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**Holderness, Catherine Darrah, Ed.D.**

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**TABLE MANNERS OF LEADERSHIP**

by

Catherine D. Holderness

A Dissertation Submitted to  
the Faculty of the Graduate School at  
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro  
in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Education

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1988

Approved by



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**APPROVAL PAGE**

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This research consisted of a qualitative study of leaders' small behaviors, which may be called Table Manners. Using the ethnomethodological approach of intensive observation, two leaders were studied to observe those small behaviors which enhanced and affirmed their positions of power. While at first the observer intended only to shadow, participative observation was necessitated in instances.

Portraiture was utilized for data display in an effort to communicate expressively and understandably the actions observed.

Both leaders were friendly, outgoing, at ease in their positions at the top of successful organizations. Both treated employees at all levels of the organization with respect and attentiveness. Both were well loved by members of their respective organizations. However, differences emerged with respect to attitudes toward rank and status, desire to control what transpired at meetings, and willingness to disclose feelings.

Such differences led to the development of a model which distinguishes empowering leadership from enabling leadership. Essential elements include delegating vs. sharing power, distance vs. intimacy, total vs. shared accountability for organization outcomes.

Further studies should explore the concept and applications of enabling leadership. Of further interest is



the question of the impact of an ethnomethodological approach to the study of leadership upon various situationally based leadership models.

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## CHAPTER I

### OVERVIEW

#### Overview

Frameworks for the study of leadership abound. Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership is a review of over 3,000 books and articles on leadership. Still, Stogdill observes: "The endless accumulation of data has not produced an integrated understanding of leadership" (1974, p. vii). Leadership frameworks can be placed into two general categories: Those which place emphasis on the leader as a person (Great man theory, trait theory) and those which emphasize elements of the situation (contingency theory, task-relationship models such as those of Hershey and Blanchard and Blake and Mouton). Most recently employee-centered or participative leadership (Theory Z) theories are in vogue. The problems with current frameworks are multiple. First, there is the tendency to want a theory that is universal, which applies in and explains all situations (hence the current critical debate over the application of Theory Z--will it work in the United States?). Second, there is the concern that the variables which have emerged from consideration of contingency frameworks are too complex and numerous to be manageable. Perrow (1972) has written that:

One is tempted to say that research on leadership has left us with the clear view that things are far more complicated and 'contingent' than we initially believed, and that, in fact, they are so complicated and contingent that it may not be worth our while to spit out more and more categories and qualifications. (p. 115)

Third, practitioners often are critical of academic researchers observing the irrelevance or impracticality of their work and preferring to use a "hip pocket" approach to leadership based upon experience and "gut level" judgement. As Lombardo puts it, practitioners ask:

When are you going to look at organizations as they really are? In other words, when are you going to train us in things that have importance for organizational goals and that reflect the variety and inter-relatedness that we face? (1978, p. 6)

Essential to meeting this challenge is the examination of a multi-faceted leadership framework, one which considers elements of the organizational setting, the leader's persona, and the situation at hand. Utilizing such a framework stimulates the inquirer to observe the behaviors of a leader which reinforce and extend his or her legitimacy and influence as well as affirm the reciprocal inter-dependencies found in organizations. These behaviors might be called "table manners": They are the expected courtesies, rituals and communications which symbolically reinforce a social construction of meaning which in turn legitimates the individual who occupies the leadership role. Pfeffer (1978) and others have observed that leadership, like other forms of

social influence, is attributed by observers. It is in the eye of the beholder. Goffman, in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959) identifies leader behavior which enables the leader to secure such attribution from others as impression management. Goffman's underlying concept is that of dramaturgy, applying a theatrical metaphor to his observations on human behavior. Similarly, Vaill has observed that management is a performing art (1978), and Pfeffer notes that:

The leader is in part actor. Through his statements and actions, the leader attempts to reinforce the operation of the attribution process that tends to attribute causality to that position in the social structure. (1978, p. 30)

Pfeffer continues, "Since the meaning of action is socially constructed, this involves the manipulation of symbols to reinforce the desired process of attribution."

Anthropological concepts such as myths, symbols and rituals have only recently begun to be applied outside their traditional context, the study of ethnically different cultures, but they may have value for those studying organizations and leadership (see Brubaker, 1978). Deal & Kennedy's Corporate Cultures (1982) popularized the use of anthropological concepts among management academics, and Peters and Waterman's In Search of Excellence relied in great part on the concepts of symbolism, culture and ritual.

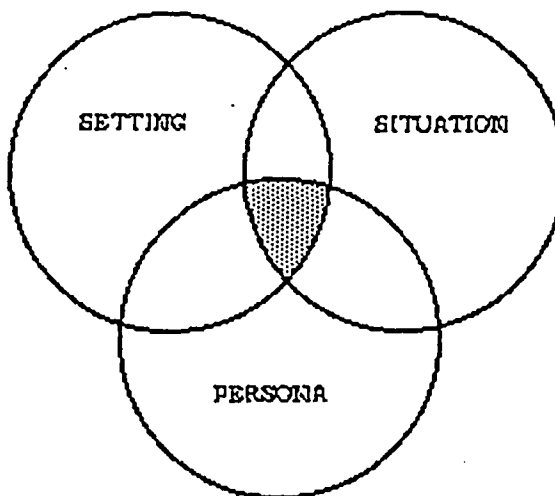


Leadership, then, is a process which takes into account the important myths, rituals and symbols of an organization as well as its norms and values; or what Deal and Kennedy refer to as "the way we do things around here" (1982, p. 4).

Often overlooked in the study of leadership are critical factors identified by Sarason in The Creation of Settings and the Future Societies (1972). Sarason identifies history as a critical setting variable, noting that there is a historical relationship between a setting and social focus relevant to it. Especially of importance is a history of conflict over ideas, values and problems. A second setting variable, according to Sarason, is legacy; the cultural identity of the traditional structure to which setting participants are often loyal. Third, the degree of shared purpose or definition of task is an important variable. And the leader's persona, capacity for self scrutiny and conceptual insight, constitutes a fourth critical variable, Sarason suggests.

A framework which would take all elements into account must include, then, the leader's persona, the setting and its culture, the particular situation at hand, and the symbolic behaviors of the leader. Such a framework is illustrated below:

Figure 1



The area of overlap among the three circles represents the "table manners of leadership"; those symbolic behaviors which bring the leader as a person together with the setting and its culture during the leadership process. It is important to note that leadership is a process. While it seems obvious that one cannot be a leader if nothing is happening, Lundberg, among others, has observed that "we are all in the habit of believing that a state corresponding to each noun in the language must exist." Leadership is not an "It" to be achieved (see Fromm, *TO HAVE OR TO BE*, 1976) but a process of a set of behaviors which can be learned. And, as an interactive process, leadership cannot be studied separately from its environment. Weick has suggested that the leader acts as a medium, picking up nuances and subtleties from the environment and having the skill to interrelate and act upon them (1978, p. 48).

The question then arises: How to study the area of overlap or table manners of leadership? Lombardo and McCall have observed:

...There is a plethora of studies describing portions of what leaders and subordinates say they do; but only a smattering of studies describing what they actually do...if the knowledge of the behavior sciences is to be translated into usable guides for leaders, observational studies must complement the controlled conditions of the laboratory. (1978, p. 7)

Of importance here is the call for observational studies, looking at what leaders really do. Also important is the suggestion that guidelines be developed for use by leaders.

This dissertation will use portraiture as a methodology for the study of the table manners of leadership. Portraiture is similar to case study as a methodology but differs in some important ways. First, portraiture involves the description of cultural organizations and seeks to identify implicit values which guide them, through the use of observation and description. It differs from the Geertzian tradition of thick description, however, by relying on the skill and training of the observer to identify particular details which carry representative importance. Further, portraiture carries an aesthetic, as well as empirical and analytic dimension. It can also be suggested that each portrait created has its own aesthetic theory.

In addition to collecting descriptive data, the portraitist seeks to create illustrative pieces which capture the "lives, rhythms and rituals" (Lightfoot, 1983) of those being studied. To do so, the portraitist must rely on intuitively selecting essential themes that arise during the course of observation and then be able to pursue those themes in order to establish their importance, or centrality, and connections to other phenomena. Objectivity gives way to description, interpretation and evaluation. Issues of experimental control change from those of internal validity to credibility, reliability to dependability, objectivity to confirmability and external validity to applicability (Guba, 1981).

While Eisner (1984) suggests that the use of an aesthetic dimension carries the methodology of portraiture beyond the definitional boundaries of social science, he is only partially correct. Portraiture indeed does not rigidly conform to early attempts at using the research strategies of physical scientists for the study of social phenomenon. Increasingly, however, scholars are recognizing that the subject matter of the social sciences is inherently different from that of the physical sciences and thus require alternative approaches of study. The dominant social myth system of the West, that rationalism and value-free scientific inquiring will generate understanding sufficient for managing

issues of human purpose and quality of life, is under increasing scrutiny: "...the myth no longer seems adequate to deal with the consequences of the problems and opportunities it has created" (Michael, 1985, p. 93).

David Halberstam (1972) refers to this obsession with rationalism, particularly its quantitative data analysis as the rationalistic fallacy (during the Vietnam conflict, human deaths were reduced to "acceptable numbers of loss").

Positivist science has depended upon the scientific method, placing emphasis on hypothesis testing using quantitative techniques. Mitroff (1978) has suggested that such hypothesis testing often leads to errors of the third type; solving the wrong problem precisely. Quantitative research, being rooted in the physical sciences, is driven by the presumption of an objective external reality which can be discovered through inquiry and testing. Researcher goals are to develop predictability, and implicitly, to control. Above all, rationality (or at least its appearance) is valued.

Qualitative methodologies, such as ethnography and portraiture, are based on the assumption that reality is a product of social interaction and culture in Goodenough's ideational sense (culture is located in the minds of human beings and consists of whatever a human being needs to know or believe in order to be able to operate acceptably in his

society). Importantly, the goal of qualitative research strategies is the generation of understanding (vs. predicting and controlling).

Rather than join in the quantitative-qualitative debate, I would suggest two ideas: First, positivist science is in fact value driven. Values determine what questions will be studied and how (which positivist methodology will be used), and for what purpose. And implicit in the selection of positivism research techniques are cultural values which have been absorbed by the inquirer--that man is separate from nature, that subjective insight and wisdom are not to be valued, that technology will help us identify and measure all crucial variables in a problem and that those variables which cannot be measured are not important in one's search. Second, however objective the results of positivist research may or may not be, these findings become part of the social reality when they are shared with other human beings. Unfortunately, the "value-free" approach to research itself may be the result and perpetuation of a culture or society which attempts to be value free and finds itself drifting into relativism.

Qualitative methodologies or naturalistic inquiry, being rooted in an ideational approach to culture, place value on the mind as a research tool (beyond mere calculation). The role of the inquirer's insight, and in some cases interpretation, is critical.

Precedent for recognition of the mind as a research tool can be found in the ethnographic methodological approach (see Sanday, 1979). It appears as well in the management research of Mirvis and Louis (1985). Finally, the use of self as instrument has strong precedent in the helping professions, where perceptions, values, beliefs and purposes, uniquely combined in a person, may be put into operation to be helpful to others (Combs, Avila and Purkey, 1973).

Further, rather than reduce a problem to its smallest measurable increment and leaving the results to politicians and others to deal with, the qualitative researcher must recognize his or her values and take responsibility for his/her work. Why is the question being asked? In whose interest is this work? What are its implications? The qualitative researcher takes a wholistic approach to inquiry, recognizing that each problem or question is connected with another (Lombardo, 1978), that the questions of human existence are inextricably intertwined, that the process of study is equally as important as the outcomes, and that there are many pathways to understanding.

Social systems do not lend themselves to precise reliable and predictable outcomes; they are complex, varied and certainly are not controllable in the experimental sense. Human beings, however, do have things in common,

qualities and characteristics which can be identified and shared with others. This mutuality is what the artist attempts to convey when he/she assists in the process of understanding the inner self and connecting such understanding with that of another person (Mooney, 1955). Similarly, the use of portraiture as a methodology should develop an understanding within the self of the researcher which may then be shared with others through the construction of vivid portraits. Noting the challenges of leadership study Vaill (1978) has observed:

To understand a human system, particularly a high performing human system, I think we need richer and more vivid accounts of how the system is actually operating than orthodox social science procedures ordinarily produce.

It is just such richness and vividness that the use of portraiture brings to the study of leadership.

Portraiture must be classified as a qualitative research tool, or as the outcome of the process of naturalistic inquiry. Strauss has suggested that qualitative methodologies may be useful in two respects. First, relying on inductive research strategies may lead to the development of substantive theories which may then be studied through quantitative techniques (thus he was attempting a peaceful reconciliation of the qualitative-quantitative debate among scientists). Second, Strauss has suggested that the substantive results of qualitative



research often provide more directly applicable knowledge for practitioners. This should not be confused with an "if it works" approach to justifying the use of qualitative methodologies as Smith and Heshusias (1986) imply. While the use of quantitative methodology may be precluded by issues of accessibility and the complexity of multiple variables to identify and account for (see Stogdills' paradigm for the study of leadership, 1974), it is suggested that the real value provided practitioners arises from: a) The generation of new knowledge through study; and b) the generation of new understanding by communicating that knowledge with another individual. The practitioner may look with new eyes upon his "taken for granted world" after sharing such communication, completing a loop, if you will, in the heuristic spiral, and thus becoming a more competent practitioner.

Lightfoot has suggested that understanding lies in the integration of many perspectives, rather than the selection of one as dominant and objectively correct (1983). The essential elements here are sharing insights and making connections, often of an interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary nature. Scientists working within the confines of a particular discipline's methodology, and, as a result, within the "findings" acceptable to their particular disciplines are susceptible to two perils. First, such

researchers are like the six learned but blind men of Indostan attempting to identify the elephant by touch. As no one man is capable of perceiving the totality of the animal, each carries away a misconception of it. Only by sharing their perceptions could a more complete description of the elephant be achieved.

Secondly, those working strictly within one discipline work within the language of that discipline, confined by the values and traditions epitomized and transmitted by said language. This presents two obstacles. First, the very use of language defeats the possibility of objective, value-free research. Second, because academic languages often assign varied meanings to similar terms, communication to "outsiders" becomes difficult. Important ideas may become lost to those outside the discipline and to those within it (rendering them learned blind men!). Only by integrating ideas, discoveries, insights and seeking transdisciplinary connections (meta-theories) are we likely to arrive at a more focused picture of reality.

This study will accomplish such an outcome by relying on the tools of ethnography, the insight and interpretation of the researcher and an artistic metaphor. By sharing the inquirer's observations, interpretations and growth through the research process, it is hoped that others, in a variety

of disciplines, will experience the "taken for granted" world of the leadership process in ways which carry new meaning.

### Definition of Terms

Culture, itself, is a family of concepts including: symbol, language, ideology, belief, ritual and myth. Of these, Pettigrew (1979) has identified symbol as most important, because language, ritual and myth are forms of symbol.

Cohen has defined symbols as "objects, acts, relationships, or linguistic formations that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of meanings, evoke emotions and impel men to action" (1974, p. 23). Symbols are both public and private. Sanday (1979) has observed: "Whenever people manifest themselves through symbolically governed behavior, they make it possible for each other to go to work cognitively on what has been symbolically communicated." Scheen (1984) suggests that much of the impact of symbol, and other elements of culture, is typically unconscious but actually determines how members of a culture perceive, think and feel.

Language, as a communicative symbol system, reflects the underlying values of a culture. Indeed, Pondy (1978) has suggested that language is a key tool of social influence and that leadership is a language game.

Ritual is defined as "the symbolic use of bodily movement and gesture in a social situation to express and articulate meaning" (Bocock, 1974, p. 37). Ritual is a way of expressing and reinforcing what is valued in a culture.

It is important in defining these key elements of culture that it be recognized that these concepts are "to varying degrees interdependent and that there is some convergence in the way they relate to functional problems of integration, control and commitment" (Pettigrew, 1979, p. 576). These concepts, Pettigrew suggests, mobilize "consciousness and purpose, the codification of meaning, the emergence of normative patterns, the rise and fall of systems of leadership and strategies of legitimization" (1979, p. 576) (italics mine).

A leader is any person who takes primary responsibility for mobilizing people and other resources to initiate, give purpose to, build and guide members of an organization. Table manners are the expected courtesies, rituals and communications which symbolically reinforce a social construction of meaning which in turn legitimates the individual who occupies the leadership role.

#### Assumptions and Values of Inquirer

First, culture is defined in the minds of human beings and thus is learned, modified and adapted through social interaction.

Second, the table manners of leadership are a form of cultural ritual performed by individuals which affirm symbolically a continuing sense of shared social reality for those who interact with the leader by legitimizing distributions of influence and authority. (They are the foundation of community.)

Third, there is value in naturalistic inquiry which seeks to understand leadership within the context of settings in which the leadership process takes place.

Fourth, the distinction between art and science becomes blurred when the goal is achieving understanding and sharing that understanding with others and that this aesthetic dimension of knowledge is inherent in the process of portraiture and in each individual portrait.

Fifth, knowledge becomes meaningful when it can be shared with others, thus bringing growth in understanding to those with whom knowledge is shared and to the inquirer himself or herself.

#### Presentation Format

Chapter I has been a discussion of the rationale for this inquiry and for the use of portraiture as a methodology. Chapter II will contain an overview of leadership theory and a discussion of manners drawn from historical works. Chapter III will describe portraiture as

a methodological tool and specify how it will be used to study the table manners of leadership. Portraits of leaders will be outlined in Chapter IV. Chapter V will consist of summary, conclusions and recommendations for further study.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Early leadership theories were centered on the "great man" concept of leadership. That is, certain individuals were considered to be "inherently endowed" with particular qualities, such as charisma, and personality traits which made them "natural leaders." The process of identifying such traits was enhanced by the development of psychological testing: In 1948, Stodgill catalogued 124 trait studies performed between 1904 and 1948. He was able to document the repetitive appearance of a number of traits including:

1. Intelligence
2. Alertness to the needs of others
3. Understanding of the task
4. Initiative and persistence in dealing with problems
5. Self-confidence
6. Desire to accept responsibility and occupy a position of dominance and control

Further work on motivation by psychologists led to the inclusion of individual motivational and behavioral characteristics in leadership trait study. Instruments such as the Thematic Apperception Test, the Mine's Sentence Completion Scale and situational tests such as In-Basket and Leadership Group Discussion have been used to study leader traits (Yukl, 1981).

McClelland, using the Thematic Apperception Test, identified the need for power (influence over others), among human needs for achievement and affection as the dominant motive pattern among middle and top executives (1969). Cummin (1967) and Aronoff and Litwin (1971) demonstrated that along with a high need for power, a high need for achievement may be an important motivational trait in determining successful leaders.

Maslow developed a theory of motivation based upon a hierarchy of human needs. Basic human needs, according to Maslow, include physical and safety needs; while higher level needs include love or belonging, esteem and self-actualization (1943). Maslow suggested that human beings are motivated to meet the most pressing or salient need they are experiencing but noted that individuals may be more motivated to achieve when concerned with higher level needs.

House and Mitchell (1974) and Vroom and Yetton (1973) have attempted to acknowledge human rationality in their analyses of motivation and suggest that humans consider both the potential reward (or motivational pay-off) for some sort of activity and their expectation of the degree to which they will be successful in accomplishing that activity. Path-goal and expectancy theory, then, suggest that leaders rationally assess activities which they may feel motivated to perform.



Miner (1978) developed the Sentence Completion Scale to study motivation and leadership effectiveness. He concluded that the motivational factors listed below were predictors of leadership effectiveness:

- a. Positive attitudes toward authority figures
- b. Desire to compete with peers
- c. Desire to exercise power
- d. Desire to be actively assertive
- e. Desire to stand out from the group
- f. Willingness to carry out routine administrative functions

Douglas McGregor (1960), influenced by Maslow, developed a model of two different sets of motivational attitudes toward people at work found in leaders. A theory X set of assumptions, that people are inherently indolent and resistant to change would impel an autocratic style of leadership, while a theory Y set of assumptions, based on what Maslow (1955) called growth aspirative (in higher level) needs would suggest a leader characteristically more democratic and willing to share authority.

Tannenbaum & Schmidt (1973) identified a continuum of leadership behavior extending from high use of authority or boss-centered leader behavior to highly democratic or subordinate-centered behavior. Similarly, Vroom & Yetten (1973) identified three basic leadership process alternatives including autocratic, in which the leader decides

alone, consultative, in which the leader gathers information and opinions from subordinates, and participative, in which the leader shares the problem with subordinates as a group and attempts to arrive at consensuses on a solution.

Further studies at Ohio State identified leadership styles which were highly autocratic and task centered and styles which were human relations or people centered. While 81 separate styles were catalogued, Blake & Mouton (1964) identified five principal styles which are illustrated below:

Table I

High

1, 9  
Country  
Club

9, 9  
Team

5, 5  
Middle of  
the road

Impoverished  
1, 1

Authority  
Obedience  
9, 1

Low

High

(Blake & Mouton, 1964, p. 12)

### Concern for Production

The Country Club Style Leader is described as motivated by a concern for people and the desire for satisfying relationships. The Team Management approach views relationship

and commitment to work goals as important, while the Authority-Obedience approach views task as all important. The Middle-of-the-Road approach is concerned with achieving at least adequate task accomplishment while maintaining satisfactory morale. Impoverished leadership behavior is characterized by lack of concern for either organizational tasks or human relationships.

Fiedler (1974) also looked at task and relationship oriented leadership styles using the least preferred co-worker scale. He demonstrated that a task-oriented leader is motivated by the satisfaction derived from doing a task well. In contrast, the relationship-oriented leader derives satisfaction from being supportive of other human beings. Anticipating the development of contingency theory, Fiedler identified eight types of situations that call for varying degrees of task and relationship behaviors, concluding that task-oriented leaders perform best when the situation is either extremely favorable or extremely unfavorable, while relationship-oriented leaders perform well in moderate situations.

Situational factors also form the basis for the Hussey Blanchard Contingency Model. This model describes four leadership styles that include varying degrees of task-centered and human relations-centered leadership. It is illustrated below:

Table 2

THE HERSEY-BLANCHARD LIFE CYCLE OF LEADERSHIP (1982, p. 52)

HIGH

LOW TASK -  
HIGH RELATIONSHIPS  
LEADER BEHAVIOR

HIGH TASK -  
HIGH RELATIONSHIPS  
LEADERSHIP STYLES

RELATIONSHIP  
BEHAVIOR

LOW TASK -  
LOW RELATIONSHIPS  
LEADER BEHAVIOR

HIGH TASK -  
LOW RELATIONSHIPS  
LEADERSHIP STYLES

LOW

HIGH

TASK BEHAVIOR

ABOVE AVERAGE

AVERAGE

BELOW AVERAGE

MATURITY OF EMPLOYEE

The underlying premise in this model, as in that of Fiedler, is that factors in the situation will determine what style of leadership behavior will be most effective.

While Fiedler identified the degree of ambiguity surrounding the task, time factors, and extreme circumstances as critical situational variables, the Hersey Blanchard model focused on adapting leader behavior to follower or subordinate maturity as the critical situational variable. This model, and the Leadership Effectiveness and Adaptability Description (LEAD) instrument developed by Hersey and Blanchard at Ohio State currently form the basis for many popular leadership development programs. However, as Fieldler (1965) has noted, leadership behavior, like other be-

haviors, may be difficult to change and the list of situational variables to be considered is potentially infinite. Stogdill, in commenting on the attention given to situational factors and diminished interest in the relevance of traits, has observed:

...The reviews by Bird, Jenkins, and Stogdill have been cited as evidence in support of the view that leadership is entirely situational in origin and that no personal characteristics are predictive of leadership.

This view seems to over-emphasize the situational, and under-emphasize the personal, nature of leadership.  
( 1974, p. 72)

Similarly, Lundberg has suggested that, "...the very early focus on the personality factors of leaders that gave way to a situational appropriateness view is being reinstated" (1978, p. 81).

This refocusing on personal characteristics may be an outgrowth of the developing "Leadership as Social Influence" school. This approach to leadership focuses on the factors affecting the breadth and depth of a leader's sphere of influence. Such influence may extend beyond, or not up to, the individual's positional authority. Kate and Kahn have observed:

To be a foreman is to occupy a position of leadership, and to be a company president is to occupy a position of greater leadership. Yet it may be said that a certain foreman exercises considerable leadership and that the presidents of some companies exercise very little (1966, p. 301).

Viewed in this context, leadership is seen as a social influence process within which power is viewed as being partly

inherent in the formal position and partly personal (Dahl, 1957). Leadership is, then, both interpersonal and transactional, reflecting the value system of the manager and setting the stage for the organization's ideology and culture (Falbe, 1984).

Leadership may be interpersonally focused or may be organizationally centered, in which case the leader envisions a functional and workable way to position the organization in its environment, communicates that vision, and enables excellence in performance. Bennis (1985) suggests that such leaders, referred to as transformational, meet three essential needs: Providing a vision which gives people a sense of meaning about what the organization is and how it works, stimulating a sense of excitement about what the organization is and what effects individual efforts can have; and encouraging the development of trust in the leader's ability to "make sense of things." A characteristic of transformational leadership is the leader's ability to "envision the whole organization system, its complex environment, its external and internal alignments as one single entity" (Hampton, Sumner and Wiker, 1987, p. 577).

Bass (1985) notes that transformational leaders possess technical expertise, intellectual power and experience, and that the transformational leader emphasizes individualism and the role of personal influence in the superior-subordi-

nate relationship. He suggests, further, that transformational leaders enable followers to look at old problems in new ways by facilitating their own conceptualization and comprehension of the nature of the problem. Much of this activity, according to Bass (1985) and Peters and Waterman (1982) occurs through the interpersonal interaction inherent in "management by walking around."

The process of transformational leadership bears remarkable similarity to the conclusion drawn by Stogdill in 1984, that the leader, "acquires status through active participation and demonstration of his ability to facilitate the efforts of the group in attaining its goals" (1984, p. 68). Further, Bass (1985) suggests that the most important component in the concept of transformational leadership is that of charisma. He observes that charisma is not limited to major world leaders and that individuals in many settings have the ability to inspire, enliven and arouse emotions. Berlew (1974) suggests that charismatic leaders are able to enunciate the hopes of followers and inspire faith in his/her ability to lead them to success, and Yukl states that charisma and magnetism are sources of personal power, observing that:

A leader with these attributes is better able to use personal identification, inspirational appeals, and rational faith to influence subordinates. They will tend to identify with him, imitate his behavior, and emulate his beliefs. (1981, p. 24)

If we are to view leadership as a social influence process which is both transactional and potentially transformational, and in which personal qualities such as charisma play a major role, then it appears we have completed a hermeneutic circle of sorts. We have returned to the earlier focus on leadership traits (or acknowledged their importance as at least equal to that of situational variables) and perhaps are beginning to understand them for the first time. Essential to understanding leadership traits within this context, however, is the observation of how such traits are translated into behaviors which are perceived and acted upon by others through interpersonal transactions.

Schneider (1979) suggests that individuals respond to stimuli arising from the transactional leader and the setting in order to form an understanding of the situation and persons interacting within it. He suggests that individuals seek to reduce the complexity of the full array of stimulus through categorizing, labeling and coding stimuli, based upon what the individual thinks he/she already knows.

Schneider notes:

Attentional and coding processes have been little studied by person perception researches; perhaps because the processes seem so natural, nonreflective, and immediate, they are taken for granted. (1979, p. 246)

Individuals respond to the stimuli inherent in the interaction and situation with snap judgements, casual infer-



ences, explanations of behavior and, finally, inference about the psychological characteristics of the leader. These activities are referred to as attribution processes. Those qualities which the perceiver attributes to the leader form the basis of his impression, upon which the individual will base his actions, (concluding that the leader's behavior is intended or purposeful, or concluding that the other person's behavior is a "relatively nonconscious, often involuntary, response to some internal or external stimulus" (Schneider, et al, 1979, p. 42). The attributive process forms the basis for impression management (Goffman, 1957) by the leader, as individuals:

"impute to the real him (the leader) all those characteristics, goals, and motives that constitute our image of him, and then we act toward him in terms of those imputed features." (McCall and Simmons, 1966, p. 121)

Because perceptions are based on the individual's learning from prior experience, the impression being created created or managed by the leader is subject to the perception of leadership traits arising from stereotype, reputation, and even physical attractiveness. Stereotype consists of the individual's social identity, position in social class, gender, and organizational affiliations. Reputation is the individual's personal identity based upon a series of situational interactions. McCall and Simmons note "Reputations, then, are unique, whereas stereotypes are applied to any and all occupants of a given situation" (1966, p. 177).

Further, Patzer (1985) and others have suggested that social influence is positively correlated with particular traits such as physical attractiveness. Dion and Stein have observed:

...if competency is measured in terms of power to influence, those who are higher in physical attractiveness are significantly more competent than those who are lower. (1978, p. 108)

Guise, Pollans and Turkat (1982) suggest that people of differing attractiveness levels who are perceived to possess differing levels of social skills may actually do so (1982). Reiss, et al, suggest that this difference in social skill levels emerges from a mediational process where:

...as a result of a person's physical attractiveness, differential levels of social competence are acquired...these in turn affect social participation. (1982, p. 992)

These mediational processes, wherein stereotype, reputation and traits such as attractiveness are either confirmed or contradicted, form a basis for interpersonal transactions, which are themselves subject to and influenced by the dynamics of perception and the particular situation at hand.

Structural situations are those in which the context provides cues to the meaning of the interaction behaviors, while in unstructured situations these cues may be lacking. In such situations as these, individuals must arrive at a situational definition, in which "the expressive processes

of one party are in rough agreement with the cognitive processes of the other" (Simmons and McCall, 1966). Such situational definitions are arrived at through interpersonal interaction, or transactions, in which individuals seek to discover from each other which behaviors are appropriate or seek to create the situational definition they desire through impression management (Goffman, 1957). In either case, the critical issue is that of arriving at a mutually agreeable situational definition, one which maintains the sense of appropriateness or saves face for all involved. Face may be defined as that image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes (Goffman, 1967).

Interpersonal interactions are characterized by a series of small behaviors which provide cues to the individuals involved as to each other's purpose, intentions and meanings attached to the situation. Goffman suggests that in such situations "The ultimate behavioral materials are the glances, gestures, positionings and verbal statements that people continually feed into the situation, whether intended or not" (1967, p. 1).

These behaviors are the basis for "facework," "actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face (his own and that of others)" (Goffman, 1967, p. 12). These behaviors, suggests Goffman, may be known or unknown to a person, and they become habitual and standar-

dized practices. Goffman identifies several forms of face-work. These include: Poise, which is used to control embarrassment; Avoidance, used to avoid situations, topics, and activities which would be inappropriate to an individual's face or social reputational identity; Discretion, leaving unstated facts that might discredit others; Use of ambiguity or humor to avoid affronting others; and, Acting as if nothing has happened when other mechanisms cannot successfully counter embarrassment. Goffman refers to these as deference rituals which in the course of saving face also express trust and affection.

The similarity between Goffman's sense of meaning in deference rituals and that of Elias as he discusses courtly behavior on the part of members of the French court is striking. Elias (1978) suggests that courtly manners arose from the need to convince the king of the loyalty, trustworthiness, and affection felt toward him by members of the court, and that good-mannered behaviors "contain a kind of promise, expressing in truncated form the actor's avowal and pledge to treat the recipient in a particular way in the oncoming activity" (1978, p. 60). Thus, courtly manners assured the court of the king's rightful position and that of members of the court as well. Courtly manners served to accomplish another of Goffman's face-saving activities, that of maintaining demeanor, which Goffman defines as the:

...element of the individual's ceremonial behavior typically convened through department, dress and bearing, which serves to express to those in his immediate presence that he is a person of certain desirable or undesirable qualities. (1967, p. 77)

Goffman observes that:

Systems of courtesy and etiquette can also be viewed as forms of insurance against 'fatefulness' (losing face), this time in connection with the personal offense that one individual can inadvertently give another...The safe management of face to face interaction is especially dependent on this means of control. (1967, p. 176)

Manners, suggests Goffman, are rules of social conduct, the infraction of which leads to uneasiness. These rules infringe on individuals in two ways: First, by obligating individuals to particular conduct as morally constrained; Second, by establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to him (1967). He suggests that such rules of conduct are symmetrical, that is are composed of common courtesies and rules of public order, and asymmetrical, allowing people to treat others and be treated by them differently (as in the case of leader-follower). Further, Goffman suggests that rules of etiquette may be substantive guides to conduct in regard to matters felt to have significance in their own right, or may be ceremonial guides where matters are not significant in their own right but where the rule is a conventionalized means of communication between parties in a situation.

These rules of conduct guide the behaviors of individuals as they seek to define the situation, find meaning in it, and maintain face for themselves and others involved.

Such rules have been formalized and recognized throughout history (an anthropologist would no doubt suggest that they existed throughout pre-history as well). Erasmus identified many in his De civilitate morum puerilium, published in 1530. His guide for the teaching of a prince's son included rules of conduct for proper social behavior, or manners, and for behaviors which contribute to attribution perception as well:

...a wide-eyed look is a sign of stupidity, staring a sign of inertia; the looks of those prone to anger are too sharp; too lively and eloquent those of the immodest; if your look shows a calm mind and a respectful amiability, that is best. Not by chance do the ancients say: The seat of the soul is in the eyes.  
(in Elias, 1978, p. 55)

Erasmus further commented on the importance of manners, noting:

"Although this outward bodily propriety proceeds from a well-composed mind, nevertheless we sometimes find that, for want of instruction, such grace is lacking in excellent and learned men". (Elias, 1978, p. 56)

Wagner, whose work was originally published in 1894, inventories the origin and evolution of a variety of religious and secular customs which carry both symbolic importance in imparting shared social meanings and prescriptions as to the proper behavior of well-bred individuals. For example, in women at the theatre he observes:

The fact that women rarely applaud at the theatre or in the concert-room is no evidence that they do not appreciate a fine performance. To tell the truth, their hands are not well adapted for any great demonstration of their feelings; moreover, they have their gloves to consider. As for shouting "Encore!" or indulging in any other vocal manifestations of approval, such a proceeding would be regarded as highly indecorous. On the other hand, laughter and tears are easily induced, and these may be looked upon as legitimate outlets for their feelings. (republished 1968, p. 143)

Elias (1978) also has examined the evolution of social customs and manners, and similarly observes that manners serve to reinforce the perception of legitimate social standing and to direct or guide the proper behaviors and attitudes associated therewith. Like Erasmus, Elias is concerned both with protocols of behavior or etiquette, and manners which exhibit personal qualities. The former is exemplified by the rigorous and omnipresent set of rules guiding eating behavior in the company of others, while the latter includes instructions to mind one's temper among friends and to maintain a cheerful countenance. Behavior in both respects serves to help individuals avoid embarrassment in social situations, according to Elias (Goffman would call this "saving face").

Richard Duffy, in his introduction to the 1934 edition of Emily Post's "Blue Book" of Etiquette, suggests that while the word etiquette may connote weakness and timidity to some, etiquette in fact reflects "the rules of the game of life and must be followed if we would 'play the game'"

(1934, xii). He suggest further that manners indeed reflect a moral purpose, and cites Confucius in support of his claim:

The Chinese sage, Confucius, could not tolerate the suggestion that virtue is in itself enough without politeness, for he viewed them as unseparable and saw courtesies as coming from the heart, maintaining that 'when they are practised (sic) with all the heart, a moral elevation ensues'. (1934, xi)

Of importance to Ms. Post, and similarly Ms. Vanderbilt, is the role manners play in expressing the character of the individual and his or her suitability for the social station s/he occupies as well as expressing the individual's awareness of etiquette. Neither countenances mistaking material success as a proper indication of character or social suitability (legitimacy). Ms. Post observes:

Remember that well-bred people are never self-conscious as to what impression their possessions, or lacking them, may be making; whether their estate be great or small, they accept the one as unself-consciously as the other. (1934, p. 650)

Further, Ms. Post recognizes the importance of the person attribution process in social situations when she observes:

Where people do things with modest hospitality, and fail, it is not because of their stunted means, but because of their own attitude. They mentally, if not actually, apologize, which is fatal. They entirely overlook the fundamental fact that hospitality is far more dependent on personality than upon lavishness of provision. (1934, p. 650-651)

Post devotes short, but insightful attention to the role of etiquette in enhancing the authority of the business leader. She observes:



A man unconsciously judges the authority of others by the standards of his own expert knowledge. A crude man may be a genius at business management, but in the unspoken opinion of men of education, he is in other contacts inferior to themselves. He is an authority, they grant, but in limited lines only.

But when a man is met who combines with business genius the advantage of polished manners and evident cultivation, his opinion on any subject broached at once assumes added weight. Doesn't it? (1934, p. 548-549)

Post's discussion of business etiquette includes few guidelines on specifics but dwells mostly on manners which communicate information on character: listening attentively, being "straightforward", relationship with women in the business setting, and office discipline. In contrast, Letitia Baldrige's more recent (1985) work, Complete Guide to Executive Manners, is exhaustive in its discussion of business and leadership etiquette. Baldrige presents a far more detailed guide to specific rules of conduct, however underlying these rules is the recognition that manners are behaviors which communicate something about character and serve to define and direct the situation at hand. Similarly, Abhan's earlier work Corporate Etiquette (1970) contains proscriptions on both rules of conduct and on behavior which expresses character, with emphasis on the former. Rules of conduct (etiquette) found in Baldrige and Abhan include guidelines for written communication, conduct of business luncheons and formal dinners, conduct of staff meetings and of other routine organizational encounters.

These rules of etiquette correspond to Goffman's conventionalized means of communication between parties to a situation. Rules which guide the perception of character are those essential to the attribute perception process. Both are essential in management, wherein behaviors are felt to have significance in their own right, contributing to the definition of the situation and to the perception of the leader's legitimacy within that situation. The "small behaviors" of the latter sort are only implied in modern guides to executive etiquette.

Further, the suggestion by Goffman and others (see Methodology) that such small behaviors be studied have been overlooked in the social influence literature which has focused on larger interactional issues such as position and authority. It is these small behaviors or table manners, the expected courtesies and rituals, and communications which symbolically reinforce a social construction of meaning and thereby reinforce the legitimacy of the individual occupying the leadership role, which are the focus of this inquiry.

A study of this nature requires the use of qualitative methodology, and the use of portraiture is particularly well suited to an inquiry of this nature. The description of the methodological process is contained in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction: Documentary Methodology

Qualitative research strategies are descriptive, settings based, and are concerned with the research process as well as its outcomes or products. Such strategies seek to discover the meanings within and the natural history of the activity under study (Schwartz and Olgilvy, 1979). Methodologies most commonly associated with qualitative strategies include ethnography and ethnomethodology. While in many discussions of research strategies the distinction between these methodologies is blurred, it is one of importance to this study and to this inquirer.

The use of ethnography is relevant to the study of cultures and micro-cultures (or sub-cultures). The goal is to discover and describe as much of the culture's totality as possible. Ethnomethodology differs from ethnography by focusing on the study of how individuals create and understand their daily lives (Garfinkel, 1967).

Key to the success of this daily living process are the seen but unnoticed consistent expectancies which are used by members of society to interpret their lives (Schultz, 1967). This is the "world known in common and taken for granted."

Garfinkel refers to these expectancies as "indexical expressions" and thus defines ethnomethodology as:

The investigation of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments of organized artful practices of every day life (p. 11). Or, placed in question form: What kinds of expectancies make up a "seen but unnoticed" background of common understandings and how are they related to persons' recognition of stable courses of interpersonal transactions? (1967, p. 48)

Garfinkel observes that the role of this "background of understandings" has received little research attention despite the fact that it is:

...precisely this relationship that persons are concerned with in their common sense portrayals of how to conduct one's daily affairs so as to solicit enthusiasm and friendliness or avoid anxiety, guilt, shame or boredom. (1967, p. 49)

To identify what these common understandings are requires the use of such ethnographic tools as observation and interview, but further the process is enhanced by the use of Karl Mannheim's documentary method:

The method consists of treating an actual appearance as a "document of," as "pointing to," as "standing in behalf of" a presupposed underlying pattern...Not only is the underlying pattern derived from individual documentary evidences, in the turn (they) are interpreted on the basis of "what is known" about the underlying pattern...Each is used to elaborate the other. (Garfinkel, 1967, p.78)

The documentary method requires reflexivity on the part of the inquirer as he/she "sets the observed occurrence and the intended occurrence into a correspondence of meaning" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 79). The outcomes of such inquiry,

"decided under circumstances of common sense situations of choice" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 99) may be termed "reasonable findings." They are descriptive, not evaluative, and may often lead to more questions (just as the search for the right answer, or single best alternative decision often does).

Garfinkel suggests that the documentary methodology is recognizable in the work of Goffman in strategies of impression management, Erikson in the analysis of identity crisis, Riesman in the description of types of conformity (1967), and in Lombardo's use of vignettes to describe executive values (1986).

Portraiture is a documentary methodology. Its use in this study is intended to identify and describe, thus to develop a greater understanding of, the indexical expressions that leaders use to "accomplish the organized artful accomplishments of every day life," (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 11), thereby legitimizing their positions of leadership, and influencing the social reality and behavior of others. To accomplish this requires what Minzberg has called detective work:

...the tracking down of patterns, consistencies. One searches through a phenomenon, looking for order, following one lead to another. (1979, p. 583)

### Bias

Bias in inquiry such as this is not consistent with the traditional concept of substantive knowledge bias. Rather, bias is composed of the researcher's commitment to "looking for information on new incidents, settings and people in depth" (Minzberg, 1979, p. 586).

Such bias characterizes the work of Minzberg himself, among notable others including Piaget, who studied his children, and Freud, who studied his patients. Vaill joins Minzberg in the call for the intense study of individual cases or phenomenon as we investigate leadership behavior and notes that Maslow also advocated more indepth study as opposed to "means centered science" (1978, p. 120). In such an approach, the inquirer is an essential part of the research process. Previous rigorous research training can be a valuable asset, as Lightfoot (1985) observes. However, the role of the inquirer's interaction, observation and evaluation is essential (Lightfoot, 1983; Mintzberg, 1979; Garfinkel, 1967; Mitroff, 1978, Weick, 1978). Vaill, in discussing the study of leadership and the role of values, suggests:

I want to encourage you to study situations that fascinate you personally...I want to get your values into the investigation rather than screen them out. (1978, p. 124)

Because this is a qualitative inquiry, the concepts of bias and values become important, not because they need to be

controlled or factored out, but because they have been demonstrated above to be essential to the success of the inquiry.

### Reliability and Validity

Traditional or positivist standards of reliability, that is replicability with identical results, and validity, did the study measure what it was intended to measure, are often ill-suited to qualitative inquiry. Such inquiry, and its outcomes, must be evaluated by alternative criteria such as creditability and representativeness.

Credibility in this context refers to whether outcomes or interpretations are believable, given the structure, purpose, and assumptions underlying the inquiry.

Miles and Huberman suggest that a test for credibility would be whether or not "...another competent researcher, working at the same site, would not come up with wholly contradictory findings" (1984, p. 27).

A further test of credibility is that of resonance. That is, do the outcomes ring true, or are they consistent, with the experience of the reader. Finally, credible outcomes may also provide new insights or ways of seeing what is taken for granted.

Representativeness refers to whether outcomes are generalizable to other similar situations or settings. Such generalizability becomes the basis for grounded theory which

may be tested using further qualitative inquiry or alternative methodologies. The use of multiple strategies underlies the triangulation approach to research (Jick, 1979). It should be noted that the use of qualitative or non-statistical methodology has long been acceptable under the guise of "pilot" research which leads to further formal quantitative study.

A most important criterion for evaluating a study such as this one is the clarity of the researcher's approach. It is essential that the researcher describe assumptions which form the foundation of the work, the processes through which information and insight are gained, and the reasons for pursuing the particular question at hand, thus enabling the reader to evaluate and draw his or her own conclusion as to the worth of the work.

### Subjects

This inquiry is meant to be an indepth study of leadership behaviors identified as table manners. As the goal of the study is the use of a documentary methodology to develop descriptive portraits, based on observation, interviews and analysis, the number of subjects is expected to be from two to five. Those included among the subjects will be influenced by questions of position and accessibility. McCall and Lombardo, among others, have observed:



...we seldom examine leadership at high levels in the organization, the level of leadership where organizational impact is most likely, while we have innumerable studies of first level supervisors, army squads, and small groups of college students, we have little data on the behavior of corporate presidents, chief executives, boards of directors, cabinets or the like... (1978, p. 152). (Italics mine)

For purposes of this inquiry, every attempt will be made to utilize leaders in top ranking positions within their organizations. Types of organizations will not be limited, but may include academic, business and religious organizations to allow for richer observational and descriptive opportunities.

Owing to concerns over sex role differences and differences in behavior which may be attributed to ethnic background, the subjects for inclusion in this study will be limited to white males. Questions of accessibility also contribute to this decision as few females or minorities actually occupy top leadership positions despite the increase in affirmative action activity over the past decade.

Questions of accessibility and availability are of great importance in determining who will be studied. First, will subjects be physically accessible to the researcher? Of concern is whether company, or institutional policy, will allow on-site observation, as observation of the leader within the context of his setting is essential to the success of the study. Availability of time is also a crucial factor. Leaders are most often also managers whether or not

they are working in business settings. As managers, they occupy a number of interpersonal work roles including figurehead, liaison, leader, information processing roles including nerve center, disseminator, spokesman and decision-making roles including entrepreneur, disturbance handler, resource allocator and negotiator (Mintzberg, 1971). Managers thus perform a great deal of work at what has been described as an "unrelenting pace" and for them, free time appears to be very rare (Mintzberg, 1971).

Finally, will people consent to be observed, interviewed and described? Importantly as well, will they want to? Surely enthusiastic participation on the part of subjects would enhance the opportunities for observation and the quality of interview responses.

### Documentary Process

Yukl (1981) has identified several tools for the study of leadership, including the by now standard use of continuous observation, activity sampling, questionnaires, retrospective self-reports and the description of critical incidents. To this list, Mintzberg (1978) has added the analysis of mail and the anecdote, and Lombardo (1986) has added the vignette. While Mintzberg sees the primary value of the anecdote (a short story illustrating a point) as confirmational, he observes that anecdotes are also valuable because they may trigger creative leaps (new understandings)

from our subconscious mental processes or intuition, which itself requires being in touch with or having a sense of things around us.

Lombardo contends that vignettes (short stories describing a manager's learning experience) are illustrative of indexical rules described by Garfinkel (1967), although he does not use this term. Lombardo suggests that the importance of vignettes is twofold:

They depict important values issues for managers and executives...They appear as a group to reflect the unwritten values stances of organizations. (1986, p. 1)

The researcher will use observation and interviews to record and recollect (see Glaser & Strauss, 1965) data in order to develop detailed descriptions of the subject in a variety of settings, most importantly in that of the organization in which he occupies a leadership position. Other settings are included as they may provide insight on whether table manners are setting, situation or person specific or are generalizable to a variety of settings. Further, it is important to observe the leader among other leaders as Yukl has noted:

Most research on leadership behavior has focused on leader behavior toward subordinates, even though an important part of the leadership role is interaction with peers, superiors and outsiders. (1981, p. 286)

Observation is an essential element of this inquiry. It is imperative to insight to engage in the ethnographic and ethnomethodological tradition of observation in order to

view what is being studied through the eyes of those being studied in order to understand it. Recently, those in the field of organizational behavior and the study of leadership have similarly noted the importance of such a strategy. Lombardo and McCall have noted the importance of "the need to get out there and see what is going on, the ability to feel the flow and subtle eddies of events just as members of the system do" (1978, p. 11).

A series of interviews with subjects will also be conducted. These will be loosely structured, will include open-ended questions and will be designed to cover a set of topics, not always in the same order or in the same detail (Thorndike and Hagen, 1969). Interviews will be designed to gather biographical data about the subject, including vignettes, anecdotal data and opinions. Included will be questions on how others should be treated as Lombardo (1986) found that executive vignettes most often focused on this topic; what can and has gone wrong, in keeping with Garfinkel's procedural preference to "start with familiar scenes and ask what can be done to make trouble" (1967, p. 37); and questions designed to solicit humor. Webb and Weick (1979) have pointed out that foolishness is functional, creating interest in the topic, allowing people to disconfirm assumptions, and allowing for the insertion of topics into inquiry that would not be acknowledged or accepted if introduced in a more straightforward manner.

Information on the history, legacy and purpose of the organization will also be solicited (this information will be supplemented for analysis purposes by information from institutional and other sources).

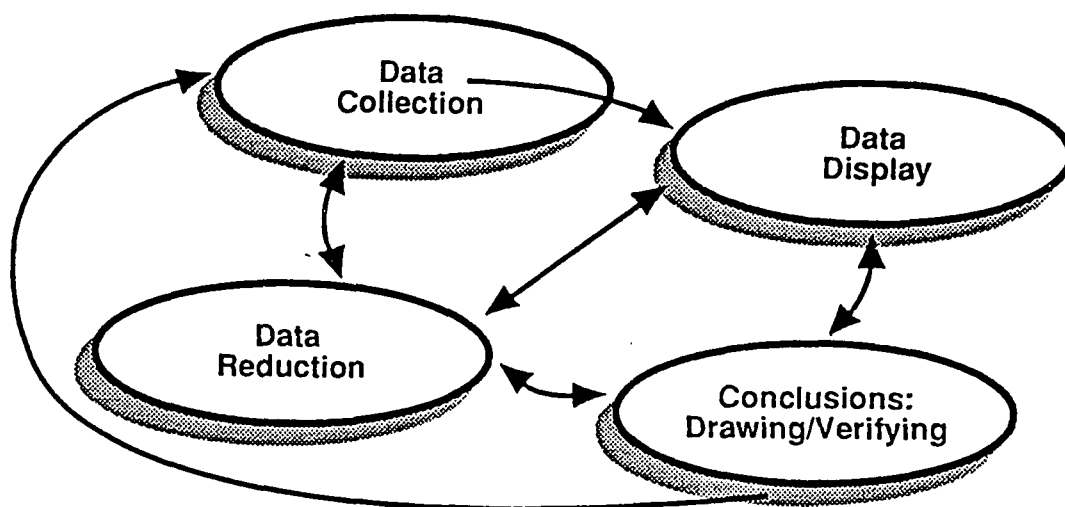
The use of observation and interviewing requires preparation and skill on the part of the inquirer. He/she must familiarize himself or herself with the setting (or ones like it), or must already possess such familiarity so as not to be obtrusive and in order to accurately perceive what is going on. While a degree of "observer effect" (the effect of the researcher on the behavior of people under study) is unavoidable, qualitative researchers must "try to interact with their subjects in a natural, unobtrusive and non-threatening manner" (Schwartz and Olgivy, 1979, p. 43).

### Analysis of Data

Glaser and Strauss (1965) have suggested that in qualitative research there is no clear distinction between collection and analysis (except that which occurs during interludes of systematic reflection). This approach to data analysis is perhaps best illustrated by the flow model developed by Miles and Huberman (1984, p. 23):

Figure 2

## COMPONENTS OF DATA ANALYSIS: FLOW MODEL



Data reduction consists of the continuous process of "selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data" to allow for some sort of data display or the "organized assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing and action taking" (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 24). Data reduction and display in this study will be based on the documentary approach of portraiture. Portraiture then becomes the means for both conclusion drawing and for drawing meaning from the reduced, displayed data (portraits) through the observation regularities, patterns of behavior, and explanations. The portraits become, them-

selves, data display devices for analysis and the development of guidelines about table manners for other leaders, and those who would become leaders.

### Ethics Regarding Subjects

Schwartz and Olgivy identify two major themes which appear in discussions or ethics and research with human beings. These themes emphasize that:

1. Subjects enter research projects voluntarily, understanding the nature of the study and the dangers and obligations that are involved.
2. Subjects are not exposed to risks that are greater than the gains they might derive. (1979, p. 49)

These authors suggest some operational guidelines, each of which will be discussed within the context of this study.

First, Schwartz and Olgivy suggest that the identities of subjects be protected so that the data collected does not harm them. While subjects in this study could remain anonymous in name, descriptive data on settings, along with biographical data and the inclusion of anecdotes and vignettes will render them easily recognizable. It becomes especially important, then, that participants in the study clearly understand its nature, scope, and hoped for outcomes. Even so, this remains a difficult issue as the researcher is asking participants to agree to accept the outcomes of the project in advance of knowing what they are. Subjects' displeasure at such outcomes can lead to painful self-scrutiny on the part of the researcher (see Scheper-Hughes, 1979).

Second, Schwartz and Olgivy suggest that in soliciting permission to do a study, the researcher must make clear the terms of the agreement and must abide by them. This appears to be simple; however, in a study of this nature, some of their terms of agreement cannot be appreciated in advance (see above). Further, as Schwartz and Olgivy themselves suggest, "the qualitative interview, to a much greater extent than a survey, has the potential for affecting 'who people are' and for leaving an effect on them" (1979, p. 48). Such effects can be therapeutic and beneficial, or they can open up old wounds the impact of which cannot be anticipated in a research contract.

Thus, Schwartz and Olgivy admonish the researcher to "always tell the truth when you write up your findings" (1979, p. 50). However, as Mirvis and Seashore (1979) have pointed out, researchers engaged in observing settings often discover things they did not wish to know. In some cases, legal guidelines exist which guide the researcher in deciding what action should be taken. Where they do not, Mirvis and Seashore suggest that the norms of scientific candor and completeness should be mitigated when publication of information would embarrass participants or violate the protective norms that govern the relationship with the research participant. The inquirer in this study will follow this suggestion, as well as the suggestion that "where ethical



norms conflict, the researcher has the responsibility to involve the additional norm that the conflict be confronted openly, fully and honestly" (1979, p. 779).

The use of portraiture as a documentary methodology is intended to discover, through observation and reflection, essential, every day, taken-for-granted table manners of leaders within the context of the settings in which they occur. The findings are intended to be descriptive rather than evaluative, recognizing that insights and outcomes may be subject to multiple causation, or alternatively no visible causation, but are nonetheless of value in understanding the process of leadership.

#### Methodological Specifics

Two leaders were selected for observation: Bill Rogers, President of Guilford College; and Joe Mullen, Lead Minister of First Presbyterian Church. These individuals were selected for several reasons. They are leaders of large organizations with long histories and strong legacies. Both organizations have experienced success under the stewardship of these leaders. Further, the inquirer is very familiar with both settings. While the latter point raised some interesting issues to be discussed later, such familiarity with the settings and the leaders contributed to the richness of the observational experiences and to the depth of the inquiry's outcomes.

Each leader was observed for a period of thirty hours. These observations took place wherever the leaders' activities took them, including their offices, staff meetings, confidential meetings, lunches with civic leaders, and even to the pulpit. At no time was the inquirer excluded, even when issues of the most sensitive nature arose. It is suggested that the inquirer's history and familiarity with the leaders and their settings allowed this degree of trust to occur.

Observation periods lasted a minimum of four hours each. This length of time was essential to the integrity of the inquiry, especially initially, as some degree of researcher effect was noticeable, and because longer periods of observation enabled the inquirer to perceive the rhythms and flows inherent in each leader's activity.

Researcher effect was not limited to subjects. It became evident quite early into the observational process that in some situations the observer would jeopardize the inquiry process by attempting to remain non-obtrusive. Thus, the inquirer was required to adopt "table manners of inquiry"; small behaviors which would set those being observed at ease. These were especially important in meetings with subordinates where individuals sought eye contact with the inquirer as often as they did with the leader (this might be labeled the "sitteth on the right hand of God effect") and

in situations taking place outside of the immediate setting yet within the domain of the leader's responsibilities, such as during luncheon at the City Club of Greensboro.

There were, however, instances in which any participation by the inquirer would have changed the nature and focus of the processes being observed. It was essential to the success of the inquiry process that the inquirer be sensitive to such situations and behave accordingly.

These long periods of continuous and intense observations were unique experiences for both the observer and the observed. One full day of observation yielded far more insight on what it is like to be a leader than hours of conversation could have. Experiencing the variability and quickness of pace and feeling fatigued at the end of the long day are examples of insight that could not be generated through an interview process.

More dramatically, an unanticipated sense of existential intimacy emerged during the observational process. As one individual noted, no one person in a leader's life fully experiences the leader's role in the organization; not his wife, his secretary, or his subordinates. A degree of comradeship developed with both leaders as the observations progressed.

Familiarity with the setting contributed greatly to the quality of the observational experience. The inquirer knew

most of the individuals with whom the leader interacted which seemed to allow them to be at ease with her presence. This familiarity created difficulty on occasion, however, especially when combined with the intensity of the phenomenological experience. Debriefing within the context of a counseling interview proved useful in processing effective responses, as well as in processing what was seen, heard, felt and thought.

Observations were supplemented with insights gained through conversations with individuals participating in the leaders' activities. Virtually everyone had something to observe about the leader, often in the form of anecdotes.

Finally, leaders were interviewed with questions drawn from the work of Warren Bennis:

- A. What are your strengths and weaknesses?
- B. Was there any particular experience or event in your life that influenced your management philosophy or style?
- C. What were the major decision points in your career and how do you feel about your choices now?  
(1985, p. 24)

After the formal interview process ended, the inquirer asked whether each leader had any questions of her or reactions to the inquiry process which had taken place. This led to free-flowing and, at times, insightful discussion. It was during these conversations that both leaders observed that they had enjoyed participating in the inquiry, and one noted he was sorry it was ending.

A discussion of methodology should not end without recognition being given to the great sense of personal risk involved in an inquiry such as this. Both the leaders and the inquirer put themselves on the line, so to speak, by agreeing to participate in an experience during which the interactions and often which the outcomes would be unknown. One leader reassured a high ranking subordinate (and himself) that the study was "highly phenomenological, not evaluative." For the inquirer there was the risk that she would somehow violate the trust and confidence placed in her by the leaders, or that the inquiry process would fail to realize and communicate a meaningful outcome.

Portraiture, as a data display device, is a dramatic contrast to traditional analytical methods. The positivist emphasis on logical and quantitative analysis renders charts, graphs, and tables meaningful in a symbolic right. Their format allows them to assume an importance regardless of their content, its meaning and its applicability to the problems they purport to solve. They often, as Mitroff (1978) suggests, solve the wrong problem precisely. Indeed, they may solve no problem, but they impress us nonetheless.

The inquirer who uses portraiture must not only monitor the individual bits of data in the environment, but she must place these behavioral clues into Gestalt, or complete picture. Much of this process is intuitive (possibly account-

ing for the shortfall of methodological description in many qualitative studies). The self-as-instrument approach must include the whole self, much of which functions subconsciously. Thus, a Gestalt answer to a research question, while appearing to be simple, actually reflects deep intuitive as well as logical analysis.

The danger in bringing to attention the "taken for granted" world is that the insights themselves may be "taken for granted" because of their apparent simplicity. The portraits contained in Chapter IV may appear simple; actually, they generated in the inquirer an unexpected and irrepressible set of outcomes, which will be discussed in Chapter V.

## CHAPTER IV

### LEADERS

A qualitative study such as this must rely on a series of cues or clues to come together into a gestalt which generates and conveys understanding. The following portrait of two leaders attempts to convey those cues as perceived by the inquirer and to serve as a foundation for the understanding or gestalt which is discussed in Chapter V.

The moment, day, week of any leader's life begins with the ubiquitous appointment book. Always present, ever noted; not just for this hour or the next, but the whole season of the leader's frame of reference. A leader is never without his appointment book.

Nor is he without the fidgets. A shaking foot, a furrowed brow, the rubbing of the chin. Rarely does he sit still; he is concentrating. Supposedly distracting, fidgeting seems instead to reflect these leaders' mental activity. He is concentrating and fitting this moment into the big picture, whatever that may be. We can observe his external behaviors, but not how he thinks. He fidgets while he thinks.

Leaders are on time, but rarely conspicuously aware of time. Joe glances at his watch during the staff meeting, he seems mildly impatient to have it end. The staff knows what

he is doing, and why. The meeting seems to be a formality, a necessary ritual. Internally, Joe's clock is ticking; "Knowing what you wish to accomplish during this day" is ever present in his mind. Still, people must feel comfortable within the space of their time with the leader. Joe does not look at his watch anywhere else. Bill keeps his internal clock hidden as well. But he is always on time.

"Men don't cry, but I'm a crier," says Joe. Alone perhaps, backstage, in his second office, hidden away upstairs and distant from the other church offices, including his own, front stage, office. The richly, quietly furnished space is his personal sanctuary, where he prays, thinks, writes, places phone calls. He "centers" his thoughts and feelings before he places important calls. Bill does, too, though his one comfortable office is in the midst of all the others. The sounds of busy activity travel through his open door, but no one intrudes. His office is a sort of personal sanctuary as well, but one with a permeable membrane.

During the day there are many delicate dances. Joe feels compromised; he is proud and humbled by the proposal of a Teaching Chair in his name at his alma mater and by the task of raising an endowment for it. How does one raise funds in one's own honor?

Delicate dancing is apparent, also, as Bill negotiates important decisions with the chief financial officer, a man



with a long family history of connectedness with the institution. Here neither man is direct, in contrast to Bill's other dealings. They skirt issues, talking in subtle circles, but Bill's point is clear to the inquirer and gently emerges to the financial officer. On the surface the point appears to be a conclusion arrived at through thinking out loud. Actually, it is heuristic, as Bill sets up a "...well then..." outcome as the problem is restated.

Joe's conversation with the church business manager is delicately danced, also. Ever aware of symbolic meaning in a setting ("I have counseling visitors sit in a firm chair, they wouldn't come to see me if their world weren't already 'slipping' out from under them"), Joe directs the manager to sit behind his desk. This is his domain, Joe is suggesting, positional authority is important.

Pensive describes the way leaders watch their day's activities. Often they sink into deep concentration. The brows furrow, the mouth sits into a straight line which is neither a smile nor a frown, and a tension is evident in their seemingly relaxed bodies. Joe alternately sits forward, then back. Bill appears not even to be listening at times until he suddenly leans forward, ready to speak. These men seem extraordinarily serious, pensive and deep.

And simultaneously, they are eager to laugh, quick with wit, ebullient toward life. Joe encounters two year olds

from the nursery school. They are practicing covering their mouths while coughing. Quickly, his eyes begin to twinkle and he stages a spontaneous coughing fit. It takes a moment for the children to understand, he is a large and imposing man. Then, the little ones break into a giggle of coughs as they continue down the stairs to the play yard.

Quick with puns and intellectual wit, both men look for opportunities to laugh. In the business-oriented setting of the City Club, Bill leads the participants toward the mission of the meeting. Everyone knew what it was, and pretended not to know they all knew. Once the ritual of making public the agenda ended, Bill seemed grateful to seize an opportunity to spend the remainder of the meal in fun. Grins, brainstorming games and what ifs led to laughter, a sense of friendship, and a feeling of continuity. These people will be called upon again.

Leaders love to tell stories. From when the inquiry was first proposed, they've been quick with stories from other experiences (and to add their own sense of direction to the inquiry's design). Leaders seem to possess a seeming flood of stories, waiting at any moment to be released. Funny stories, sad stories, meaningful stories of lessons learned are an important means of communication for them.

Their laughter is boisterous, youthful. It communicates a boyishness, love of the moment, love of sharing

laughter. And it is put away often as quickly as it breaks out. Voices quickly become soft, low, and firm. Faces that were engulfed with laughter return to their pensive concentration. Position again asserts its importance.

The role of lead minister of a large and important church, or of president of a Quaker College carries a momentum of its own. Joe is ever mindful of the importance of his role. "They call me Dr. Mullen out of respect for the position." Bill carries a similar sense of the role, but he wants to be called "Bill". There is something of a more public nature to his persona. It is as if Bill is saying "I am a person in this position," while Joe feels a greater need to keep persona behind the scenes, in the comfort of the "backstage."

Their positions are inescapably only two of many in the organization and these leaders must relate to others recognizing the formal dynamics of public preservation (a Commencement Ceremony, a Baptism) and the more subtle informal dynamics involved in getting things done. "These are things special people should know" the especially hushed tone seems to say. "Have you let him know about this?" "Should I run this past them?" "They will be able to help." Quiet conversation aimed at directing communication, sharing information, guiding resources to their best use and ensuring diplomacy. Time after time, leaders acknowledge the impor-

tance of history, legacy, personalities and mission in these quiet conversations.

Between public ritual performance and discreet meetings lie quasi-official encounters; staff meetings, planning meetings, fund raising meetings. Leaders' days are filled with meetings. Joe conducts these formally, almost militarily. No table lies between the participants, but space itself appears to distance Joe and to assert that he is in charge. "Anything to report?" If there is any scheduling or operational information that Joe should know, it will be presented here. Little time is wasted, most of the staff members "Pass" in an agreed upon ritual to save time. There is still time made, at the end of the meeting, for sharing a story or two and for sharing laughter, though the meeting ends promptly on Joe's schedule.

Bill sits back from the table usually present during his many meetings. Operational issues are hashed over in a mish mash of discussion among those present. Bill is not overtly in charge, waiting a turn to speak, often passed over in the course of the discussion. His deep sighs will finally alert the group that he has something to say, usually long after he has leaned forward to speak.

The leaders have different styles, each with workable effects. Issues will be raised, sensitively, to the leader. Judgement lies in the speaker as to the importance given the

setting, the situation, and the leader's persona. Joe listens and speaks little, Bill sighs and speaks his mind (and possibly his heart). Both hold deep personal respect for each person present, regardless of positional rank.

Both leaders begin and end each interpersonal encounter with a warm message carrying some shared and personal connection "You and I have never met, but your name was famous in my parents' household for many years."

For Joe, conversations usually end with some assurance about the work being done or praise for the effort: "Keep up the good work"; "I think your idea will work out well." With Bill, conversations generally begin and end with an affirmation: "I really like your idea"; "I'm glad we're doing this." Their staffs feel genuinely respected and cared about, at all levels of the organization, business manager to maintenance man.

These leaders stand back from moment to moment, from the depth of this involvement with people and activities. "I have to really stand back from what is happening next in this day." "I need a few minutes to ready myself for this next meeting." Yet the continuous stream of interruptions from telephone calls and brief interpersonal exchanges do not seem to challenge the leaders' focus on the issue at hand. They possess an uncanny ability to interrupt their thoughts, focus attention completely on the momentary con-

cern, and return mid-stream to the point where the interruption occurred, as if they had been thinking about it all along in some corner of their minds.

Focus on the larger picture is ever present, but not to the exclusion of small detail, be it people or projects. "How do I raise \$1 million?" "I must get in touch with the lady who made that cake." "Where do we want to be in 10 years as an institution?" "Have you worked out the menu with the caterer?" And always on every issue there is respect for and trust in those who help, especially secretaries: "She gives out no information that people shouldn't have..sweetly." "Choose your people well...it is a team effort." "...they know more about their job than you do." "If Austin is doing that, it will be done right." "Think well of a person, and he or she will rise to it." "They're proud, that makes it easier on everybody."

Both leaders encounter disappointments. "Do not brood. Swallow hard...accept...carry on." Leadership requires "abiding patience...faith, though difficult." "If you believe you are called to a course greater than you are, to a position where you are over your head, He will go with you, giving you strength, energy, guidance." "Be as tender as lambs, wise as goats."

"Dr. Rogers, Sir." A visitor arrives with a greeting and a handshake. "Well, O.K...ma'am," comes the response

along with a smile and little chuckles. A letter is written organizing a Quaker visit to South Africa to request the release of Nelson Mandala. "Not much hope, but a chance."

The door to the coffee closet is closed for the sixth time that day.

"Catherine is studying...(a long pause)...me."

"Thanks, Bill."

"Sound good."

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This inquiry was intended to develop an understanding of the table manners of leadership, those small behaviors characteristic of leaders which reinforce and legitimate their positions of authority and influence; and to communicate these insights through the use of portraiture.

#### Persona/Portraits

The leaders included in this inquiry share many characteristics and experiences. Both are deeply committed to personal values which include faith in a supreme being, respect for the integrity and worth of each and every person, love of family, and the importance of hard work. Both have experienced critical periods of professional self scrutiny, questioning whether their careers were accomplishing good in the world. Both were willing to make major lifestyle changes in pursuit of the answer to this question.

Both leaders were influenced by social and political developments of the 1960s, and each was particularly affected by the assassinations of national leaders during this period.

Each is well aware of his particular strengths, is confident and is optimistic though this optimism is tempered by an acknowledgement that the world is imperfect and in need



improvement. It is this very need for improvement that inspires these leaders as they move their organizations and the people in them.

The small behaviors, or table manners, which were observed varied from leader to leader and situation to situation, and at times were quite contrary to much of the current literature on effective management and communication. For example, leaders often do not make eye contact during meetings, nor do they speak in firm powerful voices. How is it, then, that they are successful in influencing others? Insight into this issue was the first unintended outcome of this inquiry. A question by one participant, "What kind of leader would you say I am" led to a second unanticipated outcome. They are related to each other. This chapter will explore these outcomes and make recommendations for further study.

By not conforming to the usual or expected modes of interpersonal communication, it is suggested, leaders are communicating something deeper than "one-minute managing." They are communicating a depth and seriousness of concern, that they are sincerely listening to and hearing the issues being discussed, not simply acting as if they are. They are engaged in the process of bracketing; stepping back from their own immediacy in order to place the information they are receiving into the context of organizational issues as a

whole. In so doing, they communicate a sense of commitment, continuity and wholeness to those in their presence. This message is successfully conveyed and understood only over a series of interactional episodes, during which individuals are able to recognize consistency, predictability, and commitment on the part of the leader. It is this set of behaviors which really earn the leader the sense of legitimacy and trust from those around him over time. Such a notion falls outside the literature on either styles of leadership in situational leadership models. It suggests that other qualities may be more important.

Such qualities may constitute the authenticity that Goffman (1966) and Mintzberg (1987) fear have been lost. Indeed, it is by using Goffman's (1967) technique of observing what does not conform to normal expectations regarding appropriate behavior in order to better understand how human behavior operates, that we can identify this illusive quality and it is the identification of the leadership quality of authenticity which is the first unexpected outcome of this inquiry.

The second unintended outcome is, in fact, connected to the first. As academics, we often victimize ourselves and others by virtue of a tendency toward suppression by categorization. Categorizing contributes to understanding, yet we must be aware that once we categorize we are in danger of

losing sight of a phenomenon as a part of the whole. Thus, the second unintended outcome, a new category of leadership style, may be useful, but only if sufficient attention is paid to the first unintended outcome, the realization that authenticity underlies all successful leader behavior.

The newly identified category of leader behavior is that of enabling. It may be understood best if viewed in comparison to other types of leader behavior, as illustrated in the model below:

Table 3

CONTROLLING	EMPOWERING	ENABLING
Authoritarian/Highly Directive	Action and Goal Oriented/Assertive	Process Conscious as well as goal oriented/Listening
Position Power/"Clout"	Outer Strength	Inner Strength (May be perceived as weakness by some)
Dominating	Taking Charge	Creating conditions for participation
Hoards Power	Delegates Power	Shares Power
Isolated	Autonomous	Affiliative
Defensive	"Stay the Course"	Opportunistic

The enabling leader is one who moves beyond functioning in the organizational structure and prescribed role behaviors therein to interacting with structure and facilitating new behaviors. He is process oriented and concerned with self actualization (Maslow) for himself and others in the

organization. Rather than accepting and working within the confines of bureaucracy as described by Argyris (1957), the enabling leader is concerned with creating conditions under which followers will want to and feel able to assume greater responsibility as proposed by McGregor (1960). The enabling leader does not necessarily praise, but rather affirms by sharing with the follower satisfaction in accomplishment and a sense of power. The "I-thou" dichotomy (Buber, 1958) is transformed into "we." The message is that we are doing this, suffering this, hoping for this together.

Such sharing is not without cost. It cannot be accomplished without a high degree of emotional involvement. The enabling leader is affiliative. In contrast to those leaders who maintain an emotional distance (and who, perhaps, must do so for their own emotional well-being), the enabling leader is willing to incur the risk of hurting someone for whom he cares (and thus feeling hurt himself), to the isolation or loneliness of not becoming emotionally involved. Emotional distance, if maintained by a leader, is a barrier to enablement in that it creates a challenge to self esteem on the part of the follower (If I'm really doing a great job, why doesn't he care about me as a whole person---not just as an employee?).

This is not to say that empowering as a leadership style is ineffective, nor that controlling is ineffective.

To return to the first unexpected outcome, it is authenticity which determines a leader's success. One may be dominating and controlling, but if one is consistent, predictable, and fully committed to the organization and its mission, he is likely to be trusted, respected and followed.

It can be seen from the preceding discussion that small behaviors will be misinterpreted if viewed episodically, as will much of leadership behavior. Nathaniel Green and George Washington are respected as leaders yet they never won a battle. Had an inquirer only observed a battle, or even every battle, he or she would possibly have drawn terribly erroneous conclusions as to these men's leadership abilities. It is only when behavior is observed over time, in a variety of situations and with a knowledge of the setting, that the leader's persona is revealed. And it is within the persona that authenticity lies.

The implications resulting from this inquiry are numerous. First, there is the challenge of identifying and observing enabling leaders to develop a deeper understanding of why they are the way they are and of their impacts on the settings in which they function.

Secondly, greater attention should be paid to studying leaders more intensely and over longer periods of time. There are significant obstacles to such endeavors, however,

not the least of which are limitations on the part of the inquirer's abilities and resources, and access to leaders willing to participate.

Thirdly, leadership development efforts should focus more on developing the whole person, or leader's persona, not some supposed set of leadership skills. Such efforts should include facilitating the development of the following insights on the part of those who would be leaders:

- A. A sense that leaders grow over time. Successes and failures both contribute to this growth.
- B. Heroes are important because they have acted upon values. Personal values have merit, are important, and need to be acted upon, as does personal faith in a supreme being.
- C. A respect for the organization you seek to lead is essential. The organization was there before you, thus, it carries a legacy; it will be there after you, you may thus contribute to the legacy experienced by your successors.
- D. Commitment, consistency and fairness are more important over time than situational interactions or leadership style. You can be empowering or enabling and be equally respected, but to be arbitrary or capricious will limit you.

The leaders described very similar life experiences: they were moved by the '60s, very religious, successful at being loved while leading. Thus the question emerges, which type of organization, personality, followers account for empowering vs. enabling?

What is the role of authenticity in leadership: Could a controlling leader be just as well loved and trusted as an enabling leader? Just as successful?

How does institutional legacy affect leadership? It is interesting that the enabling leader led an historically participative organization, while the empowering leader led an historically hierarchical, albeit democratic, institution.

How does the concept of using ethnomethodology over time impact conclusions drawn from situational leadership studies and models? Is "situational leadership" the same as leadership, or merely a guide to momentary problem management? If the latter, can leadership be taught in short training "blitzes," or must it be learned over time, with training experiences geared toward a leader's developmental stage?

Are there developmental stages of leader growth? This is a most intriguing question for further study. When does a leadership style emerge? What factors, experiences, contribute to its emergence? Is there a "life cycle" of leadership?

Finally, the leaders studied in this inquiry shared three qualities which pose intriguing possibilities for further study. One is ebullience, a sense of enthusiasm and joy for life. A second is a sense of humor; the love of anecdotes and laughter. The third is more difficult to describe; child-like-ness, a curiosity about what might come next in the moment or in life. Both share a deep religious

faith as well. We may ponder the role this plays in their leadership success, and certainly appreciate its impact on our lives.



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