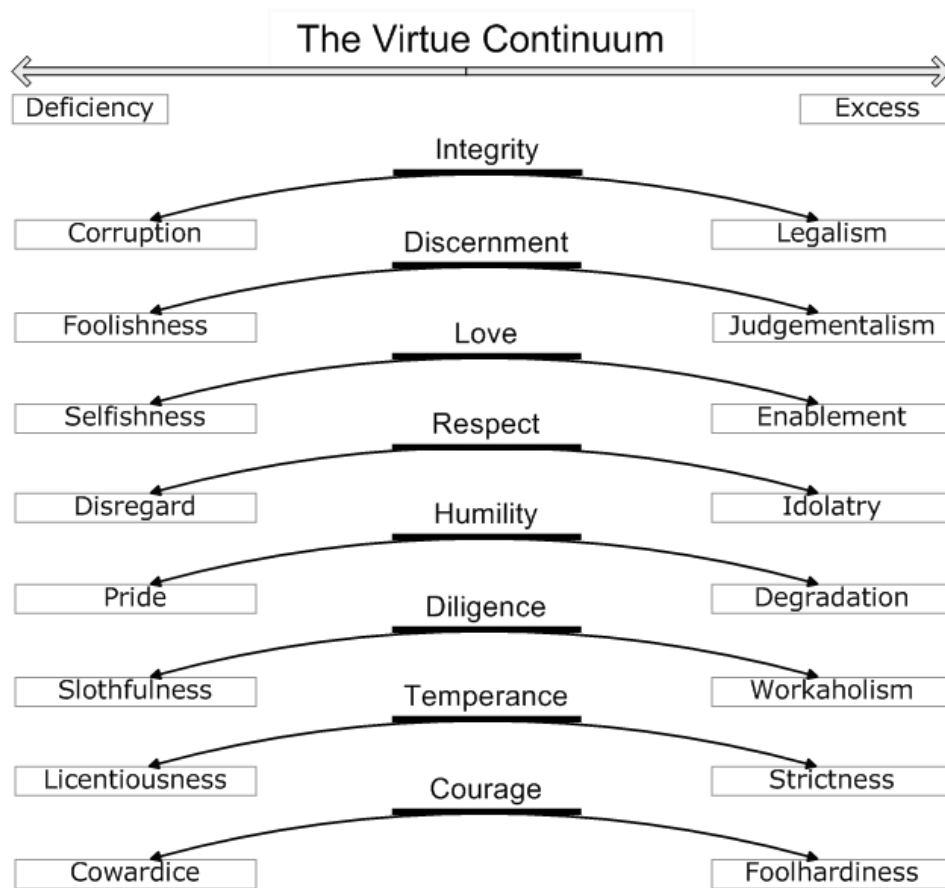
Figure 2: The Virtue Continuum

Overlap with Current Servant-Leadership Models

A number of models for servant-leadership have been advanced in the literature. Without exception, they consider the moral requirements of servant leaders. Perhaps one reason for the attention to moral and ethical considerations is that servant-leadership demands more in the way of virtuous behaviors than any other style of leadership. Under command-and-control styles of leadership, the minimal virtues required for success are Integrity and Discernment. By contrast, servant-leadership requires demonstration of all, or nearly all, virtues. Patterson's (2003) discussion of servant leadership provided an example where a number of servant leader behaviors are mentioned. Table 4 lists those behaviors and corresponding virtues.

Table 4
Patterson's Servant Leadership Behaviors and Corresponding Virtues

Patterson's Servant Leader Behaviors	Corresponding Virtues
Love unconditionally	Love
Genuinely appreciate followers	Respect
Inspire courage	Courage
Esteem and honor people	Respect
Demonstrate humility	Humility
Show more care for people than the organization's bottom line	Love, Respect
Demonstrate calm determination	Temperance, Diligence
Able to see the handwriting on the wall	Discernment

Winston's (2003) extension of Patterson's servant leadership model demonstrates how virtues can be cultivated within an organization through follower reciprocation. This ultimately leads to what Lawler (2004) has referred to as a virtuous spiral organization.

Covey (2006) also connected servant-leadership with a number of virtues as shown in Table 5, emphasizing the need for moral authority as a necessary feature of servant-leadership.

Table 5
Covey's Servant Leadership Behaviors and Corresponding Virtues

Covey's Servant Leader Characteristics	Corresponding Virtues
Love	Love
Gratitude	Respect
Courage	Courage
Respect	Respect
Humility	Humility
Patience	Temperance
Self-Control	Temperance
Integrity	Integrity

Spears (2002) summarized Greenleaf's articulation of servant-leader qualities into ten distinct characteristics, which can be approximately linked to virtue categories as shown in Table 6. Interestingly, themes of Love and Respect are prominent in Spears' review, demonstrating the relational nature of servant-leadership. This is in contrast with the command-and-control nature of transactional leadership styles which arguably require neither of these virtues.

Laub (2003) discussed the development of the Organizational Leadership Assessment (OLA) instrument, which measures key characteristics of servant-leadership. The six characteristics identified by Laub are shown in Table 7, aligned with corresponding virtues by the comparison of definitions.

Table 6
Spears' Servant Leadership Characteristics and Corresponding Virtues

Spears' Servant Leader Characteristics	Corresponding Virtues
Listening	Love/Respect/Temperance
Empathy	Respect
Healing	Love
Awareness	Humility/Respect
Persuasion	Respect
Conceptualization	Discernment
Foresight	Discernment
Stewardship	Respect
Commitment to the growth of people	Love
Building Community	Love

Table 7
Laub's Servant Leadership Activities and Corresponding Virtues

Laub's Servant Leader Activities	Corresponding Virtues
Valuing people	Love/Respect
Developing people	Integrity/Respect
Building community	Love
Displaying authenticity	Integrity/Humility
Providing leadership	Courage/Discernment
Sharing leadership	Humility

Several other examples exist. One important observation from the examples presented is that careful attention must be given to the definitions of attributes. In many cases, individual servant-leader attributes span multiple virtues. Laub's (1999) model of servant-leader activities (Table 7) serves as an excellent example. It should be noted that this phenomenon does not imply any defect in servant-leader attributes that have been presented over time, but that servant-leader characteristics and behaviors can be complex in nature.

Basis for Ontology-Driven Approach for Servant Leadership

Boyum (2006) stated that there is a void in the literature regarding the connections between philosophical underpinnings and leadership approaches. This appears generally to be the case. A review of a variety of servant-leadership models does indeed provide little evidence of deliberate links to any one predominant philosophical approach. This is not to say that such connections have not been made. For instance, Winston and Patterson (2006) found a base for servant leadership in the seven Beatitudes of Matthew 5. Wallace (2006), in examining characteristics of the world's five major religions, carefully made the case from a worldview perspective that the Judeo-Christian worldview most closely aligns with the various attributes of servant-leadership. These examples demonstrate that while ontological connections are being made in the literature, there exists no unifying standard.

Other works, while stating no allegiance to any particular philosophical approach, beg to be drawn into a common moral semantic. Matteson and Irving (2006) touched on the ontological dimensions of servant-leadership in the characteristics of love, authenticity, and humility. Spears

(2002) articulated a set of servant-leader characteristics that connect well with a variety of moral constructs. Covey (2006) identified a list of servant-leader traits that exude a Judeo-Christian ethic without stating an explicit connection.

The lack of a common vocabulary and framework makes it difficult to engage the ethical dimensions of leadership with consistency and hinders the progress of meaningful research. The character/virtue model proposed in this work, with its foundations in the Judeo-Christian worldview and its affirmation in a wide variety of other virtue constructs, provides the philosophical underpinnings and unifying semantics needed to resolve these issues.

Challenges to the Character/Virtue Model

The character/virtue construct we propose is not without its own challenges. The first is that identifying virtues is a somewhat subjective task. Dozens of virtue models have been proposed over the last two millennia, and none has emerged as a standard. We have considered a number of them and present this model as a work in progress, knowing that there will be ongoing discussion and improvement.

The second challenge is that there is a lack of agreement on the definitions of various virtues. The definitions proposed in our model may well serve as a foundation for further research. However, we recognize that definitions will always be a challenge because of the nature of language. For instance, Patterson (2003) defined humility in leadership as the ability to grasp the idea of not knowing, understanding, or having all the answers. Peterson and Seligman (2004) defined it as letting one's accomplishments speak for themselves; not seeking the spotlight; and not regarding oneself as more special than one is. Parolini (2004) described it as a display of character that supports leaders in overcoming egotistical tendencies of thought, feeling, and action. We define it as a set of personal attributes related to correctly ascertaining one's place in life and one's value in relation to others. While there are similarities in these definitions, there are also differences. There may never be complete agreement on which definition best represents a given virtue. However, we believe this is at least partially addressed by treating virtues as categorical, rather than singular, concepts.

In considering the effects of language on the challenge of defining virtues, we also recognize that extending our model into other languages may require as much effort as that required for the initial version in English.

Further Research Recommendations

There are a number of areas in which further work will be beneficial. Further validation of the model's categories and definitions against other constructs will provide confidence in the validity of the model overall.

Additionally, work is required to better understand how various proposed leadership models relate to this construct. We believe this model will help better explain the differences between servant-leadership and other leadership styles, as well as provide the ability to clarify the distinctions and emphases among various proposed servant-leadership models.

Finally, development and validation of testing instruments to measure virtues and vices will provide empirical means to understand the antecedents to servant-leadership and to evaluate a servant-leader's areas of moral strength.

Summary

Due to the increasing emphasis placed on the relationship between leadership and ethics, particularly in the study and practice of servant leadership, in this paper the authors have sought to address the need for a common vocabulary and framework for engaging the ethical dimensions of leadership. Based on an overview of virtues and servant leadership, the authors have provided a model of character and virtues that frames the ethical discussion and attempts to fill a void in the literature. It is the hope of the authors that this proposed virtues framework will advance the study of character and the ontological dimensions of leadership, and that it will provide a working model with common terminology for those interested in engaging ethics and leadership both at the level of study and practice.

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GENDER DIFFERENCES AND TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOR: DO BOTH GERMAN MEN AND WOMEN LEAD IN THE SAME WAY?

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This article examines the differences between men and women leaders with respect to their transformational leadership behaviors. Subordinates of the leaders rated the frequency of use of transformational leadership behaviors from five different categories. The five behavior categories and the instrument used (The Leader Behavior Inventory or LBI) to rate those behaviors were developed in several previous studies. Generally, it was found that men and women leaders behave as leaders in the same way. It was also found that men and women do not differ in their general perceptions of others as leaders. Possible explanations for these findings are discussed.

While there is data to indicate that women leaders employ different leadership styles than men (see Grant, 1988; Kabacoff, 2001; Karau & Eagly, 1999; Kim & Shim, 2003; Rosener, 1990), few articles have looked at the specific behaviors employed by women vs. men. Further, recent studies (Chemers et al., 2000; Morgan, 2004; Anderson et al., 2006) suggest that there is little difference in the results men and women achieve as leaders. These findings indicate that leadership style has little to do with the results that leaders achieve. That is, if the leadership styles of women are different from the leadership styles of men, yet the results they achieve are similar, then leadership style must have little to do with results. Given the above, we chose a German sample to study the differences between men and women on five factors or sets of behaviors related to transformational leadership. This article will explore differences in the way

males and females demonstrate transformational leadership based on research conducted within a German population.

Much of the research on gender similarities and differences in leadership roles was initially driven by the paucity of females holding significant roles within corporations, politics, and government. While women have made great strides achieving positional success within business organizations (Fortune, 2007) and government, they are still underrepresented at the higher levels of these organizations.

The phenomenon, known as the "glass ceiling," has been described as a barrier of prejudice and discrimination that excludes women from higher level leadership positions (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987). The idea is that systemic impact is created via formal systems (such as performance evaluations, promotions, training, etc.) and informal systems (such as who talks with whom, who gets to attend which events, etc.) such that it impedes the advancement of women to higher levels. That this organizational result exists has been widely verified (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Fletcher, 2004; Heilman, et al., 2004; Lyons & McArthur, 2007). These studies showed that there may actually be different styles of leadership employed by men and women, which could account for the disparity in promotion to higher level leadership positions. At the same time, it should be noted that there is also ample evidence to suggest that men and women do not use different leadership styles (Grant, 1988; Mandell & Pherwani, 2003).

While the evidence on leadership style differences between men and women is conflicting, the evidence on the results they attain is not. Perhaps, therefore, looking at leadership from a style perspective is not helpful. In contrast, this study attempts to look at leadership in terms of the behaviors employed by men and by women.

The GLOBE study (Den Hartog, et al., 1999) found that there are a number of universal attributes that contribute to the practice of transformational leadership that apply across cultures. They include motive arouser, foresight, encouraging, communicative, trustworthy, dynamic, positive, confidence builder, and motivational. The study also found that there were a number of culture specific attributes. Those include enthusiastic, risk taking, ambitious, self-effacing, unique, self-sacrificial, sincere, sensitive, compassionate, and willful. These are attributes that contribute to leadership performance in some cultures but not in others. Den Hartog and colleagues point out that while both the universal and the culture specific attributes are known, the specific behaviors that are associated with an attribute that are employed by leaders in different cultures may not be the same. For example, an encouraging leader in one culture may use different encouraging behaviors than an encouraging leader in a different culture.

Koopman et al. (1999) and Brodbeck et al. (2000) found there are cultural differences that can be distinguished across European countries that account for leadership prototypes. These differences in the concepts or prototypes that "followers" hold about effective and ineffective leadership behaviors predict readiness or lack of readiness to follow a given leader. That is, if a leader behaves in a way that fits the follower's prototype, that follower will be more likely to follow the leader. This could be a partial explanation for the "glass ceiling" and how it operates. Let us assume that women, even though they are as effective as men in terms of the results they achieve, employ behaviors that do not fit with the leadership prototype that is held by followers and by the female leaders' managers. This disconnect would, according to the theory, lead to lower performance evaluations in spite of the actual results achieved by the women.

This idea, known as Leadership Categorization Theory (Johnson et al., 2008) suggests that individuals (followers) hold personal projections or prototypes of how their leader(s) should

behave. Offerman et al. (1994) showed that followers hold different prototypes for male leaders and for female leaders. The fact that subordinates rate female leaders as more transformational may be explained by Leadership Categorization Theory. If this is true, it may be necessary to get to the level of specific behaviors that define the leadership "styles" in question, and avoid the more generic "leadership styles" or "leadership types"—that is, what behaviors define transformational leadership.

Furthermore, as a part of their GLOBE study, Den Hartog et al. (1999) emphasized that a common preference for the attributes that make up transformational leadership "… does not preclude differences in the observed ratings of actual leader behavior." In other words, while we might label a given group of leaders "good communicators," the specific behaviors they employ might quite well be different.

 Kent et al. (2001) and Kent (2004) attempted to define the behaviors that make up transformational leadership. These studies led to five sets of behaviors that are components of the Leadership Behavior Inventory or LBI, which describes transformational leadership. They are Visualizing Performance; Empowering the "We"; Communicating for Meaning; Managing One's Self; and Care and Recognition. Some of these sets of behaviors may well correlate with the attributes found in the GLOBE study. For example, Visualizing Performance from the LBI may be related to *foresight* and *motivational* attributes; Empowering the "We" may be related to *encouraging* and *positive* or to *confidence builder*; Communicating for Meaning from the LBI may be related to *communicative* and/or to *motive arouser*; Managing One's Self may be related to *trustworthy*, *dynamic*, and *positive*; and Care and Recognition from the LBI may be related to *encouraging* and *confidence builder*. Clearly, further study would be needed to suggest that the specific behaviors that make up each behavioral factor are related to the universal attributes of transformational leadership found in the GLOBE study. However, there seems to be at least conceptual support for the universality of the five factors of the LBI.

The items in the questionnaire used for these studies—the Leadership Behavior Inventory (LBI)—were developed by taking descriptions of transformational leaders' behaviors from noted authors in the field. These behavioral descriptions were written as questionnaire items for subordinates in the U.S. to describe their leaders. The results were factor analyzed to derive the five sets of behaviors mentioned above. The Appendix includes a brief description of each factor and the actual LBI items. The studies have been replicated in Spanish speaking countries—Costa Rica, Mexico, and Spain (Quesada et al., 2008)—and in Germany (Rudd, Kent, Blair, & Schuele, 2009). These intercultural studies have verified that transformational leaders in those cultures engage in the same five kinds of behaviors as American leaders.

The question in this paper is whether the same is true for both male leaders and female leaders. There is some evidence suggesting that, in Germany, there are similarities in male and female leadership styles. For example, Mohr and Wolfram (2008) found that male and female leaders in Germany showed the same degree of verbal consideration as rated by their followers. And Gardiner and Tiggemann (1999) found that women, in a male dominated industry, alter their leadership behaviors to conform more to their male counterparts' leadership styles.

This paper will initiate the investigation of whether these five behavior sets are employed differently, or to a different extent, among female leaders compared to male leaders in Germany. Because there is evidence that males and females display similar patterns of leadership behaviors (Grant, 1988), we hypothesize that males and females will display similar patterns in this study using a German sample:

RH1: There will be no differences in the transformational leadership behaviors of German men and women.

This research also explores the interaction between rater gender and rated gender. That is, do men tend to rate men more highly than they rate women; and/or do women tend to rate women more highly than they rate males? This question was exploratory in nature, so a research question was formed:

RQ2: Do "rater" gender and "rated" gender affect ratings of transformational leadership behavior as defined by the Leadership Behavior Inventory?

Methodology

Transformational leadership behaviors were assessed using the Leadership Behavior Inventory (LBI), which was developed by Kent et al. (2001) and Kent (2004). The LBI assesses leadership behaviors in five categories: Visualizing Greatness; Empowering the "We"; Communicating for Meaning; Managing One's Self; and Care and Recognition. (See Appendix I for a description of the factors and a listing of questionnaire items).

The questionnaire is administered to subordinates who are asked to describe their leaders. The questionnaire is made up of behaviorally specific statements, and respondents indicate how often their leader engages in each behavior on an 8-point scale where one (1) is "rarely" and eight (8) is "very often."

All of the participants were German working adult students at the University of Mainz. These individuals were employees of mainly German companies in the Frankfurt metropolitan area who were studying management and business administration at the Mainz University of Applied Sciences. The study program is a five-year program with the degree of "Diplom," which is a degree with a level somewhere between the U.S. undergraduate and master's levels.

Since the respondents were all German, the LBI was prepared using the method of "retranslation." The questionnaire was translated into German by a German graduate student, then back to English by two German colleagues; the three collaborated until all were satisfied that the English and German versions were roughly equivalent in meaning. The translation posed a couple of unique problems. For example, words such as "mission" and "vision" in the German language carry a slightly different meaning from the English in the American culture. Vision in German carries more of a religious connotation than in English. Additionally, the very word leader is difficult to use since leader in German is literally translated as "Furher." Due to its history, this word is still difficult to use in Germany; another way to refer to leader had to be found. The authors used another expression "Fuhrungskraft" which is relatively close to "leader" but is only used in the business world. This was deemed appropriate since all the individuals completing the LBI in this study were from the business world.

The study included 337 student participants. They were given written instructions that were approved and signed by institutional representatives while also providing a process for and assurances of anonymity and confidentiality. The paper and pencil questionnaires were filled out by circling the number on the scale that most accurately reflected how often the respondent's leader demonstrated that behavior described in each of the 27 items.

Since the questionnaires were completed in a classroom setting, 100% of the questionnaires were returned. In some cases participants left items blank or used illegible

handwriting. Three methods were used to deal with missing data in the study: list-wise deletion, pair-wise deletion, and expectation maximization imputation. In instances in which only one response was missing from the LBI items, expectation maximization imputation was employed as a method that produces a relatively accurate estimation of the value of the data in comparison to other estimation techniques (Switzer & Roth, 2002). In the current study, estimation maximization imputation was conducted using SPSS 15.0. In two cases, more than one response was missing for the LBI items. The cases were deleted listwise from the dataset, thus the data from was not included in any of the study analyses. Finally, in other instances, data were missing for demographic items. Such data was addressed with pairwise deletion. That is, the cases were deleted from any analyses involving the specific demographic items, but the case was included in all other analyses (Switzer & Roth, 2002).

For Hypothesis 1, male and female leaders were sorted based on the response to the following question: "What is the sex of your Supervisor?" A factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to examine the effects of leader gender, rater gender, and leader gender by rater gender on ratings of leader behavior. More specifically, Hypothesis 1 was examined based on the main effects of leader gender on ratings of leader behavior. Research Question 1 was answered by examining the main effects of rater gender, as well as the interaction effects of leader gender by rater gender in the factorial ANOVA.

Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations for the study variables are presented in Table 1. Means associated with leader gender, rater gender, and the leader gender by rater gender interaction are presented in Table 2.

Table 1
Means, standard deviations, and correlations for the study variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Rater gender		1.0						
Leader gender		.09	1.0					
Visualizing Greatness		.10	.07	.92				
Empowering the "We"		.10	.09	.63*	.93			
Communicating for Meaning		.16*	.11*	.62*	.81*	.90		
Managing Oneself		.07	.09	.65*	.57*	.62*	.87	
Care and Recognition		.02	-.03	.55*	.73*	.68*	.49*	.84
	M	1.46	1.80	4.75	4.93	4.83	5.52	4.12
	sd	.50	.40	1.60	1.55	1.53	1.44	1.73
	N	326	324	335	335	335	335	335
	N_{female}	172	66					
	N_{male}	144	258					

Note. Female = 1, Male = 2. Coefficient Alphas are presented on the diagonal. For the columns representing rater gender and leader gender, total number of males and females is also provided.
* $p < .05$.

We hypothesized that there would be no difference between men and women on the five leader behavior categories. Our hypothesis was supported in each of the five categories. That is, there was no main effect of leader gender for Visualizing Greatness [F (1, 315) = 0.78, p = n.s.], Empowering the "We" [F (1, 315) = 1.31, p = n.s.], Communicating for Meaning [F (1, 315) = 2.79, p = n.s.], Managing One's Self [F (1, 315) = 2.23, p = n.s.], and Care and Recognition [F (1, 315) = .48, p = n.s.]. However, it should be noted that the difference between male leaders and female leaders in the category Communicating for Meaning approached statistical significance. Indeed, the correlation between gender and ratings of Communicating for Meaning was significant (r = .11, p < .05). In summary, support was found for Hypothesis 1, although some evidence suggests that men may display more Communicating for Meaning behaviors than women.

Research Question 1 addressed how the gender of the rater may interact with the gender of the target to influence ratings of leader behaviors. The interaction effects of a factorial ANOVA were examined in order to address Research Question 1. As indicated by the means displayed in Table 2, there was not a significant difference between male ratings and female ratings of leader behaviors in four of the five leader behavior categories, nor was there a significant interaction between leader gender and rater gender in each of the five categories.

Table 2
Means and sample size information

		Female Leader	Male Leader	Total
Visualizing Greatness	Female Rater	4.49	4.69	4.62
	Male Rater	4.77	4.97	4.93
	Total	4.54	4.95	
Empowering the "We"	Female Rater	4.47	4.90	4.81
	Male Rater	5.14	5.11	5.12
	Total	4.83	5.10	
Communicating for Meaning	Female Rater	4.15	4.73	4.63
	Male Rater	5.09	5.10	5.10
	Total	4.67	4.90	
Controlling Oneself	Female Rater	5.16	5.48	5.42
	Male Rater	5.38	5.65	5.63
	Total	5.26	5.58	
Care and Recognition	Female Rater	4.09	4.13	4.16
	Male Rater	4.65	4.16	4.23
	Total	4.26	4.13	

Note. Numbers in bold represent mean totals for each category of gender of leaders and raters. *N* (female raters rating female leaders) = 40; *N* (female raters rating male leaders) = 132; *N* (male raters rating female leaders) = 23; *N* (male raters rating male leaders) = 121.

More specifically, neither leader gender, rater gender, or the leader gender by rater gender interaction had an effect for Visualizing Greatness, Empowering the "We", Managing One's Self, or Care and Recognition. However, the overall ANOVA was significant for the ratings of the leader behavior Communicating for Meaning, F (3, 315) = 4.39, p < .01. Upon

further examination, it was clear that the main effect of rater gender was significant [F (1, 315) = 8.71, $p < .01$]. In this category, women (M = 4.63 , sd =1.60) rated leaders significantly lower than did men (M = 5.10, sd = 1.42). Nevertheless, neither the main effect for leader gender [F (1, 315) = 2.79, $p < .01$] nor the interaction effect [F (1, 315) = 1.68, p = n.s.] were significant.

Discussion

This study did not look at transformational leadership effectiveness. The authors were more concerned with whether male and female leaders lead differently using different kinds of behaviors that are associated with transformational leadership. The results showed that men and women lead using the same behaviors. In each of the 5 categories of behaviors, there were no differences between men and women's transformational leadership behaviors. However, the difference between ratings of male leaders and female leaders approached significance in the category Communicating for Meaning.

It is generally accepted that men and women communicate differently and about different things (Christopher, 2008; Crawford, 1995). While this article does not deal with leadership effectiveness nor communication effectiveness, the findings do suggest that men may attempt to communicate the meaning and value of important matters within the organization slightly more frequently than women—though the differences between men and women on this leadership behavior only approach significance.   However, for the most part, the results of this study support the findings by Mohr and Wolfram (2008), who found that males and females showed the same degree of "verbal consideration." These factors – Verbal Consideration and Communicating for Meaning – may or may not be related. More research is needed to understand this issue.

Communicating for Meaning as a part of the LBI includes the following items: *explains why she/he is doing what she/he is doing; knows his/her audience when speaking to them; talks about the principles or values behind decisions that are made; communicates in ways that inspire and motivate others; takes the time needed to explain fully what he/she is thinking; and sets the example by behaving in ways that are consistent with his/her stated values.*

The items clearly do not reference all forms of communications; for example, there is no mention of communicating facts or information, and there is no mention of communicating related to issuing orders or solving problems. Rather, the items focus more on explaining the why and value of a particular course of action. They refer to acting consistently with one's statements and to taking the time necessary to explain things. This particular kind of communication is a key component of transformational leadership. It is about the deeper aspects of communications beyond facts and general information; and it is beyond the "bottom line" communications at which men are supposed to be more effective than women (Christopher, 2008).

According to the data, male leaders perform these behaviors no more frequently than female leaders. This is somewhat contradictory to much of the literature on men and women as communicators. However, as mentioned above, this study looks specifically at transformational leadership communication. There may be a difference between men and women in that limited frame in which men focus more on the underlying meaning and value of things in their communications when acting as leaders. Clearly, more research is needed.

It may also be true that this is simply a German phenomenon, though there is nothing in the literature to suggest that culture might account for this difference. This should be investigated further.

However, if future studies find differences in communicating for meaning, then these findings have relevance for both the training and selection of female leaders. The data indicate that women could improve their ability to act out their espoused values and to clearly discuss the reasons and worth of the actions being undertaken. This occasionally means taking more time to help people to understand why the organization is on a particular path. The results do suggest that specific leader development programs, or components thereof, should be designed for women. As reported by Morgan (2004), this occurred at the U.S. National Institute of Corrections with great success.

There is a nagging problem inherent in this study. The research on Leadership Categorization Theory and agentic vs. communal leadership behaviors indicates that women are rated more poorly than men when they do not perform in accordance with the communal prototype. That phenomenon may have been at work in followers' descriptions of female leaders' communication patterns in this study. However, this study did not ask followers to evaluate or rate behavior; it asked them to describe how frequently women performed the behaviors. It would seem that the method used in this study would have sidestepped the negative categorization problem, but that cannot be clearly stated. It is difficult to imagine that the "categorization" phenomenon would have been at work for one of the five factors and not for the other four. One could only conclude that it was at work consistently across all five factors. If that were true, then it would have to be concluded that the results for the four factors in which men and women were rated equally are unbelievable. That is, the results would have been different for men and women in either direction depending on the prototypes that raters held about their male and female leaders. Since this phenomenon was not assessed, we can draw no such conclusions.

Regarding the research questions—do men and women view the behavior of leaders differently on the five categories of leadership behaviors; and do male vs. female raters rate male and female leaders differently—there were some interesting findings that may help to account for the findings related to Hypothesis 1.

For the five dimensions of Visualizing Greatness, Empowering the "We," Communicating for Meaning, Managing One's Self, and Care and Recognition, there were no differences regarding Hypothesis 1 or the research question. Generally speaking, men and women are reported to perform these five behaviors to the same extent, regardless of whether the rating is being done by male or female raters.

However, male raters tended to rate all leaders, male or female, as employing more Communicating for Meaning behaviors than female raters. Additionally, women tended to rate men higher on Communicating for Meaning behaviors than they rate female leaders.

Can it be that men simply value this behavior more than women do and, therefore, are more sensitive to its use among leaders? The fact that male raters tend to rate all leaders higher on this dimension suggests that perhaps they are simply more aware of it than women when it occurs among their leaders.

On the other hand, women rated leaders of their own gender lower on this dimension only. That is, women rated male and female leaders the same on four of the five dimensions. But on this one dimension, Communicating for Meaning, they rated men higher than women, indicating that they perceive that men employ these behaviors more than women do. This cannot be accounted for simply by saying women are more critical of other women leaders. If that were true, then women leaders would have been rated lower on all five dimensions.

Previous research has portrayed women as better communicators than men. But the Communicating for Meaning dimension of the LBI is a special case of communications. It does

not include the communications of facts, data, interpersonal perceptions, etc.; it includes that special case of communicating meaning from one person to another. This is the focus of communications that are important to leadership alone. This form of communications differentiates leading from other organizational processes such as managing, planning, etc.

These results indicate that men and women engage in this leadership behavior to the same extent; and that in this special arena of communications, women are more critical of women than they are of men. Clearly more research is needed to investigate this phenomenon.

Implications of the Study

The results of this study have interesting implications for future research and future thinking about leadership. For example, the GLOBE study did not investigate the differences in leadership values and attributes based on gender. One might hypothesize that there might be a difference between genders on these attributes. Numerous studies mentioned previously indicate that women leaders employ different leadership styles than men. Based on these studies we might conclude that the attributes studied in the GLOBE study would be employed or valued differently by male and female leaders. At this point, we should point out that the many studies on leadership style, some of which were mentioned earlier, have little bearing on the conclusions here since several other studies, also mentioned earlier, have found that there is little difference in the results produced by male and female leaders. One would assume that if leadership style were an important issue, it would have some bearing on leadership results. Having said that, it may be that one's style is affected by one's values and attributes as assessed within the GLOBE study. If so, then we may find that the results of the GLOBE are different for males and for females.

In this study, the important issue is leadership behaviors. The Gardiner and Tiggemann (1999) study found that women in a male dominated industry alter their leadership behaviors to conform more to their male counterparts' leadership behaviors.

It can be assumed that many of Germany's organizations are male dominated since women make up only 25% of German managers and only 5% of Germany's top managers. In this study, women were slightly underrepresented, having made up only 20.9% of the sample while men made up 79.1% of the sample. From this, however, we might conclude that the women in the study were, for the most part, members of male dominated organizations (Fortune, 2007). Based on the Gardiner and Tiggemann (1999) results, we can easily account for the findings of this study. This study found no differences between men and women's leadership behaviors. If our assumption that the sample came from male dominated German organizations is correct, we would be safe in concluding that the female leaders in those organizations altered their behaviors to correspond with the behaviors of the male leaders in those same organizations. Therefore, the findings that both male and female leaders employed the same behaviors are explained. But what if some other variable accounts for the similarity between men and women leaders; what if the women did not alter their behaviors, but are in fact the same as men with regard to their leadership behaviors?

More research is recommended to see whether 1) women specifically alter their leadership behaviors and if they would be different kinds of leaders if this pressure to conform did not exist; and whether 2) the GLOBE results would be different if we were focusing on male leaders only and/or on female leaders only.

On a different note, this study did not assess the impact of various demographic factors other than gender such as age, education, tenure with the organization, tenure as a leader, level in

the organization, job roles and levels of the leaders, etc. These possible moderators should be investigated in future research.

Summary

This study looked at the differences between German men and women as transformational leaders. For the most part, no differences were found in the behaviors of male and female leaders. Additionally, one research question was explored. The authors looked at the impact of the gender of the raters on the ratings of leaders. It was found that women raters were more critical of both men and women leaders on the single factor of Communicating for Meaning. Also, women raters were more critical of female leaders than they were of male leaders. Possible causes and implications of these findings were discussed.

About the Author

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Appendix: Content Description of the Leadership Behavior Inventory (LBI)

The LBI is comprised of five factors. Below is a brief description of each factor and a listing of the items that make up that factor. Each factor is listed separately.

Factor 1: Visualizing Performance

People, generally, will do what they can see in their mind's eye. A mental vision provides both direction and motivation. Athletes visualize their performance prior to actually performing as a way to create a model for their behavior and to pre-groove their actions. Baum (1999) describes the physiological and psychological dynamics of this cognitive affect on behavior.

Leaders somehow know that visualization is key to performance. They seem to do it naturally. A leader strives to "implant" a single vision in each person's mind to create a "common vision." This factor appears similar to Conger's (1989) *Sensing Opportunity and Formulating a Vision,* and Kotter's (1990) *Establishing Direction*. Further, Kouzes and Posner (1995) assert:

> Not only do constituents demand that leaders be credible, they also demand that leaders be forward looking; that they have a sense of direction, a vision for the future. Credibility is the foundation of leadership, but the capacity to paint an uplifting and ennobling picture of the future differentiates leaders from other credible sources (p. 31).

Apparently, according to the items identified by the factor analysis, leaders demonstrate to others that they are visionary in a number of ways. They discuss their vision at every opportunity. They demonstrate an eagerness to make something happen. They show that their vision is clear and they are enthusiastic about it. They are willing to challenge the system as well. This latter point might indicate that "leaders" who are not mavericks, so to speak, are not seen as "visionaries."

Has visions and dreams of what can be.

Has a desire to make something happen.

Has a clear image of the future.

Expresses enthusiasm for his/her vision.

Experiments, innovates, and takes risks to find new or better ways.

Is willing to challenge the system.

Factor 2: Empowering the "We"

It appears that leaders, these days, use the team or some unit that is greater than the individual as the anchoring point of his/her efforts. Certainly, everything comes down to individual effort and intelligence; but leaders use the team to anchor that effort, to stimulate creative use of intellect, to spur on effort, to support individual performance. Leaders work to create a sense of unity and togetherness among individuals by developing group, team, or unit identity. The leader strives to engender commitment and motivation at the "we" level. They stress mutual commitment to, or stake in, each other and to the larger whole's goals. Leaders emphasize the "we's" common purpose and mission; they focus on the common enemy or the goal that is critical to all. Leaders get people involved, communicate with words like "we," and "our," foster and sponsor collaboration among followers, encourage caring about each other, celebrate the team's accomplishments, and pay attention to the team's spirit, and allow people to act and do what must be done.

Lets people (empowers them to) do what they believe is right.

Gets people involved in decisions that affect them.

Creates in others a sense of ownership in the organization.

Uses the word "we" constantly instead of "I".

Enlists the support and assistance of others who have a stake in the vision.

Involves others who must live with the results

Appeals to others' values, interests, hopes, and dreams.

Strengthens people by giving power away, developing their competence, and assigning critical tasks to them.

Factor 3: Managing One's "Self"

It is important for a leader to be trusted. For that to happen the leader must be somewhat predictable in certain areas of thought and behavior that are important to followers. The leader's behavior must be somewhat consistent and not erratic or irrational. Additionally, the leader must be able to sustain his or her focus and effort, and his/her behavior must reflect the values the leader espouses. At an inner, psychological level the leader must be capable of managing his or her thinking and behaving -- they must be able to manage their "self." Leaders who can do this create a sense of purposefulness. They are viewed as being able to maintain a consistent focus and energy level. Their behavior is seen as consistent with their values and reflective of their intent or purpose.

Has a sense of self-determination and self-confidence.

Keeps his/her own level of energy up high.

Believes anything can be done; has a "can do" attitude.

Is a model of persistence and perseverance.

Maintains focus and constancy of purpose.

Factor 4: Communicating for Meaning

Bennis and Nanus (1985) describe a situation that demonstrates that leaders do not have to be "good communicators." What they have to be is communicators of meaning. They have to find ways to get more than their message across; they have to get their meaning across. A leader's message must be about much more than data, and/or information. Data, and information is the message of managers. Meaning is the message of leaders. The message of leaders is about "why," and it is about implications, and it is about values. Clarke and Crossland (2002) argue that leaders communicate with facts, emotions, and symbols.

Leaders understand that if you want people to commit to a difficult, new course of action, then they must understand and buy into *why* the action is *valuable*. Both their minds and their hearts must be involved. So leaders engage people's minds and hearts. This is most difficult to do, the leader knows, if we only speak in the direction of people about facts, data and information. Passing on information does not necessarily require an engaged mind; and clearly, it does not automatically engage the heart. Clarke and Crossland (2002) state that a leader who minimizes the emotional and symbolic content of their message degrade the quality of their message and subsequent decision making.

Explains why she/he is doing what she/he is doing.

Knows his/her audience when speaking to them.

Talks about the principles or values behind decisions that are made.

Communicates in ways that inspire and motivate others.

Takes the time needed to explain fully what he/she is thinking.

Sets the example by behaving in ways that are consistent with his/her stated values.

Factor 5: Care & Recognition

This factor seems pretty fundamental. Yet, only in one other body of work in the serious leadership literature has it been identified as a key component of leadership behavior. Kouzes & Posner (1995) call it *Encouraging the Heart*. The items in this factor -- Care and Recognition -- and in *Encouraging the Heart* are very similar. Kouzes & Posner (1993) describe the factor in the following words: "Leaders must give encouragement and recognition if people are to persist, especially when the climb is steep and arduous. To continue to pursue the vision, people need to feel that they are part of a team." (p. 22) Kouzes & Posner believe that leaders *Encourage the Heart* by recognizing contributions and by celebrating accomplishments.

Publicizes peoples' successes to all employees.

Genuinely cares about others.

Celebrates team accomplishments regularly.

Celebrates victories.

Leadership and Spiritual Capital:
Exploring the Link between Individual Service Disposition and Organizational Value

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Researchers have made considerable advances integrating spirituality and organizational leadership (Fry, 2003; Benefiel, 2005). The concept of spiritual capital has developed as a way of explaining and perhaps advocating this integration in a secular context (Baker & Miles-Watson, 2008). This paper explores the development of spiritual capital as a multi-level form of organizational value, operating at the individual level as the disposition to serve, and subsequently at the organizational level as systems, norms, and culture. The various conceptualizations of spiritual capital are examined and extended, specifically focusing on the nature and development of a key individual level motivation—the call to serve. The authors provide a base from which to discuss implications and applications for leadership across levels of analysis and sectors of practice, all to the end of fostering spiritual capital in organizations.

Organizations, and the individuals who lead them, continue to wrestle with the balance between fiscal viability and social sustainability. It has been 30 years since Robert Greenleaf explicitly linked service to organizational success, and far longer since the world's major religions have asserted the "golden rule." And although organized religion continues to lose ground, with fewer and fewer people identifying with any specific religious community and attending churches, mosques, synagogues etc., about 85% of the world's population continues to consider itself religious (Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 2009). Since individual religiosity and spirituality remain high, while the organized expression of religion is steadily declining, it is safe to assume that people will seek to integrate their spiritual and religious identities into other parts of their daily life. The home and the workplace are front-seat candidates.

Ironically, though the need for integrating spirituality in the workplace appears to be increasing, some authors have argued that modern organizations are in fact less capable than they previously were in providing such meaning. Vaill (as cited in Duchon & Plowman, 2005)

argued that while in the past workers could find meaning in their jobs by being able to rely on a secure work environment, their organization's noble mission, and their leader's inspiring personal character, such characteristics no longer define modern organizations. Instead, job security has been lost, a high turnover in leadership positions has become the norm, and much of the workforce is made up of temporary workers. In today's difficult economic times this may be truer than ever.

Increasingly the demands of globalization, fueled by an exclusive bottom line mentality, appear to define the identity of many modern organizations and their leaders. Recent high-profile failures, from Enron to the myriad organizations involved in the current economic crisis, exemplify the ultimate consequences of an economic system based solely on maximizing profits rather than deeper values and objectives. While it is understandable that there will be a broad range of individual behavior, this range can be significantly narrowed by the context within which individuals work and live. Culture, social norms, and codified rules of conduct have all played a role in constructing the common sense of what is and is not appropriate activity. In fact, these implicit influences are often so deeply imbedded that any decision ceases to exist: "This is the way things are done around here, period." Likewise, organizations create a culture that forms and informs how individuals conceptualize the appropriateness of different activities.

This paper explores the development of spiritual capital as a multi-level form of organizational value, operating at the individual level as a disposition to serve and subsequently at the organizational level as systems, norms, and culture. Spiritual capital has been broadly defined as "The effects of spiritual and religious practices, beliefs, networks and institutions that have a measurable impact on individuals, communities and societies" (Metanexus Institute, 2006). This definition, while an important foundation, requires distinction, alignment, and integration with the more established concepts of human, social, and cultural capital. This paper posits a more specific conceptualization of spiritual capital, providing a base from which to discuss implications and applications for leadership across levels of analysis and sectors of practice.

What makes the current leadership and organizational crisis all the more serious is the discourse-reality gap that accompanies it. Organizational leadership theories ranging from trait theories to the more current transformational leadership theories have long recognized that sustainably successful organizational functioning and leadership require a complex array of identities and skills in addition to a motivation for making profit. In fact, *motivations*, plural, may be key in the complicated equation of organizational functioning.

One key facet of spiritual capital at the individual level is the motivation, or call, to serve. *Service* is an incredibly complex concept, ranging in meaning from quality customer service to serving one's country to emulating the service modeled by one's spiritual or religious ideals. This paper examines the nature and development of a service disposition, utilizing concepts from cognitive science to explain how a service disposition is constructed and thus how leaders can enhance organizational value in spiritual capital by fostering this development.

Addressing the Spiritual Void in Leadership and Organizations

Much of the recent literature dealing with deeper-level motivations that influence organizations is the workplace spirituality literature. In this respect, Fry (2003) stated that in order for modern organizations to be able to adapt to today's rapidly changing environment and become learning organizations, they should rely on intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation. Fry

argued that while in the past many organizational leadership theories emphasized extrinsic motivation (an external source i.e. leader, compelling individuals into a task or behavior by providing what they need to survive i.e. money), there needs to be a shift to intrinsic motivation as the driving force of individual behavior in organizations. Fry defined intrinsic motivation as the "interest and enjoyment of an activity for its own sake" and as something that "promotes growth" and satisfies "higher order needs" (p. 699). Thus, via intrinsic motivation, leadership and higher order motivations (i.e., spirituality) are linked.

Though some authors have argued that there is a need for a much better understanding of the notion of spirituality before it can be successfully integrated with existing organizational leadership theories (Benefiel, 2005), the body of literature that is attempting to make this connection continues to grow rapidly (see for example Benefiel, 2005; Dent, Higgins, & Wharf, 2005; Fry, 2003; Grace, 1999; Houston & Sokolow, 2006; Miller, 2000; Mitroff & Denton, 1999a). Undaunted by the many and varied attempts to define spirituality, several authors argue quite strongly for the inclusion of spirituality in organizational leadership. Fry (2003) for example stated that organizations that fail to apply workplace spirituality will ultimately fail as learning organizations. In their ground-breaking study on the role of spirituality in the workplace, Mitroff and Denton (1999a) went even further in their assertions and stated:

> Over the years we have tried all of the conventional techniques known to organizational science to help organizations change for the better … After years of study and practice we have come to a painful conclusion: by themselves, all of the conventional techniques in the world will not produce fundamental and long lasting changes… We believe that today's organizations are impoverished spiritually and that many of their most important problems are due to this impoverishment… We believe that organizational science can no longer avoid analyzing, understanding, and treating organizations as spiritual entities. (pp. xiii-xiv)

While it may be fundamental to organizational functioning, ultimately spirituality is a human, rather than organizational, trait. Yet, in this increasingly pluralistic, interconnected, and results-driven world, an individual's quest for spirituality seems considerably challenged by the demands of his or her employment. If it is the individuals who are spiritually impoverished, how do we arrive at "organizations as spiritual entities," and what is the role of leadership in this process?

We know that leaders broadly influence the perceptions and behaviors of individuals in their organizations. Both explicitly and implicitly, the leader's influence shapes the culture and consequently the mind-set of individuals (Schein, 2004). What is less understood however is how leaders impact people's deeper-level motivations such as spirituality. How, if at all, do leaders create the conditions for individuals to integrate their spirituality into the organizations of which they are part?

Various authors have to some extent addressed the leader's role in fostering spirituality in their organizations (i.e. Benefiel, 2005; Fry, 2003; Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2003; Mitroff & Denton, 1999a; Vaill, 2000). Dent, Higgins, and Wharf (2005) provided an excellent review of research on the extensive perspectives, definitions, and theories connecting workplace spirituality and leadership at both the individual and organizational levels. Dent, Higgins, and Wharf (2005) reported that the literature suggests workplace spirituality can be correlated with individual development, and that spirituality comprises a tangible added value at the organizational level. Reave (2005) verified this importance in a review of over one hundred

studies indicating considerable alignment between spiritual values and practices and effective leadership from the follower, group, and leader perspectives.

Building on these ideas, Fry (2003) was among the first to approach workplace spirituality from the leadership perspective and propose a theory of spiritual leadership. Fry defined spiritual leadership as:

> comprising the values, attitudes, and behaviors that are necessary to intrinsically motivate one's self and others so that they have a sense of spiritual survival through calling and membership. This entails: 1. creating a vision wherein organization members experience a sense of calling in that their life has meaning and makes a difference; 2. establishing a social/organizational culture based on altruistic love whereby leaders and followers have genuine care, concern, and appreciation for both self and others, thereby producing a sense of membership and feel understood and appreciated. (p. 269)

While Fry's spiritual leadership model constitutes a step in the direction of better understanding the interplay between spirituality, leadership, and organizational performance, his model focuses primarily on the leadership element of this triangular relationship. Conscious of his focus, Fry suggested that "to gain a systemic understanding of how workplace spirituality – through transcendence and value congruence among organizational, team and individual values – impacts organizational effectiveness, one must focus on the interconnectedness and interplay across these levels." (p. 703). An important aim of the present paper is to consider this interconnection between individual and organizational levels such that causal effects can later be examined and utilized to facilitate development. Spiritual capital is proposed as a concept that incorporates understandings from both workplace spirituality and spiritual leadership literature and addresses the interplay across levels of which Fry speaks.

Understanding Forms of Value across Levels of Analysis

Valuing and evaluating spirituality at the organizational level takes on rather different implications and ideas than working at the individual level of analysis. At the organizational level, one looks to the whole, the systems, or as Stacey (2007) asserted, "responsive processes," to assess efficacy. Individuals contribute to that effort, but are not individually countable. In other words, the cliché applies that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. In this respect Kriger and Seng (2005) have suggested that based upon the values and worldviews of the world's great religions, a theory of leadership that is inclusive of spirituality should be "nondual" or "holonic." They define a holonic system as "one in which each level as a whole is embedded in a higher level of the system, creating a nested system of wholes" (p. 771). The concept of spiritual capital comprises one attempt to examine, define, and develop the spiritual dimensions of individuals and organizations along these lines.

Initial efforts to define spiritual capital emerged from scholars working across a variety of related fields and has been broadly defined as "(t)he effects of spiritual and religious practices, beliefs, networks and institutions that have a measurable impact on individuals, communities and societies." However, Middlebrooks and Noghiu (2007) have recently forwarded a meso-model approach to the concept, asserting an integrative role for spiritual capital between individual and organization. The latter definition will be further explicated later in this paper.

The concept of spiritual capital represents the latest iteration in a series of theories of capital that are striving to account for the full range of "value" present or generated in society. These forms of capital are noted in chronological order of their development by conceptual

emphasis in Table 1. A substantial theoretical and research base supports each of these forms of capital but is well beyond the scope of this paper; however, a brief summary will help to frame the specific concept of spiritual capital.

Table 1
Forms of Capital by Conceptual Emphasis with related Leadership Perspectives

Conceptual Emphasis	Forms of Capital	Leadership Perspective
	Classical capital	*Trait & style based leadership*
Concrete/tangible assets	Value created through physical assets, land labor	Focus on the individual leader, rooted in what leader does, knows or acts like
	Human capital *Psychological capital*	*Leader identity development theories, Servant Leadership, Transformational Leadership* *Spiritual leadership*
Capacity/Skill	Value created through investment in human skills	Focus on individual leaders' potential capacities and dispositions
	Social capital	*LMX, Contingency, Situational leadership*
Internal Culture	Value created through common and stable individual relationships	Focus on processes, cooperation and macro level attributes
	Cultural / Religious capital	*Systems theory, TQM*
Cultural Context	Value created through association, commonness and stability – big picture	Focus on the system/group/whole
	Spiritual capital	*Path-Goal Transformational and Servant Leadership*
Aspiration/Vision	Value of organizational and individual vision-aspiration alignment to serve	Focus on the ethics of means and ends

The term capital was introduced in classical economics and describes three basic facets of production: physical assets, land, and labor. Subsequently, the concept was extended by Becker's introduction of human capital (1976). This non-material form of capital refers to the added value derived from investment in human beings and can take many forms, such as enhancing and preserving individuals' skills and capacities through education and health care (Iannaccone & Klick, 2003). Focusing on the macro-level, Bourdieu (1984; 1986) later theorized an additional form of capital, which he called cultural capital. Bourdieu's notion of

capital focuses more on the nature of association between individuals rather than the capacities of these individual. Cultural capital describes the value people derive from their belonging to a particular culture thereby expanding the understanding of culture as possessing a value that could be modified.

Building on these prior notions of capital, one of the most recent forms of capital to emerge is social capital. Popularized over the past decade by Putnam (2000), this concept builds upon Bourdieu's (1984; 1986) notion of association. Theorists have asserted numerous definitions of social capital, beginning with the seminal work by Coleman (1988). Essentially, however, social capital comprises "…any facet of social relations that serves to enable members of society to work together and accomplish collective goals" (Smidt, 2003, p. 2). While authors such as Putnam emphasize the communal benefit of social capital as a means for social action, others have pointed to its individual benefits. The multi-level operation that characterized spiritual capital is thus also recognized for social capital.

The rise of social capital, the capital resulting from relations between individuals, set the stage for examining this phenomenon at levels of analysis smaller than society at large, namely the community and the organization. Consequently, another form of capital to emerge is Iannaccone's (1990) religious capital. Iannaccone defines religious capital as the "…skills and experiences specific to one's religion includ[ing] religious knowledge, familiarity with church ritual and doctrine, and friendship with fellow worshippers" which produce religious resources that people define as valuable and explain religious behavior (p. 299). As interpreted by Verter (2003), religious capital is a personal commodity and can thus be considered a subset of human capital. However, religious capital is also closely related to Putnam's (2000) definition of social capital as it can only be acquired through membership of specific (religious) networks (Finke, 2003; Verter, 2003). And, the beliefs and behaviors exhibited by individuals are recapitulated implicitly through the culture of the organization, linking religious capital to cultural capital as well.

A most recent addition to the pantheon of capital comes out of leadership research examining the potential applications of positive psychology on the development of individuals and organizations. Research out of the Gallup Leadership Institute at the University of Nebraska has identified four positive psychological constructs (termed Psychological Capital or Psy Cap): hope, resilience, optimism, and self-efficacy (Luthans, Youssef, & Avolio, 2007). The researchers defined Psy Cap as:

"…an individual's positive psychological state of development [that] is characterized by: (1) having confidence (self-efficacy) to take on and put in the necessary effort to succeed at challenging tasks; (2) making a positive attribution (optimism) about succeeding now and in the future; (3) persevering toward goals and, when necessary, redirecting paths to goals (hope) in order to succeed; and (4) when beset by problems and adversity, sustaining and bouncing back and even beyond (resilience) to attain success." (p. 3)

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, all of the latter capacities comprise individual dispositions, i.e., behavioral manifestations of habits of thinking and perceiving. In addition, this latest addition makes clear the multi-level nature of value in organizations, from individual to societal, and thus the importance of looking at the extent to which constructs successfully bridge across these levels.

The above-described conceptual development of different forms of capital provides an interesting parallel to the varied conceptualizations of leadership (see Table 1). Classic capital is concrete and tangible, much like individual based leadership theories that assert the efficacy of

leadership is rooted in what the leader does, knows, or acts like. Human capital, while still focused on the individual, shifts the emphasis from the immediate activities to valuing the leader's capacity, or what the leader could do if needed. Social capital, with its focus on relationships, reflects leadership as a process of working with others, emphasizing the macro-level attributes and operations of leadership. Spiritual leadership would comprise both human and social capital. And, cultural capital, with emphasis on the implicit influences inherent in an organization and stability over time, speaks to the systems-oriented perspective of leadership process.

Spiritual Capital as a Multi-level Concept

Spiritual capital has emerged as one of the most recent forms of capital; however, it has arrived via three distinct paths: (a) via efforts to bring the individual concept of spiritual intelligence to the organizational level (Zohar & Marshall, 2004), (b) via attempts to quantify the value of spirituality and religion in economic terms (Metanexus Institute, 2006), and (c) via sociological constructs building on the work of Bourdieu (Verter, 2003). While these three paths overlap, each offers a different conceptualization of spiritual capital, particularly the level of operationalization.

Strongly focused on the individual level and as an outgrowth of work in spiritual intelligence (SQ), Danah Zohar and Ian Marshall (2004) have used the term spiritual capital in a book published under that title. They defined spiritual capital as "the amount of spiritual knowledge and expertise available to an individual or a culture," adding that the word "spiritual" refers to "meaning, values and fundamental purposes" (p. 27). Rather than focusing on any measurable impact on individuals and communities, Zohar and Marshall viewed spiritual capital as a transformational resource available to a society enmeshed in practices that are unsustainable and destructive. For them, societal transformation starts at the individual level and it requires spiritual capital. In other words, Zohar and Marshall consider spiritual capital as originating in individuals and foresee societal and therefore systemic implications.

Since 2003, spiritual capital began receiving wider attention as a result of the Templeton Foundation and the Philadelphia based Metanexus Institute, which support a research program on spiritual capital. It is here where the broad definition of spiritual capital as "the effects of spiritual and religious practices, beliefs, networks and institutions that have a measurable impact on individuals, communities and societies" originated (Metanexus Institute, 2006). However, emphasizing different attributes of spiritual capital, several researchers associated with the research program have also proposed their own definitions of spiritual capital. Iannaccone and Klick (2003) for example, defined spiritual capital as an extension of religious capital and stated, "the term is sufficiently elastic and popular that it can be applied to all traditional religions, all new religions, and a wide range of non-religious activities deemed virtuous or therapeutic" (p. 2).

Malloch (2003), on the other hand, placed emphasis on economic benefit and argued that economic development can be viewed as a form of religious activity. He argued that the improvement of material conditions can be considered an act of "redemptive transformation":

> [E]conomic development can be seen as a process through which persons and communities learn to care for and use the resources that sustain life. Economic development can be viewed as creative management of endowed resources by stewards who act on their faith commitments. Here, genuine economic growth is guided by

normative laws, character, and principled habits and practices that take into account the preservation needs of human beings, their environments, and their physical, mental, social, cultural and spiritual lives. In the ultimate sense, spiritual capital may be the third or missing leg in the stool which includes its better known relatives, namely: human and social capital. (p. 7)

Woodberry (2003) also distinguished spiritual capital from other forms of capital based on the idea that what happens in religious groups is not fully encompassed by other notions of capital. He stressed that religious groups' relationship with God is central and therefore they are more than social clubs. He emphasized moreover that people can access spiritual resources individually without the need for group solidarity. Berger and Hefner (2003) on the other hand proposed that spiritual capital may be primarily a social asset, a sub-species of social capital, and suggested that the notion refers to "power, influence, knowledge and dispositions created by participation in a particular religious tradition" (p. 3).

Berger and Hefner's (2003) notion of spiritual capital bridges the gap between economics and sociology in the third approach to spiritual capital, which is rooted in the cultural capital of Bourdieu. Drawing from Bourdieu's writing on religion, Verter (2003) identified three forms of spiritual capital aligned to the three forms of cultural capital asserted by Bourdieu: spiritual capital as an embodied state, as an objectified state, and as an institutionalized state. The embodied state applies to the individual, his or her position, disposition, knowledge, abilities, tastes, and credentials in the field of religion. Indeed, Coleman (1988) pointed out that Bourdieu asserts the application of cultural capital "…is a matter of disposition, not just acquisition" (p. 152). It is the outcome of education and socialization. The objectified state applies to material and symbolic commodities associated with religion and spirituality such as votive objects, sacred texts, and theologies and ideologies. The institutionalized state refers to organizational structures, such as churches, seminaries and other religious organizations, that exercise authority over spiritual goods, both material and immaterial. These three states move beyond a dichotomized understanding of spiritual capital and provide one model for recognizing a more complete picture of the individual embedded within the organization and its artifacts.

Building on the pioneering work of Zohar and Marshal (2004), the Spiritual Capital Research Program (Metanexus Institute, 2006), and Verter (2003), other scholars have proposed additional definitions for spiritual capital. These definitions continue the multi-level application of the concept. Lillard and Ogaki (2005) for example defined spiritual capital as "a set of intangible objects in the form of rules for interacting with people, nature, and spiritual beings …and believed knowledge about tangible and spiritual worlds" which "govern and direct behavior between individuals or between an individual and the natural world" (p. 1). Kenny (2007), however, forwarded a definition that focuses on the individual, stating that spiritual capital "may be interpreted as a measure of enhanced piety that marks the individual as more religious, and perhaps more moral (at least theoretically) than other member of the community" (p. 366). Broadening the application of spiritual capital to faith communities, Baker and Skinner (2006) proposed a definition of spiritual capital as the "values, ethics, beliefs and vision which faith communities bring to civil society at the global and local level" and "the holistic vision for change held within an individual person's set of beliefs"(p. 12).

Recognizing the multidimensional application of the notion, Voas (2005) defined spiritual capital as "those aspects of human and social capital that relate to organized religion, holistic spirituality, mysticism, or nonnaturalistic belief." In his view, spiritual capital implies a "stock of *individual* assets such as worldviews, lifestyles, physical markers, mental resources,

cultural characteristics and knowledge of doctrines, practices, texts, stories, etc. and also of *relational* goods that derive from family ties, group membership, communal activity and other connections in social networks" (p. 1). Voas furthermore maintained that the main method for acquiring spiritual capital is through inheritance.

Among the most recent application of spiritual capital is that of Baker and Miles-Watson (2008), who recognized that spiritual capital also impacts and therefore bears relevance to secular activities. Consequently they proposed a secular variation of spiritual capital and defined secular spiritual capital as "the set of individual and corporate/community values and action produced by the dynamic interaction between spiritual and social capital within secular fields of activity."

Finally, drawing a parallel with organizational leadership theory which also spans the wide spectrum that encompasses and interconnects individual and organizational variables, Middlebrooks and Noghiu (2007) proposed a conceptualization of spiritual capital that applies to leadership and speaks more explicitly about the specific characteristics or attributes that transcend and span multiple levels of analysis. Their model proposes three assertions in an effort to further develop the concept of spiritual capital.

The first proposition of Middlebrooks and Noghiu's (2007) model is that spiritual capital manifests as successful organizational integration (and in some cases, transdisciplinary application), functioning to bridge development at the individual level to development at the organizational level. Individual development facilitates relationships between and among leaders and followers and culminates in the collective spiritual capital at the organizational level, presumably resulting in organizational policies and practices reflective of the latter.

This role of bridging individual to organizational characteristics leads to a second proposition, namely that spiritual capital is an intrinsically critical part of effective organizational functioning, rather than one of many optional approaches a leader or organization can opt to embrace. Effective, sustainable organizational leadership requires the transcendent and transdisciplinary nature of spiritual capital. While not universally applied, the idea that effective systems (and systems thinking) underlie successful organizations has provided a considerable and significant framework for analyzing the characteristics and development of organizations (Senge, 1990; Stacey, 2007). A systems approach often begins with observable behavior, practices, and decision-making. However, a deeper analysis examines systems within and between individuals, vis-à-vis the leaders that influence and craft the vision, with the goal of continuously improving the organization. Spiritual capital plays a key role in these deeper systems.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the Middlebrooks and Noghiu (2007) model proposed that spiritual capital, at its most fundamental level, begins with measurable conceptual change at the individual level of analysis. As such, definitions of spiritual capital should include descriptions of individual dispositions that manifest as a sense of meaningfulness through: (a) belief in something larger than self, (b) a sense of interconnectedness, (c) ethical and moral salience, (d) a call or drive to serve, and (e) the capability to transfer the latter conceptualizations into individual and organizational behaviors, and ultimately added value. Thus, spiritual capital can be contrasted with workplace spirituality and spiritual leadership in that spiritual capital emphasizes realities that operate on the individual level of analysis such as ethical and service awareness, as well as a "capital" outcome, implying a tangible organizational benefit.

Spiritual Capital as Individual Service Disposition

Conceptualizing spiritual capital as a multilevel phenomenon presents considerable challenges for leaders and leadership. What should a leader know, do, or be like to foster this form of organizational value? At the individual level, one answer may lie in facilitating the development of the call to serve, or service disposition. Many leadership practitioners and theorists clearly assert the explicit influences the leader wields on followers and organizational processes and policies. For example, Kouzes and Posner (2002) highlighted leader activities grouped into five major categories: model the way, inspire a shared vision, challenge the process, enable others to act, and encourage the heart. While service-oriented issues are more clearly seen in these often direct activities between leaders and followers, less considered are those implicit influences that expand the scope and depth to which a leader influences organizational culture (Schyns & Meindl, 2005). For example, what is and is not on the agenda, choice of language, and how the leader conceptualizes their role and identity as a leader. As Bass described, "The transactional leaders works within the organizational culture as it exists; the transformational leader changes the organizational culture…(the transformational leader) changes the social warp and woof of reality" (1985, p. 24).

The concept of service and the web of intentions and interactions it comprises vary greatly in both scope and depth. Figure 1 displays the three dimensions of service: (a) the degree of internalization, which ranges from service as a transaction to a servant identity, (b) the focus of the ends of service, which range from serving oneself/ego to serving others/transcending ego, and (c) the means of service, which range from one-way (provider to receiver) to the concept of service as reciprocal and interactive.
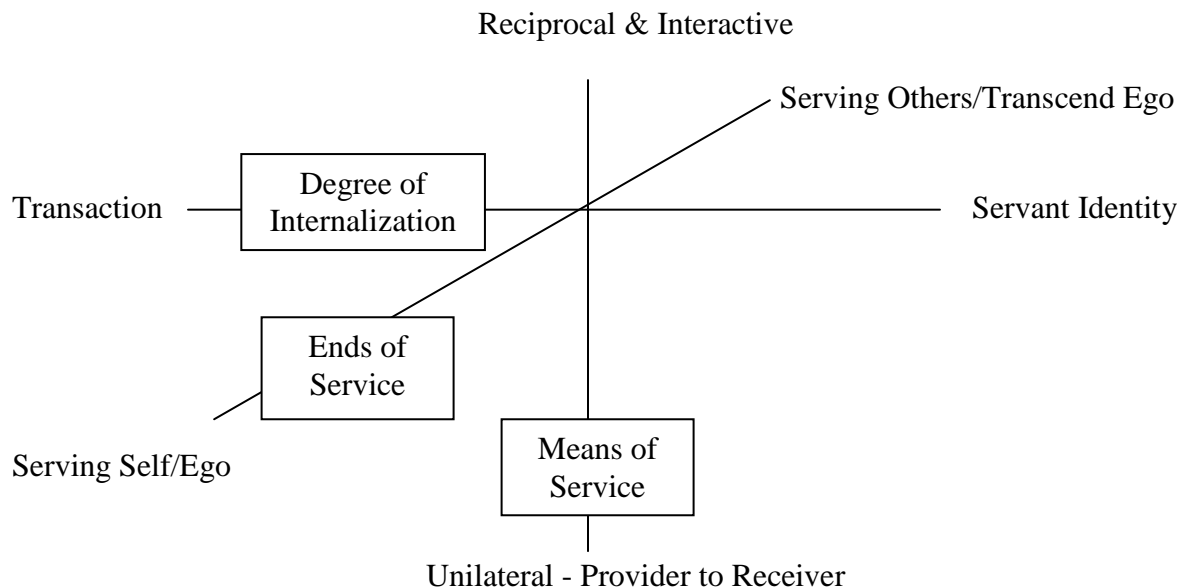

Figure 1: Three Dimensions of Service

At the most cursory level, service is a transaction with credibility, i.e., doing that which one promised to do, explicitly or implicitly. In the market context, service as transaction is elaborated to result in greater commitment—e.g., buy more, believe longer, tell others, etc. (Schneider & White, 2004). As this transaction conceptualization of service is institutionalized, or integrated into organizational processes, service becomes a facet of organizational culture— the way we do things around here. And a transactional leadership approach reflects this conceptualization of service. While this idea of service may take the guise of an ethic of care, it remains a transaction-enhancing construct.

As leadership thinking has advanced, the service dimension of leadership as the end toward which leaders influence others has taken a more prominent role. Max Weber (1947) provided the early contrast between a leader's will to power versus service, and he crossed this dichotomy with two approaches: transactional versus transformational. Bass' (1985; 1990; 1998) and Burns' (1978) conceptions of Transformational Leadership—especially as contrasted with Transactional Leadership, and later Greenleaf's idea of Servant-Leadership—now stand as the dominant perspective on the integration of service and leadership. In transformational leadership, leaders focus on charismatically appealing to and meeting the higher order motivational needs (per Maslow) of followers, i.e., helping followers and the organization reach full potential. On an organizational level, this includes altering the focus of followers to strongly identify with the organizational goals and importance of their role. Bass and Avolio (1994) identified four specific leadership actions to this end: idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration. More relevant, however, is Bass' assertion that the interaction between leader and follower be authentic and rooted in the moral character and ethical values of the leader and processes. Further, Burns (1978) asserted that transformational leadership exemplifies a reciprocal and mutual process between leader and follower of "raising one another to higher levels of morality and motivation" (p. 389).

Greenleaf's (2002) concept of Servant-Leadership is best captured by his seminal quote: "Do those served grow as persons? Do they, while being served, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants? And, what is the effect on the least privileged in society? Will they benefit or at least not be further deprived?" Greenleaf and his many contemporaries have crafted a detailed image of what a fully developed servant-leader knows, does, and is like. As those familiar with Greenleaf's work know, the servant-leader sees the larger, interconnected role of the leader and his or her organization: economically viable, socially just, and responsible for advancing the community and world within which the organization operates. The multilevel perspective of Greenleaf's ideas is evident in the fact that essentially, the success and sustainability of followers, organization, and community comprise an interconnected system salient to the servant-leader. This picture provides the "expert" end of a developmental continuum for a service orientation. However, the concept of service entails many complex considerations and questions for practicing leaders, and the journey to that conceptualization is unclear. As such, examining the developmental emergence of understanding and the educational experiences that prompt these insights can inform leadership educators.

Service takes on ethical dimensions in care-oriented contexts (e.g., counseling, non-profit organizations with social missions, health care, emergency services, and religious institutions). In these contexts, service remains transactional, but adds an altruistic and empathetic dimension. Individuals in these roles generally consider their work to be serving others, meeting individuals'

particular (and invariably human) needs within the context of their role or the mission of their organization.

Beyond the idea of service as transaction, service has been ubiquitous in the efforts of individuals to craft a more transcendent meaning to life. Many religious denominations, for example, exhort participants to serve beyond the self or the immediate life (i.e., a higher being, their inner self, their future manifestation, the earth, etc.). More important, religions emphasize service to others as a tenet of identifying with their worldview, which shapes individual behavior and cognition and ultimately one's identity (Koltko-Rivera, 2004). Although in some sense there is a transaction (serve more, gain heaven), the nature of service is more broadly applied to an entire existence; this approach ultimately seeks individuals who serve because it is who they are versus what they do. This level of internalized service, which moves beyond transactional motivations, can also be seen in political affiliations (Libertarians serve the pursuit of freedom), ethnic identification (Jewish tradition of tikkun olam), and nationalism (serving one's country).

Across the range of service internalization from transaction to identity lie a variety of *ends* toward which service is applied. Table 2 lists a number of these distinctions, which range in Figure 1 from ego-centric to ego-transcendent (i.e., serving oneself to serving others to serving a higher principle or cause). As one considers these various ends, some ends may feel more service-oriented than others. And, in fact, that intuitive feeling is shared by others around the world. Despite the myriad cultures, norms, political ideologies, and religions around the world, the GLOBE project found a common set of leadership characteristics that include service-oriented elements, (e.g., trustworthy, just, honest, dependable)—and this does not include those characteristics that imply service conceptions such as win-win problem solver, encouraging, and team builder (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004). Indeed, the "golden rule" exists in one form or another in every culture and major religion. Thus, service entails a significant spiritual dimension, which in essence includes the willingness and capability of focusing and acting to benefit something other than self (i.e., transcending one's ego).

Table 2

Ends of service

Freedom/Anarchy – purpose of service to enhance and ensure individual freedom.
Critical – purpose of service to address issues of unequal distribution and access to power.
Individual Egocentric – service only performed to make individual feel good/feel needed.
Individual Pragmatic – service done because ultimately it benefits the individual.
Social Pragmatic – service done because ultimately it benefits society
Unconscious – individual actions irrelevant to try to "plan," thus service irrelevant
Moral – service is right thing to do, it is a moral obligation.
Spiritual – service is right based on religious belief or individual spiritual growth
Individual psychological – service fulfills psychological needs of individual to have a purpose, do meaningful action, challenge, autonomy, raise self-esteem.
Economic – service creates more individuals capable of consuming and activities of service create consumption.
Systemic/Transformational – service to alter social systems and individual paradigms

Closely related to the ends of service is the *means* dimension of service. The servant-leader, according to Greenleaf (1991) as elaborated by Spears (1998), displays characteristics that are equally concerned with the application of service as with the ends toward which service

strives. These characteristics include: listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualization, foresight, stewardship, commitment to the growth of people, and building community. However, the spirit of deep service goes beyond a unilateral "helping" perspective. Lasting service approached in a mindful manner is a reciprocal interaction between equals, with the service provider and the service receiver each growing from the experience. In leadership this concept aligns with Mary Parker Follett's ideas, which were recently extended by Hollander (2008). Service applied in this manner comprises a full transcendence of ego such that the service-provider engages in a mutual growth activity, rather than a charitable act that serves their sense of altruism, and thus ego. Quite often in real-world application, leaders embrace service activities; however, sustainable service requires the right motive (i.e. what Fry, 2003 referred to as intrinsic motivation) if it is to lead to reciprocal personal growth.

The dimensions of service (Figure 1) provide a framework for describing the nature of one's service disposition, or one's mental framework or worldview comprising a call to serve. A service disposition comprises a very important facet of an individual's development as a leader, but it can be understood and manifested at opposite ends of the service dimensions previously presented. Greenleaf's (1991; 2002) theory of servant leadership, which is modeled after Christ's leadership qualities, clearly tends towards one end of the spectrum and suggests identity, self-transcendence, and reciprocity as the desired ends of service. Through notions such as ethics, altruism, empathy, meaning, and personal growth, the link between leadership, service, and spirituality is further reinforced. Interestingly, in a recent study about spirituality in the workplace where leaders were asked what gave them the most meaning in their jobs, "service to future generations" and "service to my immediate community" were among the most common answers, suggesting that leaders make the connection between service and spirituality (Mitroff & Denton, 1999b).

There are thus important links between success and leadership as process, service as a spiritual principle, and organizational culture. The role of service, specifically a service orientation, provides a practical and conceptual bridge between what a leader does, how a leader should go about doing it, and to what end. Service must be modulated at both the macro-level, where a variety of stakeholders are considered and collaborated with and service is translated into an organizational trait, and the micro-level, where the service of individual leaders is dependent on how that leader conceptualizes and actualizes a service disposition. This understanding serves as a guideline for the definition of service as a spiritual activity and the subsequent relationship between service disposition and spiritual capital.

Individual Service Disposition: Constructed Habits of Mind

Service as a disposition rather than merely an act can be thought of as a emanating from a specific set of constructed mental models, or habits of thinking (Dickmann & Stanford-Blair, 2008). In order to fully understand and thus influence the development of this disposition, it is necessary to briefly examine the cognitive processes underpinning the development of dispositions.

Anecdotally, individuals understand that their experiences and interaction with the external world shape their internal conceptualization of the world, or their mental model. Early psychological research focused on associations individuals made between one behavior and the next, assuming that connections were made between the known and new information and thus building or constructing knowledge interaction by interaction. While research of these processes

was originally limited to observable behavior, cognitive and neuroscience research have been steadily explaining the machinations and development of the "black box"—the mind and brain.

It is now commonly understood that mental models are constructed from many sources beyond observable experience. Less understood are the full implications of these constructions, particularly in the context of leading organizations. The reciprocal relationship between experiences and their interpretation, as well as the reflective capacity of the brain, bring the full socio-cultural milieu into the process. For example, Vygotsky (1986) theorized that mental constructions begin on the social plane in interactions with others and are then internalized, subsequently reinforcing or reframing one's conceptualization.

Mental models and the processes that regulate their construction play an important role in our understanding of leadership. For example, the conscious-competence learning model (Gordon, 1976, although in management literature often attributed to Howell & Fleischmann, 1982) has been a key construct for leaders. This model essentially outlines the development of a given concept across two dimensions (consciousness and competence), particularly focused on the individual's receptivity to different learning stimuli and thus on what the leader as teacher should focus. Another example of mental models application to leadership lies in decision-making research, where the "traps" in rational decision-making center on how individuals make decisions with faulty mental models or constructed mental processes (see Hammond, Keeney, & Raiffa, 1998, for an excellent summary of decision-making traps).

A mental model implies a static picture. However, the constructive nature of the brain and its representations are dynamic and multi-faceted, as well as shared by others in a general worldview sense. In other words, one's mental constructions of the world include patterns of mental behaviors or thought processes. These are often referred to as habits of mind, or dispositions. These dispositions guide how individuals interpret situations, analyze information, and monitor thinking. And, like a habit, the mental processes framed by one's disposition happen without conscious rational thought. In fact, a number of leadership theories and approaches, if internalized, could be considered dispositions. For example, Blake and Mouton's (1964) classic Managerial Grid that contrasts a leader whose style emphasizes a concern for people versus one who is focused on the task or achievement. Likewise, McGregor (1960) outlined the contrasting styles of directive versus participative leadership. The mindful leader recognizes the contrasts and applies either as needed; however, for many leaders one or the other manifests as a disposition (i.e., a habitual way of approaching leadership situations).

Habitually approaching and interpreting situations as an opportunity to serve (a service disposition) has substantial implications for leadership, most clearly in those leaders exhibiting transformational and servant-leader behavior. While the link between leadership, spirituality, and service has long been established, less understood is how precisely spirituality and religion assist leaders in becoming more service oriented. According to Koltko-Rivera (2006), "…religions shape worldviews, thereby shaping their adherents' sense of reality and proper behavior; in turn, worldviews shape cognition and behavior" (p. 6). A service disposition predisposes what information is salient, which consequently determines what information becomes part of one's conceptualization and what information is left out, overlooked, or deemed irrelevant or incorrect.

Since certain behaviors create value in society while others do not, spiritual capital theorists have included the underlying mental models as an important element in their definitions of the concept (Baker & Skinner, 2006; Lillard & Ogaki, 2005; Voas, 2005). Malloch and Massey (2006) noted that spiritual capital involves "worldviews" (p. 32) as well as

"psychological dispositions" (p. 26). And Berger and Hefner (2003, p. 3) and Verter (2003, p. 152) described "dispositions," which Middlebrooks and Noghiu (2007) specified as a service disposition. Further, a 'call or drive to serve' illustrates that a service disposition also includes the affective responses relative to the specific situations, which in turn influence levels of motivation.

Leading in Service of Spiritual Capital

The culture of an organization comprises the sum whole of the individuals within it, both current and past. Their constructed views of reality dynamically interact with one another, implicitly and explicitly, to create a shared vision of the "way we do things around here." Likewise, leadership activity at the individual level manifests collectively at the organizational level in systems, norms, and culture. When leaders model and facilitate service at the individual level, a culture is created at the organizational level. Giacalone & Jurkiewicz (2003) explained workplace spirituality as, "…a framework of organizational values evidenced in the culture that promotes employees' experience of transcendence through the work process, facilitating their sense of being connected to others in a way that provides feelings of completeness and joy" (p. 13). Baker and Miles-Watson (2008) referred to religion as "symbolic capital" because it simultaneously structures and is structured by worldviews. Thus, from a spiritual capital perspective, a culture resulting from service dispositions is a form of value since it constitutes the foundation of factual reality and manifests as real attitude, behavior, and performance.

Theorists and practitioners throughout history have recognized the spiritual nature of the human experience and the powerful influence and value it provides. Many organizations throughout history utilized this power to shape their culture and motivate their members. As organizations continue to grow in complexity and global interconnectedness, the need for excellence in management and organizational systems has perhaps overshadowed the fundamental human facets of service and spirituality. Existential crises and global problems are raising awareness of the broader view of organizational success.

Today's leaders appear thinly stretched when it comes to guiding their organizations to success. The modern leader needs unprecedented technical, management, people, and conceptual skills to keep an organization on track. The notion of spiritual capital implies that leaders will need to go from managing people to, in some sense, ministering to them. Leaders are already called upon to connect their employees to a larger organizational purpose, a task most find difficult to accomplish. The notion of spiritual capital may facilitate this effort, but it takes the challenge a step further, in a sense calling upon leaders to offer their employees "salvation" by creating the space within their organization for people to connect to the essence of life itself.

Since it is a practical expression of the underlying capacities associated with spiritual capital, a strongly developed individual service disposition becomes an essential element in the development of spiritual capital at the organizational level. As also suggested in the transformational leadership, servant leadership, and spiritual leadership literature, in order for spiritual capital to become an organizational asset, a service disposition should be espoused by leaders and followers alike. Consequently, the next steps in this line of research entail developing assessment measures of spiritual capital. With a greater balance between the classic dichotomy of emphasis on task versus relationship, and a greater recognition of the relationship between achievement, service, and the spiritual nature of organizations, leaders can foster more

sustainable, life-affirming work cultures. And, leaders can ultimately change the paradigm through which we work, manage, and lead.

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Faculty and Staff Grassroots Leaders' Beliefs About Power: Do Their Beliefs Affect Their Strategies and Effectiveness?

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This study examines how grassroots leaders define and act on beliefs about and perceptions of power. In this article, we focus on the following research questions: RQ1. How do grassroots leaders understand and socially construct power?; and RQ2. How does their understanding of power impact their approach to grassroots leadership (e.g., strategies and ways they negotiate power)? The study is framed by reviewing literature from social movement theory related to power, including Marxist, Postmodern, and Tempered Radical frameworks. Three approaches emerged in the study: a) Confrontational narrative (resist and rebel against the oppressor); b) Tempered radical narrative (power conditions exist, but there is room to navigate); and c) Power as context narrative (issues of power are not relevant and tend to blend into the context). The discussion describes limitations identified with the confrontational and power as context approaches that limit their effectiveness. The study also provides empirical evidence for how people construct power and for the impacts of context and individual background on constructions of power.

Research over the last fifteen years demonstrates that grassroots leadership efforts within institutional settings are not well-understood and yet extremely important to organizational processes such as change (Kanter, 1989; Eckel & Kezar, 2003; Kezar & Eckel, 2002; Meyerson, 2003; Spillane & Diamond, 2007). Studies identify how leaders at all levels of the organization facilitate change processes (Kanter, 1989; Kezar & Eckel, 2002; Meyerson, 2003; Pearce & Conger, 2003). Kanter's (1989) work, in particular, highlighted how leaders in positions of authority are not the only key agents of change, and that leadership at multiple levels is necessary for the type of shared leadership that leads to innovation and long-term change and sustainability. While this distributed form of leadership has been recognized, bottom-up leadership is still typically studied from the perspective of supporting top down efforts (Spillane & Diamond, 2007). Though the role of bottom up leaders in top-down efforts is important to explore, these studies do not explain or explore bottom-up changes independent of top-down sanctioning or change efforts that run counter to the interests of those in authority.

In more recent years, researchers such as Meyerson (2003) have suggested that organizational members without formal authority also create change day-to-day, but often this work goes undocumented. This everyday leadership is often termed "grassroots leadership"; it

emerges from the bottom up, among those without formal authority (Wittig, 1996). Meyerson noted that grassroots leadership and activism is typically documented within social movements outside organizational settings, but she challenged the idea that grassroots activities are not happening "within" organizations as well. She studied organizational grassroots efforts in corporations that were not connected to formal authority and typically challenged the status quo. She called these grassroots leaders "tempered radicals"—leaders with no formal authority who are located in institutional settings and temper their approach in order to maintain their jobs. They are committed both to their change ideas and the organization, but these two are often in direct conflict because their change challenges institutional norms/practices. Change from the bottom up is fundamentally different: it takes longer, requires unique skills and strategies, encounters new challenges, and involves more personal resiliency and commitment because it often involves questioning institutional norms and power structures (Kanter, 1989; Meyerson, 2003; Safrick, 2003). Given these unique qualities, grassroots leadership efforts need greater study. We need to document the process, obstacles, strategies, challenges, and potential of this form of leadership (Astin & Leland, 1991).

While we know very little about the phenomenon of grassroots leadership in organizational settings in general, we know virtually nothing about this phenomenon in education, as the few studies that exist are from corporations and community agencies. Educational organizations have been slower than businesses to recognize or harness grassroots leadership (Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006). Apart from the few exceptions involving studies of faculty and student activism in the 1960s and of women activists in the 1970s and 1980s (Astin, 1975; Astin & Leland, 1991), studies of leadership within postsecondary settings have focused on college and university presidents, provosts, and deans, ignoring any other group as possible leaders. Only in very recent years has there been recognition that leadership in higher education takes place at multiple levels—administrators, staff, faculty, and students—all of which play a role in creating direction and organizational change (Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006). For example, Safrick (2003) and Hart (2006) demonstrated how women's studies, centers for women, and women's councils hold leadership roles from their "marginal" status outside the circles of power on campus by transforming the curriculum, diversifying faculty and staff, and changing the climate of college campuses. These studies hinted at the potential of faculty and staff grassroots and examined a few areas such as resiliency or outcomes, but we still understand little about grassroots leaders in educational settings.

Research is needed because we know very little about the leadership of faculty and staff, and as a result there is little understanding, acknowledgement, support, development, or resources for individuals or groups who want to play a role in "nonpositional" or grassroots leadership. In addition, we know little about challenges they face such as negotiating obstacles and power. This study is framed by Meyerson's (2001, 2003) tempered radical framework. Because faculty and staff are members of institutions and not outside radicals, Meyerson's (2003) framework is appropriate for understanding faculty and staff leadership rather than social movement theory, which is typically used to understand grassroots leadership in society outside organizational settings. Meyerson identified several areas important for understanding tempered radicals: strategies, obstacles, power negotiation, and resiliency.

In this article, we focus on ways grassroots leaders define and negotiate power. There are many different definitions of power; this paper examines the way faculty and staff define power in a unique way, emphasizing there is not one static definition. For the purposes of creating some

baseline understanding, we based the definition of power on Pfeffer's (1981) definition of power within organizations: a force sufficient to change the behavior of others and achieve a desired outcome. Power is context and relationship specific, and it is both hierarchical and horizontal in nature (Pfeffer). Power may influence people, but people can be swayed by other processes such as advice, recommendations, or rational arguments; thus, power is typically associated with getting people to do something that is not in their interests and against their will (Bess & Dee, 2008). Others have suggested that power is an exercise in control that diminishes the autonomy of other people (Weber, 1947).

Understanding the way grassroots leaders understand and negotiate power conditions as they work to create change is extremely important for three major reasons. First, grassroots leaders are more likely to encounter and need to be aware of power conditions because those who create change from the bottom up often challenge institutional norms and power structures. Second, as Meyerson and Scully (1995) observed, tempered radicals/grassroots leaders generally remain within their work environment and the way that they define and negotiate power is critical to ensure their place within the organization. An un-strategic choice can result in dire consequences that tempered radicals are not prepared for because their goal is to remain within the organization rather than be fired, a choice most activists are more open to. Third, the way grassroots leaders understand power may be related to how successful they are in their efforts to create change. Meyerson (2001) suggested, but did not study whether, views of power impact success. Her hypothesis was that more confrontational approaches could impede success in institutional settings. Fourth, as the literature on grassroots leadership and social movements indicates, "[w]e lack a conceptual framework to understand attempts to construct and reconstruct definitions of power. Movement scholars have generally neglected the process by which these meanings are developed, sustained, and transformed" (Benford & Hunt, 1992, pg. 36). The way grassroots leaders define power is an area that has generally been overlooked in the literature on grassroots leadership and social movements and remains an important gap in our understanding. For all these reasons, we focused particular attention to the way grassroots leaders define and act on perceptions of power through the following research questions:

RQ1. How do grassroots leaders understand and socially construct power relative to change processes and initiatives? How is their view of power shaped by organizational conditions, identity, and organizational knowledge (as defined in the literature review)?

RQ2. How does grassroots leaders' understanding of power impact their approach to grassroots leadership of change initiatives (e.g., strategies and ways they negotiate power)?

RQ3. How does grassroots leaders' understanding of power and their resulting approach utilized impact the effectiveness of change initiatives?

Definitions Of Power: Views From Marxist, Postmodernist, and Tempered Radical Frameworks

Before framing the study, it is important to first define several terms that are important for understanding the paper: leadership, grassroots leadership, and change. Definitions of leadership have changed over the years and have been contested in the literature. Early

definitions of leadership often focused on a person in authority, leadership as a person rather than a process, and the role as overlapping with management (Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006; Stodgill, 1974). More recent definitions of leadership have focused on leadership as a process rather than as a person, as a collective, and have focused on change as a defining feature of leadership rather than management roles (Astin & Leland, 1991; Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin). Management and leadership have become disentangled, and much of the work previously known as management—such as budgeting, human resources management, and supervision—is now seen as the work of people in certain positions rather than the defining characteristics of leadership. As leadership has become disentangled from management and holding a positions of authority, this makes grassroots leaders more identifiable as leaders as they are not in positions of authority. Because grassroots leaders are individuals and groups with a vision who work to implement and make that vision real, they are doing the work of change, which is leadership according to these newer definitions. Because leadership is closely associated with change, this study focused on how grassroots leaders accomplish their work of creating change and how their beliefs of power may shape this process. Change is another important construct in the study and it is defined as the alteration of structures, processes, and/or behaviors in a system, or the introduction of something new to an organization (Bess & Dee, 2008).

Power is a major topic of study within grassroots leadership/social movement theory. Researchers examine various aspects: mobilization by movement actors as a form of interdependent power (Jermier, Knights, & Nord, 1994); approaches to mapping power structures (Pfeffer, 1981; Tarrow, 1988); ways that power becomes part of institutional structures (Jermier, Knights, & Nord, 1994; Pfeffer, 1981); uses of power among elites (Jermier, Knights, & Nord, 1994; Pfeffer, 1981; Tarrow, 1988; Wilson, 1973; Wittig, 1996); resistance as a form of power and review various forms such as sabotage or whistle blowing (Jermier, Knights, & Nord, 1994); and backlash as a form of power once some level of change has been achieved (Tarrow, 1988; Wilson, 1973). Power tends to be studied from a macro or sociological perspective. This is not surprising given the social movement theory emerged predominantly in sociology. Also, the literature more generally from other fields outside social movement theory discusses various concepts about how power operates as well as various ways to categorize and understand power. For example, scholars examine the organizational determinants of power—such as horizontal, vertical, and cross boundary power (Pfeffer, 1992)—alternative sources of power—such as reward, coercive, legitimate, referent and expert power (French & Raven, 1960)—and relationships, such as trust or reason to power (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995). Lukes (2005) categorized different definitions of power into one-dimensional, two-dimensional, and three-dimensional views of power, but these categories are based on the ways researchers examine power. However, none of these theories and concepts examine how leaders themselves define or understand power. Much more limited conceptualization has been conducted in this arena, which we review next through three frameworks: Marxist, Postmodern, and Tempered Radical.

While power in grassroots leadership has been the subject of substantial investigation (as well as across organizational studies), there are also significant gaps in our understanding. As Benford and Hunt (1992) noted, there is virtually no empirical literature that examines the way grassroots leaders (or elites) understand or define power. Instead, social movement theory is based on Marxist assumptions of how power operates, which is largely conceptual rather than empirical work. This Marxist viewpoint on power is the predominant perspective in the social

movement/grassroots leadership literature (Bernal, 1998; Bettencourt, 1996; Bettencourt, Dillman, & Wollman, 1996; Kroeker, 1996; Wilson, 1973; Wittig, 1996). Within the Marxist narrative, power is constructed as universal and unified because power is experienced similarly regardless of context or identity. There is a standard narrative in which grassroots leaders are disempowered by oppressive institutional elites (Alinsky, 1971; Gaventa, 1980). Hegemonic relationships define which group has control and power and which group does not. In the Marxist narrative, the only way to interact is through resistance and counter-hegemonic actions (Morgan, 1997). There is an understanding that elites and grassroots leaders have different interests and therefore see the world in very distinctive ways (Mondros & Wilson, 1994). Grassroots leaders perceive elites as oppressive, trying to maintain their power and privilege by denying or controlling information and social situations to their advantage (Morgan, 1997; Tarrow, 1998). Elites create a legitimizing myth that supports their unequal power and denies inequalities, or they provide rationale for the existence of inequalities. The Marxist perspective thus projects the following assumptions about power onto grassroots leaders: elites have power; they are unwilling to share and will maintain their privilege at all costs; thus, confrontation and direct action is necessary by grassroots leaders (Alinsky). Yet empirical evidence is not actually collected on grassroots leaders' views of power. Various scholars have suggested weaknesses with the standard Marxist narrative. For example, some see this Marxist dialectic (elites have power and others do not) as potentially limiting, allowing elites to actually maintain and control power because it is never examined or questioned (Benford and Hunt, 1992; Morgan, 1997). Another critique that we highlight is from Postmodernism (Jermier, Knights, & Nord, 1994).

Recent postmodern views of power suggest limitations to the traditional Marxist views related to individual constructions of power and offer some other ways to conceptualize power (Jermier, Knights, & Nord, 1994). Postmodernists portray the Marxist view of power as overly simple and missing opportunities for exploring agency, complicity vs. consent, and the localized nature of power (Clegg, 1979 &1989; Jermier, Knights, & Nord). For example, a grassroots organizer may have personal power through their background and experience, or may know and share interests with members of the elite. The boundaries are not seen as clear and distinctive. In response to the simplified views of power in Marxism, Collinson (1994) proposed a new framework for understanding the way individuals construct power that might identify more complex views. The framework Collinson proposed and implemented in his study of manufacturing plants in England is based on an interdependency of subjectivity/knowledge, power, and organizational conditions. He asserted that individuals' sense of agency (subjectivity) and his/her own evolving understanding of "how organizations work" (knowledge) shape his/her view of power, which is mediated by organizational conditions that are also changing continuously. Knowledge of the organization refers to an understanding of how strategy formation, routine creation, agenda setting, power mapping, and other rules of the game. Therefore, the only way to understand constructions of power among grassroots leaders would be to understand their sense of agency, background, and organizational knowledge and to place this sense within an understanding of the larger organizational context and conditions (Tew, 2002).

While grassroots leaders' views of power have not been studied, some research has been conducted on people who resist within society or organizations (e.g., labor organizers or conscious objectors). Studies have identified how people within organizations that resist the direction of those in authority often have limited organizational knowledge, which inhibits their ability to formulate sophisticated constructions of power (Clegg, 1979, 1989). They also often have limited sense of agency, which makes them perceive greater agency and power among

those in positions of authority (Clegg, 1985, 1990; Jermier, Knights, & Nord, 1994; Scott, 1985; Tew, 2002).   Research has also suggested that gender, class, or race—as individual subjectivities—shape views of power (e.g., levels of agency) (Gottfried, 1994). Many of these postmodern writers borrow from Foucault, highlighting the systemic nature of power, demonstrating that power is both interpersonal/ individual as well as within structures, emphasizing individual agency, and focusing more on negotiation and mediation (Tew, 2002).

To date, limited empirical research has been conducted using a postmodern lens and much of the work remains conceptual in nature, similar to Marxist conceptions. Benford and Hunt (1992) noted that we need studies with the goal of understanding power from the perspective of movement actors—how they construct their images of power and struggle to alter extant power relations, moving beyond purely conceptual work. They hypothesized that while there may be more complex and differing ways that grassroots leaders define and understand power, for the most part this has not been a subject of study so the standard Marxist narrative continues to proliferate in the literature. Therefore, we examine the work of Meyerson (2001) on tempered radicals because it represents empirical work on this topic. Also, the postmodern work of Tew (2002) and Collinson (1994) focused on resisters rather than grassroots leaders, whereas Meyerson's work examines grassroots leaders within institutional settings, which is a stronger parallel for faculty and staff grassroots leaders and their constructions of power.

Meyerson's (2001) work provides several important insights into the way grassroots leaders may interpret power and how it impacts their strategies (even though it did not examine the relationship between power and strategies directly). We highlight this work as it is empirically based and helped us in thinking about ways movement leaders might be conceptualizing power. While she does not label her work as postmodern, the framework does incorporate insights from postmodern thinking (such as the importance of individual interpretation of power and the impact of context on perspective) that have advanced alternative views for the way grassroots leaders might construct power. Meyerson's work comes from a psychological lens so she examines leaders' inner worlds and their interpretation of their environment further than traditional social movement literature. Because tempered radicals remain part of the organization and are trying to create change, they often dilute or moderate how much they push the organization; she explains this as living on the line between conformity and rebellion (Meyerson).

Meyerson (2001) noted that many individuals within organizations become angry and feel victimized and debilitated. She described that these people typically do not create change or play a leadership role. In contrast, tempered radicals navigate the middle, using their anger in functional ways to fuel their action, and not allowing anger to overpower them or destroy their relationships and strategies. Tempered radicals focus on making modest and doable changes, carefully choosing whether to be visible or invisible, turning threats into opportunities for negotiation, and creating pockets of learning. These strategic choices suggest an interpretation about power within the organization and knowledge of how an organization works (tapping into the importance of knowledge of how organization work noted by Collinson, 1994). Meyerson implicitly connected people's interpretations of power within their contexts to the strategies that they use.

This article will review four approache—modest changes, moderate visibility, communication and negotiation, and viewing threats as opportunities for learning—within Meyerson's (2001) framework, as well as provide an alternative way to think about power beyond the traditional Marxist narrative and an empirical framework that incorporates some of

the postmodern views. As will be shown below, movement leaders within the tempered radical framework appear to spend time understanding the power dynamics within the context before choosing strategies. Opposed to the Marxist perspective, the tempered radical framework does not assume that elites always have differing interests from employees and there is more room for negotiation. However, the framework does acknowledge that there is a status quo that is being supported by a power base and is threatened by major change.

Tempered radicals focus on creating small wins and moderate changes because if their change is to too large, they recognize people will begin to resist and threaten their progress. More incremental changes are more easily absorbed into the organization and are not seen as threatening, even though they still can create long-term change. Tempered radicals are patient, working on change for the long-term and willing to wait to see change and success. Tempered radicals realize if they push too hard and their reputation is damaged, they may be unable to play the same role and may have to move behind the scenes. Thus, visibility is also dependent on how hard they have pushed and whether they perceive the need to go under the radar.

Meyerson (2001) also noted that tempered radicals use strategies that vary based on their comfort level; some use much more visible strategies that may encounter resistance, and some have more invisible strategies that encounter less resistance. Resistance and backlash typically arise when using more visible strategies (like collective action and direct activist strategies in the form of picketing or rallies). These findings have also been identified in other studies. For example, in a study by Hart (2005), women who were very visible in seeking to change the climate around gender in higher education in the 1980s experienced little success and were labeled as "campus troublemakers." Those in power erected bureaucratic red tape and retaliated against those activists for their confrontational methods. Creating a collective network and foregrounding professionalization (e.g. using tactics that mirror professional work, such as working with the administration and forming formal committees) over activist strategies helps to eliminate some of the resistance from those in power, particularly the administration (Hart, 2005). More invisible or behind the scenes strategies like mentoring or helping others, channeling information, or naming an offense comment or action produces less resistance (Tarrow, 1988). The ability of leaders to reassess their strategy and change suggests that they may be interpreting cues about the power structure and determining what might work best to create change. The focus on comfort–level suggests that an individual's background affects his or her choice of strategy.

In addition, tempered radicals choose negotiation and communication as favored techniques rather than confrontational techniques as a response to threats (typical in Marxist perspectives). The tempered radical framework acknowledges that people who hold different views will be open to threats and attacks from those who take a dominant position or are in authority positions. Tempered radicals see these moments as opportunities for educating others or for negotiating new understandings rather than focusing on the personal threats. In other words, they do not see an impenetrable hegemony, but opportunities for shaping and amending existing power conditions. Furthermore, Meyerson (2001) noted the importance of depersonalizing threats so that it is possible to confront people and inquire about their comments and actions in order for learning to take place as a result of the incident. Meyerson (2001) found that tempered radicals are more successful in achieving their goals if they are able to strategically confront people who threaten or attack them.

Tempered radicals attempt to use conflict and different interests as a point of interaction for learning. The framework assumes that individuals in organizations have different interests,

but that these interests can be negotiated –particularly if people interact and have an opportunity to rethink their position. Some of the goals of movement leaders is to create opportunities for interaction, to humanize the change process by bringing people together, and to encourage listening on both sides so that honest sharing, feedback, and learning may be possible.

Again, these allusions to visibility, comfort, and threats all suggest that there is some source out there that is resisting tempered radicals attempts at change, but whether the forms of resistance are norms, institutional routines or habits, power, etc. is never explained by Meyerson (2001). In sum, Meyerson does not directly address power in her text and never discusses the way people define or construct power, but her text does suggest that some source is shaping tempered radicals' work and it is important to understand how people navigate this condition (however they label it). Her work does suggest an alternative way that grassroots leaders might interpret and understand power that could impact the way grassroots leaders respond. This study sought to more explicitly articulate what is only implicit in the tempered radical framework by asking movement leaders explicitly about their views of power, which Meyerson did not do.

In addition to building on Meyerson's (2001) framework (the only empirical work in this area), we are informed by Marxist and Postmodern views of the way individuals construct power and thus brought these frameworks to the interpretation of the data. In particular, we found Collinson's (1994) framework of how subjectivity/knowledge and organizational conditions shape constructions of power to be a comprehensive framework. Our analysis of the data specifically examined organizational knowledge, identity, and organizational conditions, all aspects of Collison's framework.

Methodology

We chose an instrumental case study research design (Stake, 2005) to foreground the phenomenon of grassroots leadership (including processes, activities, and strategies) and background the particular case setting. In contrast to intrinsic case studies, which are guided by a particular interest in the specific case examined (e.g., a particular college or university), this instrumental case study design places the phenomenon of grassroots leadership in the foreground of the research rather than the particular case settings. We are ultimately interested in examining and understanding the grassroots leadership efforts of faculty and staff working within "typical" institutions of higher education. Typical was defined as institutions not characterized by an institutional commitment to innovation, activism, and change. They had some grassroots leadership among faculty and staff, but no unusual history or culture that fostered such activism. Thus, the term typical was related to the level of activism and support for activism. While is it difficult to define a typical higher education institution, we attempted to pick institutions that had no unusual structure, history, or culture. For example, we did not choose institutions with very unique histories or backgrounds such as Alverno College (unique curriculum) or California State University Monterey Bay (new campus with alternative teaching philosophy and mission).

While we were striving for typical institutions, we wanted varying institutional types. Numerous studies have identified how institutional type impacts organizational processes (e.g., Birnbaum, 1988). Our criteria for selecting cases were as follows: a) typical institution (for grassroots leadership and as it relates to institutional history, mission and structure); b) presence of more than one grassroots leadership effort; c) grassroots efforts among faculty and staff; d) different institutional types; e) presence of a series of nested cases (e.g. environmentalism) with multiple

individuals we could interview per case; and f) located close enough to one of the researchers so that repeated visits could be conducted

Because case selection is one of the most important criteria for informing trustworthiness in a case study, in order to select institutions for the study extensive document analysis and interviews were conducted to determine if the site was appropriate for study. Interviews were initially conducted with each campus's informants to understand if the site had a concentration of individuals who would be considered grassroots leaders, but no unusual history or culture which leads to the leadership activity. In addition, documents (e.g., campus papers, faculty governance minutes, and agendas) were compiled in a report to understand the campus culture related to change, potential nested cases, and the names of potential participants.

Through the criteria and careful case selection process, we identified five typical institutions (those institutions not characterized by an institutional commitment to innovation, activism, and change) of higher education representing different sectors (community college, liberal arts college, private research university, comprehensive public regional, and technical college), assuming that grassroots leadership might differ by institutional type. Please see appendix A for an overview of the sites.

Identification and Recruitment of Participants

As an initial means of identifying these grassroots leaders, we had an inside informant on each campus to ask for assistance identifying staff and faculty actively involved in grassroots (local, bottom-up) change efforts. Individuals identified as grassroots leaders were then contacted by a member of the research team and invited to participate in this study. After this initial round of participant recruitment, we used a snowball sampling technique to recruit additional participants involved in various movements on campus. In addition to recruiting participants who were considered grassroots leaders, we also focused on identifying change initiatives to serve as nested cases (e.g., diversity, environmentalism, and multiculturalism). We continued to seek additional research participants until we had exhausted our recommendations and saturated the sample. The findings presented in this paper draw upon interviews conducted with 84 staff and 81 faculty members (total 165) at five different institutions engaged in grassroots leadership. The participants represented tenure and non-tenure track faculty at all ranks. Staff ranged from custodial, clerical, entry and mid-level staff in academic and student affairs, and other areas like operation or business. In terms of demographics, there was a gender balance; but there were more people of color given the proportion in the institutions.

In addition to recruiting individual participants who were considered grassroots leaders, we also focused on identifying change initiatives to serve as nested cases (e.g. diversity, environmentalism) and asked to speak with other individuals who were specifically involved with those initiatives. For each nested case, we had between 4-15 individuals who commented. The following represents some of the nested cases we followed to understand the spectrum: diversity (including race, sexual orientation, gender, disability, and income), service leaning and other innovative pedagogies, environmentalism, staff equity, childcare centers, wellness, student success, campus and community partnerships, anti-capitalist movements, immigration status, and participation in governance. We focused our study on changes that occur on campus, but we also identified some off-campus issues that faculty/staff and students were involved in, such as immigration rights.

Data Collection & Analysis

One-on-one semi-structured interviews provided the primary data for this study. Each participant was interviewed at least once in-person, with the interview lasting approximately one hour. The interviews were audio taped and transcribed verbatim. The interview questions and prompts focused on several key themes to focus on our research questions: a) the focus of the participants' change efforts, b) strategies for creating change; c) issues that enable and constrain leadership; d) ways they define and negotiate power; and e) strategies for maintaining resilience and internal conflicts.

In addition to document analysis and one-to-one interviews, case sites were visited multiple times (often up to ten times) and observations conducted of key events, meetings, or celebrations noted by grassroots leaders. Also, once on campus we asked grassroots leaders to identify three individuals with historical and broad contextual knowledge of campus. To better understand the case sites, we focused our interviews on their perspectives about the organizational culture and environment, as well as their perspective on the grassroots initiatives. Through the documents, interviews, and observations we created a thorough description of the campuses in order to illuminate how campus context may impact grassroots leadership.

Consistent with methodological norms of qualitative inquiry (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Miles & Huberman, 1994), the systematic coding of texts (i.e., interview transcripts, institutional documents) served as the primary means of data analysis. Formal data analysis began during the initial stages of data collection and concluded with the write-up of the final research report. Team members used journals to capture initial interpretations and issues for follow up. The research team members met regularly to address data analysis questions, compare interpretations, and develop consensus on research findings. For this paper, data analysis focused on identifying definitions of power, the ways participants described negotiating power, and ways that either they explained or it appeared that their view of power shaped their approach to leadership. We developed portraits of each faculty and staff member. The frameworks we chose to understand power (Marxist, Postmodern, and Tempered Radicals) informed our analysis of the data, but we remained open to other interpretations. Related to research question one, we examined the overall organizational conditions of each campus and determined if these conditions related to different interpretations of power. We also examined whether the grassroots leaders constructed power differently based on the nature of the change they were pursuing (e.g., environmentalism versus service learning). We explored their organizational knowledge by identifying their strategies for negotiating power as Collison (1998) and Meyerson's (2001) works suggested. We also explored relationships between aspects of their identity, mostly through their sense of agency, and their background related to race, gender, and class to views of power. In sum, we explored the relationships between the campus context/change initiative, organizational knowledge, and subjectivity to personal definitions of power. Three perspectives emerged and we use archetypes of individuals to explain these varying perspectives.

It is important to note that a few other beliefs about power emerged, but that these beliefs were not very prevalent in the data and thus did not represent themes or patterns. For example, we found a few individuals that held what might be called a feminist perspective on power (although this overlaps with the tempered radical framework in some ways). Feminists tend to view power as a shared and collective resource, see power processes as more win-win, and value relationships over direction and persuasion. The differences were subtle, but it did not appear significant enough to make a separate category of people who shared this view. A few people

had more Eastern or metaphysical views on power as a Zen force that is part of nature and that is to be experienced more with body and emotions than pure reason and without fear. These individuals viewed power in much less contentious ways than almost all other individuals. But, the numbers of individuals holding these views were so small that they are not highlighted here; but they are mentioned to demonstrate our openness to seeing other views about power even though other belief systems did not emerge in the data. Previous conceptualization from Marxism and Tempered Radicals largely captured many views. We also had a third category that emerged and was not described in the literature: power as context.

Trustworthiness

We used several methods to ensure trustworthiness within the study. First, because case site selection is one of the primary ways to ensure trustworthiness within case study, we spent several months identifying the institutions where we would conduct the study. We ensured that these campuses had ample grassroots activity but were not extremely unique or distinctive campuses. Second, we spent considerable time on each campus. Researchers visited the campuses often over a year–long period conducting interviews, meeting with informants, gathering new documents, and observing campus life. Third, we interviewed both grassroots leaders and other members of the campus in order to get a fuller picture of the work of grassroots leaders as well as the nested cases we were following. Fourth, we had multiple researchers at most sites (two sites had primarily one researcher) who talked and journaled together regularly in order to provide richer interpretations of the data. Fifth, we had multiple individuals conduct data analysis and review the interpretation.

Results

What emerged from the study is that individuals/groups tended to have three different ways that they understand power: a) The standard confrontational narrative (resist and rebel against the oppressor); b) Tempered radical narrative (power conditions exist, but there is room to navigate); and c) Power as context narrative (issues of power are not forefront to the grassroots leader). These various narratives will be described primarily using the portrait of grassroots leaders and supplemented by the quotes of several additional leaders who understand power in similar ways. Narrative portraits are helpful representations of qualitative data to demonstrate how ideas and beliefs are related to activities and behaviors. They also help to demonstrate how certain concepts are tied to identity and experience, which we found to be the case with views of power. Regardless of initiative or campus context, these three perspectives represent underlying ways that individuals conceive of power—basic and fundamental beliefs that certainly can be reinforced or changed by context, but seem more fundamental to personal background and beliefs. We found few relationships between campus context/initiative and beliefs of power. Multiple individuals on the same initiative or campus context held differing views based on their lifetime background or experience. One campus had more faculty members who maintained a confrontational approach, so we describe this campus and some unique aspects of the campus as this might be an important direction for future research.

Confrontational Narrative

About one-fifth of the grassroots leaders that we talked with used a confrontational approach, which mirrors what Benford and Hunt (1992) described as the traditional grassroots or Marxist narrative. Many others faculty and staff we interviewed referenced the confrontational approach as a strategy used by grassroots leaders who had been forced off campus. Therefore, purely based on attrition, it was more difficult to find these individuals. Those who did have a confrontational approach, described here by a woman named Jennifer, viewed power as located with the organizational hierarchy and as oppressive and finite. She challenged power through confrontational strategies (e.g. criticizing the administration, organizing rallies, and student protests). As Jennifer's narrative illustrates, confrontational approaches often lead to retribution.

Jennifer, a white, tenured, female faculty member is very involved with unions on campus, and has been involved with faculty rights and gender issues. Through her involvement with the union she feels that she has improved the work conditions for her faculty colleagues, but it has been as on-going battle. She also believes that her work with the women's center and some of the student groups has helped to improve the environment around sexual harassment, childcare, and gender on campus.

How do Jennifer and her confrontational colleagues understand power? Jennifer has long understood that the power source at the institution is the administration and that they routinely abuse their power and need to be carefully monitored. For Jennifer power was in formalized structures, something that those in authority had and that others fought to obtain. She viewed a dialectic between those with power and those without as an on-going and constant battle. Her responses to questions of power demonstrate how she sees it as located within the hierarchy and bureaucracy: "Most of the power is in the bureaucracy. There are not very many sources of power outside of that, at least for faculty. And for staff, they are only as empowered as their immediate supervisors allow them to be."   She and other grassroots leaders note that those in power have an oppressive stance, but she is always willing to challenge that stance: "you have to recognize there is a power structure here and there are a lot of people who don't want to stick their necks out. I've been around people who stick their necks out in life and so sometimes I'm shocked when people are afraid to, but then people get whacked so I understand." The description of power within the institution is one of active oppression, battles, retaliation, and opposing sides. She explains how she developed these beliefs through her "family upbringing, my parents were real activists. Also my involvement in the women's movement and political action in the community." As noted in the introduction to the results, background and life experience are influential to people's interpretations of power.

Jennifer and her confrontational colleagues tended to view power as a finite resource. Therefore, they often saw their interests in conflict with other social justice issues. For example, on one campus, those who are fighting for diversity felt they needed to compete with those supporting environmentalism because there are only so many resources and support that can be garnered. Asian, Latino, and African-American groups are often vying for power rather than working together as allies because they view power as finite. Jennifer's colleague noted concern with the confrontational approach: "the problem with the zero-sum view of power (held by Jennifer and others) is that people who you think would be on the same side on issues begin to take each other on. And I'm not sure they are even aware of it, but the way they view power and interest results in this approach."

How do Jennifer and her confrontational colleagues approach grassroots leadership based on these views of power? Jennifer noted that she has "always had a strong sense of justice and fairness that has overwhelmed my fear of consequences." Therefore, she has felt compelled to actively confront members of the administration when they trample on staff or faculty rights. She believes that "you have to demand and assert your rights. There is no way that the administration will ever work with us to create the type of changes we want." As a result of her views of power, she feels that it is her duty to actively criticize the administration. She noted that she does not "dislike the people I criticize, but it is expected that we butt heads sometimes." Her strategies involve direct and visible approaches, such as writing articles or memos that criticize the administration, organizing rallies and events, participating in student protests, picketing, and other more visible change efforts. When she described her approach to change she stated, "I have problems with authority and I get in their faces, and then I get in trouble that way. I fight with my colleagues and I fight hard and so they push back hard and they know how to push back from that white male dominant place and then I get chewed up." This quote also illustrates how her change strategies and approach make her a direct target for retribution. She noted that because the administration is actively against her ideas for change, the only way to create change is to force their hand. Also, her direct approach to change has been noticed by others within the institution:

> We heard through the grapevine that the president was very offended, personally offended, by what I wrote, so some of the other board members also thought I was pushing the limits, over-the-top. So I wrote a thank-you note to say I didn't mean to hurt you personally, but the president never acknowledged my note.

Jennifer and other grassroots leaders believe that public humiliation is an important tool for creating change. Yet, this type of severe tactic can threaten the overall change because campus members perceive this behavior as inappropriate and uncivil, which impacts the grassroots movement's legitimacy.

Almost half of the individuals who take a confrontational approach had changed their approach slightly over time, often as they aged or to avoid backlash. Jennifer noted how she is "more diplomatic than I used to be. I'm more patient than I used to be. Raise a couple of kids and you'll learn a few things from that. I'm more tolerant of human failings and fears now." This change translated into Jennifer tempering her confrontational approach slightly. This change also may be why she is still at the institution, whereas others with a critical approach left or were asked to leave. Another faculty member described his own transformation over time: "I try to stop myself when the discussion gets bigger and more personal. I try to allow them to disagree with what ever they feel that they disagree. If you allow it to get too personal, then it can hamper your efforts to change." Many of the grassroots leaders with a confrontational approach have some awareness that their style is confrontational and a turnoff to those in the administration as well as some of their colleagues. However, based on their views of how the power structure operates, they feel it is their responsibility to maintain this approach—even if they slightly temper it over time. They do not have a desire to become tempered radicals, but rather feel a responsibility to be the ones who "stick their necks out" for the good of the order.

How do Jennifer and her colleagues negotiate power conditions? Negotiating power conditions is particularly critical when the confrontational approach is utilized. Jennifer and others noted that many confrontational colleagues were no longer at the institution or, if they

were, were no longer considered legitimate (were not listened to or did not have influence). As Justin, a tempered radical, noted, "it is easy for administrators to organize you right out of the organization." Jennifer experienced this power reaction to her confrontational grassroots approach when her departmental nomination for chair was overturned by administration. Jennifer said although it is "illegal for administrators to retaliate against the criticism that I have lodged against the institution, I know that they often retaliate and act out against people who question their power." Many other grassroots leaders who took this approach explained other forms of retribution such as formal lawsuits against them, having their courses scheduled at the worst times, not being selected for committees anymore, having their evaluations impacted, social isolation, and having colleagues or other administrators make biting comments at meetings.

Jennifer believes that the union is a source of power that can protect her and allow her to speak her mind in ways that non-union faculty may not. So, the union is a mechanism for helping her to negotiate power conditions within her environment. Her approach is to build and/or become a part of an oppositional structure. However, she reiterated, "The power is really seated in the administration."

Jennifer also described the importance of tenure as a protection for faculty, in particular, to speak their minds and navigate the power structure. She is a fierce advocate for tenure and believes that if tenure goes into demise, then the administration will gain a tremendous amount of power and faculty will be much less able to navigate institutional power: "Because of tenure I feel I can be an fierce advocate against sexual harassment and for the childcare center. Otherwise, I am not sure I would feel as comfortable."

Because Jennifer uses very confrontational approaches to change, at times she and other grassroots activists need to change their strategies and go underground. When using such active strategies to fight the power structure, often a person can end up being labeled a troublemaker and have to work in different ways for a while. These individuals were more likely than others we spoke with to cycle in and out of different strategies of change (from active to more underground). Jennifer described the way she flies under the radar from time to time:

> I do a lot of stuff in my office right now, I am still active but it is sure not as visible. I do not want to put my family at risk anymore. I remember that the last chancellor came up to me at one-point and said, 'I haven't heard from you for in a couple years.' He sounded pretty relieved. And my dean said: 'I heard you were this wild woman, and I have not experienced that.' I said, 'well people change.' Well I haven't changed, but right now they don't know what I'm doing. That is how it has to be at times.

"Flying under the radar" was described by Jennifer's confrontational colleagues as necessary once they had reached a certain level of open antagonism. Leaders gave many examples—mentoring and working with students, creating underground networks, anonymously forwarding information to key individuals, having other people speak your perspective—and a host of strategies can be used as ways to accomplish one's goal without others knowing the work you are doing. Beyond building oppositional structures (unions), relying on tenure, and flying below the radar, these leaders tend to do little to negotiate power. Power is to just a force to be reckoned with.

Tempered Radicals Narrative

Approximately half of the individuals that we interviewed understood power in ways that were similar to the approach described within Meyerson's (2001) tempered radical framework.

Justin, a staff member of color, represented the perspective of other tempered radicals we saw across the campuses we interviewed. Justin has been dedicated to several issues, including staff equity, increasing service learning, and diversity. He was acknowledged by his colleagues as successful in his efforts to create change.

How do Justin and his tempered radical colleagues understand power? Tempered radicals on campuses often perceived power in complex ways – noting different forms of power (expert, charisma, influence), different sources (informal and formal), and dynamics of power (changing over time and by situation). Because they see power as distributed, embedded differently within each culture, and something that needed to be identified uniquely, they spend time trying to determine or map power locations. Justin described this process:

> Well one thing we do is analyze the existing power structure, which is changing all the time. It's hard to get power or make change if you don't understand where decisions are made and where influence resides. So when our group sat down to work on diversity, we started to map out a system of formal and informal power on campus.

Justin went on to say:

> I think power has a lot to do with change. And there are lots of different kinds of power—expert, charisma, influence. Staff are not disempowered wholesale like some would have you believe. The faculty have lots of opportunities to create change -- both through informal processes and through formal processes like the faculty senate, unions, or shared governance process, which is big in our state.

Those who shared a tempered radical view of power described how this perspective has evolved over time; in Justin's words, "my views of power have evolved through different positions I have held, my experiences, and even my family background and experience."

Certainly tempered radicals believe that oppression and abuse of power happens, but they see more opportunity for changing existing power relationships. These individuals believe that they can negotiate with those in power, have some mutual or shared interests, and believe in their own empowerment within the situation/organization. As Justin described,

> Administrators have to share power to a degree or another. None of us thinks we have to force the administration in many situations, we just have to appeal to shared interests, work informal power processes to overcome inertia. Sometimes we do have to work around them, and we have done that but working in a civil way. I think that's how we create change—we continue to empower ourselves through the process of change. We actually have acquired quite a bit of informal power. These things can't be made public because all of us would have our necks chopped off if people really understood how often we are impacting choices and the direction of the campus.

This quote illustrates the complexity of a tempered radical's view of power. These grassroots leaders believe they can change power relationships, and they provide examples of such change; but they also acknowledge that there is a power structure that would be retaliatory if it realized how much power they had actually garnered. The quote also demonstrates that tempered radicals feel that those in positions of authority do not hold all the power and therefore they can work with them in civil ways.

Tempered radicals understand power differently from confrontational grassroots leaders. Justin noted that power is infinite and that he and others:

> Have really created an alliance between various groups on campus. Those in diversity really support environmentalism. Environmentalists and supporters of campus

community partnerships also support diversity. Asian-Americans are very supportive of African-Americans on campus. We believe that through working together, we can empower all groups and create social justice more broadly.

Power, according to tempered radicals, is not held solely by the administration or some other group to be confronted. Instead, Justin and his colleagues view power as located in various places among different groups, and they acknowledge that power can be garnered through informal and sometimes subversive approaches. Although power can be shared, they do believe those in the hierarchy hold formal power over grassroots leaders; those with formal authority could retaliate if they realized how much power grassroots leaders were able to yield.

How do Justin and his tempered radical colleagues approach grassroots leadership based on these views of power? As a result of their multifaceted and dynamic views of power, tempered radicals adopt strategies that are less visible, beyond the scenes, smaller in nature, and more informal. Furthermore, their strategies suggest an ability to negotiate and work with those who are in positions of authority and hold formal power. Justin says one of his most commonly used strategies is questioning traditional practices:

> If I'm in a meeting and they are discussing an issue, it is entirely appropriate for me to say: 'how are students of color going to be affected by this change?' I bring it to the table but do not engage in direct conflict with a supervisor over resources or policies. That would be professional suicide and usually does not result in change. I've seen others do that, and they are no longer here.

The less visible strategies taken by Justin and his tempered radical colleagues are adopted due to the risk inherent in attempting to question practices and create change. Using the less visible and less confrontational strategies decreases risk while still achieving the goals of questioning practices that may lead to change.

Another one of the tempered strategies is planting ideas with administrators and allowing them to take credit, a practice Justin regularly uses. Justin also provided another way he can be influential in decision-making processes in ways that are effective, but tempered:

> What is important for long-term change is to be the voice of underrepresented students at meetings, and to change the culture by the questions that we ask. Asking for a quick change overnight only creates obstacles. There was a real concern over the way that fellowships were being allocated and that students of color were not getting any. Rather than try to impose a policy, which I could've argued for but would have been an uphill battle, I contacted a faculty member of color on the committee and made it his responsibility, informally of course, to impact the decision-making process. It would have been a real struggle to change our policy, but it was easy to get someone on the committee who has sensitivity to push and get students of color fellowships. I constantly look for these opportunities.

The strategies used by Justin and his colleagues reflect their understanding of power. He acknowledged that power structures exist but that they are open to influence through decision-making processes, engineering himself onto influential committees where he can bring a new perspective, building relationships with those in power, building bridges and relationships with others in general, developing coalitions and networking, or leveraging external support. Justin also recognizes that as a part of an institution, his approach to change needs to be different: "The kind of confrontational politics that I used when I was a student just don't work later when you're part of the institution."

Learning to adopt these less confrontational strategies requires that the tempered radicals learn to scan the environment or context. Justin narrated about ways that faculty and staff can pick up on signals from others within the institution and avoid direct confrontation. However, many people are not adept on picking up on these signals—they have to be aware of how power is operating to pick up on these issues, and they have to realize opportunities for negotiation are constantly there:

> Some professors were trying to help students maintain a project {changed to protect anonymity} they have created. They were trying to do this research project out there to help, and then the administration sent them a letter saying that this was in violation of university policy. But if the faculty decided they wanted to teach classes out there, there was nothing specifically against that issue. So the faculty picked up on this signal from the administration and were able to find a creative way to keep the (project) open. So there are ways of doing that, and you usually do not have to have direct confrontation. The faculty member could have called screaming on the phone: 'I can do what I want with my research funding.' But then the whole (project) would have been lost. So if you pick up on the signals, then there's room for creating changes.

However, Justin acknowledged that there were times that some of his tempered radical colleagues did participate in more confrontational approaches; but they did so sparingly and often under the radar:

> My colleague Jean is an untenured assistant professor and she was mentoring students who were protesting. She wasn't doing anything illegal, but she certainly didn't want anyone to know exactly what she was doing and the administration would not be happy about it. So these things happen from time to time, but people tend to be really careful and measured in taking these approaches or they lose their legitimacy.

Being careful about the visibility of one's actions is different than treating administration like the enemy, which Justin sees as a problematic approach:

> You can set up a strong arm of resistance when you see the other people as enemies. As soon as you start reacting to people in that way, they react back with force -- they feel like they're being pushed and push back. So part of being an effective change agent is trusting others and trying to understand where people are coming from not assuming they are the enemy.

Justin and his tempered radical colleagues focus on a style that they believe is much more successful, typically labeled as professional, civil, and taking a higher moral ground. Justin commented on this issue:

> I always make sure that I come from extremely civil and professional place, I do not attack people, even when I'm attacked. I always take a calm tone and a keep my comments related to the issue at hand. You have to distance yourself from taking things personally and getting your ego involved. When people lash out you want to lash back but it's only a waste of energy and then you've lost the higher moral ground. That's one of the most important tools you can have. If people can say, 'there goes so-and-so on their tirade again, then people stop listening to you and you've lost your ability to have impact.

How do Justin and his colleagues negotiate power conditions? While Justin acknowledged that power conditions always exist, he finds the best way to negotiate power is to very carefully map the landscape (described in the last section). After mapping the landscape, he and his colleagues attempt to building bridges with those in power. A variety of techniques are

used for building bridges, such as appealing to personal relationships, attempting to influence by understanding concerns, and identifying key people who might be open to negotiation. Justin described how he uses bridge-building techniques to negotiate power in comparison to other colleagues who take more confrontational approach:

> We started figuring out building bridges was a lot easier than punching holes. We asked everyone in the group, who do you know who might be interested in supporting service learning? What might entice them to support our efforts?

Building bridges also was used by a group of women faculty on one campus when they were trying to move a diversity agenda forward. They began to reach out to other faculty who had openly expressed concern with their efforts to raise visibility about issues of race. Grassroots leaders asked to hear resisters' concerns and just listened—they did not try to convince resisters that their perspective was wrong. Just the act of listening lessened the overt criticism by these other faculty who were concerned with diversity initiatives.

Another approach that Justin has used is attempting to influence those who might be resistant to his ideas. Once he builds bridges, it is important to understand those who may block the initiative. Again, Justin usually attempts to appeal to personal relationships, even with resisters. He described this example:

> You may know a person in the administration who is resistant to your ideas, but that you have rapport with. It can be a dangerous game to play but in a social situation you can mention "on my gosh, we are really having a hard time with this (not letting them know you realize they are resistant)." And you try to get them to empathize based on your personal relationships.

Another form of negotiation is to slightly modify the idea to include notions of those in positions of power. Often small concessions or additions by those in positions of authority could increase buy-in. For example, interdisciplinary teaching may be the focus of faculty efforts, but expanding discussion to research (an interest of the administration) may help create support. But Justin and his colleagues would not attempt these types of negotiation unless they believe that those in power were open to influence and that they were empowered enough to make a difference and to influence others, overcome resistance, or negotiate.

Justin noted how understanding the language of those in power and acting as a translator is also an effective strategy that could enhance their effort to build bridges and to understand resisters. He explained how they have used this technique over time:

> We realized that we were not always communicating effectively. We seemed to be talking past people. One woman in our group stood up and said, 'you need to reframe this, they think we are asking for monetary support. They also do not understand why this is necessary. They worry about legal issues. We need to address their concerns and we need to take our message to them in a way they will understand it.' This woman's father had been a superintendent and she knew the way people in power think. You need people like that to help you understand resistance.

The strategy was also referred to as reframing. Justin and his colleagues might also engage in techniques to have those in power believe that they came up with an idea. Justin explained:

> Many people want to believe that they have created a new and visionary idea. People also have pretty poor memories. I've realize I can often leave a meeting or make a comment in the elevator, 'Great idea so and so, I really likes that concept.' The next meeting I go to they are presenting the idea as their own. So you just need to plant seeds sometimes.

Several of the tempered radicals acknowledged that addressing their own rage, anger, and despair is one way that they negotiate power. One of Justin's colleagues eloquently explained:

> I really think what gets me down the most is my rage. Those moments of total rage. I find white people so annoying (this woman is white) and my own rage around this really gets in my way of being an effective change agent. To be skillful, to be generous, to be open hearted, to be compassionate, to be patient, to acknowledge where everybody is at in their own development, to celebrate people's good intentions, all that is just rough inside me. And so there are these moments where I have to address my own internal crap, my rage, or I cannot be effective.

So negotiation involves carefully mapping the landscape of power, building bridges and relationships where possible, appealing to resisters, understanding the language of those in power in order to act as a translator, and addressing tempered radicals own rage that can get in the way of being effective tempered radicals veering toward confrontation, which they believe can destroy their efforts.

Power as Context Narrative

Nearly a quarter of the individuals interviewed spoke little about power and saw it as a part of the context, not as something separate or to be actively engaged. Power is something that must be existed with, like a fish in water who does not notice the water unless something changes in the water composition. Those who take a confrontation perspective see power as something to be had, as finite. Tempered radicals see power as something that can be shared, fostered and something people should be attuned to since power conditions do actively shape existence. People who see power as context may be perceived as finding power largely invisible or irrelevant. They do not speak about or communicate an active awareness of power conditions. As a result, in their grassroots efforts they did not attempt to negotiate power, nor did they recognize resistance if they experienced it. If they encountered obstacles, they developed other interpretations for resistance to their idea, such as funding, history on the campus, or their own lack of persuasion. Since power is not forefront in their view of the world, they simply see it operating very infrequently. One of the limitations of this perspective is that when these faculty and staff face resistance, they did not develop any strategies for attempting to negotiate, confront, or address this resistance. The result was that resistance from those in power was much more effective for stalling their change efforts and maintaining the status quo. Identity overlapped with this construction of power; specifically, Caucasians and some Asian groups tended to hold this interpretation more than other groups.

When we asked them to describe their understanding of power or how power impacted the change process they exhibited one or more of the following: were unable to answer this question, did not see how this was relevant to grassroots leadership, and/or typically do not attribute resistance to power conditions. We describe the story of two individuals that reflected the power as context narrative: Ned and Shannon. Because they do not describe power in much detail, this section does not follow the layout of the other two sections describing how they understand power or how their understanding of power affects negotiation of power dynamics. They simply did not answer these questions to provide that type of data. We do review how they approach grassroots leadership and the very implicit notions of power we were able to discern from their silences and lack of direct discussion of power.

Ned is a white faculty member in psychology at a community college working to advance diversity and faculty participation in governance. When asked about obstacles, resistance, or power on campus, he focused on ways that these could be overcome and had trouble describing power or attributing power conditions for resistance or obstacles: "It seems like through relationships, the campus network, strategic hiring, we are able to achieve our goals of creating a new teaching and learning environment and multiculturalism. There is always some resistance, there are always people who will not support change." He focuses much more on power as a natural element of any context. His comments throughout the interview focused on the importance of choosing the right strategies and tactics of the naturalness of change unfolding, but in a context of "general" obstacles and resistance. When pressed further about obstacles and resistance, Ned could only identify funding as problematic: "Well, funding is always an ongoing problem and issue. Sometimes we want to host an awards dinner or do some faculty development and there isn't funding." In describing the story about getting a multicultural requirement in place on campus, Ned described a group of faculty who, under the guise of academic freedom, attacked the provision in the Senate. When we asked him about whether this was a pocket of resistance or some power conditions on campus, he did not acknowledge that there was resistance. Instead, he considered it just a different perspective that he needed to write a compelling letter to the Senate with an opposing ideology to support multiculturalism. We asked him to describe the group of resisters: "All older, white men." He made no connection between the multicultural requirement being supported primarily by people of color on campus and women and the opposition being older, white men as perhaps related to any power dynamics. No matter how often we prodded, Ned's interpretation of obstacles and resistance always went back to funding or simply a different set of beliefs. Ned did not describe any particular ways that he tried to negotiate resistance or obstacles. Instead, he always focused back on strategies for moving forward, not directing any attention to the obstacle or resistance. As a result of his lack of awareness of power, Ned sometimes had success—such as developing a leadership institute for students and eventual development of ethnic studies. However, more often than not, Ned was unsuccessful with the initial development of ethnic studies, certain hiring committees, and efforts to initiate campus and community partnerships.

Shannon, an Asian staff member of the technical college, is trying to help undocumented students be more successful and support them on campus. When we asked about her approach to grassroots leadership and the strategies she used, Shannon described her involvement with student groups, particularly marches, and rallies. She also noted that she is very vocal in meetings and has become extremely visible on campus as the go-to person around undocumented students, which is considered a controversial issue. When we asked whether she is concerned about the visibility of participating a marches and rallies, she noted:

> I cannot turn away people when they come for services. My director is pretty scared. And his fear, it puts me in a difficult situation. But I just have a plan, and I work to encourage students to seek services in a variety of offices. And also plan to create a network on campus to support students.

Shannon focuses on her plan and realizes other individuals are scared, but this fear and awareness of power conditions is not an issue that she is willing to focus on or a large part of her consciousness. While she noted that not only her director but also the other staff members are unhappy about her support of undocumented students, she continues unabated. They worry that her efforts might draw too much attention and perhaps resistance to the work that her office is doing. In fact, the issue has gotten to the level of the president—she encouraged students to bring

it up during a dinner with him. As a result, the president is considering her for a new position as advisor. For others we interviewed on campus, this new position would likely be fraught with problems as people could target their criticisms of the effort to support undocumented students on her. She would become a lightening rod.

Shannon is perceived to be in the "hot seat," but she does not see the same power conditions that others see. Yet, she is not completely without awareness; she noted when pressed, "Well at times it scares me a little bit—being on a conservative campus and having heard people voice their concerns against the services I provide, I am advocating for these students and my name is on the line." But for the most part, power is not part of her consciousness and certainly does not impact her strategy for change. Even when we pointed out that she may be in a vulnerable position, she did not identify with that interpretation. Vulnerability suggests accepting that power dynamics exist and could affect the individual. She noted, "You just have to keep following what you believe in and events unfold—you can not control things. It can be a waste of time trying to." Those who come from a view of power as confrontational or tempered radicals see power as something that can or should be controlled and altered. Shannon and Ned operate in a world where one does not try to control or alter power or even pay much attention to it. To acknowledge power could perhaps give it more salience or agency. Power is just part of the context, something that plays out and will always be there. To focus on it is a waste of time and energy that could be exerted toward creating change. These grassroots leaders focus more on the creation of effective tactics and approach than the resistance and power dynamics. Shannon is new to the campus, and so far has experienced some success. But we suspect that, like Ned, she may have her share of problems over time because she does not engage power in a direct or conscious way.

It is important to note that *some* grassroots leaders who saw power as context were so effective in their use of strategies that regardless of their inattention to negotiating power, they were able to create change. In addition, their understanding of power did not impact their choice of strategies; they simply developed a tool kit—networking, creating a vision, working with students, mentoring colleagues, hiring the right people, etc.—and through the right combination of strategies were able to create change without any engagement about notions of power. Their choice of strategies was unrelated to seeing an enemy or persuading a relatively uninterested group. What distinguished this group is that their chances of success were much less predictable and precarious; success was happenstance.

 In sum, out of the three approaches to grassroots leadership, tempered radicals noted and described greater predictable experiences of success. Those who took a confrontational approach had much more predictable experiences of failure. Individuals/groups who adopted the power as context narrative also described less experiences of success, but might be lucky enough to succeed through force of charisma or chance. However, their chances are much less predictable than tempered radicals, who carefully negotiated power dynamics based on their definition and understanding of power. This data on success was based on their own attributions of success in interviews as well as interviews with others on campus about success, making views of success triangulated.

Campus Context

It did appear that one campus, a technical college, had more individuals who held a confrontational perspective, so we chose to describe this campus context in more detail. As noted

throughout the results, beliefs about power seem more fundamental, ormore directly tied to overall life experiences and background. It seems that a campus with a history of certain characteristics—such as authoritative leadership; divisions between faculty, staff, and administrators; and lack of shared governance—may foster a more confrontational perspective. Many of these characteristics (e.g. divisions between faculty, staff, and administrators) were found on other campuses, making it difficult to fully understand the direct connection between context, views of power, and grassroots strategies. Yet, since a confrontational perspective seems more limiting to faculty and staff leadership, it is important to investigate any relationships between characteristics of campus context that might elicit this view of power.

"Hierarchy," "bureaucracy," and "status quo" are the words most used to describe this former technical institute, which had a history of authoritative leadership. A very formal chain of command and powerful deans and chairs were noted by all participants. One person summed up these characteristics in this quote: "You do not email a vice president on this campus, that is counter culture." Everyone spoke about the power lying with the administration, which controlled resources and decision-making and seemed closed off to other groups. Most people thought of change as happening only through chain of command and were mostly unaware of grassroots activities. Staff mentioned feeling "absolutely invisible" and faculty worried about their rights, maybe more than teaching and learning.

There are deep divides among groups on campus: the administration is largely distrusted by faculty and staff, the staff are invisible to faculty, and faculty are demonized by administrators. Employees spoke about the campus as "fractionalized." One faculty member noted that the campus has many different constituencies, each with different goals and interests and this makes it hard to come together on issues. This fractionalized feeling can also be seen in the responses of some employees who believe the campus is collaborative or values learning. Union newsletters poke fun at the administration, sometimes in biting ways. Faculty lash out at the administration out of a general sense of disempowerment, as well as out of care and concern about the direction of the campus. Faculty and staff feel the campus often is not operating in productive ways that help students, for example. While people were not able to readily describe change on campus, when looking back historically to the 1970s it had a largely white, male student body and faculty, narrow curriculum, less open leadership, and a weak union. Today it is more diverse, has a broad curriculum, open leadership, and a strong union. Faculty and staff we spoke with realize that many changes have occurred, but many felt these just happened—that they were externally imposed and that the campus has been less active in actually charting its own course and responding. The campus is changing, albeit slowly. The notion of status quo emerges as a controlling feature on campus. New employees are constantly reminded that "we did not used to do it that way" as a response to any proposed change. This culture of status quo frustrates grassroots leaders who are tired of hearing how it used to be without any proof the old way worked. Perhaps, as a result of this frustration among new employees or the fractionalized campus environment, there are many, many interim positions—turnover is rampant.

Faculty and staff are unionized and this impacts the campus and how it operates; most faculty and staff feel the union has protected them and been an asset and allows them to speak out and be change agents. The grievance policies and the union as an oversight body have helped to legitimize faculty and staff activism on the campus. However, a pocket of faculty and staff feel the union leads to mediocrity and stifles innovation. These tend to be faculty and staff deeply committed to students and change; such faculty members view the union as an excuse for faculty and staff to disengage from activism work. Other faculty and staff see the union as the

advocacy body that leads to change. Overall, the union has served to protect the faculty and staff—especially as seen in the latest contract renegotiations, which led to higher salaries.

The campus context discussed in this section led many faculty and staff to take a more confrontational approach to change. The belief in a strong hierarchy with a powerful administration resulted in faculty and staff viewing power as top-down and unavailable to create change without direct activism and confrontation. As described in Jennifer's narrative, activism in the form of picketing and involvement in student protests were seen as methods to challenge the hierarchy and create change. In addition, the presence of factions at the technical college led to strategies championed by the union, seen as a protective body, that would prevent outward backlash to their confrontational approaches. Campus context appeared to play a role in the view of power and the overall strategies of the change agents. Viewing the campus as hierarchical, bureaucratic, and fractionalized, along with the presence of a union, all appeared to facilitate a more confrontational approach.

Discussion and Implications

In this study, we attempted to fill an empirical gap related to understanding the ways that people construct power as they operate as grassroots leaders. We focused on faculty and staff on college campuses. Three patterns emerged in the data about how grassroots leaders understand power: a) confrontational pattern—power as invested in those in authority, static, and a dialectical struggle with those who were attempting to obtain power; b) tempered radical pattern—power as complex and generative, located throughout an organization, formal and informal, and ever-changing; and c) context narrative—little awareness or focus on power. The findings suggest that there is not a universal definition of the way grassroots leaders define or experience power, as Marxist frameworks suggest (Bernal, 1998; Bettencourt,1996; Kroeker, 1996; Wilson, 1973; Wittig, 1996). An individual's identity and background may impact whether and how they are aware of and see power conditions. Jennifer and Justin's early life experiences and involvement in activism/leadership shaped their views of power. It is less clear how early life experiences affected Ned and Shannon because they were unable to articulate this connection. This is an area in need of future research—how to examine issues people are unable to clearly articulate consciously. The three views of power appear to be fundamental beliefs that would likely be seen in other types of organizations and with other employees. While context somewhat shaped beliefs, it was to a much lesser degree than we anticipated.

However, the study did not find a multiplicity of definitions of power and approaches to grassroots leadership as postmodernist frameworks suggest either. Postmodernist conceptualizations suggest that each individual has his/her own singular construction of power, organizational knowledge, and perspective of organizational conditions (Clegg, 1979, 1989; Collinson, 1994; Jermier, Knights, & Nord, 1994). While context (local context) and identity were relevant, faculty and staff at various campuses with different backgrounds and different organizational conditions tended to express one of three perspectives.   We also feel that these views would transcend organizational context and would be found in hospitals, law firms, community agencies, and corporations. Thus, the narratives appear more universal than nuanced as postmodernist conceptualize. That the views of power overlap with the conceptual literature on power suggest that people are informed by these notions. Perhaps academic settings are more likely to be informed by this conceptual literature, but we think these narratives would be found in other settings. In addition to identifying these patterns, the study demonstrated that there is a

relationship between views of power and the way that grassroots leaders approach their work of change. Therefore, views of power have important and real implications, which we describe next.

In terms of practical advice for grassroots leaders, we offer several suggestions that we summarize in the next few paragraphs, including the problematic view of holding an unconscious confrontational role, the negative impact that a confrontational and power as context view of power can have on making change, the importance of weighing when to use confrontational approaches because of their negative impact of creating changes, and the significance of being aware of power conditions in order to be able to navigate power (and thus the problem of not being aware of or focusing on power conditions consciously). One main finding appears to be the problematic role of holding the confrontational view of power often associated with Marxism and trying to enact change within an organizational setting like a college campus. In this view, power structures are considered more static—the elite are always trying to oppress the non-elite. The only way to overcome this dialectical relationship is through active resistance, group mobilization, and direction action (picketing, rallies). Hegemony is almost completely impenetrable in the confrontational view. Certainly, in the history of higher education there are examples where the confrontational approach was successful (e.g., in the 1960s civil rights movement on campuses). Perhaps there will be other opportunities where a confrontational approach will be successful and should be considered. Even tempered radicals do not discard the importance of confrontation and direct actions in certain circumstances. Resistance has an important and valued tradition; but its most direct and confrontational incarnations seem to have more limited success in organizational settings (as predicted by Meyerson's framework). Those who use a more tempered approach in our study experienced more predictable examples of success, perhaps because they do not see that a hegemony as impenetrable and are thus more likely to use a variety of strategies. Those who see power as confrontational saw less opportunity for creating than tempered radicals.

More important, the study suggests that confrontational grassroots leadership may not just result in retribution against the individual leader but may also jeopardize the change effort. The confrontational approach might be successful for a very limited effort, but the stories told by faculty and staff grassroots leaders suggest that the confrontational perspective typically results in not creating the desired change—in fact, it created resistance to the change effort. In addition, the stories of individuals who moved from a confrontational to a tempered perspective demonstrated awareness of grassroots leaders regarding the effectiveness of a tempered approach. Among the hundreds of grassroots leaders we spoke with, no one had gone from a tempered approach to the confrontational approach. Several of the leaders who took the confrontational approach had questioned this approach over time. We do not mean to suggest that the tempered approach is the correct or right approach. Our aim is to show that there are implications or consequences that result from our views of power and can affect grassroots leaders' ability to meet their goals. In some cases, principle or challenging the system may be more important than achieving the goal.

Another finding from the study that has implications for faculty and staff grassroots leaders is the potential problem wherein leaders do not focus on power. While we found that it was problematic for grassroots leaders to hold a confrontational perspective (at least an unexamined confrontational perspective), grassroots leaders in higher education described being less effective if they were not attuned to power. By defining it as uncontrollable or a background facet of the context, they did little to navigate power or connect their strategies to a belief about

how power was operating. Another consequence is that these individuals were typically less intimidated and more likely to feel a sense of agency; but they often naïvely approached situations and were unable to navigate resistance they encountered. As a result, this resistance often became a barrier that prevented them from moving forward on certain initiatives. Those in positions of authority that have formal power were much better able to control individuals who did not focus on power and saw it as a background feature. Yet, seeing power as a background feature also allowed these individuals to possess greater agency, and there may be several advantages to this approach as it relates to motivation and participation in grassroots leadership. This is an important area for future research as well.

Postmodernists' focus on subjectivity, agency, and awareness of organizational knowledge is precisely aimed at explaining this issue of awareness (Jermier, Knights, & Nord, 1994). If individuals remain ignorant of power conditions affecting them, cultures of power in their organizations, potential allies, etc., they remain poorly positioned to be resistors or play a role as grassroots leaders. Therefore, another lesson from this analysis of individual views and understandings of power is that there is a subset of individuals whose leadership is potentially compromised because they have not spent the time to think through and understand how power is operating within their campus context, or they lack a strategic approach to deal with power conditions. We hope that this paper helps grassroots leaders in recognizing the importance of identifying how power operates in their setting and developing strategies how to navigate power on their particular campus. Ignoring power or seeing it too much as a background feature can jeopardize efforts.

The overlap between the power as context narrative and identity (race and gender) can be interpreted through previous research. Research studies on individuals who come from more privileged positions suggest that they often have less awareness of power conditions because they are less likely to be actively encountering them (Collins, 1993). For example, many do not become aware of discrimination until they finally confront overt acts; for people in more elite positions, discrimination may come late or perhaps never. After these overt instances, they become much more aware of subtle discrimination. Likewise, those who are in less elite positions in society experience more active and on-going discrimination and often become more aware of power.

Campus context emerged (although less clearly) as important to how individuals constructed their views of power as well as their specific change strategies. As seen with the technical college, the belief that the campus is hierarchical, bureaucratic, fractionalized, unionized, and maintains the status quo led to a belief that power was held by a few administrators who need to be challenged directly. This view of the campus illustrates the power of hegemonic beliefs leading to a specific change style. Simply, when the faculty and staff viewed the campus as having more hegemonic conditions, they adopted a more confrontational style. Therefore, campus context appears to interact with personal, philosophical beliefs about power and affects change strategies. Personal beliefs may trump context in shaping views and vice versa, depending on how pronounced the context is.

From a theoretical perspective, the tempered radical narrative on power maintains assumptions of postmodernists and some aspects of Marxism. As noted in the literature review, postmodernists emphasize how power is more fluid and that groups who have traditionally been noted as disempowered also have agency and power (Collinson, 1994). Power structures are more dynamic and changing within a postmodern perspective (Clegg, 1979). Power is dynamic and changing based on historical and social circumstances (Clegg, 1989). Certain forms of power

are not inherently embedded into structures and systems; we construct and perceive power in our daily lives. People's actions can create changes in power and the context. When people believe they can make a difference and have agency, they are more likely to affect and potentially alter power structures. Yet, the tempered radical approach also acknowledges that formal power exists and that formal power can be used to retaliate against those change agents and their efforts. Tempered radicals choose a less visible (and non-confrontational) style based on an awareness of power and how opposition to it could risk one's job or personal standing in the institution, as well as the overall efficacy of the change effort. This aspect of the tempered radical framework reflects some of the assumptions of a Marxist perspective.

Conclusion and Future Research

The stories of grassroots faculty and staff leaders in our study suggest the importance of individuals examining their own views of power. Those who hold a confrontational perspective may want to question whether this is the best approach or use confrontational strategies more selectively. Certainly there are circumstances where individuals may want to make a stand and are willing to be fired and lose their legitimacy. However, in our study, people who took a confrontational perspective did not appear to have an awareness that there were other strategies they might want to adopt. We recognize that their strategies are based on their fundamental beliefs about power and may not be readily changed. It may not be possible for those holding a confrontational perspective to adopt new strategies unless they fundamentally rethink their views of power. The stories presented are meant to assist people in this type of reflection about their underlying values and beliefs.

Additionally, some individuals in the study noted how their views of power were informed by feminism. They believed that feminism instructed them to humanize their interactions with others, seek out commonalities, focus on empowerment, and build relationships with those in power. We found significant overlap and ultimately decided that these were not distinctive enough belief systems on power to create another classification or category. Future research may want to examine distinctions between tempered radical and feminist approaches.

Further research is needed to understand how campus context shapes individual views of power. Are there certain organizational characteristics that foster a tempered, invisible or confrontational approach? Perhaps organizations that have unclear bureaucracy foster a sense that power is invisible. Do unions create a more confrontational environment? From the findings presented in this study, beliefs about power appear to be fairly fundamental and develop based on one's life experience. However, it appears that certain contexts can foster a more confrontational approaches to leadership—administrators who take an extremely hierarchical approach to leadership; lack of a shared governance structure a fractionalized organization where faculty, staff, students, and administrators have little relationship; a culture that stifles new ideas and strongly supports the status quo; or a unionized environment. Other characteristics and conditions which shape views of power and how grassroots leaders might approach change are also important to understand and should be examined in future studies.

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APPENDIX A – OVERVIEW OF SITES

Table 1: Characteristics of the five campuses

Char.	Community	Research Univ.	Public Regional	Technical	Liberal Arts
pseudonym	Community activist college	Tempered radical university	Innovative regional public	Almost untempered Polytechnic Institute	Hidden tempered radicals college
size	25,000	25,000	17,000	30,000	3,000
control	public	private	public	public	private
selectivity	open access	highly	moderately selective	moderately selective	highly
resources	constrained	moderately strong	moderate, constrained more recently	constrained	strong resources
location	outside urban	urban	rural	suburban	suburban
student body	diverse by race, gender social class	diverse by race & gender	diverse by gender	diverse by race, gender, social class	diverse by gender, increasingly by race
administration	weak	strong & controlling	weak	strong & controlling	strong
faculty and staff demo graphics and political orientation	very diverse and progressive	increasingly diverse, moderately conservative;	not diverse and fairly conservative	very diverse; mixed, progressive but more conservative	increasingly diverse, progressive
culture	student oriented, developmental, proud of mission & colleagues, unionized	entrepreneurial, top down and hierarchical, image conscious, striving	student oriented; known for innovative teaching ideas; collaborative work relationships recent budget problems	very contentious relationship between faculty & administration, unionized, adjusting to more diverse student body	collegial, close knit, currently some politic between the administration & faculty, classic liberal arts experience

Sensemaking Under Martial Law: Public Policy and Agrarian Reform in the Philippines

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This paper presents a case study of governmental sensemaking under martial law in the Philippines under President Ferdinand Marcos. Data was gathered about the Agrarian Reform Program in particular through: a) personal interviews with decision makers involved in the Agrarian Reform Program; b) non-participants who observed the program in action; and c) an extensive search of available primary and secondary sources. Contemporary understandings of sensemaking unavailable during the Marcos era are applied to his initiative. It was determined that many of the elements of sensemaking were associated with the Agrarian Reform Program in the Philippines, as were various triggers stimulating such sensemaking as well.

Land tenancy and related agrarian problems were afflictions of Filipinos long before the first Americans arrived (McLennan, 1973). Sharecropping and debt peonage were already in place in the Philippines before the Spanish conquest, which began in 1565 (Murray, 1972). Both Spanish and American mindsets discounted the traditional communal concept of land ownership. Indigenous tribes that shared ancestral hunting and planting grounds deeply resented the "Christian" intrusion into the lands (Bauzon, 1975). When the Spanish arrived from Central and South America, they introduced *caciquism* and individual ownership of land. Leaving traditional village structure virtually in place, a village headman, known by the Carib term *cacique*, was given authority in each locale. The *caciques,* as tax collectors, were in a position to preserve their power and increase personal landholdings. Peasants, who had lived communally for generations, unwittingly became tenants or were driven from the land entirely (Murray, 1972; Pelzer, 1948). This circumstance carried forward for many years until Ferdinand Marcos arrived on the scene and addressed the issue.

In this paper we present a case study of governmental sensemaking under martial law in the Philippines under the leadership of President Marcos. Studies of managerial sensemaking are rare (Balogun & Johnson, 2004; Lüscher & Lewis, 2008, Maitlis, 2005). Our purpose here is to

apply more contemporary understandings of sensemaking unavailable during the Marcos era to his initiative.

Background

Between 1898 and 1935, the Americans sought to give land to the landless, rationalize the system of land registration and the issuance of land titles, break up landed estates, and improve tenancy conditions in the Philippines (Bauzon, 1975). They failed. Nationals preferred to remain in community settlements rather than adopt the American pattern of homesteads that separated families miles from one another. In addition, landlord manipulation blocked tenants from applying for homestead grants, and there was no means of systematically surveying public lands available for homesteading. Possession standards, such as rendering productive one-fifth of the homestead within five years, were too stringent and the infrastructure, such as bridges and roads and health care, was inadequate to support population dispersion. Many of the landed estates had been owned by Catholic friars. When these were purchased by the government, the friars retained their best lands. Of the friar lands actually acquired by the government, some were left undistributed. These were leased, or eventually acquired, through purchase, by American business firms and affluent Filipinos. Bigger holdings and increased tenancy resulted (Bauzon, 1975).

Historically, Philippine agrarian reform measures have sought to attain social (equity) and political goals. Economic objectives (e.g., productivity and income distribution) have been secondary. Government intervention, typically, has come as a direct response to rural unrest and open rebellion. Major agrarian reform was first pursued (Starner, 1961) during the administration of Ramon Magsaysay (1954-1957). Through passage of the Agricultural land Reform Code of 1963 (R A. 3844), the government under Diosdado Macapagal was the first to seek a balance between social, political, and economic objectives (de los Reyes, 1972; Montaño, 1982).

The Agricultural Land Reform Code of 1963, ultimately amended in 1971 (R. A. 6389) by the Marcos administration to become the Code of Agrarian Reforms (1971 Code), sought to establish owner-cultivatorship or cooperative-cultivatorship among those who lived and worked on the land as tillers. It stressed family-size farms to facilitate the flow of landlord capital from agriculture to industrial development. The code was to achieve a "dignified existence" for the small farmer, free from pernicious institutional restraints and practices. It was installed to create a "truly viable social and economic structure in agriculture conducive to greater productivity and higher farm incomes" through a cooperative system of production, processing, marketing, distribution, credit, and services. Characteristically, the 1963 Code was not taken seriously until disruptions occurred in 1970. Even then, the pilot area of Nueva Ecija was about the only area touched (Murray, 1972; de los Reyes, 1972). On September 21, 1972 after skirmishes broke out, President Marcos declared martial law (International Labor Office, 1974). Five days later, Presidential Decree 27 (PD 27) designated the entire country a land reform area and declared land reform the "cornerstone of the New Society."

Success of the Agrarian Reform Program (ARP) would likely depend in large part upon the ability of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform (MAR) to interpret environmental activity and to act on that knowledge. This circumstance is the focus of this paper.

Methodology

The task of this study was to identify policy-makers, implementers, analysts, investigators, researchers, and affected persons who, collectively, constituted the decision structure in the Philippines under President Marcos and martial law. Data was gathered in 1981 and 1982 through: a) personal interviews; b) non-participant observation; and c) an extensive survey of available primary and secondary sources. That data set is being revisited in light of advances in our understanding of organizational learning and related emergent literature on sensemaking in particular.

Personal Interviews

Many policies related to agrarian reform were issued by President Marcos following the declaration of martial law on September 21, 1972. However, PD 27, or the Tenant Emancipation Decree, became the rallying point for all other presidential decrees. Hence, PD 27 was selected as the reference point for this study. The scope of the study was limited to land tenure improvement. The population covered in the survey consisted of individuals who directly or indirectly participated in the agrarian reform decision-making process under martial law, from Problem Definition to Responsibility Bearing (Johnson & Rossmiller, 1978). The population was divided into four sets according to the roles individuals played in the policy-making process. A description of each sample set is contained in the following sections.

Core policy-making participants. A modification of the reputational panel approach, used elsewhere in a sociological study of Filipino technocrats (Arcega, 1976), was used to draw the purposive sample of PD 27 policy-making participants. Specifically, a top-level executive of the MAR, known from previous association with the primary investigator to have participated in the formulation of PD 27, was chosen for an initial in-depth interview. The interview was conducted personally by the primary investigator of the study. Interview sessions generally lasted for one hour or more. An audio recording of each interview was made and a transcription generated.

Each executive was asked to name other persons who participated in PD 27 formulation. Each of those participants mentioned was, in turn, contacted for an in-depth interview. Succeeding informants were asked to name those whom they remembered to have participated in relevant policy-making activities, and the process was repeated. Those whose actual participation was confirmed by at least two persons were considered to be members of the policy-making group that formulated PD 27. Names that were not cross-checked in this sequential process were dropped from the list. Twenty-two remaining names on the list may be called "core policy-making participants." Though some members of this population may have been inadvertently omitted from the panel, the probability of their being central to the formulation of PD 27 was remote. Ten out of these twenty-two (or 45%) constituted the interview sample of PD 27 policy-makers. To preserve anonymity, no names or titles are reported here.

The population of implementers of interest to this study included those involved in implementing Operation Land Transfer (OLT) in Region 8 (Province of Leyte), particularly in the pilot municipality of Sante Fe. Time, budgetary, and other constraints made it necessary to limit the sample to only upper-level executives (e.g., director of a bureau) in a given coordinating agency who were in a position to give a description and assessment of the implementation

process. Nevertheless, as we moved from the central to the regional, district, and team levels of administration, samples were sought from implementers with actual field experience in OLT implementation and who were still involved in the same implementation process.

For various reasons, some participants could not be contacted for an interview; however, when the whole sequence of listing and contacting of informants was completed, a good cross-check of the names of the participants was achieved. Participants whose actual participation was confirmed by at least two persons were considered to be members of the population of policy-making participants who formulated PD 27.

Persons involved with the data and analytical systems of PD 27 and OLT. The persons involved in PD 27 formulation as sources or providers of information for the policy-making process were identified in interviews with the policy-making participants. Identifying the sample was relatively simple since the core of the system was well established and headquartered in the Center for Operation Land Transfer of the MAR. Other supporting units of the data and analytical systems located outside MAR, however, required far more legwork before they could be delineated. Of the units that made up the OLT data and analytical systems, the sample drawn was again limited to top-level administrators who were themselves statisticians or analysts.

Affected parties and other interest groups. The target groups of the land tenure improvement component of the agrarian reform program are the tenants and their landlords under the coverage of PD 2, PD 27, and other succeeding policies. The non-target groups include such interest groups as mass media, religious and civic organizations, political parties, and the like.

The tenants are organized into three main farmer organizations: Federation of Free Farmers; Federation of Land Reform Farmers; and Foundation of Agricultural and Industrial toiling Hands. Landlords also have their own organizations in certain parts of the country. The government-directed cooperatives program also provides an avenue for tenants to work together for a common purpose through the *Samahang Nayon* (Barrio Association) or *Kilusang Bayan* (full-fledged cooperatives). However, membership in the cooperative is not limited to tenants; a landowner can also be a member. Because of time, budgetary, and logistical issues, this part of the study was limited to the farmer organizations and Samahang Nayon.

Survey of Available Primary and Secondary Sources.

Supplementary data were also gathered from primary and secondary sources, such as official government documents and newspapers. Many primary data of enormous research significance were obtained from policy/implementation workshops or conferences (e.g., Ministry of Agrarian Reform (MAR), 1978).

Of the ten core decision-making participants interviewed, only nine were asked about their specific contributions to the drafting of PD 27. These contributions were in the form of data/information provided as inputs into the decision-making process or in terms of policy recommendation(s) or prescription(s) embodied in the provision(s) of the decree. Of those interviewed, three claimed making specific recommendations that now formed part of the decree. One of these three came from the public sector (PES); the other two were from the private sector. Interestingly, the two consultants from the private sector also claimed having made recommendations not incorporated in PD 27.

Moreover, there was a consensus among the respondents that the president worked out the final version of the decree and that the retention area of seven hectares was his personal choice because, supposedly, seven is his lucky number. Both members of the Think Tank and the MAR group assert that there are features in the decree that were not included in the drafts their respective groups submitted to the president. More than likely, therefore, the president adopted and combined parts of both proposals, adding his own ideas and/or those of his closest advisers in Malacanang to make up the whole PD 27.

Kind, Source, Channel, and Quality Indications of Data/Information Used/Provided by Participants

Given the specific recommendations/prescriptions that were contributed by the policy-making participants, it was necessary to work back through the information system to identify the various data/information used by participants in arriving at their prescriptions. In so doing, the analytical and data systems, which are the sources of these data/information, were also identified.

It may be noted that the participants whose prescriptions were eventually incorporated in the decree also had considerable experience from which to draw knowledge that formed the basis of their prescriptions. For example, the policy-making participant from the PES claimed having had the basic information in his mind to make the prescription since he had been dealing with land reform for a long time and land reform has been his continuing concern. The private sector participants shared similar views. One of them admitted having the information stored in his memory, which was partly derived from his experiences as administrator of land reform in the 1950s. In addition to his educational background, the same person had considerable experience as advisor on land settlement and community development in other Asian countries.

Sensemaking

In this paper we apply contemporary understandings of sensemaking unavailable during the Marcos era to his agrarian reform initiative. For that purpose we conceive of sensemaking as an interpretive process in the manner of Feldman (1989). Through sensemaking, individuals give structure to the unknown (Waterman, 1990) and use retrospective accounts to explain occurrences (Louis, 1980) making sense of circumstances as they are encountered (Huber & Daft, 1987). To understand sensemaking, think of the proverbial blind men who collectively examined an elephant with each reporting his impression of the animal as touched and encountered. The result was a "…set of ideas with explanatory possibilities, rather than a body of knowledge, per se" (Weick, 1995, p. xi). They collectively derived a view of the elephant or made sense of what was presented to them to that point.

The point is, "organizations question and reconstruct existing perspectives, frameworks, or premises on a daily basis through a continuous process of knowledge creation" (Nonaka, Toyama, & Byoière, 2003, p. 492). Our initial finding was that sensemaking within the ARP was stimulated by *triggers* associated with sensemaking in a variety of organizations (Argyris & Schön, 1978; 1996). There is much speculation about what might trigger such sensemaking (Weick, 1995), but a few ideas particularly applied to this case.

First, *interruptions* trigger sensemaking when theories of action (Argyris & Schön, 1978, 1996) and shared mental models (Senge, 2006) do not fit emergent circumstances. Cognitive

dissonance (Festinger, 1957) can accompany the situation. Certainly, "vocabularies of coping" (Weick, 1995 p. 121), are inadequate for the advancing situation. Interruptions spark sensemaking when an unexpected event occurs and can be prompted when an expected event does not occur (Mandler, 1984).

Similarly, organizational learning can be stimulated by *external shocks* (Cyert & March, 1963), or disturbances to which the organization must adapt (Pawlowsky, 2003). "In either case the ongoing cognitive activity is interrupted. At this point, coping, problem solving, and 'learning' activities take place. It is apparently at this point that the focus of consciousness is on the interruption" (Mandler, 1984, p. 188). Innovation is stimulated by both internal and external shocks (Schroeder, Van de Ven, Scudder, & Polley, 1989). The "...severity of an incident does not guarantee that it can be used to bring about organizational learning" (Kädtler, 2003, p. 224). In time, even disasters become the victim of topicality.

Third, *environmental cues* trigger sensemaking. Such cues "…are properties of an ongoing flow that increase the probability that people, regardless of where they sit in organizations or who they are, will take note of what is happening and pursue it" (Weick, 1995, p. 86). For example, as information load "…increases, people take increasingly strong steps to manage it. They begin with omission, and then move to greater tolerance of error, queuing, filtering, abstracting, using multiple channels, escape, and end with chunking" (Weick, p. 87). Similarly, complexity of circumstances affects what people notice and ignore. As complexity increases, the reliance on habitual routine cues increases as well, which can be counter-productive (Weick, 1980). With ARP such cues were simply missed as can happen.

Sensemaking increases as environmental cues do not fit available mental models (Friedman, 2003), cognitive maps (Weick & Bougon, 2001), frames (Rothman & Friedman, 2003), or perceptual frameworks. (Starbuck & Milliken, 1988) Involvement escalates under resulting conditions of equivocality as divergent interpretations of circumstances are voiced. (e.g., Daft & Macintosh, 1981) "Equivocality is reduced through shared observations and discussion until a common grammar and course of action can be agreed upon" (Daft & Weick, 2001, p. 252).

Fourth, *interest groups and social movements* can become important triggers of sensemaking. This was the case during the agrarian reform initiative, as we will see later. Interest groups represent private activity, whereas social movements are public. Their influences on sensemaking and organizational learning are the same. Both cause involuntary learning, which "...takes place because the organization is confronted with problems it has not chosen to deal with and, in order to cope, must develop competences it would not have developed without being forced to" (Kädtler, 2003, p. 221). Technical or legal "autism" (p. 226) can prevent organizations from recognizing important aspects of reality.

Results

Weick (1995, 2001) has suggested seven characteristics of sensemaking: social context, personal identity, retrospection, salient cues, ongoing projects, plausibility, and enactment. Each of these was found in the implementation and management of the ARP. The following sections explain, using Weick's work as a framework.

Social Context

Sensemaking issues from a social context (Weick, 2001). "Even monologues and one-way communications presume an audience" (Weick, 1995, p. 40). Sensemaking is social when people coordinate their actions as they try to gather meaning from different views of ambiguous events (Eisenberg, 1984). "To change meaning is to change the social context" (Weick, 2001, p. 461). The ARP as revealed in this study included a social context as well.

On September 21, 1972, Ferdinand Marcos unilaterally dissolved the Congress, instituted martial law, and designated himself President, Prime Minister, and sole law-giver of the Philippines. Because martial law by definition implies centralization of authority, organizational responses to stimuli from the external or *task environment* (Dill, 1958) were ultimately assembled by President Marcos. Decisions were actually formulated with the periodic advice of cabinet members, close Presidential staff, and advisers.

Reflecting the values of Filipinos, ARP had three basic aims: a) to prevent the resurgence of widespread social tension and violence among farmers (MAR, 1978; Kerkvliet, 1974; Overholt, 1976); b) to provide more equitable distribution of land and income (Mangahas, Miralao, & de los Reyes, 1976; World Bank, 1975) as well as land-based wealth, status, opportunity and power (Asian Development Bank, 1978; Food and Agriculture Organization, 1979); and c) to increase agricultural productivity (Mangahas, Miralao, & de los Reyes; Ruttan, 1966; de los Reyes, 1972; Asian Development Bank). Accomplishment of those aims was thwarted because beliefs of participants about ARP initiatives and the corresponding environmental response were based on faulty assumptions or myths. Chances that the government would respond in a manner appropriate to environmental demands were limited.

Personal and Organizational Identity

Shared beliefs, values, norms, and perceptions form the basis for organizational identity and provide the framework allowing group interaction with other entities (e.g., Basu & Palazzo, 2008) and influence the relationships they choose to form (Brickson, 2007). Their particular decision paths follow as a matter of course.

Individually, we all have identities that maintain our sense of self, influence how we view our circumstances, and propel our behavior (e.g., Sen, 2002). In that regard, groups help us understand who we are and determine what we want. Their influence is a function of timing and context. (e.g., Sharper, 2008) Identities also form between communities as both groups build common cognitive links (Cohendet & Simon, 2008) and related cognitive distance (Nooteboom, 1999) is reduced.

Weick (1995) suggested that individual and organizational identities are formed from the process of interaction. "When identity is threatened or diffused, as when one loses a job without warning, one's grasp of what is happening begins to loosen" (Weick, 2001, p. 461). "By projecting itself onto its environment, an organization develops a self-referential appreciation of its own identity, which in turn permits the organization to act in relation to its environment" (Ring & Van de Ven, 1989, p. 180). Personal identity and sensemaking are, therefore, closely aligned. The issue of personal and organizational identity is illustrated with the issuance of Proclamation 1081, declaring martial law over the entire country. Augmenting our own study, Dolan (1991) provided an illustration of this appropriate to our discussion.

Specifically, President Marcos was the first president of independent Philippines to gain a second elected term. However, the period was characterized by slowing economic growth, communist insurgency, and related gangsterism. Marcos had positioned himself in the role of John F. Kennedy with Imelda as his Jackie following the first inauguration. General dissatisfaction continued because of hearsay that Marcos might engineer changes in the 1935 constitution to keep himself in power. Random bombings and other disruptions continued. At a Liberal Party rally in 1971, grenade explosions killed 9 and left 100 wounded. On September 21, 1972 Marcos issued Proclamation 1081, which proclaimed martial law over the entire country. A total of 30,000 detainees were held in response (Dolan, 1991).

Influences on personal identity. Of the ten core policy-makers interviewed, nine were asked about their personal contributions to the drafting of PD 27. Of those, one from the public sector and two from the private sector claimed having made recommendations that were incorporated into PD 27, or contended that submissions of data or information made by them were included in the deliberations.

In his report to the president, the public-sector (PES) participant "recommended that in view of the President's thinking on the promotion of social justice, proper compensation should be considered even if all the tenanted rice and corn lands were to be transferred to the actual tiller" (Montaño, 1982, Table 5, p. 157). The same person also "indicated to the President that a certain area should be retained by the landowners."

One of the private-sector policymakers drafted the wording of PD 27: "emancipation of the farmers from the bondage of landlordism." While that became part of the decree, his recommendation of "zero retention" for landlords was *de facto* rejected by the president. (Montaño, 1982, Table 5, p. 157).

The other private-sector participant (Agricultural Consulting Firm) proposed recommendations that became part of PD 27: a) land valuation formula of "2 ½ times the average harvest of three normal crop years …"; and b) the amortization obligation of the tenant. However, the same person objected to the compulsory membership of the tenant in a farmer's cooperative on the ground that there was no viable cooperative system to speak of at that time (Montaño, 1982, Table 5, p. 157).

Both Think Tank and MAR members, when interviewed, agreed that certain features of PD 27 did not come from their respective drafts. The consensus among respondents was that the president authored the final version of the decree himself.

Given the specific nature of recommendations contributed, respondents were questioned concerning sources of data and information used in the deliberations. As far as the persons interviewed were concerned, alternatives proposed by the core PD 27 policy-makers stemmed from their collective work experience and in-service training, as well as extensive local and international travel conducted by some. The judgments of participants whose suggestions were ultimately incorporated into PD 27 were intuitive and experientially derived.

Personal identity of President Marcos. The president and his immediate decision-makers were practically insulated from environmental cues. Such information-rich, non-target groups as the press, church, and civic organizations were ignored. Certainly, opposition had no voice (Guzman, 1977). To operationalize ARP, the Minister of Agrarian Reform was authorized to organize a committee to formulate rules and regulations governing the implementation of PD 27. Initially composed of key officials along with technical and legal staff from the MAR, it

eventually included officials of other agencies who would be involved in implementation, certain peasant leaders, domestic consultants from both the public and private sectors, and foreign advisors with experience in land reform. Within one month, the committee submitted a draft of the Rules and Regulations Implementing PD 27. When discrepancies between the committee's document and the views of the president became evident, particularly regarding land retention, the draft was rejected. Thereafter, implementation rules and regulations were issued by the president unilaterally. The MAR continued to draft recommendations which could be issued as Letters of Instruction if the president approved of them. As a result, the actions of individuals operating within the ARP were severed from organizational action.

Retrospection

It is an assumption of sensemaking that individuals can only interpret circumstances in retrospect Weick (1995, 2001). We are, then, historians and no lived experience will have a single interpretation (Schutz, 1967). "The important point is that retrospective sensemaking is an activity in which many possible meanings may need to be synthesized… The problem is that there are too many meanings, not too few. The problem faced by the sensemaker is one of equivocality, not one of uncertainty" (Weick, 1995, p. 26, 28). "Retrospection wrongly implies that errors should have been anticipated and that good perceptions, good analyses, and good discussion will yield good results" (Starbuck & Milliken, 1988, p. 40). When this "…feeling is achieved, further retrospective processing stops" (Weick, p. 29). The retrospective nature of sensemaking was apparent in the operation of the ARP.

ARP expectations of real world changes resulting from organizational action, as expressed by respondents in interviews, were compared with actual changes reported by the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) resulting from Land Tenure activities (Department of Agrarian Reform, 1978). It was determined that actual responses of, or changes in, the external environment reported by DAR did not correspond with responses expected. For example, the resettlement program was expected to ultimately increase employment, raise productivity, and improve income distribution. Instead, the results reported were the intermediate outputs, expressed as the number of existing settlements upgraded and new ones opened and developed into viable agribusiness communities. Thus, the reporting left a knowledge gap concerning the impact of the program on target sectors: the tenants and landless agricultural workers.

Salient Cues

Sensemaking is about people weaving tiny "extracted cues" (Weick, 1995, p. 450) into "…full-blown stories, typically in ways that selectively shore up an initial hunch. The prototype here is a self-fulfilling prophecy or an application of the documentary method" (Weick, 2001, p. 462). The knowledge they have acquired and the state of that knowledge is reflected in the stories they tell. Conceptually, the collective group understanding provides a frame (Goffman, 1974) or structural context (Weick, 1995) for understanding. The gathering of such cues is related to concepts such as search (Cyert & March, 1963), noticing (Starbuck & Milliken, 1988), and scanning (Daft & Weick, 1984). Through sensemaking, a context for understanding and action is supplied, without which "…objects and events have equivocal or multiple meanings" (Leiter, 1980, p. 107). Salient clues played a role in ARP as well.

Under the ARP, Operation Land Transfer was organized to implement PD 27. In particular, it sought to transform or convert the tenants of rice and corn lands into amortizing owners and eventually full owners. It was a formidable undertaking under the best of conditions. The knowledge of decision-makers, however, was isolated from their activity. They simply missed cues that were readily available.

The first step in OLT involved the identification of tenants. Such identification was the role played by the Barrio Data Gathering Team, according to standard operating procedures (Pilot Project Systems and Procedures Committee, 1977). Unfortunately, during the early phase of this identification process the standard operating procedures did not exactly spell out, nor possibly anticipate, the variety of circumstances in which the Barrio Data Gathering Team might find the "tenant." Among the new knowledge identified was that some tenants were actually sub-leasing the landholdings they were supposedly operating.

This situation caused confusion and delayed ARP implementation. The Barrio Data Gathering Team could, on the one hand, blindly follow the standard operating procedure and record the supposed tenant, opening up possibility of legal protest later on. On the other hand, following the "land-to-the-tiller" spirit of the land reform decree, the Barrio Data Gathering Team believed that the sub-lessee ought to be considered the actual "tenant." Unless this new knowledge by the Barrio Data Gathering Team was accepted by program administrators and incorporated into standard operating procedures, the ARP was going about implementation without adequate information. Salient cues were missed or mishandled.

Ongoing Projects

Reflection confirms that individuals cannot avoid acting as life unfolds. Sensemaking takes place in such an environment. Sensemaking assumes that planning is not useful though it provides the *illusion* that we can control the future (e.g., Weick, 1995, 2001). Even Marcos and the government could not avoid acting.

The attempt to bring agrarian reform to the Philippines via martial law was an ambitious project for Marcos. It sought to remedy inequities evident long before he appeared on the scene. Centralization of ARP decision-making coupled with faulty information gathering and interpretative mechanisms guaranteed ignorance, but action was required nonetheless (e.g., Godkin & Montaño, 1991). Because an inadequate amount of information was gathered from the environment, the government was unable to operationalize its policy on auxiliary crops, and delays in land valuation resulted. In the MAR, it appeared that outside the Policy Formulation Office (PFO) no other body was given responsibility for and authority to perform this task. The MAR-based analytical unit generally lacked trained personnel with commensurate knowledge and data for deriving prescriptive information (Johnson, 1977). Key questions concerning environmental behavior remained unresolved during this period. For example, OLT beneficiaries were better off economically after martial law than they were before, considering such new obligations as land amortization, irrigation fees, land taxes, Samahang Nayon (barrio association) contributions, and general increases in production costs. Why, then, did Certificate of Land Transfer holders return their certificates, or why were they not willing to join the Samahan Nayon? Was this an indication that the land transfer package was more of a liability than a benefit to them? As already illustrated,

> "[the] experience of sensemaking is one in which people are thrown into the middle of
> things and forced to act without the benefit of a stable sense of what is happening. These

handicaps are not attributable to personal shortcomings but rather to the stubborn, ongoing character of experience" (Weick, 2001, p. 462).

"Sensemaking never starts. The reason it never starts is that pure duration never stops. People are always in the middle of things, which become things, only when those same people focus on the past from some point beyond it" (Weick, 1995, p. 43). Individuals involved directly or tangentially in ARP were thrust into situations with a corresponding sense of "thrownness" (Winograd & Flores, 1986, pp. 34-36).

On the strategic level, ARP policy-making began with the formulation of PD 27 itself. OLT was augmented by an information system designed specifically to support policy-making on an operational level. The beliefs of organizational actors concerning environmental circumstances bore little resemblance to *real world* conditions. Obsolete data, such as OLT dependence upon 1960 Census of Agriculture data, and the fact that some performance variables were not measured at all delayed governmental action. The 1960 data did not reflect expansion in land area resulting from land clearing and development during the 1960s. As a result, the Bureau of Lands recruited inadequate numbers of personnel to conduct parcellary mapping of land.

Unquantifiable policies delayed the search for environmental information and cues. At one point, a decision was made to allow certain landlords to retain seven hectares of rice and/or corn land in accordance with PD 27 "under certain conditions." Until those conditions were operationalized, accurate assessments of environmental conditions were impractical. Unreliable farm-level production records complicated the land transfer process. Under PD 27, land valuation was to be based upon production figures that were never available. The MAR relied upon the Landowner-Tenant Production Agreement (LTPA) and the Barrio Committee on Land Production (BCLP) to generate valuation. Under LTPA valuation, as provided under PD 27, tenants and landlords had a bargaining arrangement through which they were to arrive at mutual agreement on the average gross production (AGP) of rice/corn land for the most recent three "normal" crop years prior to October 21, 1972. Each of the pair had a vested interest in the resulting AGP and each exerted whatever influence he might have had. Though it would seem a tenant would have the disadvantage, many landlords complained that the PD 27-based pricing was confiscatory (Kerkvliet, 1974).

It is interesting to note that ARP participants were no different from others outside of government who were free of martial law. They, too, were thrown into circumstances. In fact, the ARP was unwieldy from the perspective of the MAR because authority to manipulate broad range short-run and long-run policy instruments was dispersed among different agencies.

Plausibility

The reasoning of sensemaking is that it need not be necessarily accurate (Weick, 1995) or "…correct, but it fits the facts, albeit imperfectly at times" (Isenberg, 1986, p. 242). Rather, it is effected by the stories created by participants to make sense of situations so that they are collectively seen as believable, credible and possible. A "…plausible sense is constrained by agreements with others, consistency with one's own stake in events, the recent past, visible cues, projects that are demonstrably under way, scenarios that are familiar, and actions that have tangible effects" (Weick, 2001, p. 462).

There is an element of *satisficing* (March & Simon, 1958) behavior, loosely defined here as where individuals take the first explanations which seem to *fit* the situation and problems

currently being faced. There is also an element of self-fulfilling prophecy (Jones, 1977) active as well, "…in the sense that quick responses shape events before they have become crystallized into a single meaning […] Accuracy, in other words, is project specific and pragmatic. Judgments of accuracy lie in the path of the action" (Weick, 1995, p. 58-59). In this sense, we are concerned with whether the stories created to make sense of situations are collectively seen as believable, credible, and possible. Are they coherent? Do they hang together? The ARP was no different than other organizations in this way.

PD 27 took effect on October 21, 1972, one month following the declaration of martial law. Specifically affected were tenant farmers of private agricultural lands primarily devoted to rice and corn under a system of sharecrop or lease-tenancy, whether classified as landed estate or not (MAR, 1978). A total of 22 persons from various governmental departments and the private sector were invited to contribute to the formulation of PD 27. To reconstruct the policy-making events and process during those formative years required integrating the recollected accounts of various individuals who claimed participation, as detailed in the methodology section. A reconstructed picture follows.

Originally, decision-making rested with the president's cabinet. Shortly after the declaration of martial law, President Marcos instructed the Presidential Economic Staff (PES) to prepare a position paper on agrarian reform. The Agricultural Staff of the PES and other members of the cabinet (principally the Secretaries of Agriculture, Justice, and Finance) were involved in drafting a decree that would expedite land reform. This group became the president's Think Tank on agrarian reform.

The Think Tank proposal was passed on to the MAR, which was directed to submit its own version of the plan. Within the MAR, the assignment was delegated to the director of the Bureau of Agrarian Legal Assistance with the concurrence of the Head Executive Assistant and other legal experts. MAR's authority to manipulate policy was circumscribed by fixed principles determined by the president and included in the Think Tank report. Issues related to land valuation, farmer cooperatives, and limits of transferability of the land were included.

In Malacanang, the Presidential Palace, President Marcos subjected all final drafts to the scrutiny of an inner circle of advisors. In-depth interviews with core PD 27 policy-making participants gave insight into which participant groups or individuals influenced various aspects of the decree. However, contributions of participants in the decision-making process made little difference in the direction of ARP—Marcos proverbially held all the cards. Plausibility was limited, credibility suffered, and organizational sensemaking was limited.

Enactment

"Enactment" is the label Weick (1995) applied to the tendency of people in organizations to produce a portion of the environment they face much in the way that legislators do. Indeed, the "…things designers *expect* will happen may predict the designs they achieve better than will their statements about what they plan to have happen" (Weick, 2001, p. 68). In the manner of a self-fulfilling prophecy (Jones, 1977), the expectations of Philippine government decision-makers led them to behave in ways that led to conditions they expected. They thus tended to enact their own environments. For example, the retention area of seven hectares, interviewees alleged, was designated as such because seven was the President's "lucky number." PD 27 specified the landlord's retention limit. It stated that landowners in all cases could retain an area of not more than seven hectares if such landowner was cultivating such an area or would now

cultivate it (MAR, 1978, p. 2). Perhaps in the same vein, President Marcos designated February 7, 1986 as the date for his snap election or vote of confidence. Unfortunately, this time the decision gave rise to the People Power revolution, providing a corresponding shock.

Implications for Leadership

In this paper we have described the circumstances under which President Marcos initiated agrarian reform under martial law. We cannot reach into the cognitive processes to understand the actions of leaders involved, but we can draw inferences from the interplay between leaders and their responses to circumstances. There is a reciprocal relationship between them (e.g., Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967b), and as Bruce (as cited in Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 723) reported, the political environment plays a particular role.

Knowledge creation in organizations is context-specific, dependent upon social interactions, and dynamic (Nonaka, Toyama, & Byoière, 2003). The circumstances inferred by martial law have a direct impact on the players involved. We chose to examine the case of agrarian reform under martial law from the perspective of sensemaking for that reason. We cannot enter the sensemaking process group members used to understand their surroundings, but we can infer what was taking place from the situations faced and their responses to those situations (e.g., Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obsteld, 2005). For this purpose, we will use the thinking of Rutledge (2009) as our point of departure.

Paralleling the research of Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld (2005) and Weick (1995), Rutledge (2009) qualitatively found that sensemaking potentially progresses through several stages: "…when complexity and uncertainty are high, ambiguity is great, the focus problem and/or external environment is in constant flux, the circumstances and/or focus problem is experienced by the group as disorderly or chaotic" (p. 20). The ramifications of this insight reach not only into agrarian reform, but to experiments in nation building by the U.S. in general. Rotledge's (2009) model certainly informs leaders who routinely face complex, uncertain, and ambiguous situations where sensemaking is in play and the model apply.   The model suggests that under the conditions outlined above, organizational sensemaking is a four-stage process.

Sensemaking: Stage 1

As pointed out earlier, the organizational sense of equivocality is reduced through shared observations and discussion until a common grammar and course of action can be agreed upon (Daft & Weick, 2001, p. 252). Rutledge (2009) sought the collective reality associated with the aggregate understanding of individuals in Stage 1 Sensemaking. In Stage 1, individuals bracket a key question or part of the complexity as they see it and ask: "What is this about?" Here the leader is looking for patterns in the stories members tell and the words they use when voicing concerns. To borrow from word processing jargon, what do they most "copy and paste"? Leaving motivation aside, Marcos in his era did not have the electronic feedback ability to fully accomplish such a task nationally at any rate near what is available today. Certainly, the island archipelago and its people were not readily available to enter such an endeavor leaving less nuanced factors to dominate.

For example, the declaration of Martial Law and the institution of PD 27 one month later resulted from the political pressure arising from tenure-related violence in the countryside. His view of tolerable peace and order was interrupted by aggressive activities of the communist New

People's Army and the continuing Muslim secessionist movement in the south. There was an account of bombings in Manila and reported landing of arms in the coast of Isabela, and the assassination attempt on the life of Minister of National Defense Juan Ponce Enrile could well have forced the hand of Marcos to declare Martial Law. At least, Martial Law was a way to silence the political opposition (Dolan, 1991) and make agrarian reform needed by the country expeditious—at least better than the slow-going, landlord-subverted R.A. 3844 in 1963 as amended by R.A. 6389 in 1971.

These events certainly point to the importance of leaders adequately facilitating Stage 1 Sensemaking. This is reflected in prior American experience between 1898 and 1935. Here the Americans sought to give land to the landless, rationalize the system of land registration and the issuance of land titles, break up landed estates, and improve tenancy conditions (Bauzon, 1975). They failed because the nationals preferred to remain in community settlements rather than adopt the American pattern of homesteads, among other reasons.

Sensemaking: Stage 2

In Stage 2, "Words and phrases are tried out by various members and repeated as images that may contribute to answering bracketed concerns or questions(s)" (Rutledge, 2009, p. 20). These emerge as individuals *borrow* (p. 23) words and phrases from others to explain their own attitudes, feelings, and observations. Here leaders should look for categorization of words, theme, and stories identified in Stage 1. Participants and leaders may be facilitated into labeling those categories and, tentatively, framing them into what we term *understandings*.

We suggest that leaders may facilitate the sensemaking in Stage 2 by helping members shift from the notion of paradox as a label to that of paradox as a lens (Lüscher & Lewis, 2008, p. 234), altering assumptions and expanding awareness in fundamentally different ways. Simple, logical solutions do not serve the convoluted issues addressed by Marcos or leaders facing complex situations.

Sensemaking: Stage 3

In Stage 3, plausible explanations or approximate stories addressing bracketed questions identified in Stage 2 emerge. These are treated as provisional in nature. In this Stage, the leader should listen for the categories and labels woven into the stories addressing the immediate concerns of group members. The emerging stories will be evidently plausible to those individuals because group members will congregate around them. Sensemaking largely leaves belief systems alone. The plausible stories told serve to mediate between differences in member viewpoints (Rutledge, 2009, p. 22).

Sensemaking: Stage 4

In Stage 4, the group gathers the will to move toward a particular action. Evidence of entry into Stage 4 will be present when members add to the story lines formed in Stage 3, moving the group closer to particular goals. Here we suggest that the plausible stories created in Stage 3 provide a path/goal orientation that propels related group action. This is also important because it is in Stage 4 that mental models or frames that support subsequent sensemaking are formed. These "influence the way the world is perceived within the organization, as well as

critical decisions with respect to perceived external and internal demands." (Basu & Palazzo, 2008, p. 123)

Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined agrarian reform as experienced in the Philippines under martial law. We have used sensemaking as the point of departure to enhance understanding. We can conclude, from the evidence gathered, that organizational decision-making related to agrarian reform became fragmented as a result of martial law. More to the point, sensemaking requires a social context that was disrupted because decision makers were isolated one from another. The president made decisions unilaterally, with limited input from close advisors who, for the most part, made intuitive suggestions. The personal identity of the resulting groups formed as the process proceeded. However, salient cues drawn from the environment and the ability to make retrospective judgments would have been richer had others been included in the interpretation process and their observations been considered. There is little doubt in our minds that the changing personal identity of the president and the enactment of his inner circle influenced the outcome of agrarian reform. We can only speculate about whether the sensemaking of the president and his key leaders yielded plausible explanations for the direction that agrarian reform ultimately took.

It was determined from this study that experiences of the Philippine government under martial law were amenable to all of the elements of sensemaking (Weick, 1995; 2001), namely: a) social context, b) personal identity, c) retrospect, d) salient cues, e) ongoing projects, f) plausibility, and g) enactment. While the experience of agrarian reform under the ARP was unique to the Philippines, the sensemaking experience common to all other organizations were present. Nuances, of course, varied from other institutions because of the behavior of President Marcos and the results of his outlook.

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Leadership Behaviors in the Killeen Independent School District

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This cross-sectional survey study is based on the assertion that transformational leadership is a pattern of behaviors to be used in given situations. However, the current body of knowledge has led leaders to equate transformational leadership with other models and to believe that becoming a transformational leader is a sequential process. This study seeks to determine how leaders in the Killeen Independent School District (KISD) construe an ideal transformational leader and how these leaders view themselves compared to an ideal transformational leader. Results showed these leaders had a high degree of understanding and reported adopting situational behaviors over transformational and transactional. This study reveals existing obstacles that restrict the use of transformational behaviors within the system and proposes that further study is required to isolate and overcome these obstacles.

Researchers of transformational leadership have attempted to show a distinct boundary between transactional and transformational leadership styles with the implication that transformational leadership was the last step taken when transitioning to an ideal leader (Goodwin, Wofford, & Whittlngton, 2001). Researchers have also attempted to determine the transformational leadership behaviors within a given situational construct or organizational culture (Waldner, 2005). Organizational leaders, consultants, and leadership scholars have attempted to train subjects in transformational leadership methods where there has been little or no previous leadership training or education (Sivanathan, Turner, & Barling, 2005). Goodwin et al. (2001) and Bass, Avolio, Jung, and Berson (2003) contended that no distinct boundary existed—that higher order transactional leaders could be lower order transformational leaders and vice versa. Bass (1990) argued that transformational leadership augmented transactional leadership, and Tichy and Devanna, (1986, as cited by Bass) posited that transformational leadership was a pattern of behavior that expected leaders to use the method or style of leadership that best fit the situation.

The current body of transformational leadership knowledge has led leaders, whether in the private sector or in public education, to equate transformational leadership with other widely researched leadership models (Currie, Boyett, & Suhomlinova, 2005; Eyal & Kark, 2004;

Friedman, 2004; Sternberg, 2005). Leaders at all levels need to understand that becoming a transformational leader is not a sequential process. Transformational leadership is a philosophy of vision, values, and empowerment that encompasses the daily transactions required for organizational operations (Burns, 2003).

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to determine how leaders construe an ideal transformational leader and how such leaders view themselves with respect to an ideal transformational leader, specifically studying educational leaders within the Killeen Independent School District in Killeen, Texas. The study was conducted by comparing self-reported characteristics, behaviors, and leadership styles using an instrument that was based on the hierarchical taxonomy of leadership behavior developed by Yukl, Gordon, and Taber (2002), who developed and defined these behaviors as task, relations, and change. Yukl et al. contended that transformational leadership encompasses the major leadership styles through situational awareness and a balance of the use of both power and traits to determine the best method or the behaviors required for the situation. This study attempts to determine transformational leadership behaviors displayed by leaders through the comparison of the ideal transformational leader, as reported by the educational leaders, and the self-reported behaviors of these leaders. The following research questions were developed for this study:

RQ1. How do the educational leaders in the Killeen Independent School District define transformational leadership?

(The educational leaders' definitions of transformational leadership led to the next two research questions):

RQ2. What behaviors do educational leaders in the Killeen Independent School District believe are those of a transformational leader as defined by task, relations, and change behaviors?

RQ3. What leadership behaviors do educational leaders in the Killeen Independent School District believe they have adopted for their leadership style, as defined by task, relations, and change behaviors?

The sample was selected from 150 leaders from within the school district, including the superintendent, assistant superintendents, chief of staff, district directors, principals, and assistant principals.

The following sections will discuss a literature review of transformational leadership and educational leadership, and the methodology and analysis, and a discussion of the study's implications.

Transformational Leadership

Twenty-first century leaders will have to be more versatile, more ethically and morally bounded, more empowering, and more visionary to be able to meet the needs of their followers, the organization, and stakeholders (Bennis, 2003). Additionally, leaders must also be prepared to work transactional operations, ensuring the completion of daily tasks and requirements (Barbuto, 2005; Durante, 2005; Friedman, 2004). Bass (1990) has stated that transformational leaders work to change a framework and were thought of as intellectuals, reformers, revolutionaries, heroes, and idealists. Transformational leaders also are able unite their subordinates and change their goals and beliefs, resulting in higher levels of performance and morality among individuals

(Rude, Paolucci-Whitcomb, & Comerford, 2005). Exceptional transformational leaders articulate strong values and ideals, motivating subordinates in supporting the values and ideals for the greater good (Rude et al.).

Behavior has been an important variable in leadership literature. Researchers have used behavior, in part and in total, as the basis for their theories and models (Avolio & Bass, 2004; Blake, Mouton, Barnes, & Greiner, 1964; Blanchard, 2007; Fiedler, 1972; Reddin, 1967). The study of behaviors in transformational leadership has been just as important (Avolio & Bass; Burns, 2003; Yukl, 1989). Yukl contended the use of transformational behaviors might be unnecessary and in the worst case detrimental to the organization. Therefore, the use of transformational behaviors is situation dependent.

Yukl (1989) defined the behavior approach to leadership as the emphasis of work conducted by leaders and managers and as the relationship between behavior and managerial effectiveness. The categories of behaviors, although not consistently integrated, are equal to the task-oriented and relations-oriented behaviors as defined by Fiedler's (1972) leadership and contingency theory and Reddin's (1967) 3-D management style theory. Behaviors are also highlighted in Blake and Mouton's managerial grid theory (Blake, 1964) and Blanchard and Hersey's theory of life cycle leadership, as well as in Blanchard's present form of situational leadership (Blanchard, 2007).

The body of leadership behavior research has always been fragmented in that terms describing behaviors have been inconsistent or have been given different meanings based on different styles of research. Therefore, Yukl et al. (2002) developed a leadership behavior taxonomy in which they integrated over 50 years of behavior research into three main meta-categories and 12 specified leadership behaviors. The meta-categories they identified were task behavior, relations behavior, and change behavior (Yukl et al.). Table 1 depicts these meta-categories and the associated behaviors.

Each of the meta-categories can be equated to transactional, situational, or transformational behaviors based on the nature of the tasks that are conducted within each behavior. For example in the task behavior meta-category, developing schedules, providing performance expectations, and appraising performance are clearly transactional tasks (Bass, 1990). Within the relations behavior meta-category, supporting, coaching, and delegating follow Blanchard's (2007) theory of situational leadership. The change behavior meta-category equates to transformational leadership because of the visioning process, innovative thinking, and the taking of personal risk to ensure organizational success as well as subordinate success (Bass, 1990). The following discussion presents transformational leadership and leadership difficulties in the educational environment.

Educational Leadership

The current educational system in the United States consists of organizations from the local school district, the respective state legislatures, and the U.S. Department of Education in Washington, DC. Many educational researchers agree the roots for current leadership lie within the previously discussed theories, in particular the works of Burns (1978) and Bass (1990) regarding transformational leadership (Beatty & Brew, 2004; Currie, Boyett, & Suhomlinova, 2005; Eyal & Kark, 2004; Friedman, 2004; Giles, 2006).

Beatty and Brew (2004) purported that leadership was the "most important factor in creating school culture, directly affecting teacher efficacy, job satisfaction, and leader-teacher and teacher-teacher relationships" (p. 330). Educational leaders "positively influence" their respective schools' culture by "buffering intrusions, developing professional relationships, and by providing professional support" (Beatty & Brew, p. 330). Successful educational leaders have mastered emotional and relational skills in their daily contact with the school's faculty, the students, and the parents of the students. Through the mastery of emotional and relational skills, educational leaders mitigate, or reduce, the ongoing tradition of teacher-leader antagonism, thus avoiding the exacerbation of resistance and low morale as the leaders attempt to implement changes (Betty & Brew).

Currie et al. (2005) raised two concerns in the implementation of transformational leadership in the educational setting. The first concern was the focus of leadership was excessively at the top of the organization, in that a dominant leader was detrimental and threatening to the collegiality, democratic governance, and traditionalism present within the culture. The second concern was the under-emphasis of a leader's understanding and consideration of organizational context in the educational setting. Currie et al. contended that the important context in the educational environment included "educational and pedagogic values, social and professional relations within the school, constructs of educational community and collegiality, and commitments to greater social equity and inclusiveness" (p. 269).

Eyal and Kark (2004) asserted that the education system operates primarily in a transactional environment and relies on public funds for financing, causing schools to become "slow-changing organizations" (p. 218). However, the researchers also asserted that current ongoing changes in societies, increases in diverse student needs, and changes in technology create uncertainties for educational leaders, threatening the schools' relevancy in their communities. In maintaining this relevancy, educational leaders decentralize various processes allowing leaders at the school principal level to meet the needs of the local community (Eyal & Kark). The dichotomy in this empowerment of principals is that these leaders are required to meet the needs of the stakeholders while operating within the established policies and standards of the existing educational system, maintaining their lawful legitimacy (Eyal & Kark). Educational leaders can effect positive first-order changes within the school, meeting the needs of the stakeholders, by using transformational leadership behaviors—in particular proactive and moderate innovative behaviors. Yet the constraints of the system or framework within which educational leaders must operate hinder their ability to achieve successful second-order changes.

The previous discussion provided a brief review of transformational leadership, a discussion of leadership behaviors within the task, relations, and change meta-categories, and a brief discussion of implementing transformational leadership within the educational environment. The meta-categories form the foundation for answering the research questions in studying transformational leadership in the educational environment. The following section will provide the methodology used to gather and analyze the data.

Table 1
Hierarchical Leadership Behavior Taxonomy

Meta-category	Leadership behavior	Behavior definition
Task behavior (Transactional)	Short-term planning	Develop schedules, determine resources, and determine methods of coordination to complete tasks.
	Clarifying responsibilities and performance objectives	Provide clear duty descriptions, objectives, and performance expectations.
	Monitoring operations and performance	Supervise the progress and quality. Evaluate individual and unit performance.
Relations behavior (Situational)	Supporting	Provide encouragement and be considerate, sympathetic, and supportive.
	Developing	Provide assistance, advice and coaching, and opportunities for personal development.
	Recognizing	Provide praise and recognition for effective performance, achievements, contributions, and performance improvements.
	Consulting	Include stakeholders, and their ideas, in decision-making process; encourage participation.
	Empowering	Provide responsibility and authority with task delegation. Instill trust in subordinates to make decisions.
Change behavior (Transformational)	External monitoring	Conduct continuous environment strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats analyses.
	Envisioning change	Present descriptions of desirable outcomes that can be achieved. Describe proposed changes with enthusiasm.
	Encouraging innovative thinking	Challenge people to question their assumptions about the work and consider better methods of performance.
	Taking personal risks to implement change	Take personal risks and make sacrifices to encourage and promote desirable change in the organization.

Note. Adapted From "A hierarchical taxonomy of leadership behavior: Integrating a half century of behavior research," by G. Yukl, A. Gordon, and T. Taber, 2002, Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies, 9(1), p. 25. Copyright 2007 by Gerald R. Simmons, Sr.

Method

This study was conducted by using self-reported characteristics, behaviors, and leadership styles. The data was collected using an instrument that was based on the hierarchical taxonomy of leadership behavior developed as depicted in Table 1.

Research Design

A cross-sectional survey design was used to collect the required data through a web-based survey instrument. The study required a specifically designed survey instrument to ensure the collection of the information needed to answer the research questions. The survey instrument was developed after the creation of the survey codebook. Each research question was entered into the codebook with its associated scoring method. Research Question 1 was formatted into an open-ended survey question and scored through content analysis. Research Questions 2 and 3 provided the variables from which the closed-ended Likert-type survey questions were developed. The five-point scale ranged from "1" (Disagree) to "5" (Agree). The meta-categories, which were the variables task behavior, relations, behavior, and change behavior, from Research Questions 2 and 3, were then entered into the codebook. The leadership behaviors associated with each meta-category were then entered, followed by their definitions. Finally, the closed-ended Likert-type survey questions were developed based on each leadership behavior and were assigned an administrative number to allow for question tracking and analysis throughout the data collection and analysis effort. Four survey questions per research question were developed to capture the degree of agreement of a respondent for each leadership behavior. Two of the four questions were used for each pilot-survey instrument. Once the instrument was developed, the instrument underwent content validity testing. After finalizing the survey instrument, it was then converted to a web page so the survey could be completed online by all respondents.

Population

The use of practitioner leaders within the Killeen Independent School District provided a sample of leaders who had attained a leadership knowledge and experience level. Therefore, the sample was selected randomly from a population of 150 district leaders. Twenty leaders were used to conduct the pilot survey. The target and desired respondents were the superintendent, assistant superintendent, chief of staff, staff directors, principals, and assistant principals.

Content Validity

Content validity was analyzed to ensure each survey question was representative and clear, was matched with a particular leadership behavior, and was retainable for the main survey. Selected leadership and research specialists assessed the content validity of the survey questions based on the representativeness and clarity of each question. Table 2 shows the inter-rater agreement (IRA), content validity index (CVI), and the factorial validity index (FVI) calculated using the methods defined by Rubio, Berg-Weger, Tebb, Lee, and Rauch (2003). The IRA was based on a four-point scale (1-4) for both the representative and clarity categories. The index was

calculated by averaging the scores of each item as rated by each expert. The final IRA was calculated by averaging the overall scores of each item. The CVI was also based on the four-point scale in the representative category; however, the score for each item was calculated by counting each score that equaled three or four and then dividing by the number of experts. The final CVI was calculated by averaging the overall scores for each item. The FVI was based on the assignment of a number value to each meta-category. The numbers that corresponded to the particular meta-category were then counted and then divided by the number of experts. The final index was then calculated by averaging the scores of each item. Table 2 also shows the survey questions were valid for their representativeness, clarity, and association to the research variables and ultimately the research questions. An index of .80 was the minimum required level to show the validity of the survey questions (Rubio et al., 2003).

Table 2
IRA, CVI, and FVI for the Leadership Survey

Transformational leader	IRA		CVI	FVI
	Representative	Clarity		
Task behavior	.92	1.00	.90	.88
Relations behavior	.85	1.00	.95	.92
Change behavior	.88	1.00	.86	.88
Self-assessment				
Task behavior	1.00	1.00	.92	.92
Relations behavior	.95	1.00	.96	.96
Change behavior	1.00	1.00	.94	.91

Reliability

Reliability of the instrument was tested during the pilot survey. The pilot sample was selected, using the simple random method. For this method, the list of all potential respondents was inserted into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet; each potential respondent was assigned a random number using the random number function. The list was then sorted in ascending order and the required number of potential respondents (20) was selected, starting from the beginning of the sorted list. The pilot survey was conducted using the split-halves method of testing for reliability (Litwin, 2003). In the split-halves method, the pilot sample was split in half and each sample half was provided with a different but equivalent survey. The results were then analyzed by calculating the correlation coefficients using Spearman's rank correlation (Black, 2006). Internal consistency was then analyzed by calculating Cronbach's coefficent (Gliem & Gliem, 2003).

Spearman's rank correlation was calculated to be $r_s = .89$. After determining the reliability of the two survey instruments, the internal consistency was then calculated using Cronbach's coefficient alpha for each survey. Survey A had a higher internal consistency (.80) than Survey B (.66); therefore, Survey A was subsequently chosen for use as the main survey

instrument. After the successful completion of the pilot survey, the survey website was reset with the primary survey instrument.

Data Analysis

Data analysis began with the content analysis of the first research question. Content analysis was required because the survey question that provided data for the first research question was open-ended and required the respondents to type their answer. The content analysis software VBPro was used to assist in developing coded in-context lists from which themes were derived. The survey questions that provided information for Research Questions 2 and 3 used a Likert-type scale, which was ordinal level data (Black, 2006; Neuman, 2006); therefore, nonparametric statistical analysis was used to analyze the data. Nonparametric statistics also were used to analyze the variability of the behaviors identified with the demographics of the respondents to see if correlations existed within the population based on gender, age, education, and current position.

Sampling Frame

Each leader solicited was from a sample of 130 leaders out of the original 150 leaders, and was requested to assist in the study. The sample size was determined using a sample-size-estimation formula for a finite population (Kiemele, Schmidt, & Berdine, 2000). The confidence levels for this study ranged from 90% to 99%, each of which allowed for making inferences about the population during analysis (Black, 2006). The researcher intended to collect at the 95% confidence level because the larger the sample of a homogeneous population, the more accurate the inferences to the population (Neuman, 2006). At the 95% confidence level, the sample size should have been 99 leaders.

Results and Findings

A sample of 130 practitioner leaders (which did not include the pilot-survey leaders) from the Killeen Independent School District was solicited to participate in the online survey. The number of actual respondents was 75, with a response rate of 58%, with an actual completion rate of 50%. The confidence level obtained for analyzing the surveys was 92%.

The sample population was divided and analyzed in three groups. The groups were district leaders, principals, and assistant principals. For the purpose of conducting effective statistical analyses, all of the leadership at the district level (superintendent, assistant superintendent, chief of staff, directors, and coordinators) were grouped together as district leaders because of the lower numbers of the district leaders. The demographic information obtained from the leaders was age, education category, gender, and position. The mean age for the sample was 48.8 years, 71% of the sample was female, and 74% of the sample possessed a master's degree. Table 3 provides a summary of the demographic information.

Table 3
Sample Demographics

Demographic		Number of respondents	Percentage
Age	30-39	12	18%
	40-49	16	25%
	50-59	24	37%
	60-69	8	12%
	No response	5	8%
Education	Doctorate	7	11%
	Professional	3	5%
	Master's	48	74%
	Bachelor's	5	8%
	Associate's	1	2%
	Some college	1	2%
Gender	Female	46	71%
	Male	19	29%
Position	District level	12	18%
	Principal	21	32%
	Assistant principal	32	49%

Data Analysis Procedures

The responses for the first research question required a content analysis. Once the content analysis was complete, the data were coded at the nominal or categorical level and were then statistically analyzed. The closed-ended survey questions were developed based on the variables contained within the second and third research questions. From the responses for the second and third research questions, the percentage of responses that were in agreement with the survey questions was calculated, as was the average percentage of respondents that were in agreement within each meta-category. Chi-square analysis was used to identify differences in the data and then the binomial analysis was used to confirm the differences and to identify which specific categories were the sources of the differences. The binomial distribution was used to calculate the upper and lower control limits as well as the 95% confidence levels for use in the P-charts, which are nonparametric control charts used with proportions (Henderson, 2006). The 95% confidence levels from the binomial analysis were used as the upper and lower control limits in the p-charts rather than the three standard deviations normally used in statistical process control charts so that data remained consistent with the 95% confidence levels calculated with the chi-square analyses. P-charts were used to analyze the data by position, gender, age, and meta-category.

Results

Research Question 1

The first research question asked how the educational leaders in the Killeen Independent School District define transformational leadership. The number of responses to the corresponding survey question totaled 58 for a response rate of 89%. The number of responses that contained search terms from the thematic dictionary was 53, or 91%. Two major themes were developed during the analysis: leader and change agent. The responses to the definition of a transformational leader identified key terms that specifically related to a leader and were grouped in the leader theme. Figure 1 shows the most frequent term used in describing a leader was vision or visionary, followed by encouraging, supporting, inspirational, and leads.
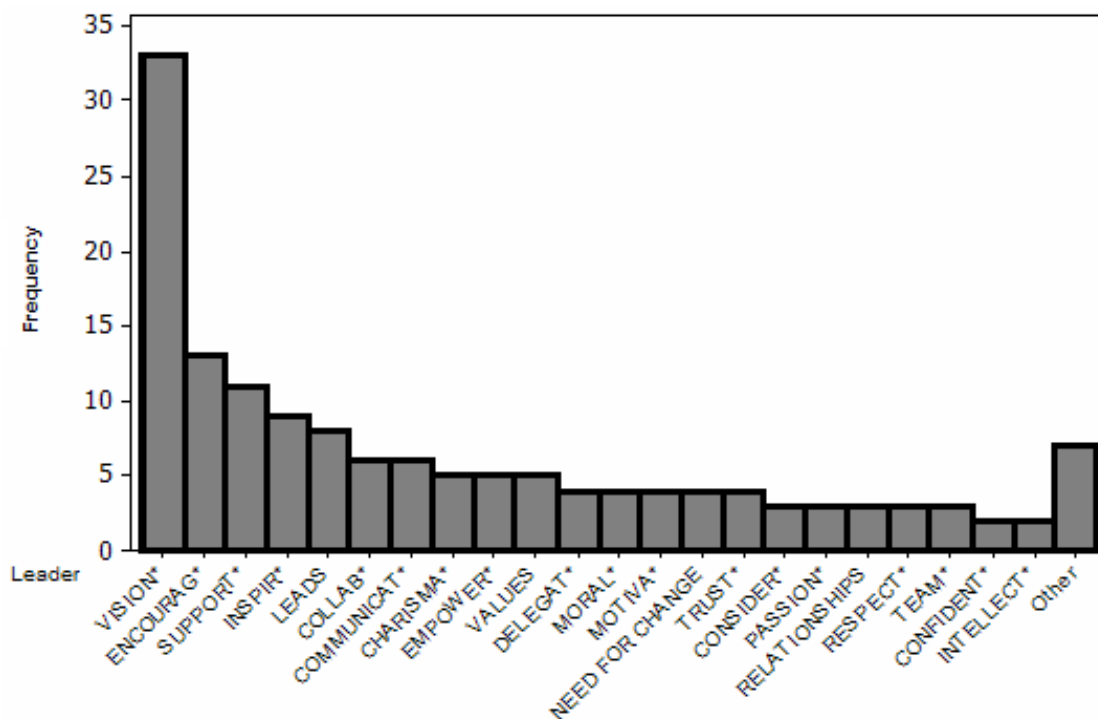
Figure 1. Leader theme: Frequency of use versus thematic term.

The responses to the definition of a transformational leader identified key terms that specifically related to a change agent within an organization, and these were grouped in the change agent theme. Figure 2 shows the most frequent term used in describing a change agent was change, whether in seeing requirements for change or actually conducting change within an organization. The other terms included continuous, as in continuous change, risk, as in the leader takes risks to invoke change, and innovative or innovation.
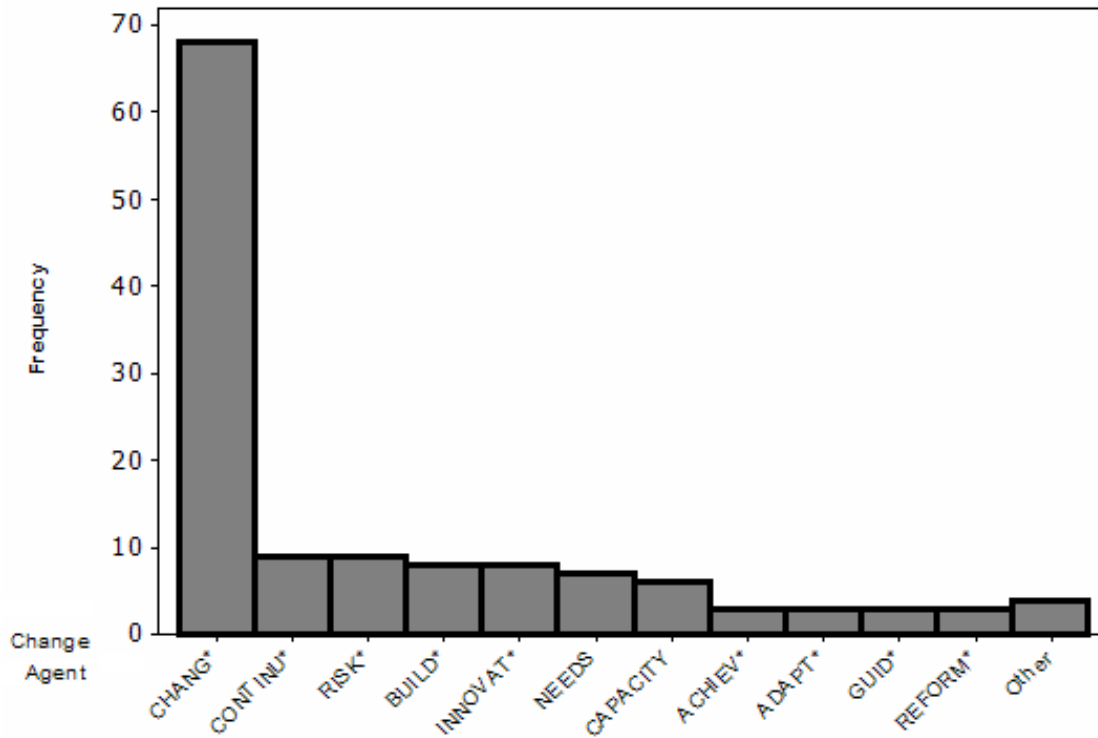
Figure 2. Change agent theme: Frequency of use versus thematic term.

Research Questions 2 and 3

The second research question asked what behaviors educational leaders in the Killeen Independent School District believed were those of a transformational leader as defined by task, relations, and change behaviors. The third research question asked which leadership behaviors educational leaders in the Killeen Independent School District believed they adopted for their own leadership style, as defined by task, relations, and change behaviors. The analysis of the data included the percentages of the answers that were in agreement by meta-category (task behavior, relations behavior, change behavior) and both transformational leadership and personal behaviors. The analysis also included the percentages of the answers that were in agreement by meta-category and survey questions. Analysis was then conducted to determine if there were differences in responses by each demographic category (age, education, gender, and position). All data were analyzed at the 95% confidence level, $\alpha = .05$.

Overall agreement. In Figure 3, the data show the percentage of agreement about how the respondents viewed a transformational leader and the percentage of agreement about their personally adopted leadership behaviors, both for each meta-category (task, relations, change). The respondents agreed that transformational leaders displayed fewer task behaviors (44% agreement) in the performance of their duties in the task meta-category, but more relations behaviors (75%) and change behaviors (76%) in the relations and change meta-categories.

The respondents' personally adopted behaviors were lower (35% agreement) than the transformational leader in the task meta-category, and slightly higher (79% agreement) than the transformational leader in the relations meta-category. The personally adopted change behaviors were lower (60% agreement) than the believed transformational leader behaviors in the change meta-category.
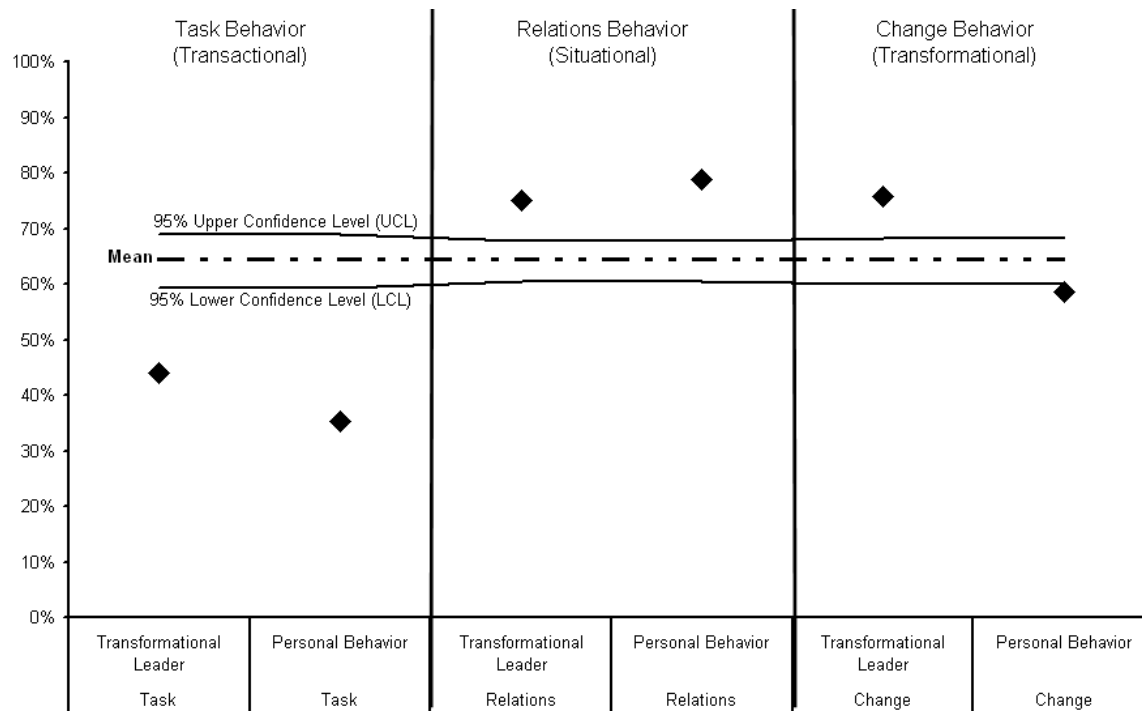

Figure 3. Percent of agreement of transformational leadership behaviors and personal behaviors for each meta-category.

The data shown in Figure 4 represents the percentage of responses in agreement for each survey question within each meta-category. The circled Questions 9, 37, and 51 had low percentages as compared to the other questions within each question's meta-category. Questions 9 and 37 were 3.1% agreement and Question 51 was 0% agreement. Survey Question 9 asked if a transformational leadership required leaders to ensure their employees clearly understood the leaders' expectations for job performance, and survey Question 51 asked if a transformational leadership required leaders to inform internal and external stakeholders of major organizational decisions. Survey Question 37 asked if the respondent personally provided advice and coaching to ensure subordinates continued to perform tasks to set standards. The remaining responses showed lower agreement that a transformational leader used task behaviors, but higher agreement that a respondent adopted task behaviors. The responses also showed higher agreement that a transformational leader used, or the respondent adopted, both relations and change behaviors.
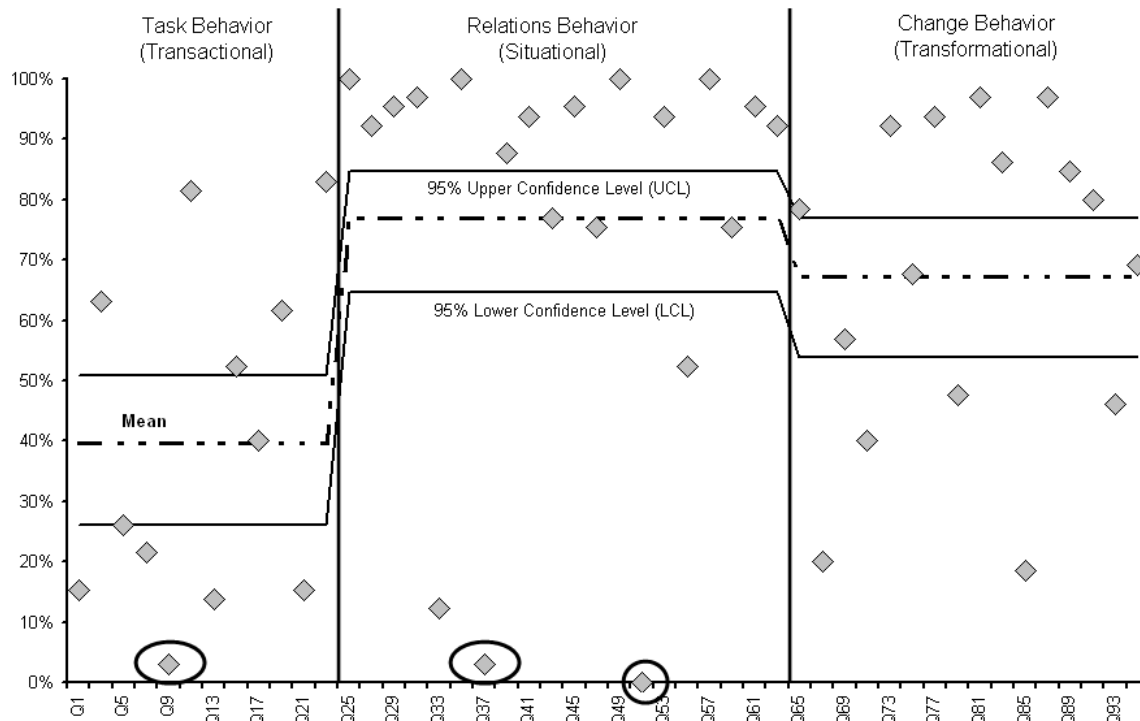
Figure 4. Percent of agreement of behaviors for each survey question for each meta-category.

Age group analysis. The data were analyzed to see if there were differences in agreement by age group. The study sample was divided into four age groups by choosing the groups with relatively equal numbers of responses. Significant differences were found in the adopted personal behaviors in the task, relations, and change behaviors meta-categories, where $\chi^2(12, N = 65) = 28.85$, $p = .004$, $\chi^2(12, N = 65) = 23.33$, $p = .025$, $\chi^2(12, N = 65) = 24.09$, $p = .020$, respectively. The differences in agreement by age are shown in Figure 5, where the circled groups were the significant differences. The data in Figure 5 shows that by age group, the respondents believed that a transformational leader displayed fewer task behaviors (44% mean agreement,) in the task meta-category but more relations behaviors (72% mean agreement) in the relations meta-category. In change meta-category, the respondents believed that a transformational leader displayed the most change behaviors (76% mean agreement). The significance is the respondents' personally adopted behaviors were lower (35% mean agreement) than the believed transformational leader behaviors in the task meta-category, higher (80% mean agreement) in the relations meta-category, and lower (60% mean agreement) in the change meta-category.
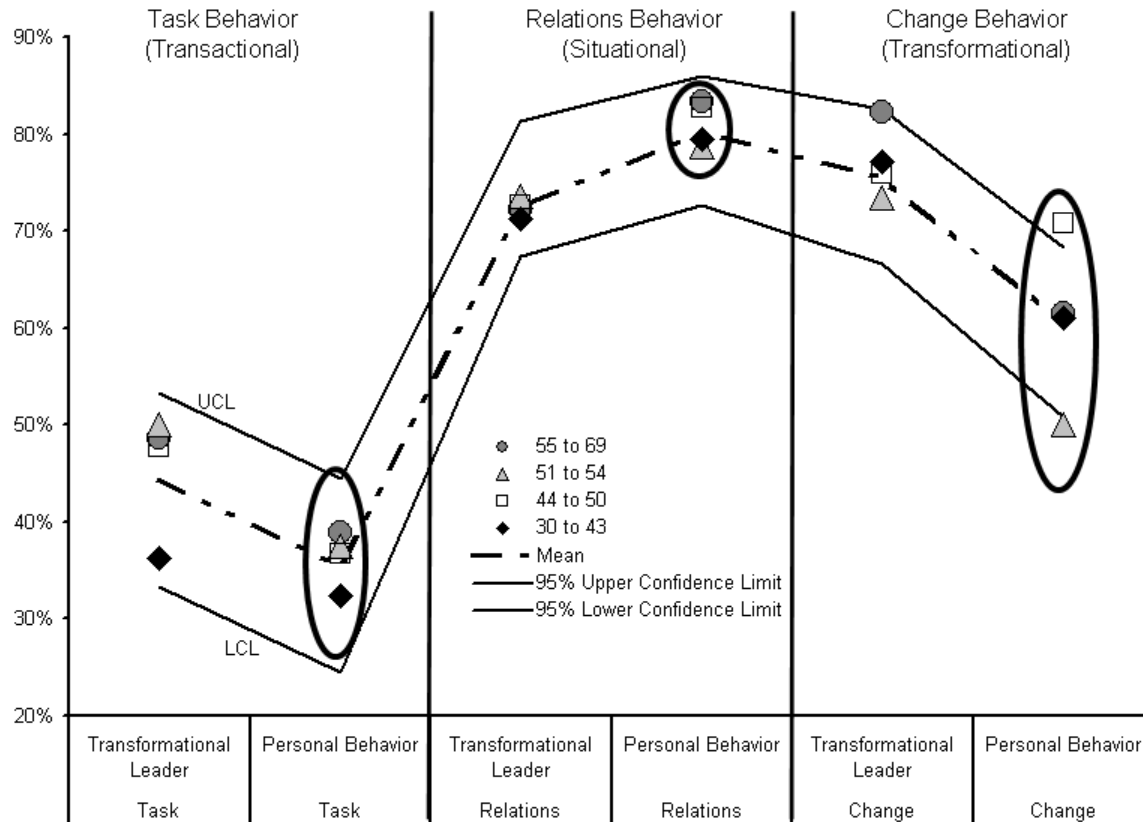
Figure 5. Percent of agreement of behaviors by age group for each meta-category.

Education category analysis*. The data were also analyzed to see if there were differences in agreement by education category. The study sample was divided into three education categories based on the amounts of responses at each educational category. Significant differences were found in the adopted personal behaviors in the task and relations meta-categories, where $\chi^2(8, N = 65) = 24.18$, $p = .002$, $\chi^2(8, N = 65) = 23.56$, $p = .003$, respectively. A significant difference was also found in the agreement of a transformational leader in the task behaviors meta-category, where $\chi^2(8, N = 65) = 16.96$, $p = .031$. The differences in agreement by education are shown in Figure 6, where the circled groups were the significant differences. The data in Figure 6 shows that by education level, the respondents believed that a transformational leader displayed fewer task behaviors (44% mean agreement) in the task meta-category, but more relations behaviors (75% mean agreement) in the relations meta-category. In change meta-category, the respondents believed that a transformational leader displayed more change behaviors (76% mean agreement). The significance is the respondents' personally adopted behaviors were lower (35% mean agreement,) than the believed transformational leader behaviors in the task meta-category, higher (79% mean agreement) in the relations meta-category, and lower (59% mean agreement) in the change meta-category.
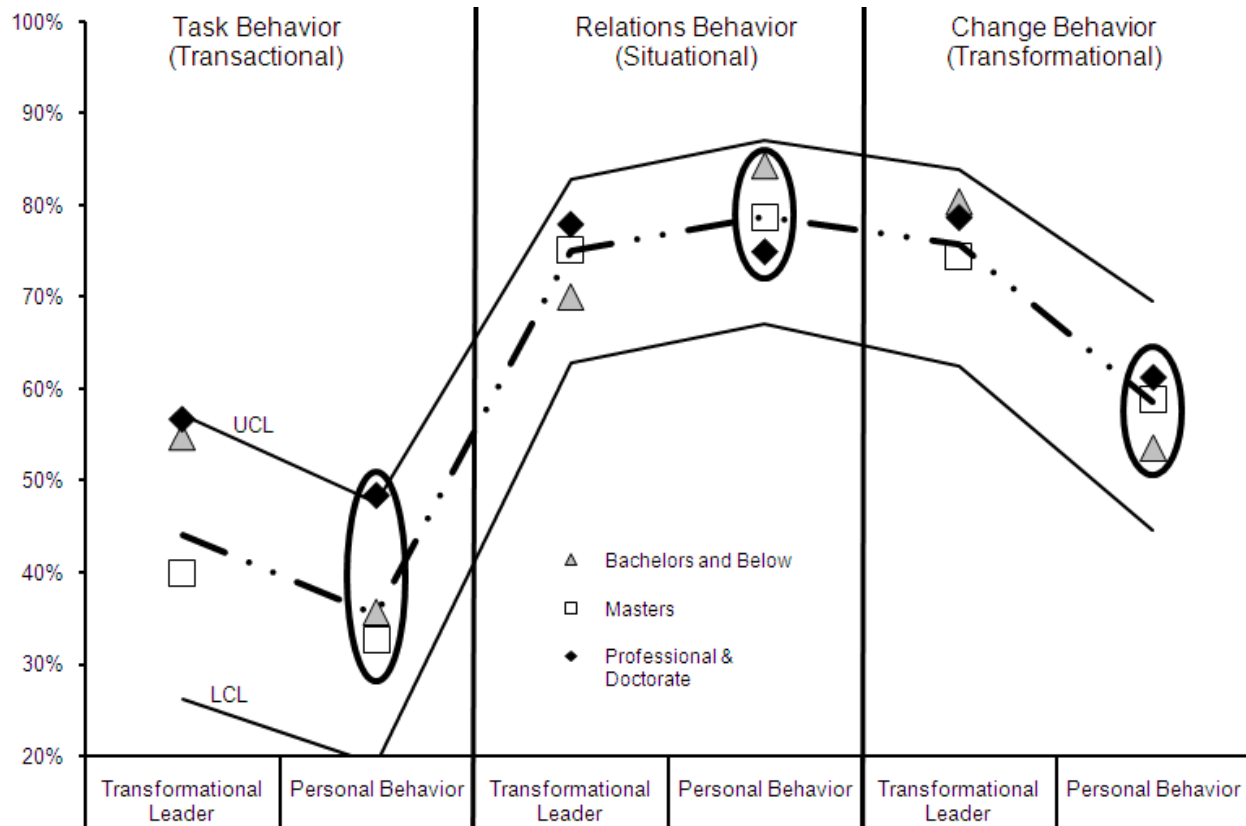
Figure 6. Percent of agreement of behaviors by education category for each meta-category.

Gender analysis. The data were also analyzed to see if there were differences in agreement by gender. Significant differences were found in the adopted personal behaviors in the task meta-category, where $\chi^2(4, N = 65) = 11.32$, $p = .023$. The differences in agreement by gender are shown in Figure 7, where the circled group held the significant differences. The data in Figure 7 shows that by gender, the respondents believed that a transformational leader displayed fewer task behaviors (44% mean agreement) in the task meta-category but more relations behaviors (75% mean agreement) in the relations meta-category. In change meta-category, the respondents believed that a transformational leader displayed more change behaviors (76% mean agreement). The respondents' personally adopted behaviors were lower, (35% mean agreement) than the believed transformational leader behaviors in the task meta-category, higher (79% mean agreement) in the relations meta-category, and lower (59% mean agreement) in the change meta-category.
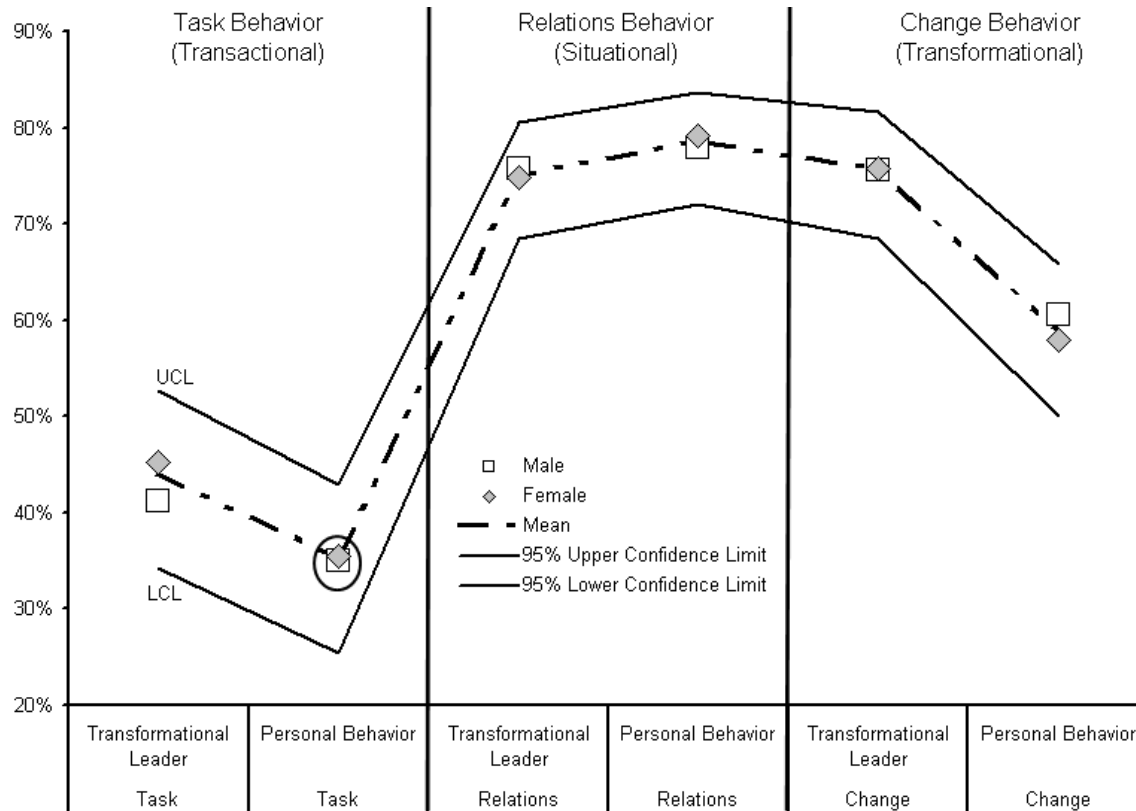
Figure 7. Percent of agreement of behaviors by gender for each meta-category.

Position analysis. The data were also analyzed for differences in agreement by position. Significant differences were found in the agreement of a transformational leader in the task behaviors meta-category, where $\chi^2(8, N = 65) = 20.01$, $p = .010$. The differences in agreement by position are shown in Figure 8, where the circled group held the significant differences. The data in Figure 8 shows that by position, the respondents believed that a transformational leader displayed fewer task behaviors (44% mean agreement) in the task meta-category but more relations behaviors (72% mean agreement) in the relations meta-category. In the change meta-category, the respondents believed that a transformational leader displayed more change behaviors (76% mean agreement). The respondents' personally adopted behaviors were lower (35%, mean agreement) than the believed transformational leader behaviors in the task meta-category, higher (79% mean agreement) in the relations meta-category, and lower (59% mean agreement) in the change meta-category.
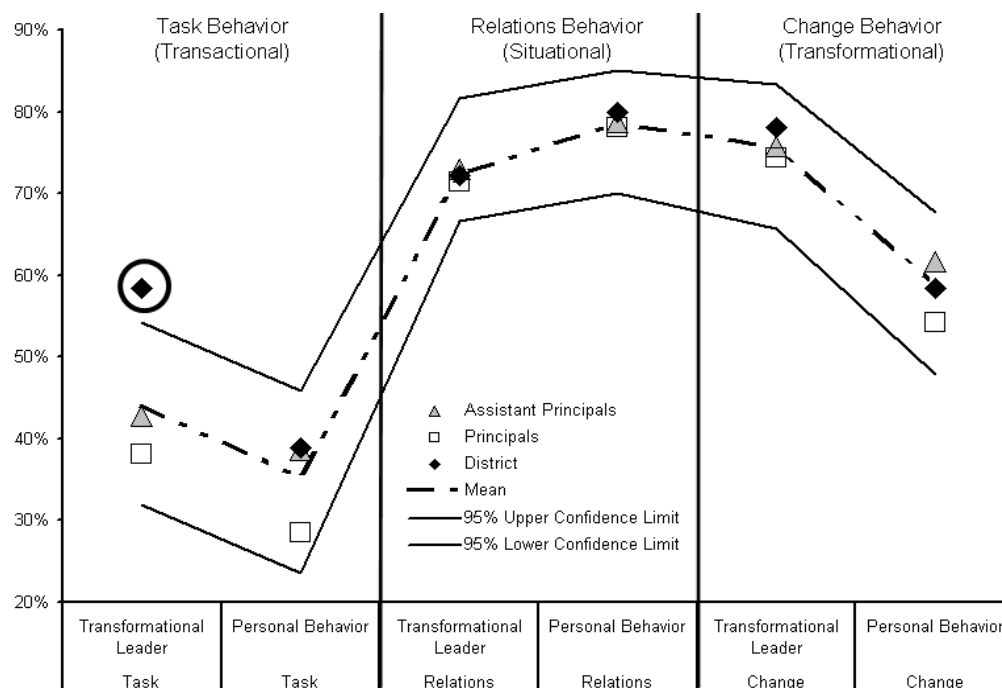
Figure 8. Percent of agreement of behaviors by position for each meta-category.

Conclusions

This study was based on the premise that transformational leadership is a pattern of behavior that expects leaders to use the method or style of leadership that best fits given situations. The specific problem was the current body of transformational leadership knowledge has led leaders to equate transformational leadership with other widely researched leadership models, and that leaders at all levels need to understand that becoming a transformational leader is not a sequential process. The purpose was to determine how leaders construe an ideal transformational leader and how these leaders view themselves with respect to the ideal transformational leader, using Killeen Independent School District (KISD) leaders. This study was conducted by comparing self-reported characteristics, behaviors, and leadership styles using an online survey instrument that was based on the hierarchical taxonomy of leadership behavior developed by Yukl et al. (2002). The results indicated the educational leaders of KISD had a high degree of understanding of transformational leadership. Additionally, the data showed the educational leaders in the KISD purportedly used behaviors that were transactional, situational, and transformational. Implications are that the leaders believed they were more situational (relations behaviors) than transformational (change behaviors) or transactional (task behaviors), and that the leaders used each of the behaviors as required.

This information was consistent with the assertion of Eyal and Kark (2004) that education systems work within a transactional environment, which, because of regulatory requirements, restricts the educational leaders' ability to effect change when the need is

recognized. This apparent inability to improve or transform the entities within KISD could potentially affect the district's long-term growth. The high percentages within the relations meta-category imply that the leaders know and understand their internal and external stakeholders and the need to master both emotional and relational skills as described by Beatty and Brew (2004). The low percentages in the task meta-category imply the leaders are not as involved in the daily or short-term transactions within their organizations.

Inferences of this study cannot be made to other similar organizations because of the selected population. However, this study shows obstacles exist that restrict the use of transformational behaviors within the system. Further study is required to isolate and overcome these obstacles so full use of the behaviors within each meta-category can be used.

About the Author

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Practitioner's Corner
Redefining Leader Development: Organizational Learning that Encourages a Culture of Transformation

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Organizational executives are becoming keenly aware of the importance of encouraging self-directed leader development and lifelong learning. It is also evident that a great deal of confusion abounds regarding what is meant by the practice of leader development. This paper explores the nature and source of this confusion and provides clarification regarding terminology and shifting paradigms in methodology and organizational culture. Furthermore, we propose a focus on personal transformation, moral development, and sustainable behavioral change as critical aspects of leader development.

In order to understand what is meant by leader development, it is best to begin by understanding what it is not. Leader development is not synonymous with such things as management training, and it is surely more than training in general. It is not the management of training programs, even if it is called a development program, and regardless of the number of times the term *leader* or *leadership* appears in the course description. Leader development is neither a single class nor a series of classes in leadership theory or leadership in practice. Leader development is also not a speaker series where prominent academics or experienced practitioners attempt to impart knowledge to their listeners. It is also not any particular item, characteristic, or aspect of a program; rather, leader development is a process of personal transformation; and without a purposeful and personal transformation, there is no development as a leader. And, while many of the examples mentioned previously may be designed to encourage personal transformation, they must not be considered in and of themselves developmental but instead be considered as a means to a greater end.

The challenges that organizations will face over the next 10 years are unknown, but we do know that these years will be filled with scenarios not yet seen today, complex situations that some researchers commonly refer to as *wicked problems* (a problem that is described as difficult, if not impossible, to solve with current understandings), and the need for new answers, new

solutions and capabilities, and a new era of organizations filled with both executives and employees who exhibit leadership behaviors—not just managers.

There is a big difference between leaders and managers. While organizational executives (ranking decision makers for a group of employees working to achieve a common goal) want to develop competent and effective leaders, those who exhibit leadership traits and skills, they often believe that calling a manager a leader is appropriate. These executives recognize the need for real and authentic leadership but are usually unaware of how to facilitate their employees' leader development. A special report on the need for stronger leaders in the Federal sector was published by *BusinessWeek* in February, 2010, which recognized that "Although there are certainly many strong leaders in both the Senior Executive Service, the government's top tier of career executives, and the broader civil service, there is general agreement among senior leaders in the government and experts who have studied the issue that more attention needs to be placed on the selection, assessment, and development of leaders." To understand how we might develop leaders, we first need to understand what is meant by *leadership*.

What is Leadership?

Leadership is the art of influencing an individual or a group of people to reach a common goal. The practice of leadership involves the skills and behaviors that are recognized as leading to the achievement of a common goal. This contradicts the common notion that leadership is achieved through rank, position, tenure, or title. Excellence in leadership should always be viewed as a goal that can never be totally perfected since, even if it were possible to control every changing aspect of the leader, it is not possible to control the changing aspects of the followers and the environment. Changes in relevant factors such as the follower, the society, the culture, and the environment require change in one's practice of leadership.

In Western society, it has become the norm to refer to employees in positions of authority and decision makers as "leaders." This is a misnomer and is misleading a new generation about what it means to exhibit effective leadership traits, skills, qualities, and abilities. These decision makers are "executives"—a term that we do not use lightly. Executives are managers who have often risen through the ranks to take on more responsibilities, more decision making power, and the authority to implement the mission, objectives, and goals of the organization. Executives can also be leaders, but the key is that all executives ARE NOT LEADERS. This article sets the stage to help us differentiate between someone who exhibits well-defined leadership skills and traits and someone who is a high-ranking manager—what we will continue to refer to as an executive. Raelin (2005) labeled this clarification of leadership as being *leaderful* and defined it as the following:

> Leaderful practice constitutes a direct challenge to the conventional view of leadership as "being out in front"… everyone will need to share the experience of serving as a leader, not sequentially, but concurrently and collectively. … Each member of the organization will be encouraged to make a unique contribution to its growth, both independently and interdependently with others. (p. 18)

Raelin's definition of leaderfulness confirms our stark contrast with the current understanding of who a leader *is* and the culture found in corporate offices. Leadership is not positional; it is not earned through dedication, hard work, and loyalty to a company; and it is not a reward for perseverance. Leadership is an action—something that we can experience. When we see it, we see it in a person, not in a title. At a time when company executives are learning to do more with

less by reducing hierarchical inefficiency as a necessary byproduct of economic competition, they must learn to inspire true leadership behaviors, at all levels of the organization, as the answer to the current leadership crisis.

Developing leaders and nurturing a culture of leadership behaviors assumes the following:

1. Everyone needs to share the experience of serving as a leader, not sequentially, but concurrently and collectively.
2. Anyone in any role/position can be developed to become a more effective leader.
3. Leader development should occur at multiple levels in an ongoing, dynamic fashion across the lifespan of each employee.
4. A lifelong learning attitude must be nurtured and encouraged by leadership. (Realin, 2005; Day, Harrison, & Halpin, 2009)

The Power of Leadership

Good leadership provides an empirically verifiable competitive advantage, particularly in a service oriented sector such as the U.S. Federal Government, and is directly related to common missions such as recruiting and retaining top talent. Since leadership capabilities are viewed as a source of competitive advantage for organizations (Petrick & Quinn, 2001), many organizations invest heavily in leadership development (Day, 2001). Even with expenditures down in 2008 and 2009, organizations are still investing around $1,075 per learner (down 11% from 2007) and $56.2 billion on annual training (which includes a smaller percentage of expenditures directly related to leader development programs), as well as 17.2 hours per learner per year ("Gauges and Drivers: 2008 Industry Report"). Yet, as important as developing people is, the 2008 IBM Global CEO Study, "The Enterprise of the Future," reported that 75% of company CEOs say building leadership capability is one of the top workforce challenges (IBM, 2008).

Leadership development is often erroneously defined as "expanding the collective capacity of organizational members to engage effectively in leadership roles and processes" (Van Velsor, McCauley, & Moxley, 1998). As noted earlier, leadership is not about a role or a process. For the purposes of this paper, the term "leader development" (versus "leadership development") is the key term being discussed as it denotes the individual aspect of this type of development program and the primary focus of exploration. Organizational members, referred to as talent, are the critical resource for an organization's competitive advantage. An organization's leadership development program, therefore, is the foundation of recruiting, developing, and retaining the needed talent (Miller & Desmarais, 2007) to grow in the current economic challenges of the early 21st century and meet the succession needs of the retiring Boomer generation.

The Challenge of Development

In order to compete in an environment where rapid transformation is the norm, most organizations are keenly aware of the need for good leader development programs and the impact poor leadership has on their organizational missions of recruiting and retaining the top talent; yet those same organizations often struggle with creating, implementing, and sustaining successful programs (Griffin, 2003).

In the past, organizational leaders have attempted to develop their talent. In the 1990s, approximately 10-20% of leadership preparation was met through education such as MBA

programs and training (Fulmer & Vicere, 1996). Therefore, 80-90% of leader development came through other mediums; "training or education alone cannot develop a leader, nor can assignments without adequate coaching and career paths, nor can experiences that are unrelated to corporate strategic objectives" (Fulmer & Vicere, p. 36). This classroom training and development only resulted in about a 15% behavioral change in participants of these programs (Cromwell & Kolb, 2004). By the end of the 20th century, new methodologies began to emerge where individual transformation was realized, and organizational talent was hungry to learn both *hard* (technical and job-specific) and *soft* (intra- and inter-personal) skills.

Not only are the techniques significant, but the content of a leader development program must include a challenge to the current understanding of the philosophical values and beliefs of the participants in relation to the espoused values of the organization. Because the paradigm of leadership necessarily involves the follower, there are no amoral decisions within the paradigm of leadership. Emerging leaders must therefore understand what it is they believe, or think they believe, in a new light. They must understand the moral principles they wish to live by and then apply them contextually. And while this may seem trite, there are many who have never truly reflected on what it is they actually believe and value, and why. A successful leader development program's content must reach beyond *professional ethics* and "the rule of law" and include moral development through an encounter with the very personal moral dilemma, and the program should embrace, not avoid, the demonstrated lack of personal responsibility and accountability that have led to moral failures rampant in our society.

Organizations must place the responsibility of moral understanding and acting rightly back on the individual; otherwise, the moral dilemma is not addressed, and the organization reduces its influence on the dilemma to the lowest common denominator, the rule of law. History shows that this is not good for the organization in the long run. How often have we heard statements such as "I did not technically break the law" in the aftermath of corporate chaos?

These complexities require a respect for the challenges that organizational executives face in determining how and why to develop their talent. New strategies need to be continually explored and formulated as new research in the area of personal transformation emerges, and organizations should continue to aspire to search for a holistic and integrated approach to encourage a very challenging and very personal transformation.

The Shifting Paradigm

Organizations have begun to realize that the type of traditional, lecture-based, classroom training found in most formal leadership development programs is ineffective at preparing leaders for 21st century problems (Dotlich & Noel, 1998). Organizational executives continue to look for alternative programs to support their leadership development needs (Hall, Otazo, & Hollenbeck, 1999). Further, new skills, abilities, and competencies are needed from managers and leaders in this new era filled with increased complexity, need for collaboration, security concerns, and an increasingly diverse workforce (generations, races, cultures, traditions, leadership styles, etc.).

According to a Kellogg Study of 55 global leader development programs (Kellogg Foundation, 2002), there has been a shift in development to new training and personal transformation technologies, such as experiential and action learning, coaching, increased mentorship relationships, and holistic approaches outside of traditional classrooms. Integrative learning models have begun to appear in private companies and are expanding to the public

sector (see Raudenbush & Marquardt's 2008 report for the USDA, and Day, Harrison, & Halpin's 2009 book based on work with the U.S. Army). The purpose of an innovative and sustainable program (both for the organization and individuals) is to take current rigorous research in best practices, competencies, methodologies, and processes and combine them into an integrative model of leader development while customizing the model to the organization's environment and culture and to individual needs.

Rethinking How to Develop Leaders

In ancient Greece, the Oracle at Delphi is said to have announced Socrates as the smartest man alive. Plato tells us in his dialogues that Socrates believed this to be true only near the end of his life and that he believed it to be true only due to his understanding of how little he actually knew. Leader development, and perhaps wisdom in general, can be created more efficiently from an understanding of our limitations related to knowledge and experience and its applicability to the current state of affairs. Unfortunately, the humility demonstrated by Socrates is often lacking in those who have many years of experience, regardless of their recognized aptitude to make sense of that experience. This kind of humility, or lack thereof, affects executives' attempts at developing and creating the leadership culture to which they often aspire.

Despite the importance of leader development, organizations struggle with *how* to develop and implement successful programs. For example, programs may lack suitable methods for identifying a manager's strengths and weaknesses and lack knowledge of appropriate interventions to develop opportunities for growth. Many organizations are even unsure of who should be developed. Those in upper management often have a far-reaching effect on the organizational culture yet, especially in the federal sector, are admittedly set in their ways and often not interested in personal transformation. One can only speculate on the terrible effect an executive with the "I am too old to change" or "I am set in my ways" mentality can have on the human resources within any particular organization. This thinking is arguably immoral, surely self serving, and has no place within the paradigm of good leadership. All organizational members can and should continue to develop throughout their entire career regardless of rank or tenure.

First, it is important to recognize the transformation process in development. The Fishbein-Ajzen (Ajzen, 1989) framework (Figure 1) is one example that illustrates a causal chain "in which behavior is determined by intentions to perform the behavior, intentions follow from overall evaluations or attitudes, and these attitudes are a function of salient beliefs" (Ajzen, p. 248). Using this model as a foundation, developing leaders must first challenge the current values and beliefs of an individual before he/she will successfully achieve the desired job- and self-related behaviors needed to meet the challenges in today's organizations.
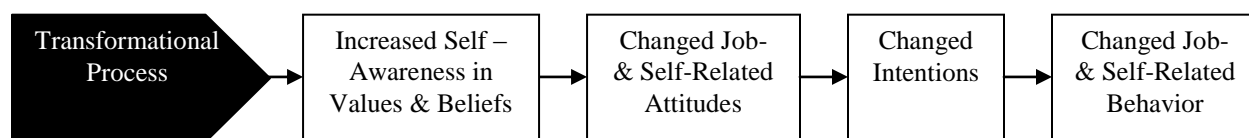

Figure 1. Model illustrating the Fishbein-Ajzen framework (Ajzen, 1989).

There is therefore a recognized need for customized leader development programs that address an organizational member's strengths and weaknesses and encourages individual participation in personal transformation. Additionally, many programs currently forego the challenge of developing "soft" skills, such as self-awareness, self-regulation, moral judgment, motivation, empathy, social skills, and self-motivation; and, since these skill sets are critical for successful leadership, the development of such skills within the individual is vital for the success of organizational programs (Day, 2001; Newell, 2002). It is also safe to say that leader development is *good* only if it enables the individual to translate gains in knowledge to wisdom (which can be thought of as the contextual integration and synthesis of knowledge) and wisdom to appropriate action, a developmental challenge that should not be underestimated. The attempted transfer of knowledge is often assumed to create wisdom as well as personal transformation, but this should not be assumed. At a minimum, when considering leader development, it may be helpful to be skeptical that knowledge will actually be transferred as indented and that the learner's ability to contextualize the knowledge should be experientially demonstrated for verification.

Fostering a Culture of Transformation

In order to respond to more personalized leader development needs, organizational executives are looking for more effective alternative methodologies. Thus, we recommend establishing leader development programs that include a diverse, yet competency focused, array of learning technologies, options, and experiences. Furthermore, a researched framework for leader development and transformative approach to encouraging self-directed lifelong learning through assessment, challenge, support, and accountability is necessary to achieve sustainable behavioral change within individuals. If organizational executives seek effective leader development yet restrict learning to online training or a few lecture-based PowerPoint presentations per year, the organization should rather spend the time, money, and effort elsewhere. Real leader development takes substantial organizational commitment, and it is our belief that organizations that determine to commit to the endeavor will be more efficient and competitive in the long run.

Conclusion

Several assumptions need to be dispelled. First, any organizational member in any role or position can be developed to become a more effective leader by humbly approaching an experiential process of leader development informed with scientifically sound research-based set of principles and practices (Day et al., 2009). Second, leader development occurs at multiple levels in an ongoing, dynamic fashion across the lifespan of the employee. Therefore, an intentional intervention is only one small piece of a lifelong and self-directed learning attitude that must be nurtured and encouraged. Further, as Day and Halpin noted in their 2001 U.S. Army report on leader development, "Leadership development is popularly regarded as a competitive capability that is intertwined with organizational strategy" (Day & Halpin, p. 2). The key for a successful program is to build a sound, research-based model that informs the design of the program; to measure the outcomes and effectiveness; and to be consistent in implementation knowing that "Implementation is a key ingredient for success" (Day & Halpin, p. 3).

Leader development is the responsibility of the organizational executives and the individual members. If one or the other lacks commitment, the leader development program is likely to fail. By clearly understanding the objective to develop the leadership abilities of all organizational members, the executives address the current culture as well as the need for succession management. Finally, it is likely that leader development will continue to be even more of a competitive advantage as organizations continue to search for ways to maximize the incredible potential of their human resources.

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