CHAPTER 7

LEADERSHIP

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Leadership is a fascinating and controversial topic, about which much is known and much remains to be learned. Leadership has long captivated the attention of scholars, practitioners, and the public. For that reason, numerous journals are devoted to the topic of leadership, such as *Leadership Quarterly, Leadership and Organization Development Journal, Journal of Leadership Studies* and *Leader to Leader.* Nonetheless, some questions remain unresolved, such as: Are leaders born or made? Can we teach leadership in organizations? Can leaders be as influential as we might hope? Can leaders wreak as much harm as we might fear? Not only are these questions intriguing, but their answers also contribute substantially to our understanding of, and have implications for, the psychology of both leaders and their followers and behavior in organizations more generally. In this chapter, we address these and other questions. In doing so, we provide a review of what is known and what remains to be understood about leadership.

Throughout this chapter, we follow what is now referred to as an *evidence-based approach* (Pfeffer & Sutton, 2006; Rousseau, 2006). Broadly speaking, the evidence-based approach mandates that management practices should be based on the best available empirical data, whenever such data exist. In a similar manner, we believe that the development of knowledge about leadership must also rest on the best available empirical evidence. Although this approach is by no means new—there were earlier indications that evaluating the effects of organizational interventions on the basis of "soft" versus "hard" outcomes would lead to different conclusions (Bass, 1983; Terpstra, 1981)—concerns about methodological rigor in leadership research remain (e.g., Hunter, Bedell-Avers, & Mumford, 2007). Following from this evidence-based approach, the chapter includes discussions of leadership theories that have been subject to empirical scrutiny (e.g., leader–member exchange theory [LMX], transformational leadership) and excludes those that have largely escaped such scrutiny (e.g., Covey's principle-centered leadership; Greenleaf's servant leadership). We also choose this approach because the sheer number of leadership theories precludes the possibility of discussing them all. The remainder of this chapter presents an overview of the leadership literature guided by the evidenced-based approach, beginning with a review of leadership theories, then summarizing key findings within the field, and concluding with a path for future leadership research.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF LEADERSHIP THEORIES

As the topic of scholarly debate for centuries and the subject of systematic theoretical and empirical research for much of the past 100 years, leadership has a long tradition in the social sciences. Not surprisingly, with such an extensive history, the leadership literature has demonstrated ebbs and flows of prevailing wisdom. Although many ideas of the past have fallen from popular favor, the evolution of leadership perspectives is both reflected

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in and critical to the understanding of the dominant leadership theories of the present day. In this preliminary section we provide a brief history of the progression of leadership theories that form the foundation of current thinking and research in the field of leadership today. To complement this section, a visual depiction of leadership trends over the past quarter of a century is provided in Table 7.1, which we will reflect on in greater detail at the end of this section.

Trait Theories of Leadership

The very first theories of leadership sought to identify the physical characteristics or psychological traits that differentiated leaders from nonleaders or good leaders from poor leaders (House & Aditya, 1997). Some of the traits identified and studied included height (for a review, see Judge & Cable, 2004) and physical appearance (e.g., Cherulnik, Turns, & Wilderman, 1990), gender (for a review, see Eagly & Karau, 1991), authoritarianism (e.g., Tarnopol, 1958), intelligence (for a review, see Judge, Colbert, & Ilies, 2004), and self-confidence (e.g., Richardson & Hanawalt, 1952). Although selected evidence supported the notion that traits could be used to predict leadership emergence, and numerous studies showed a link between intelligence and leadership emergence and effectiveness (e.g., see Judge et al., 2004), most results lacked consistency across time, setting, and studies. Thus, even though the majority of leadership research conducted during the 1940s was devoted to understanding leader traits, by the 1950s very little consistent or conclusive empirical support emerged for any universal traits that could predict leader emergence and effectiveness.

Research then progressed toward the identification of effective leader behaviors (Stogdill, 1950)—an endeavor that continues today. Nevertheless, a renewed interest in trait theories of leadership emerged in the 1970s when evidence for complex theories and measures of personality traits (e.g., the Big Five) emerged within the field of psychology, providing the leadership literature with better theories and measures with which to investigate potential leadership traits (House & Aditya, 1997). Based on these advances, more conclusive evidence has been found for the existence of personality traits that characterize leaders, a topic that will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Early Behavioral Theories of Leadership

Similar to trait perspectives of leadership, early behavioral approaches attempted to uncover and verify leadership behaviors that were universally effective. The most extensively studied behaviors in these early endeavors were two dimensions identified in the Ohio State studies: Initiating Structure and Consideration. These two behaviors broadly represent task-focused and people-focused leadership behaviors, respectively. Initiating Structure describes leadership behaviors that create clear guidelines and procedures to facilitate the achievement of specified goals (e.g., Kerr, Schriesheim, Murphy, & Stogdill, 1974). Accordingly, three items from the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ), the instrument often used to measure Initiating Structure, include "[My leader] maintains definite standards of performance," "[My leader] encourages the use of uniform procedures," and "[My leader] schedules the work to be done." Whereas Initiating Structure focuses on what today might be more consistent with performance appraisal, Consideration depicts leadership behaviors that are centered on reciprocal trust, respect, and a concern for the welfare of followers (e.g., Kerr et al., 1974), and is represented by LBDQ items such as "[My leader] helps people in the work group with their personal problems" and "[My leader] backs up what people under him/her do."

Originally, leadership scholars hypothesized that the ideal leadership style, the one that would most positively affect follower attitudes and performance, would incorporate high levels of both Initiating Structure and Consideration (see Kerr et al., 1974, for a review). Such a leader would be able to guide followers toward the accomplishment of organizational goals and provide them with the emotional support necessary to help them perform at the highest level. Researchers concluded that Initiating Structure behaviors would have a stronger positive relationship with follower performance, whereas Consideration behaviors would be more closely related to follower attitudes, such as satisfaction and morale (see Judge, Piccolo, & Illies, 2004, for a review). Nevertheless, meta-analytic evidence suggests that

TABLE 7.1

Frequencies With Which Leadership Theories Have Been Studied, 1980–2007

Leadership theory	1980 1981	1982 1983	1984 1985	1986 1987	1988 1989	1990 1991	1992 1993	1994 1995	1996 1997	1998 1999	2000 2001	2002 2003	2004 2005	2006 2007	Total
Consideration-initiating structure and leadership	8	4	7	10	5	6	3	3	4	2	0	3	3	0	58
Situational leadership theory	2	5	2	3	4	4	3	0	3	7	1	0	0	3	37
Path–goal theory	2	3	2	1	1	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	19
Substitutes for leadership	0	0	1	4	2	2	3	4	8	1	4	3	7	1	40
Leader–member exchange or vertical dyad linkage	1	3	8	5	6	11	10	12	23	27	24	24	35	57	246
Transformational Leadership	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	7	11	30	52	75	105	284
Charismatic Leadership	0	2	2	2	3	7	8	8	8	22	15	12	28	18	135
Romance of leadership										1	1	1	3	8	14
Implicit leadership theories	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	2	6	7	26
Prototypicality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	0	4	5	16
Followership	0	3	1	0	2	1	3	1	2	1	4	2	2	5	27
Shared leadership	0	1	4	0	1	3	0	1	2	2	4	5	7	19	49
Authentic leadership													8	7	15

the correlation between Initiating Structure and Consideration is .17 and that sometimes they are, in fact, negatively correlated with each other, depending on the measurement instrument used (see Judge et al., 2004). Thus, although high Initiating Structure and high Consideration may be the optimal expression of these behaviors from a theoretical perspective, this combination may not accurately capture patterns of leader behavior in organizations.

The inconclusive relationship between Initiating Structure and Consideration was not the only challenge to the Ohio State leadership framework; the theory was also criticized for its inability to generate consistent and reliable results across multiple samples during the 1950s and 1960s. In some cases, studies found negative relationships between Initiating Structure and follower satisfaction and between Consideration and performance (see Kerr et al., 1974). Although a later study, using robust statistical techniques to summarize the approximately 100 empirical studies examining these behaviors, showed that inconsistencies were largely the result of methodological contradictions (Judge et al., 2004), researchers in the 1950s and 1960s turned to situational moderators to explain discrepancies between studies and, ultimately, to identify the situations in which Initiating Structure and Consideration would be most effective. This pursuit began with a focus on organizational context, such as time pressures and physical demands, and characteristics of followers, such as intrinsic motivation and role ambiguity. By doing so, the leadership literature evolved from seeking the discovery of universally successful leadership behaviors to acknowledging that effective leadership behaviors may be situation-specific and then to examining the interaction between leadership behavior, situational contingencies, and leader effectiveness. (The progression toward perspectives that emphasized the importance of situational constraints on leadership is discussed in the following section.)

Although Initiating Structure and Consideration were largely abandoned and deemed conceptually and methodologically invalid by the 1970s, there has been renewed interest in the Ohio State leadership dimensions. Judge et al. (2004) argued that deserting these two leadership dimensions was premature, calling them the "forgotten ones." In Judge et al.'s. meta-analytic review, they showed a significant relationship (all corrected for unreliability of measures and measurement error) between Initiating Structure (average $r \approx .29$) and Consideration (average $r \approx .48$), and job satisfaction (Initiating Structure $r = .22$; Consideration $r = .46$), satisfaction with the leader (Initiating Structure $r = .33$; Consideration $r = .78$), follower motivation (Initiating Structure $r = .40$; Consideration $r = .50$), leader job performance (Initiating Structure $r = .24$; Consideration $r = .25$), group-organization performance (Initiating Structure $r = .30$; Consideration $r = .28$), and leader effectiveness (Initiating Structure $r = .39$; Consideration $r = .52$). Furthermore, as expected, Consideration showed a stronger relationship with attitudinal outcomes (e.g., satisfaction with leader, job satisfaction) than did Initiating Structure; on the other hand, Initiating Structure related more to group-organization performance than did Consideration. These findings suggest that despite the disappearance of the Ohio State leadership dimensions from the literature, more research attention is still needed to verify their contribution to our understanding of leadership, especially because researchers (e.g., Keller, 2006) have argued that they may be largely independent of the behavioral theory that dominates contemporary leadership research—transformational leadership theory.

Contingency Theories of Leadership

Situational or contingency approaches to leadership build on the early behavioral theories previously described. Situational theories contend that the effectiveness of leadership traits or behaviors is dependent on characteristics of the situation, including features of the organization, the workplace, and the followers. The next sections discuss three situational theories of leadership that have received considerable theoretical and empirical attention: Fiedler's contingency theory, the path–goal theory of leadership, and substitutes for leadership.

Fiedler's contingency theory. Fiedler's (1967) theory is often credited as the first true contingency theory of leadership. The theory categorizes leaders as either task-motivated or relationship-motivated.

These categories are similar to Initiating Structure and Consideration, respectively, but Fiedler's theory goes further by suggesting that the effectiveness of each varies by situation. In particular, contingency theory draws attention to three dimensions that may characterize a situation: (a) leader–follower relations, (b) performance goal clarity, and (c) formal authority or power. Each dimension influences the extent to which leaders are afforded a sense of control over their jobs. For example, regarding authority, leaders are more likely to feel a sense of control when they have the formal authority to make decisions, and less likely when they don't. Fiedler created eight "situations" based on the various combinations of these three dimensions, which ranged on a continuum from the most favorable situation (i.e., strong leader–follower relations, high task clarity, and high power) to the least favorable situation (i.e., weak leader–follower relations, low task clarity, and low power). Fiedler assumed that leadership behaviors were more difficult to change than were situations; consequently, he stipulated that optimal outcomes are a result of a correspondence between the leader's existing behaviors and the situation.

A central tenet of Fiedler's contingency theory is that task-motivated leaders are more effective in extreme situations (i.e., very favorable or unfavorable situations), whereas relationship-motivated leaders are more effective in moderately favorable situations. To illustrate, a task-motivated leader was hypothesized to respond best during times of crisis or disaster, which are often chaotic and characterized by little formal structure in terms of the task and authority, while working closely with unfamiliar others (i.e., a very unfavorable situation). A relationship-motivated leader may become distracted and feel overwhelmed by the needs of others, whereas a task-motivated leader may have less difficulty acting quickly and decisively. On the other hand, in some situations or organizations, more moderate situational constraints are common, as is the case in creative industries, in which the leader–follower relationship often is strong and the task and formal authority structure is loosely defined. In these cases, relationship-oriented leaders excel because they are more considerate of followers' individual needs and foster followers' creative inputs, whereas task-motivated leaders are likely to undermine followers' creativity by failing to adequately appreciate the flexibility that they require.

Despite a considerable amount of research, the evidence supporting Fiedler's contingency theory is mixed. A number of meta-analytic reviews of the literature (e.g., Peters, Hartke, & Pohlmann, 1985; Schriesheim, Tepper, & Tetrault, 1994) have supported the notion that leadership style and situation interact, such that task-motivated leaders and relationship-motivated leaders excel in different situations. However, these results were strongest when tested in laboratory settings (Ayman, Chemers, & Fiedler, 1995). For instance, Peters et al. found that in laboratory studies (r ranging from an absolute magnitude of .01 to .33, corrected for sampling error), the more effective leadership style was correctly predicted in six of the eight contingency theory situations, compared to only half of the situations for field studies (r ranging from an absolute magnitude of .01 to .50, corrected for sampling error). The less persuasive findings in field settings could derive from improper measurement techniques. Thus, although the predictions of contingency theory are promising, advances in the theory are still needed to understand why discrepancies emerge between laboratory and field settings if it is to regain prominence in the current leadership literature.

Path–goal leadership theory. A second contingency theory of leadership, path–goal leadership theory (House, 1971), also emerged in response to the disappointing findings of the Ohio State studies. Similar to Fiedler's contingency theory, path–goal leadership theory had two objectives: (a) identify the role and behaviors of effective leaders, and (b) explore the situational contingencies that modify those behaviors.

First, the theory posits that a leader's role is to align the goals of followers with those of the organization. Next, a leader must facilitate the achievement of those goals. This is accomplished by helping followers realize that they have the capabilities to meet their goals, clarifying the path between the effort that they exert and goal attainment, and ensuring that the goals are valuable to followers.

Unlike the Ohio State model (i.e., Initiating Structure and Consideration), path–goal leadership theory identifies four categories of leadership behaviors that motivate followers to achieve their goals (House & Mitchell, 1974). *Participative leadership behavior* involves including followers in decision making and soliciting follower feedback. Consistent with the focus on participation in decision making that was already prevalent in the 1970s (e.g., Alutto & Belasco, 1972), this leadership behavior was hypothesized to enhance motivation by fostering overlap between follower and organizational goals and by providing followers with more appreciation and understanding of the pathway between effort and goal achievement. *Directive path–goal-clarifying leadership behavior* mimics Initiating Structure, motivating followers by providing task structure, feedback, and procedures that reduce role ambiguity, linking follower effort to performance and goal attainment, and communicating the rewards contingent on performance. By contrast, *supportive leadership behavior* is similar to Consideration, whereby leaders demonstrate their concern for the needs and best interests of followers and, by doing so, remove some of the potential obstacles that may prevent followers from obtaining their goals. The final leadership behavior identified in the theory is *achievement-oriented leadership behavior,* which involves creating challenging and high-standard performance goals and expressing confidence in followers' abilities to meet such challenges. Followers should then respond with greater self-efficacy and effort toward goal attainment.

Path–goal leadership theory's second focus is on situational factors that render leadership behaviors more or less effective. These factors relate to the organizational environment, job design, and follower characteristics. However, empirical tests have not yielded conclusive support for the situational factors. For example, in a meta-analysis of 120 studies, Wofford and Liska (1993) found support for only 6 of 16 moderation hypotheses predicted by path–goal leadership theory (z_r ranged from .31 to .51 corrected for unreliability of measures and sampling error). Schriesheim and Neider's (1996) qualitative summary of the empirical literature suggested that the most consistent results for the situational focus of the theory have been for the relationship between directive clarifying behavior (most often measured using the LBDQ Initiating Structure scale) and follower satisfaction when task characteristics (e.g., autonomy, task variety, and feedback) promote intrinsic motivation. We found the relationships between the remaining categories of leadership behaviors and the performance outcomes far less conclusive. It has been suggested that improper measurement and incomplete or inappropriately specified testing may account for the theory's empirical shortcomings, as a result of which future research should fairly test the tenets of path–goal leadership theory (Schriesheim, Castro, Zhou, & DeChurch, 2006). Nonetheless, the complexity of the model may inhibit the possibility of subjecting the theory to an omnibus test.

Substitutes for leadership. Kerr and Jermier's (1978) substitutes for leadership theory further extends the situational perspective of leadership, in particular path-goal leadership theory, by illuminating additional situational contingencies of leadership behaviors (House, 1996). Specifically, Kerr and Jermier identified numerous situational variables that influence the relationship between leadership and its outcomes. These variables fit within one of two primary categories: neutralizers and substitutes. Neutralizers of leadership are situational factors that block the effects of leadership, rendering leadership behaviors inconsequential. One example of a neutralizer of leadership is spatial distance between the leader and the follower. By contrast, substitutes for leadership both neutralize leadership and positively influence attitudinal and performance outcomes. Examples of leadership substitutes include the follower's intrinsic interest in the task, ability, training, and experience. These are substitutes because they relate positively to follower satisfaction, morale, and performance and therefore eliminate the need for leadership.

Because the substitutes for leadership theory has intuitive appeal, the inadequate substantiating evidence for the theory across multiple rigorous study designs and samples remains a surprise (e.g., Dionne, Yammarino, Atwater, & James, 2002). Most past research suggests that substitutes for leadership have an *additive* effect; that is, they influence important outcomes irrespective of leadership behaviors without diminishing or negating the influence of leadership itself (Keller, 2006; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Bommer, 1996). Accordingly, substitutes for leadership theory has largely disappeared from current leadership research.

Emergence of a Relational Theory of Leadership

Fiedler's contingency theory, path–goal leadership theory, and substitutes for leadership theory all emphasize the importance, if not the primacy, of situational factors. However, by the late 1970s and 1980s, focus shifted to a relational perspective of leadership as evidenced by the solidification of LMX (e.g., Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975; Gerstner & Day, 1997). LMX is a theory of neither leader nor follower traits or behaviors; instead, it focuses primarily on the leader–follower dyad. Proponents of LMX argue that most leadership theories assume that there is unidirectional influence flowing from leader to follower and, furthermore, that a leader's behaviors and effectiveness are both consistent across followers (e.g., Schriesheim, Castro, & Cogliser, 1999). To address these assumptions, LMX studies the unique leader–follower relationships that are fostered through leadership behaviors. These dyadic relationships are inherently unique because LMX contends that leaders develop different exchange relationships with different followers and, furthermore, that *mutual* influence occurs within each dyad (Gerstner & Day, 1997). In addition, LMX examines the quality of leader–follower relationships and in turn posits that higher quality relationships between leaders and followers will result in more positive organizational outcomes than lower quality relationships.

High-quality LMX relationships are defined by mutual support, trust, liking, provision of latitude, attention, and loyalty (Schriesheim et al., 1999). It follows that the opposite qualities, such as downward influence, role distinctions, social distance, contractual obligations, and distrust, have been used to define low-quality LMX. These are general definitions of good and poor LMX, but realistically the components that constitute the good or poor quality of a relationship are likely to vary between individuals (House & Aditya, 1997). Accordingly, defining and measuring (universally) high- or low-quality LMX is challenging.

Nonetheless, based on the generalized features of high-quality LMX relationships provided above, research has revealed that high-quality LMX enjoys a number of positive implications for organizations. For instance, high-quality LMX has been positively associated with follower satisfaction, commitment, role clarity, and performance and negatively associated with follower turnover intentions and role conflict, across numerous empirical studies (see Gerstner & Day, 1997, for a review). Traditionally, there has been a concentrated focus on the positive effects of high-quality LMX, and it is implied that low-quality LMX simply fails to produce those positive effects. However, Townsend, Phillips, and Elkins (2000) showed that low-quality LMX may be more harmful than previously appreciated. These authors showed that high-quality LMX relationships lead to superior follower performance and increased organizational citizenship behaviors, whereas low-quality LMX relationships were not only unconnected to these outcomes but were also linked to retaliatory behaviors from followers.

LMX theory has helped to advance our understanding of the leadership literature by considering not only the leader but also the leader–follower relationship within the leadership process. However, although the aim of LMX theory is to understand leader–follower relationships, it has been critiqued for its inability to adequately capture the dyadic nature of these relationships. A meta-analytic review of numerous published studies showed only a moderate correlation ($r = .37$ corrected for measurement unreliability and sampling error) between leaders' perceptions of LMX quality and followers' perceptions of LMX quality (Gerstner & Day, 1997), a disappointing finding given LMX theory's presumption of dyadic associations. Furthermore, LMX theory has attracted criticism for its minimal attention to practical applications; the theory predicts associations between high-quality LMX and positive organizational outcomes, but it reveals little about how leaders can differentially generate these relationships with followers. Despite its shortcomings, LMX theory continues to be studied in current leadership research and has contributed greatly to our appreciation of and progression toward relational notions of leadership.

In summary, over the course of almost a century of research, the leadership literature has evolved from differentiating leaders from nonleaders on the basis of personal traits to recognizing the intricacies of leadership behaviors, situational contingencies, leader–follower relationships, and mutual, dyadic influences. As indicated throughout this section, some of these theories of leadership continue to attract scholarly attention today. However, we now turn our attention to the theory that undoubtedly dominates the leadership literature, namely, transformational leadership theory (e.g., Judge & Bono, 2000).

The Transformational Leadership Framework

Although it is often difficult to pinpoint the intellectual origins of a theory, two seminal books stand out in the development of transformational leadership. First, Burns (1978) laid the groundwork for much subsequent thinking about transformational leadership in differentiating transformational leadership from other forms of leadership. Second, Bass (1985) further conceptualized the transformational framework (which includes both transformational and transactional leadership behaviors) and extended its focus to the organizational context. Both Burns and Bass stimulated others to conduct research on transformational leadership around the world; Bass himself was a major figure in empirical research on transformational leadership until his death in 2007.

It is now generally accepted that four different behaviors (idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration) constitute transformational leadership, whereas laissez-faire, management-by-exception, and contingent reward fall under the rubric of transactional leadership. We first discuss the latter three behaviors involved in transactional leadership and then move on to a discussion of the four behaviors involved in transformational leadership. In doing so, we note that our descriptions are based on discussions of these behaviors presented extensively elsewhere (e.g., Avolio, 1999a; Bass, 1985; Bass & Riggio, 2006) and that we limit our descriptions accordingly.

Transactional leadership. Transactional leadership comprises three different behaviors. First, a style of nonmanagement and nonleadership characterizes laissez-faire leader behaviors. These behaviors include avoiding and denying responsibility and neglecting to take any action even in dire situations. In its most extreme form, laissez-faire managers do nothing most of the time.

Second, active management-by-exception takes place when leaders focus vigorously on followers' mistakes and failures to meet standards. These leaders consistently look for errors at the expense of, rather than in addition to, a focus on positive events. Upon encountering these errors, leaders are likely to yell at, embarrass, punish, or discipline followers for their mistakes. Kelloway, Sivanathan, Francis, and Barling (2005) suggested that this negative focus, coupled with punitive action by the leader, results in employees experiencing active management-by-exception as abusive.

In contrast to active management-by-exception style, passive management-by-exception also describes managers who focus on errors. However, these managers do not actively monitor for mistakes; instead, they wait until the mistakes are of such consequence that they can no longer be ignored. Therefore, passive management-by-exception is closer in nature to laissez-faire than active management-by-exception behaviors, and it also results in similar outcomes (Avolio, 1999b; Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Third, while laissez-faire reflects the absence of management, and management-by-exception reflects "poor" management, contingent reward reflects "good" management. Contingent reward involves managers setting goals, providing feedback, and ensuring that employee behaviors have consequences, both positive and negative. As the name suggests, these leaders make rewards contingent on followers' meeting a specified performance target. Nonetheless, the meaning of contingent reward is somewhat ambiguous, because in some analyses (e.g., the factor intercorrelations in Bycio, Hackett, & Allen's [1995] study; their Table 3), contingent reward is significantly more highly correlated with elements of transformational leadership (such as charismatic leadership, intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration) than with management-by-exception (*r*s of .79, .81, and .83, respectively, vs. −.26).

To summarize Judge and Piccolo's (2004) recent meta-analytic findings, active management-by-exception is related to follower satisfaction with the leader ($r = .24$), follower motivation ($r = .14$), leader job performance ($r = .13$), group or organizational performance ($r = -.09$; 90% confidence interval includes zero), and leader effectiveness ($r = .21$). The overall relationships between passive management-by-exception and laissez-faire leadership and various leadership criteria are negative: specifically, passive management-by-exception is negatively related to follower satisfaction with the leader ($r = -.14$; 90% confidence interval includes zero), follower motivation ($r = -.27$), group or organizational performance ($r = -.17$), and leader effectiveness ($r = -.19$), while laissez-faire leadership is negatively related to job satisfaction ($r = -.28$), follower satisfaction with the leader ($r = -.58$), follower motivation ($r = -.07$; 90% confidence interval includes zero), leader job performance ($r = -.01$; 90% confidence interval includes zero), and leader effectiveness ($r = -.54$). By contrast, contingent reward has been associated positively with various criteria for leader effectiveness, such as job satisfaction ($r = .64$), satisfaction with the leader ($r = .55$), follower motivation ($r = .59$), leader job performance ($r = .45$), group or organizational performance ($r = .16$), and leader effectiveness ($r = .55$; all correlations corrected for measure unreliability, measurement error, and sampling error; Judge & Piccolo, 2004).

Upon review of the transactional leadership framework, the term *transactional leadership* could be seen as an oxymoron because the behaviors (i.e., contingent reward and management-by-exception) are responses to employees' behaviors and are based on the formal power accorded to managers. In contrast, leadership transcends situational needs and is based more on informal than formal sources of power. This might lead to the conceptualization of transactional leadership as consistent with "management" rather than leadership (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Transformational leadership. At the conceptual level, transformational leadership comprises four separate behaviors (see Bass & Riggio, 2006). *Idealized influence* centers on leaders' behaviors that are motivated by what is best for the organization and its members, rather than what is easy and expedient; these behaviors include providing a vision for the future and creating a collective sense of mission. Leaders who exhibit idealized influence are guided by their moral commitment to their followers and the collective good; they go beyond self-interest. Leaders who manifest idealized influence are able to resist organizational pressures for short-term financial outcomes and instead focus their efforts on the long-term well-being of their employees, themselves, and their organizations. Thus, a hallmark of idealized influence is that these leaders act with integrity. In this respect, Burns (1978) insisted that transformational leadership extends beyond Maslow's (1965) self-actualization theory because a self-oriented focus is eschewed.

Transformational leadership theory posits that leaders who manifest *inspirational motivation* encourage their employees to achieve more than what was thought possible, either by themselves or by those around them. They do so by setting high but realistic standards, which they transmit through interpersonal interactions; they tell stories and use symbols. These leaders inspire employees to surmount psychological setbacks and external obstacles, and they instill in employees the belief that they can confront and overcome current and future hurdles. Inspirationally motivating leaders' interactions with subordinates reflect the self-fulfilling prophecy, as they help foster resilience and self-efficacy in their followers.

Intellectual stimulation is the third facet of transformational leadership behavior. Earlier understandings of leadership assumed the technical expertise of the leader who could answer all questions posed by subordinates. In contrast, leaders who display intellectual stimulation encourage employees to think for themselves, question their own commonly held assumptions, reframe problems, and approach matters in innovative ways. Given the encouragement and opportunity to develop their own personal strategies to tackle setbacks, employees become more confident and adept in work-related and personal issues.

Fourth and finally, *individualized consideration* characterizes leaders who pay special attention to employees' personal needs for achievement and development and act as mentors. These leaders provide the necessary caring, compassion, and empathy that influence employees' well-being, and their instrumental and emotional support helps employees develop their potential and skills. In doing so, leaders establish a relationship with followers.

The majority of the studies on transformational leadership use the Multi-factor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) to assess its four components, a measurement tool that we discuss more in depth later in this chapter. Although the four dimensions of transformational leadership are presented as conceptually distinct, it has become apparent from meta-analyses (Bycio et al., 1995; Tepper & Percy, 1994) that measurement issues make assessing them separately rather difficult. The recent development of several new scales (e.g., Alimo-Metcalfe & Alban-Metcalfe, 2001; Herold, Fedor, Caldwell, & Liu, 2008; Rafferty & Griffin, 2004) offers some promise for future research to answer remaining questions about whether the presence of all four behaviors is necessary for leadership to qualify as "transformational" or whether some of the four behaviors are more critical than others (Mackenzie, Podsakoff, & Jarvis, 2005). This issue is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Charismatic Leadership Theory

The theory of charismatic leadership represents a major attempt to explain leadership. Initially proposed by the sociologist Max Weber (1947), charisma was characterized by followers' belief that the leader possessed unusual and exceptional qualities. There are now several interpretations of this theory, with the two most prominent emphasizing either attributions that followers make about the leader (Conger & Kanungo, 1998) or actual leadership behaviors (House, 1977). These explanations of charismatic leadership evolved around the same time as transformational leadership theory (House, 1977). Although authors debate whether charismatic leadership and transformational leadership are interchangeable constructs, most suggest that the differences between the theories are minor (e.g., Conger & Kanungo, 1998; House & Podsakoff, 1994), which is in part evidenced by their similar or equivalent measurement instruments (see Judge, Woolf, Hurst, & Livingston, 2008, for a review).

One notable feature distinguishing the theories is their differential emphasis on follower attributions of leader behavior; the charismatic leadership tradition often argues that leadership exists "in the eyes of followers" (Conger, 1999, p. 153). What distinguishes charismatic leaders from other leaders is their ability to act in ways that encourage followers to perceive them and their visions as extraordinary. Specifically, charismatic leadership is attributed to leaders who challenge the status quo, inspire followers around a collective-focused vision of the future, show sensitivity to the needs of followers, and take personal risks to achieve their vision.

Several general issues concerning transformational and charismatic leadership warrant comment at this stage. First, Judge and Bono (2000) noted that transformational and charismatic leadership attracted more research during the decade of the 1990s than all other theories of leadership combined. To understand the relative status of leadership theories today, we conducted a similar analysis of leadership topics from 1980 to 2007 using PsycINFO to search for the number of articles related to each topic. The results of this analysis appear in Table 7.1. The results for each of the theories discussed in this chapter illustrate the flux of empirical attention to leadership theories over time. Based on these data, several conclusions are appropriate. First, transformational leadership remains the most widely researched theory, with LMX and charismatic leadership the second and third most studied, respectively. Second, together, these three theories account for 63% of all leadership research between 1980 and 2007. However, recent years have also seen increasing devotion to theories of leadership that accentuate the role of followers in the leadership process; these theories are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEADERSHIP: ARE LEADERS BORN OR MADE?

As we have already noted, leadership has long attracted attention. Still, one of the most enduring social questions remains: Are leaders born or made? A search of scholar.google.com (on May 4, 2009) yielded at least 182 articles relating to this question. Understanding how leadership develops will have profound social, theoretical, and managerial implications. In this section, we address several different ways in which empirical research has confronted this question, by considering studies on genetic influences on leadership emergence, early family influences on leadership behavior, and executive development or leadership training.

Before embarking on this discussion, we must draw a distinction between leadership emergence or role occupancy on the one hand, and leadership behaviors on the other. Leadership *emergence* reflects whether individuals become leaders by either occupying formal leadership roles or informally arising as a leader, whereas, traditionally, leadership *behaviors* center on how people actually behave once they have assumed a leadership role, or perhaps even when they are not in formal leadership positions (a topic discussed later in this chapter). As such, leadership emergence and leadership behaviors remain separate constructs. Despite the importance of understanding leadership development that reflects both leadership emergence and leadership behaviors, very little empirical research has addressed these critical issues.

Leadership Emergence

"Some people are born to move and shake the world. Their blessings: high energy, exceptional intelligence, extreme persistence, self-confidence and a yearning to influence others" (Avolio, 1999a, p.18). Although much of the discussion in this chapter focuses on the issue of leadership behaviors and effectiveness, precisely which individuals attain positions of leadership in the first instance is of equal intrigue. As suggested by Avolio (1999a), one possibility is that some individuals are naturally predisposed to become leaders. Consistent with recent advances in the burgeoning field known as social neuroscience (Cacioppo et al., 2007), the notion that genetic and biological factors play an important role in the development of leadership should not be unexpected. Nevertheless, well-controlled studies on possible genetic and/or biological effects on leadership development remain scant.

Empirical research on the role of genetic factors in behavior was initially stimulated by the classic studies conducted by Bouchard and his colleagues on identical twins reared apart (see Bouchard, Lykken, McGue, Segal, & Tellegen, 1990). In a series of studies, they identified the extent to which genetic factors influence cognitive ability, personality, antisocial behavior, and psychopathology (e.g., Baker, Jacobson, Raine, Lozano, & Bezdijan, 2007; Bouchard et al., 1990; McGue & Bouchard, 1998). Research using the identical-twins-reared-apart paradigm has shown that, even controlling for job characteristics and physical demands, approximately 30% of the variance in intrinsic job satisfaction was a function of genetic factors (Arvey, Bouchard, Segal, & Abraham, 1989). Arvey and his colleagues have subsequently conducted several studies using this paradigm to investigate leadership emergence, operationalized as leadership role occupancy. Leadership role occupancy is a type of leadership emergence that reflects whether people actually hold positions of leadership within organizations and can also reflect an individual's position in the organizational hierarchy (Ilies, Gerhardt, & Le, 2004).

In the first of these later studies, Arvey, Rotundo, Johnson, Zhang, and McGue (2006) studied 110 identical twin pairs and 94 nonidentical twins, all males, from the Minnesota Twin Registry. Leadership role occupancy was indicated by the number of leadership roles that each twin held within work-related professional associations and the hierarchical level of the twins' current leadership positions in their respective organizations. The results support a genetic influence on leadership role occupancy: At a descriptive level, if one twin held leadership positions in professional organizations and associations, the second was more likely to do so as well. Their heritability analyses went further to show that, after controlling for two personality variables (social potency and achievement), 30% of the variance in leadership role occupancy was explained by genetic factors, with the remaining variance, 70%, accounted for by environmental factors. In addition, the two personality variables that predict leadership role occupancy (i.e., achievement and social potency) were shown to share an important genetic component (accounting for 24% and 42% of the variance, respectively). Nonetheless, contrary to the authors' predictions, personality did not mediate any genetic effects on role occupancy.

In a second study, Arvey, Zhang, Avolio, and Krueger (2007) intended to extend earlier findings with the inclusion of additional environmental predictors of leadership role occupancy, and they investigated 214 identical and 178 nonidentical female twins from the Minnesota Twin Registry. They again showed that heritability accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in leadership role occupancy (in this case, 32% of the variance), and their findings showed that work experience explained an additional 17% of the total variance in leadership role occupancy. A second environmental predictor, early family experiences, did not significantly relate to subsequent leadership role occupancy. However, it is possible that their three-item measure of family experience was not sufficiently comprehensive and therefore could not be fairly compared to the effects of work experiences on leadership role occupancy. These findings should remind organizational practitioners (and leaders alike) that there are aspects of leadership role occupancy that lie beyond their control; yet, the amount of variance accounted for by environmental factors in leadership role occupancy still provides organizations with substantial opportunities for involvement and potential influence. Furthermore, although intriguing, understanding more about genetic influences on leadership role occupancy offers very little in terms of selecting future leaders. Although these studies have begun to isolate the heritability influence on leadership role occupancy, it remains for future research to isolate genetic influences on leadership behaviors.

Early Family Influences

The notion that early developmental influences affect leadership emergence and behavior are neither new nor implausible (see Bass, 1960; Karnes & D'Ilio, 1989). Elder (1974) noted that children whose fathers were unemployed during the Great Depression had to deal with external challenges at a young age. However, later in life, these children had achieved more educationally (they did better at school and were more likely to pursue higher education) and were more satisfied with their lives. Similarly, Cox and Cooper's (1989) retrospective analysis demonstrated that a disproportionate number of successful British CEOs had experienced early familial adversity (either loss of a parent or separation from parents). As a result of such adversity, they learned to take responsibility for themselves from an early age. Certainly the Cox and Cooper study justifies further research on early family influences on subsequent leadership emergence and behaviors.

There has been interest in the specific nature of the early environment that might influence subsequent leadership. Generally, studies have shown that parents' warmth and acceptance and their achievement demands predict predispositions to leadership behaviors in 10th-grade adolescents and in boys aged 16.5 years and girls aged 15.6 years (Bronfenbrenner, 1961, and Klonsky, 1983, respectively). Similarly, Towler (2005) showed that young adults (18–25 years of age) with fathers who exercised high levels of psychological control were less likely to exhibit charismatic leadership. Hartman and Harris (1992) also showed that college students who subsequently held management positions modeled the leadership of individuals whom they admired early in their lives; most of these individuals were their parents.

A more recent study of 196 pairs of twins who were part of the ongoing Minnesota Twin Family Study (Avolio, Rotundo, & Walumbwa, 2009) refines our understanding of the role of early experiences on later leadership role occupancy in several important ways. First, Avolio et al. (2009) focused on Baumrind's (1971) notion of authoritative parenting, which is a combination of psychological autonomy, acceptance, and supervision, reflects positive parenting, and is not to be mistaken for authoritarian parenting. Avolio et al. (2009) showed that authoritative parenting was associated with lower levels of pre–high school children's modest (delinquency and family/school offenses) and serious (serious crime, drug use) rule-breaking behavior. Second, modest and serious rule-breaking behaviors predicted subsequent leadership role occupancy differently: Specifically, modest rule-breaking behavior was positively, and serious rule-breaking behavior negatively, associated with leadership role occupancy. Avolio et al. (2009) suggested that early experiences with rule breaking (a) enable parents to guide their children to learn from these experiences and (b) reflect the same qualities necessary for leadership role occupancy. In contrast, just as early diagnoses of conduct problem disorders predict subsequent counterproductive behaviors in organizations (Roberts, Harms, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2007), early contact with the law and drug use are unlikely to result in positive organizational outcomes.

Recent research conducted within the context of sports teams provides additional information about the early development of leadership. Zacharatos, Barling, and Kelloway (2000) studied high school sports teams and assessed whether perceptions of parents' behaviors influenced athletes' leadership behaviors during sports events. This study was especially interested in the extent to which parents modeled transformational leadership in the home. The authors showed that adolescents' perceptions of parents' transformational parenting behaviors predicted their own enactment of these behaviors as rated by their coaches and peers. However, other findings (e.g., Hartman & Harris, 1992; Harris, 1995; Tucker, Turner, Barling, & McEvoy, 2008) suggested that research needs to focus on multiple social influences simultaneously.

In summary, leadership behaviors may be learned during adolescence, the "impressionable years" (Krosnick & Alwin, 1989), or between the ages of 18 and 25, the period of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000), and they can be linked to subsequent leader behavior, making this a fertile issue for future research.

Executive and Leadership Development

Having discussed early influences on leader development, we now turn our attention to the question of whether leadership can be taught. However, if we are to answer this question and be consistent with our evidence-based approach, there need to be rigorous experimental evaluations of the effects of leadership interventions using interpretable experimental or quasi-experimental designs (Cook & Campbell, 1979). Without methodological rigor, unstable conclusions are likely to be drawn. In an area in which experimental rigor is not the norm, our literature search uncovered four published studies that exemplify the importance of rigorous control, inasmuch as they used control group designs, conventional statistical testing, random assignment of participants to groups or treatments to groups, and/or pretest/posttest measurement. As such, these four studies used interpretable designs (Cook & Campbell, 1979) and satisfied most of Terpstra's (1981) criteria. This is important if valid inferences are to be drawn: An analysis of 52 articles on organizational interventions with varying levels of methodological sophistication showed that positive results were more likely with weaker methodological designs, whereas disconfirming evidence was more probable with methodologically rigorous designs (indicated by the use of census or representative samples, more than 30 participants, pretest—posttest control group designs with random assignment, and conventional significance testing; Terpstra, 1981; Bass, 1983)—a situation that potentially characterizes current leadership research (Hunter at al., 2007).

In the first experimental study of the effects of transformational leadership training in a field setting, Barling, Weber, and Kelloway (1996) randomly assigned 9 branches of a regional bank to the experimental group and 11 to the wait-list control group. The managers of the nine branches then received 1 full day of transformational leadership training (Kelloway & Barling [2000] provide a more detailed description of the group-based training). A day after the training, leaders in the experimental group met individually with a coach, who provided the leaders with individual feedback based on a recently completed 360-degree exercise of transformational leadership. Based on this feedback, goals were set for making improvements to their transformational leadership behaviors. Individual meetings between the coach and each of the nine managers were held each month for the next 3 months, both to review performance and to boost the transformational leadership training.

Barling et al.'s (1996) findings support the notion that transformational leadership can be taught: First, following the full training program, there were significant differences in transformational leadership ratings (as reported by subordinates) between the experimental and control groups. Second, levels of organizational commitment were significantly higher among subordinates who were led by leaders in the experimental training than among subordinates who were led by leaders in the control group, who had not received any training. Third, banks run by managers who had received transformational leadership training sold significantly more personal loans and credit cards—two indices of special relevance to the banks—in comparison to the banks run by managers in the control group. The generalizability of this phenomenon is supported: Kelloway, Barling, and Helleur (2000) showed that transformational leadership could be taught to a sample of managers of a health care facility.

Dvir, Eden, Avolio, and Shamir (2002) also focused on the development of transformational leadership in their study of infantry soldiers. Seven individuals were randomly assigned to the transformational leadership condition, which included 5 days of training, consisting of role playing exercises, simulations, video presentations, and group, peer, and trainer feedback. Akin to the booster sessions described in Barling et al.'s (1996) study, the leaders participated in a 3-hour session prior to a leadership assignment to reinforce the lessons of leadership training. Although the specific effects of transformational leadership in this context are discussed later in this chapter, it is important to note here that the training was effective: Both knowledge of transformational leadership theory and transformational leadership behaviors rated by subordinates were significantly enhanced by the training, whereas there were no such changes in the control group. Methodologically, it is also worth noting that although the Barling et al. (1996), Dvir et al. (2002), Kelloway et al. (2000), and Mullen and Kelloway (2009) studies focused on fewer than 30 leaders, all their evaluations were based on samples of more than 30 individuals (employees) per group, thereby fulfilling one of Terpstra's (1981) criteria for a rigorous evaluation.

Most recently, following the earlier studies showing that transformational leadership behaviors can be developed through training and that safety-specific transformational leadership predicted employee safety behaviors (Barling, Loughlin, & Kelloway, 2002), Mullen and Kelloway (2009) conducted an experiment and showed that safety-specific transformational leadership could be developed in leaders. Leaders' attitudes toward safety were influenced by the training, as were employees' safety behaviors. More intriguingly, Mullen and Kelloway also included a group that received general transformational leadership training, and no significant effects on safety emerged for this group, raising the question of how specific leadership training needs to be in order to influence desired subordinate outcomes. It also remains to be seen whether safety training by itself would yield the same results as those from the safety-specific transformational leadership training; if not, then stronger support for the effectiveness of transformational leadership would result.

Skarlicki and Latham (1996, 1997) directed their training toward meeting the specific demands that leaders in their sample faced, such as enhancing citizenship behavior within a union. In these studies, leaders (union shop stewards) in the experimental group were provided with four 3-hour sessions focused on training behaviors that influence follower perceptions of procedural and interactional justice. The results strongly supported the effectiveness of the leadership training. Perceptions of union fairness were higher among union members whose shop stewards had attended the training. Evidence for a "downstream effect" was also found in both studies: Changes in the shop stewards' behaviors resulted in increases in rank-and-file members' citizenship behaviors on behalf of the union.

A possible opportunity lost in executive and leadership development deserves mention. Training in organizations has long been studied, with robust lessons learned from decades of research (Aguinis & Kraiger, 2009; Salas & Cannon-Bowers, 2001). To date, however, executive and leadership development initiatives have largely failed to benefit from the literature on training. One consequence of this is that, as is apparent from the prior discussion, the research on executive and leadership development interventions has not considered the types of issues considered central within training, such as needs assessment, different delivery modes, and the transfer of training. Similarly, any potential indirect benefits of leadership development (e.g., leader self-efficacy, commitment; Tannenbaum, Mathieu, Salas, & Cannon-Bowers, 1991) have also been ignored. Parenthetically, the training literature has perhaps not devoted sufficient attention to leadership development. It is likely that our understanding of executive and leadership development and the effectiveness of intervention initiatives would be enhanced in the future by a greater rapprochement between the two.

To summarize what is known about leadership development, we not only considered the role of genetic factors and early family influences but also discussed several studies showing that leadership can be taught. It is also imperative that we pause to acknowledge that timing is important to leader development. Even when holding a leadership position, leaders need time to adopt, learn, and demonstrate leader behaviors (Day, Sin, & Chen, 2004), even after relatively brief leadership development initiatives (Barling et al., 1996; Mullen & Kelloway, 2009). How long outcomes take to emerge, and how long training effects last, are just two inquiries worthy of further attention. The dearth of studies on the development of leadership means that we have only scratched the surface of the question, Are leaders born or made?

SOME CORRELATES OF LEADERSHIP

Other topics in leadership research have simultaneously attracted empirical attention. Research conducted on leadership over the past several decades has tended to emphasize topics that were of substantial importance within the social sciences in general. As a result, much is known about the intersections of leadership and personality, gender, and ethnic and cross-cultural differences.

Personality and Leadership

In the search for answers to the fundamental questions raised in thinking about leadership (e.g., why some people emerge as leaders, why some people are more effective than others in leadership roles), the role of personality looms large. In this section, we extend our earlier discussion of trait approaches to leadership by discussing three ways in which personality pertains to leadership. First, we consider personality and leader emergence and effectiveness; second, we explore the relationship between personality and transformational leadership behaviors; and third, we examine how follower personality influences perceptions and evaluations of leadership. (See also Vol. 2, chap. 5, this handbook.)

Personality and general leadership. Two central questions are traditionally asked to identify "leadership"—who emerges as a leader and who is an effective leader—and research has focused on whether and how personality influences both leadership emergence and effectiveness. For example, individuals are more likely to occupy leadership roles or be perceived as leaders when they are achievement-oriented and socially potent, meaning that they are hard-working and thrive when they are in charge of others (Arvey et al., 2006). Self-monitoring behaviors also predict emergent leadership, particularly because high self-monitors are more likely to exhibit task-oriented behaviors in groups (Eby, Cader, & Noble, 2003). Furthermore, results from two meta-analyses reviewing the accumulated empirical studies link personality traits to leadership. First, Lord, de Vader, and Alliger (1986) showed that leader intelligence ($r = .52$), masculinity-femininity ($r = .34$), and dominance ($r = .17$) predicted perceptions of leadership (correlations corrected for unreliability of measures, sampling error, and range restriction). Second, researchers Judge, Bono, Ilies, and Gerhardt (2002) showed that the Big Five model of personality (i.e., extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness to experience) explained 28% and 15% of the variance in leader emergence and leader effectiveness, respectively. These reviews suggest that personality trait perspectives of leadership emergence and effectiveness offer considerable credibility.

In a refined analysis of the intersection between personality and leadership, Judge et al.'s (2002) quantitative review showed that of the Big Five personality traits, openness to experience and extraversion were significantly related (all correlations corrected for average reliability of measures and measurement error) to both leadership emergence ($r = .24$ and $r = .33$, respectively) and effectiveness ($r = .24$ and $r = .24$, respectively), while conscientiousness was significantly related to leadership emergence ($r = .33$) and neuroticism significantly related to leadership effectiveness ($r = -.22$). Openness to experience is defined by creativity and risk-taking, which the authors argue are relevant to both leader selection and performance, and extraverts are social, energetic, and dominant and therefore may more easily hold others' attention and have social influence (Judge et al., 2002). Similarly, conscientious individuals characteristically demonstrate discipline in and diligence toward their work (McCrae & John, 1992); it follows that conscientious personalities are likely to be selected for leadership roles. Likewise, the relative insecurity and emotional instability of individuals high on neuroticism can limit their leadership effectiveness.

Despite knowledge about average tendencies, little is known about the processes through which leader personality traits influence organizational outcomes. Peterson, Smith, Martorana, and Owens (2003) offered one explanation, showing that CEO personality affects team dynamics at the senior-management level. For example, dynamics such as corrupt behaviors, risk-taking propensity, flexibility, and cohesiveness are affected by CEO personality and that each of these dynamics relates to organizational performance.

Personality and transformational leadership behaviors. As the popularity of the transformational leadership framework persists (see Table 7.1), extensive research has been invested into understanding the connections between personality and transformational leadership behaviors. A meta-analysis analyzing 384 correlations from 26 samples (Bono & Judge, 2004) showed consistent relationships (correlations corrected for measure reliability and measurement error) between transformational leadership and extraversion ($r = .22$) and neuroticism ($r = -.17$). Individuals who were outgoing and optimistic (i.e., extraverted personality) tended to display more idealized influence and inspirational motivation behaviors. Conversely, those who were distressed, anxious, and prone to insecurities (i.e., neurotic personality) were unlikely to have the confidence needed to take on transformational roles. There were, however, inconsistent findings between agreeableness and openness to experience and the transformational leadership behaviors, and the authors also reported a relatively weak relationship between personality and transactional leadership, which was unexpected. The authors did not predict a link between conscientiousness and transformational leadership because, as they noted, "There is no particular reason to expect that conscientious individuals will exhibit vision, enthusiasm, or creativity" (Bono & Judge, 2004, p. 903).

Overall, the associations established in Bono and Judge's (2004) study were relatively modest– specifically, the Big Five explain twice as much variance in leadership emergence as in leader charisma, and almost five times more in emergence than in intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration. The leader development section of this chapter highlights the malleability of leadership behaviors, and thus leadership training may partially explain this discrepancy (Bono & Judge, 2004); leadership behaviors may be less stable than personality characteristics. Consequently, personality traits can tell us more about who is likely to attain leadership positions than how individuals might lead once they must fulfill those roles.

The Big Five are not the only characteristics associated with transformational behaviors. Proactive personality (Crant & Bateman, 2000), histrionic personality (Khoo & Burch, 2008), secure attachment style (Popper, Mayseless, & Castelnovo, 2000), and positive affectivity (Rubin, Munz, & Bommer, 2005) are also positive correlates of transformational leadership. Of particular interest in recent years is the relationship between narcissism (defined as immense self-love; Judge, LePine, & Rich, 2006) and transformational leadership. Judge et al.'s study confirmed that narcissistic personalities possess inflated self-evaluations as evidenced by their high self-ratings of transformational leadership; importantly, Judge et al.'s study also demonstrated that followers rated narcissistic leaders lower on transformational leadership than did the leaders themselves. These results highlight the role of perceptions of leadership—a topic of growing interest. Accordingly, our discussion now shifts to the topic of followers' personalities and how those personalities might determine followers' perceptions of leadership.

Follower personality and leadership. Any discussion of leadership and personality would be incomplete without accounting for the personality of followers. A growing research interest suggests that follower personality is integral to the leadership process. For example, Bernerth, Armenakis, Feild, Giles, and Walker (2007) related perceptions of LMX to both follower *and* leader dimensions of the Big Five—leaders' conscientiousness and agreeableness, and followers' conscientiousness, extraversion, openness, and neuroticism were associated with follower perceptions of LMX. Schyns and colleagues' work has been particularly helpful to our understanding of follower personality and transformational leadership. These authors have shown that followers high on agreeableness (Schyns & Felfe, 2006), conscientiousness, neuroticism, honesty/humility (Schyns & Sanders, 2007), and particularly, extraversion (Felfe & Schyns, 2006) tend to perceive leaders as more transformational. Furthermore, follower personality has been shown to predict leader preferences: Ehrhart and Klein (2001) showed that followers with higher self-esteem and achievement orientation preferred charismatic leaders to noncharismatic leaders.

All of these studies suggest that follower personality influences perceptions of leadership; what remains to be seen is whether or not follower personality directly affects leadership behavior, which would occur if leaders adjust their behaviors to better suit the personalities of their followers. By contrast, leadership style may predict personality. Hofmann and Jones (2005) showed that transformational leadership predicted collective personality; collective-level agreeableness, conscientiousness, extraversion, and openness to experience were all positively related to transformational leadership and negatively related to passive leadership across 68 collectives and 448 employees. One cannot rule out the possibility, however, that transformational leaders may select followers with distinct personality traits.

Our knowledge about the relationship between personality and leadership is enhanced with refined analyses, such as studies showing that personality is more strongly linked with leader emergence than behavior and that some personality dimensions (e.g., conscientiousness) might not be expected to predict certain leadership behaviors (e.g., charisma; Bono & Judge, 2004). Our knowledge also stands to be enriched by answering questions about how followers' personalities in tandem with leaders' personalities influence the leadership process. Exploring these issues will be of importance to future research.

Gender and Leadership

As perhaps the most apparent individual difference, gender has captured the attention of scholars in numerous domains, and leadership is no exception. The topic of gender inequalities in prominent leadership roles has been actively debated in the public domain and thoroughly explored by researchers. We need look no further than the 2008 Democratic Convention, which highlighted the role of gender in leadership as Senator Hillary Clinton aimed for the nomination to be the first female U.S. president. The media raised numerous gender issues that apply to organizational research, such as masculinity in leadership (e.g., Romano, 2007) and the interaction between follower and leader gender, in frequently questioning whether women would be more supportive of a female president than would men (Sullivan, 2008). These and other issues have fueled much research in this area.

Many gender-based discussions in leadership revolve around the question of whether men and women are, or can be, equally effective leaders. Certainly, no shortage of research exists asking this question. In a quantitative review of the literature, Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani (1995) found that overall leadership effectiveness is not dependent on leader gender, but men and women perform differentially better or worse under certain conditions. Male leaders were more effective (effect sizes corrected for unreliability) when their role was regarded as more "masculine" ($\beta = .19$),[1] when the majority of their subordinates were male ($\beta = .22$), and in military settings ($d = .42$). In contrast, women performed better as leaders in roles that were defined as more "feminine" (e.g., required interpersonal ability; $\beta = .20$). On aggregate, men were only marginally favored as leaders in terms of leadership evaluations (e.g., in 56% of the studies comparing men to women, men were rated more favorably than women, a percentage not significantly different from the hypothesized 50%), yet when women used stereotypically masculine leadership styles (e.g., autocratic leadership; $d = .30$), were in male-dominated positions ($d = .09$), or were evaluated by men ($d = .15$), this imbalance was much greater and in favor of men (all effect sizes corrected for unreliability; Eagly et al., 1995).

Past research has also explored the predictive value of gender on differential leadership behaviors.

[1]The effect size statistics reported in this section on gender are positive when in favor of males and negative when in favor of females.

Meta-analytic results have suggested that women have a tendency to demonstrate more democratic and less autocratic leadership behaviors ($d = .27$ corrected for unreliability; Eagly & Johnson, 1990) and were perceived by followers as slightly more transformational ($d = -.10$) and less transactional ($d = .12$ for management by exception active, $d = .27$ for management by exception passive; Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003) than their male counterparts. Yet, when comparing senior-level leaders, men reported higher levels of emotional expression (which pertains to charismatic leadership [Conger, 1989]) than women. Thus, although some evidence suggests that men and women are perceived differently on various leadership styles, extending this line of research will be necessary if any strong conclusions are to be reached.

Despite the seemingly similar performance of female and male leaders, men remain far more likely to hold leadership positions in organizations, whereas women are stereotyped to have a lower aptitude for leadership (see Ryan & Haslam, 2007, for a review). In leaderless groups, men emerge as the leader more often than do women (e.g., for direct task leadership, $d = .37$; Eagly & Karau, 1991). What is also notable is that women may emerge as "social leaders" more so than men (e.g., for direct social leadership, $d = -.12$; Eagly & Karau, 1991), and that gender role identity may be a stronger predictor of emergent leadership than biological sex (Kent & Moss, 1994). Although some evidence suggests that the stereotype of women being less effective leaders is beginning to change (Duehr & Bono, 2006), gender inequality in management roles remains prevalent.

Numerous explanations for this disparity have been offered. Women may hit "glass ceilings" that prevent their rise to high-level management positions, whereas men ride "glass escalators," quickly advancing through the organizational hierarchy (e.g., Maume, 1999). More recently, Ryan and Haslam (2007) proposed that as women begin to occupy more prominent managerial roles, they are now more likely to fall over the "glass cliff." From this perspective, women are most often selected for high-level leadership positions when those positions are associated with greater risk, thereby setting women up to be unsuccessful. To illustrate, initial empirical evidence shows that women are preferred leadership candidates for projects that have failed in the past or are projected to fail in the future (see Ryan & Haslam, 2007, for a review). Unfortunately, inequality begets further inequality because such failure is easily used to legitimize the women-as-less-effective-leaders stereotype. It is also possible that gender biases in organizations are learned or modeled. Phillips (2005) showed that in a sample of Silicon Valley law firms, if the firm founders had parent firms with few women in prominent leadership positions, then the firm founders were less likely to place women in leadership roles in the new firm, and vice versa.

Another reason for the scarcity of women in the upper echelons of the organizational hierarchy may be women's own motivation to fulfill those roles. Eagly, Karau, Miner, and Johnson's (1994) meta-analysis of 51 studies concluded that although the difference was slight, men were more motivated to obtain management roles ($d = .22$ corrected for unreliability). *Stereotype threat* may be one explanation for this finding. Stereotype threat occurs when knowledge of a salient negative stereotype (e.g., women are not very good leaders) causes the stigmatized individual to fear confirming the stereotype, creating anxiety and lowering expectations and/or performance (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Indeed, Davies, Spencer, and Steele (2005) showed that stereotype threat limited women's aspirations to become leaders. In two experiments, women were exposed to gender stereotypical television commercials (subtly displaying traditional female stereotypes); in both studies, those women were unwilling to take on leadership roles during a task. However, removing the stereotype threat by telling the women that there were no gender differences associated with the task restored their motivation. Field evidence also suggests that women are less likely to draw on these stereotypical beliefs about women's leadership abilities when they are more frequently exposed to women in counterstereotypical leadership positions (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004). In light of the growing number of women who are obtaining prominent leadership roles in organizations (Ryan & Haslam, 2007), it is possible that downward biases on women's interest in leadership positions and potential performance within leadership positions, may be minimized in the future.

Topics in gender and leadership will no doubt continue to attract the interest of management, organizational researchers, and society at large. Certainly, although gender differences in leadership emergence and behaviors have been identified, no consensus has been reached as to *why* gender inequalities in leadership prevail or how they should be addressed. However, the changing demographics of the workforce suggest that these questions will be of increasing importance to organizations and to organizational scholars. To extend our knowledge, and in light of Kent and Moss's (1994) finding (noted earlier), comparing the predictive value of gender role identity to biological sex on leader emergence is one promising avenue for future inquiry.

Cross-Cultural Leadership and Ethnicity

With broad-based pressures for social equality and the rush to globalization of the past two decades, it comes as no surprise that researchers have turned their attention to how leadership and culture, nationality, and ethnicity intersect; among these, culture has received the most attention. As defined by Hofstede (2001), *culture* defines members of a nation, region, or group in a way that determines members' core values. In his classic research, Hofstede distinguished national cultures along the dimensions of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, and future orientation. Many organizational psychologists adopted Hofstede's framework to understand intercultural relations in the workplace, and in this section we review some of that research as it pertains to leadership.

To begin, we describe the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) project that has spearheaded a great deal of cross-cultural research in the field. The GLOBE project involves researchers from all over the world and diverse cultures, all of whom seek to understand the interplay between leadership and culture (House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002). Specifically, for this 10-year research program, quantitative data were collected from 17,000 managers in 951 organizations across 62 different societies (House, 2004), a mammoth undertaking. As testaments to the project's effectiveness, many research studies have used GLOBE data, and their varied topics demonstrate the broad spectrum of research questions spawned from the intersection of leadership and culture. For example, Dickson, Resick, and Hanges (2006) used these data to investigate different organizational climates and organizationally shared leadership prototypes, and Den Hartog and colleagues (1999) used GLOBE data to study cultural-specific implicit leadership theories.

Considerable attention has been given to the cross-cultural validity of transformational leadership. This attention should perhaps not be surprising after Bass (1997) wrote "in whatever the country, when people think about leadership, their prototypes and ideals are transformational" (p. 135). In support of this view, Singer and Singer's (1990) studies of police officers in New Zealand and Taiwanese employees both paralleled results from American samples: Transformational leadership was the preferred leadership style in comparison with transactional leadership. Furthermore, in that same study, the New Zealand police officers displayed more transformational behaviors than transactional behaviors, and the Taiwanese sample reported that transformational leadership behaviors were displayed in their organizations. Together with studies discussed throughout this chapter demonstrating the utility of transformational leadership in other countries (e.g., Canada, Germany, Israel, Singapore, Tanzania, Turkey), credibility emerges for the notion that transformational leadership applies to contexts outside of North America.

As mentioned, Den Hartog and colleagues (1999) tested whether there were certain leader characteristics that were universally endorsed. They found that trustworthiness, fairness, honesty, and being encouraging and positive were some of the universally endorsed characteristics of leaders, and they further rationalized that these universally endorsed characteristics reflected transformational/charismatic leadership. However, the application of universal negative leader attributes (e.g., being noncooperative and nonexplicit) to transformational leadership was not discussed, and yet there may be valuable connections. For example, as a consequence of encouraging followers to think creatively, leaders may appear nonexplicit because they refrain from imposing their own views on others. Den Hartog and colleagues are not alone in supporting the universal appeal of transformational leadership; the numerous MLQ translations (e.g., Felfe, 2006; Shao & Webber, 2006) are another indicator of the cross-national popularity and utility of transformational leadership.

Nonetheless, conceptually and empirically, there are reasons to question the universality of transformational leadership theory. Specifically with regard to its applicability in China, Shao and Webber (2006) noted that leaders, "even those who are open to experience[,] will not exhibit intellectual stimulation behavior, [because it] is incompatible with high uncertainty-avoidance Chinese culture" (p. 942). Similarly, Fukushige and Spicer (2007) argued that leadership preferences in Japan are distinct from preferences documented in the majority of the leadership literature based on Western standards. In their study, Japanese workers preferred contingent-reward leadership over idealized influence and inspirational motivation. The authors argued that inspirational motivation elicited skepticism in Japanese followers, and idealized influence demonstrated immodesty. Insights such as these illuminate cultural influences on leadership perceptions; what is seen as optimism and confidence in one context might be interpreted as insincerity and immodesty in another.

Not only have there been questions about the cultural boundaries of leader preferences, but also cultural influences on typical leadership behaviors have spurned research. As Gerstner and Day (1994) argued, "The most characteristic traits of a leader in one culture may be very different from prototypical traits in another culture" (p. 123). Their results showed that typical traits of business leaders varied across countries. For example, in India, the top three typical traits of business leaders reported were industriousness, competitiveness, and determination. In contrast, in France, "determined," "open-minded," and "informed" described the top three typical traits of business leaders. Furthermore, Rosette, Leonardelli, and Phillips (2008) concluded that leader race is critical to that leader's prototypicality in the United States. More specifically, being White was significantly associated with a leader role, and the authors argued that one reason for this is the frequent exposure to White leaders in North America. Collectively, these results have obvious implications for leaders working in a national culture other than their own, as leaders need to be constantly mindful of local employees' implicit expectations of their leaders. These results also pertain to dynamics within a national culture, because people from different cultural backgrounds, such as ethnicities, interact and therefore may hold different expectations of each other.

Supporting the notion that within-nation cultural differences also influence leadership and leadership perceptions, Ah Chong and Thomas (1997) examined two ethnic groups in New Zealand, namely the Pakeha (New Zealanders who are predominantly of European descent) and Pacific Islanders, and their findings showed the complexity of cultural differences in leadership. They found support for ethnic differences in leadership perceptions and also a significant interaction between leader ethnicity and follower ethnicity: Pacific Islanders reported more satisfaction with Pacific Islander leaders than with Pakeha leaders.

These studies appear to question Bass's (1997) statement that people from all countries hold prototypes of leadership that are transformational. Gertsner and Day (1994) showed that different cultures valued different leader traits, and Ah Chong and Thomas (1997) demonstrated that, even within the same national culture, preferences for leadership varied as a function of leader and follower ethnicity. Such findings raise questions about the universality or cross-national validity of transformational leadership.

Nonetheless, one explanation consistent with Bass's (1997) assertion regarding the universality of transformational leadership is that, despite these inter- and intracultural differences, ultimately the characteristics preferred are associated with transformational leadership. For example, open-mindedness (favored in France) is an expression of intellectual stimulation, and determination (favored in India) contributes to inspirational motivation. Moreover, Bass had suggested that transformational leadership behaviors may be manifested differently across cultures; for example, in Indonesia, boastfulness contributes to inspirational motivation, whereas boastfulness is eschewed in Japan, but this does not mean the Japanese do not display inspirational motivation in other ways. Therefore, with regard to Ah Chong and Thomas's (1997) study, Pacific Islanders may have preferred leaders of the same ethnicity because they were more attuned to those leaders' displays of transformational leadership than to those of Pakeha leaders. On the other hand, accepting such a flexible conceptualization of transformational leadership would mean that a fair test of its validity would be difficult. Clearly, more research is needed that seeks to understand the differential expression of leadership behaviors and the outcomes of such behaviors, within and across cultures. At present, research tends to focus more on demonstrating the cross-cultural equivalence of transformational leadership.

One problem inherent in all cross-cultural or cross-national research is ensuring measurement equivalence; measures of leader behavior are culture-specific because, as mentioned previously, behaviors (e.g., boastfulness) can take on different meanings in different cultures. Indeed, Ayman and Chemers (1983) suggested that Euro-American measures of leader behavior are not adequate to describe leader behavior for Iranians. For example, they added new items to the LBDQ such as "is like a kind father" to reflect the paternalistic society of Iran, and this item contributed to a new factor called Benevolent Paternalism. Therefore, Ayman and Chemers concluded that "the use of 'universal' measures and constructs [is] likely to lead to uninterpretable research findings" (p. 341). This is a potentially limiting issue because, in many cross-cultural or cross-national studies, research instruments measuring leadership are based on items developed in and for North American cultures, hence the numerous translations of the MLQ noted earlier. In addition, measurement equivalence is necessary for research focused on group differences, such as differences across nations and ethnicities; "if one set of measures means one thing to one group and something different to another group, a group mean comparison may be tantamount to comparing apples and spark plugs" (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000, p. 9). Certainly, future research on leadership across cultures needs to be more sensitive to this issue.

A second problem concerns the ability to generalize from cross-cultural studies over time. Thus, although Hofstede's (2001) work has been fruitful in guiding many cross-cultural studies of leadership, the characteristics inherent in the national cultures studied may change over time as a result, for example, of economic recessions and globalization (e.g., Ralston, Holt, Terpstra, & Kai-Cheng, 1997). Indeed, Fukushige and Spicer's (2007) qualitative research suggested that Japanese work culture was in the process of becoming a meritocracy. To account for these and other changes, contemporary research should take the time to reevaluate Hofstede's dimensions and ensure that the cultures studied are accurately depicted in their present-day state.

Finally, a third challenge to cross-culture leadership studies is complying with the various national ethical standards for research. Aguinis and Henle (2002) reviewed some of the studies which described the differing ethical standards across countries and, in particular, drew attention to Leach and Harbin's (1997) research. Although there are some universal ethical standards (e.g., privacy, avoiding harm, remuneration for participations), there are also noticeable differences, such as China's ethics codes being most divergent from the American Psychological Association's (APA) guidelines, as well as the United States' standards for sharing and duplicating data.

OUTCOMES OF LEADERSHIP

Jack Welch is a figurehead in contemporary business leadership (Amernic, Craig, & Tourish, 2007), and this is largely due to performance outcomes attributed to him. Byrne (1998) suggests that

> if leadership is an art, then surely Welch has proved himself a master painter. Few have personified corporate leadership more dramatically. Fewer still have so consistently delivered on the results of that leadership. For 17 years, while big companies and their chieftains tumbled like dominoes in an unforgiving global economy, Welch has led GE to one revenue and earnings record after another. (p. 90)

Undoubtedly, the long-standing interest in leadership in organizations derives from the widespread belief that leaders like Jack Welch have the potential to affect important organizational outcomes. Numerous studies have demonstrated the beneficial consequences of positive leadership, and transformational leadership in particular, on follower attitudes and states and performance in organizations. More recently, there has also been more interest into leadership's effect on follower health, well-being, and safety. In this section of the chapter, we review these leadership outcomes, explore the mechanisms through which leadership exerts its effects, and discuss the conditions that moderate these effects (see Figure 7.1 for an overview). First, however, several observations flowing from the tendency to attribute so much success to one leader (e.g., Jack Welch) require elaboration. First, the widespread myths linking single leaders like Welch to the fate of organizational behemoths like GE, with its operations in 62 countries, derive not from sound empirical research but rather from impressionistic, subjective accounts. Second, such attributions ignore the fact that the success (or failure) of any one organization will have multiple determinants. The tendency to attribute success to one leader is consistent with the "romance of leadership" phenomenon (Meindl, 1998; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985), which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Direct Outcomes

Numerous quantitative reviews have now established that transformational leadership relates to various metrics of organizational effectiveness, such as satisfaction with the leader, job satisfaction, motivation, follower perceptions of effective leadership, leader performance, and group-organizational performance. Judge and Piccolo (2004) showed that across 87 studies, transformational leadership ($r \approx .44$) was positively related to these leadership effectiveness

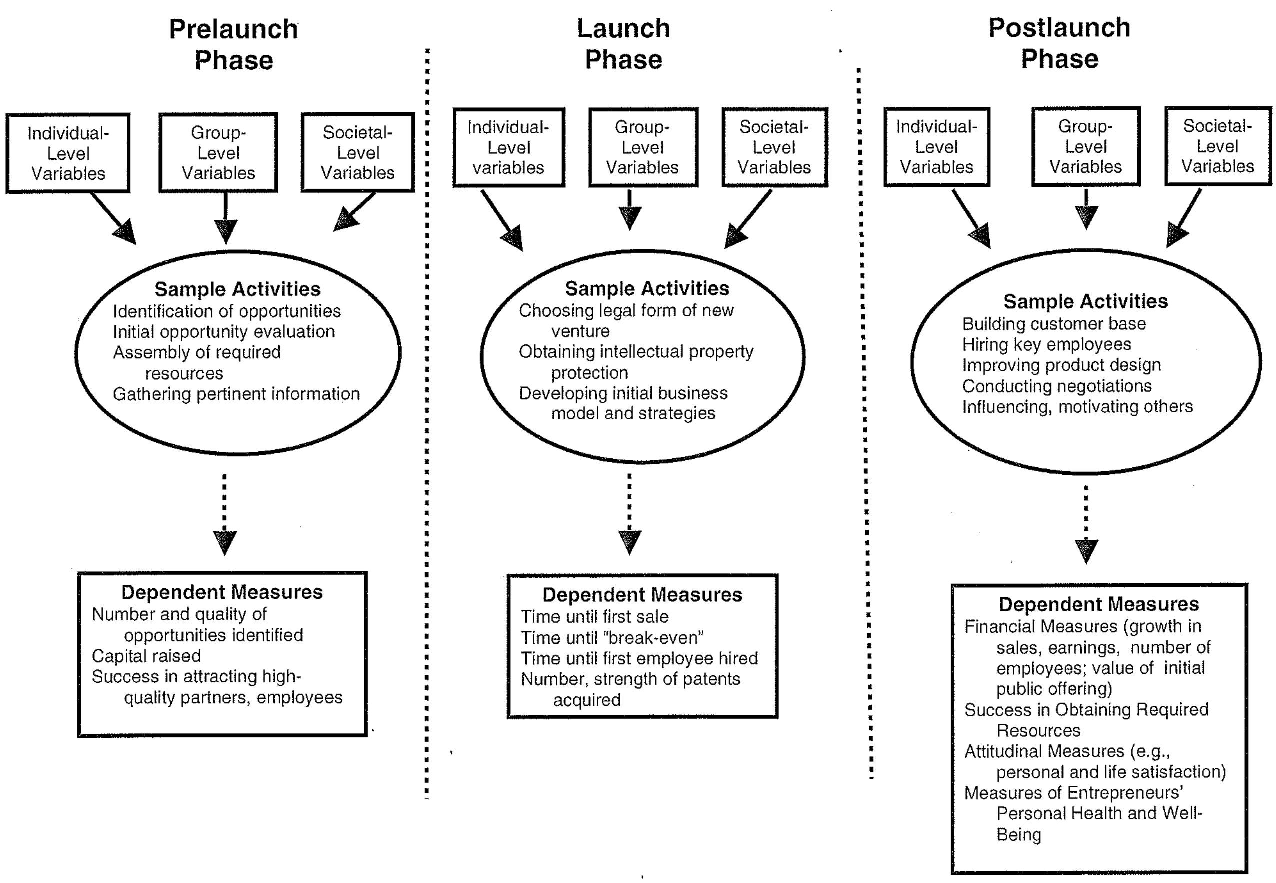

FIGURE 7.1. Outcomes, moderators, and mediators of leadership. LMX = leader–member exchange; OCBs = organizational citizenship behaviors.

criteria, as was contingent reward leadership ($r \approx .39$). These results are in sharp contrast to the validity found for laissez-faire leadership ($r \approx -.37$), and the less consistent correlations between management-by-exception and organizational outcomes (all correlations corrected for unreliability of measures, measurement error, and sampling error). Judge and Piccolo's pattern of findings coincides with earlier meta-analyses (e.g., Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996). However, Judge and Piccolo go beyond past research by showing that transformational leadership relates to effectiveness measures even after controlling for the effects of transactional and laissez-faire leadership behaviors.

Generally, studies have considered leadership effectiveness at the level of the follower (including follower attitudes and performance), the group, and the organization. Beyond those examined by Judge and Piccolo (2004), a number of additional follower attitudes show relationships with transformational leadership, including trust in the leader (for a review see Burke, Sims, Lazzara, & Salas, 2007), commitment to the organization (e.g., Barling, Weber, & Kelloway, 1996), responsiveness to change initiatives (Herold, Fedor, Caldwell, & Liu, 2008), turnover intentions (e.g., Bycio et al., 1995), psychological safety (Detert & Burris, 2007), cynicism (Bommer, Rich, & Rubin, 2005), and identification with the leader, group, and organization (e.g., Epitropaki & Martin, 2005a; Kark, Shamir, & Chen, 2003).

There is also support for the influence of transformational leadership and charisma on follower performance. For instance, in an experiment using a trained actor to elicit charismatic leader behaviors, Kirkpatrick and Locke (1996) found that charisma positively affected follower task performance. Consistent with the "falling dominoes" analogy (e.g., Avolio, 1999b), Dvir et al.'s (2002) findings also suggest that leadership can have indirect performance effects, such that the transformational leadership of higher-level leaders positively influenced the performance of followers who were not their direct reports. Moreover, Bono and Anderson (2005) showed that transformational leaders and their followers played more central roles in advice and influence networks.

Transformational leadership exerts influence on more discretionary forms of follower performance as well. Organizational citizenship behaviors (i.e., positive organizational behaviors that go beyond the formal requirements of one's job) are more common among followers of a transformational leader (e.g., Piccolo & Colquitt, 2006). By enhancing intrinsic motivation, sparking intellectual stimulation, and energizing followers, transformational leadership can also foster follower creativity and ingenuity (e.g., Shin & Zhou, 2003). Finally, transformational leadership has been related to the development of followers in terms of follower morality, motivation, and empowerment (Dvir et al., 2002). As described earlier, Dvir et al.'s study of leader development indicated that leaders who received transformational leadership training had a stronger influence on follower development, particularly on follower self-efficacy and collective orientation.

Evidence for the relationship between leadership and performance extends beyond the individual follower to group-level outcomes, as was the case in the Barling et al. (1996) study that found a significant relationship between transformational leadership training and sales performance in bank branches. Lim and Ployhart (2004) focused specifically on transformational leadership and performance in a team setting and also found a significant positive effect. Moreover, Bass, Avolio, Jung, and Berson (2003) found a strong relationship between transactional leadership and unit performance in army platoons, and a positive relationship emerged between empowering leader behaviors and team performance in Srivastava, Bartol, and Locke's (2006) study of management teams.

Less understood is the relationship between CEO charisma and transformational leadership and firm-level performance, possibly because obtaining leadership ratings of CEOs and top-level managers is difficult. Of the studies that investigated the effects of CEO leadership on firm financial performance, findings were inconclusive (see Agle, Nagarajan, Sonnenfeld, & Srinivasan, 2006, for a summary). Agle et al.'s recent study found little support for the relationship between CEO charisma and firm financial performance, even in uncertain market conditions. Instead, their findings are more consistent with a "romance of leadership" approach; CEOs included in the study were rated as more charismatic when prior firm performance was stronger, but CEO charisma did not predict firm performance prospectively. With mixed support, Waldman, Ramírez, House, and Puranam (2001) reported an important moderating effect: CEO charisma predicted firm financial performance under conditions of market uncertainty, when CEO discretion is heightened, thereby increasing the potential for CEO leadership to have an effect. Ling, Simsek, Lubatkin and Veiga's (2008) findings suggest that focusing on the initial effects of CEOs' transformational leadership on top management teams may be important in linking CEO leadership and financial outcomes.

To summarize, ample evidence suggests that leadership relates to both follower perceptions of leader effectiveness and to individual-, group-, and in some cases, firm-level performance criteria. We now shift our attention away from outcomes that evaluate leadership effectiveness based on its relation to performance and toward a focus on employee safety and well-being as metrics of effectual leadership.

Leaders have the opportunity to embrace and improve the well-being of their followers by promoting safe working practices. For example, high-quality leader–follower relationships have been related to safety communication and commitment, both of which improve safety behaviors (Hofmann & Morgeson, 1999). In another example, Barling et al. (2002) developed a safety-specific measure of transformational leadership, and they found that employees of safety-specific transformational leaders were more conscious of safety concerns and perceived a stronger climate of safety in the organization. In turn, higher safety consciousness and climate were associated with fewer safety-related incidents and occupational injuries. This model was later extended to contrast transformational leadership with passive leadership styles (Kelloway, Mullen, & Francis, 2006). Results confirmed that transformational leaders can effectively communicate safety beliefs and raise safety consciousness and climate, yet safety-specific passive leadership can be detrimental in that it is negatively related to safety awareness.

Outside of a safety context, there is a growing interest in the relationship between leadership and followers' psychological well-being. Effective leadership may reduce workplace stressors, while enhancing followers' moods and experiences. Epitropaki and Martin (2005a) found a direct link between high-quality leader–follower relationships and follower well-being, and van Dierendonck, Haynes, Borrill, and Stride (2004) related leadership to followers' work-related and general well-being across four time periods. Support for the transformational and charismatic leadership framework has also associated this leadership style with follower well-being, in part through mood contagion. Leader charisma is associated with more positive and less negative affect in followers (e.g., Cherulnik, Donley, Wiewel, & Miller, 2001; Erez, Misangyi, Johnson, LePine, & Halverson, 2008). Transformational leaders also contribute to followers' psychological well-being by helping them find meaning in their work (Arnold, Turner, Barling, Kelloway, & McKee, 2007). These findings suggest that meaningful work stimulates intrinsic reasons for working and, as a result, promotes resiliency in the face of challenges, as well as higher quality of life.

Even in its infancy, this area of leadership studies presents compelling evidence for the effect of leadership not only on followers' attitudes and behaviors but also on their psychological health. Before shifting our attention toward mediating effects, it is important to note that these outcomes of leadership are not necessarily static. For example, Shao and Webber (2006) argued that "in the long run, intellectual stimulation may produce desirable effects. Yet, in the short run, leaders who continually urge followers to search for new and better methods of doing things may create ambiguity, conflict, or other forms of stress in the minds of followers" (p. 937). It would be imprudent, then, to assume that either positive or negative effects will surface immediately or be enduring.

Mediating Effects: Explaining How Leadership Affects Outcomes

As reviewed, much is known about the outcomes of leadership, but less is known about how and why these effects occur. In response, an emergent body of literature explores the various means through which leadership exerts its influence. In general, three categories of mediators have been proposed: those relating to follower perceptions of the leader, of themselves, and of the job.

Demonstrative of the first category of mediators, we know that there is a relationship between transformational leadership and followers' positive perceptions of their leaders. Arguably, these followers feel a greater sense of commitment to the leader as a result of those positive perceptions and therefore demonstrate a willingness to exert effort that ultimately benefits an organization. Wang, Law, Hackett, Wang, and Chen (2005) argued further that followers are more likely to reciprocate transformational behaviors as a mechanism of social exchange. They sampled 162 leader–follower dyads and found that followers' perceptions of high-quality LMX (e.g., mutual respect and consideration) mediated the relationship between transformational leadership and follower performance.

Supporting the notion that followers' perceptions of their leaders' attributes mediate leader effectiveness are studies that show a relationship between perceived trust in the leader (e.g., Dirks, 2000; Jung & Avolio, 1999; Pillai, Schriesheim, & Williams, 1999), leader fairness (for a review, see van Knippenberg, De Cremer, & van Knippenberg, 2007), and identification with the leader (e.g., Kark et al., 2003) and desired follower outcomes. For example, transformational leaders empower their followers, invite follower contributions to decision-making, are respectful of followers, and are willing to forgo their own interests for the good of the group. As a result, followers of transformational leaders are more likely to trust that their leader will act in good faith and will treat them fairly. Pillai et al. illustrated these relationships in a path model, showing that followers of transformational leaders perceived greater procedural justice, which predicted higher trust in the leader and subsequent organizational citizenship behaviors on the part of the follower. In contrast, followers who do not trust their leader are unlikely to accept the leader's vision or commit themselves on the leader's behalf (Jung & Avolio, 2000). Farmer and Aguinis (2005) echoed these ideas in a conceptual model relating follower perceptions of leader power to various follower outcomes.

Followers may also be more likely to resist a leader's vision when they perceive the leader's values to be inconsistent with their own. Jung and Avolio (2000) suggested that through communication and inspirational motivation, transformational leaders transmit their collective-focused values to followers; thus, followers of transformational leaders will be more likely to internalize the leader's mission, aligning their own values with those of the leader. These authors show that transformational leadership is positively related to value congruence between leaders and followers and that value congruence mediates the relationship between transformational leadership and follower performance. Likewise, Kark et al. (2003) found that transformational leadership was positively related to identification with the leader and with the group overall. However, the nature of the identification with the leader was critical: Personalized identification with the leader mediated the relationship between transformational leadership and follower dependence on the leader, whereas socialized identification with the work group mediated the relationship between transformational leadership and follower empowerment. Thus, further research is needed to fully understand the conditions under which transformational leadership is related to follower development and when followers may become overly reliant on the leader for guidance or motivation.

The second category of mediators prominent in the leadership literature considers how leaders alter follower or group internal states. Of particular interest has been empowerment and efficacy at the individual and group levels. To illustrate, transformational leaders show intellectual stimulation, encouraging followers to voice their concerns and to "speak up," by creating an environment of psychological safety (Detert & Burris, 2007). In this way, followers are empowered by transformational leaders who stimulate their interest and involve them in organizational visions. Consequently, psychological empowerment plays a role in mediating the relationship between transformational leadership and organizational commitment (Avolio, Zhu, Koh, & Bhatia, 2004) as well as LMX and follower performance

(Chen, Kirkman, Kanfer, Allen, & Rosen, 2007). Similar findings have been reported at the team level: Team empowerment mediates the effects of leadership climate on team performance (Chen et al., 2007).

Another example of this second category of mediators is intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation mediates the relationship between transformational leadership and sports performance (e.g., Charbonneau, Barling, & Kelloway, 2001). Moreover, empowering leadership behaviors also enhance intrinsic motivation and have been linked to knowledge sharing within teams (Srivastava, Bartol, & Locke, 2006). Srivastava et al. supported the presence of a second mediator in their study: team efficacy. Indeed, efficacy and empowerment are intimately intertwined (e.g., Chen et al., 2007; Spreitzer, 1995). Giving followers opportunities to share their ideas and voice their opinions is just one way in which leaders can influence followers' confidence in their own abilities, and this may be the route through which empowering leadership garners such positive outcomes (e.g., Srivastava et al., 2006.). The relationship between follower and group efficacy and transformational leadership is stimulated through transformational leaders' individualized mentorship and coaching, engagement of followers in the task and organizational goals, and expressions of confidence in followers' abilities to achieve group goals (Schaubroeck, Lam, & Cha, 2007). Accordingly, group efficacy has been shown to mediate the relationship between transformational leadership and team performance (Bass et al., 2003; Schaubroeck et al., 2007.).

The final category of mediating mechanisms used to explain the positive effects of leadership relate to the way in which followers perceive their jobs. As suggested previously, transformational leaders can influence the meaningfulness that followers find in their jobs (Arnold et al., 2007). Piccolo and Colquitt (2007) called this phenomenon the "management of meaning" and showed that followers of transformational leaders find more meaning in their work as measured by core job characteristics: task significance, autonomy, task variety, task identity, and feedback. In their study, more meaningful work stimulated intrinsic sources of motivation and goal commitment, which were directly related to organizational citizenship behaviors and task performance. Similar empirical evidence suggests that followers' self-concordance, or "the extent to which activities such as job-related tasks or goals express individuals' authentic interests or values," partially mediates the relationship between transformational leadership and follower attitudes (Bono & Judge, 2003, p. 556). Future research would benefit from further explaining the ways through which leadership can influence follower perceptions of meaningful work and, correspondingly, their attitudes, performance, and well-being.

Moderating Effects: Isolating the Boundary Conditions of Leadership Effectiveness

One question that is frequently asked is whether leadership matters; Nye (2008) refined this popular question, asking not just *whether* leadership matters, but *when* it matters—a question of theoretical and practical importance. Research has identified factors relating to the follower, group, leader–follower relationship, and context that moderate the relationship between leadership and organizational outcomes. Next we consider these influences in greater depth and point to areas that warrant future research.

At the follower level, leadership effectiveness may be conditional on followers' levels of positive and negative affect. Epitropaki and Martin (2005a) showed that the positive effects of transformational leadership on follower identification with the organization were dependent on the follower's positive and negative affect. Followers with high positive affect and low negative affect reported more favorable impressions of their work, and, as a result of such a positive outlook, these followers were more likely to identify with their organization. The reverse was true for individuals with low positive affect and high negative affect. However, in this latter circumstance, transformational leaders had a relatively greater impact on followers' identification, perhaps through the "management of meaning." These results suggest that the followers most likely to benefit from transformational leadership are those who need leadership the most.

This interpretation is consistent with the findings of Whittington, Goodwin, and Murray (2004). In their study, transformational leadership had a stronger effect on follower affective commitment and performance when followers faced difficult or challenging goals and thus needed guidance. Conversely, transformational leadership exerted less influence on followers when job enrichment was high (Whittington et al., 2004.). Similar moderated effects were also apparent at the team level where inclusion of a team leader was more relevant to information gathering and performance for teams with an external locus of control than for those with an internal locus of control (Boone, van Olffen, & Van Witteloostuijn, 2005). Leadership is more instrumental to external teams who lack team potency and require greater direction and motivation to be successful.

Leadership effectiveness is contingent on aspects of the leader–follower relationship. Piccolo and Colquitt (2006) proposed that followers are more open to and accepting of transformational leadership under conditions of higher quality LMX, and they found that transformational leadership related more strongly to follower performance and citizenship behaviors under these circumstances. Positive leadership behaviors may also be more successful when leaders and followers share a sense of common identity or in situations that highlight their shared identity (Ellemers, de Gilder, & Haslam, 2004). Despite these propositions, conceptualizations of high-quality leader–follower relationships as both mediators (as described in the previous section) and moderators of the leadership process remain to be reconciled.

Research on characteristics of leader–follower relationships as moderators of leader effectiveness has also considered proximal relationships between leaders and followers, but the findings warrant cautious interpretation. For example, Howell and Hall-Merenda (1999) showed that transformational leadership predicted follower performance over a 1-year period for followers within close physical proximity of the leader but did not have an effect when followers were physically distant. To the contrary, others have argued that structural distance between leaders and followers (i.e., when leaders have an indirect relationship with followers through a middle leader) may enhance the relationship between transformational leadership and both performance and commitment (e.g., Avolio et al., 2004; Dvir et al., 2002). To add to the complexity, structural and physical distances are typically highly correlated (Avolio et al., 2004). Perhaps acknowledging that leader hierarchical "level" differentially predicts effectiveness can shed light on this contradiction. Quantitative reviews of the transformational and charismatic leadership literatures have suggested that transformational leaders higher in the organizational hierarchy are somewhat more effective than those at lower levels (Fuller, Patterson, Hester, & Stringer, 1996; Judge & Piccolo, 2004). Thus, future research will be necessary to disentangle the relative influences of physical distance, structural distance, and hierarchical level on leader effectiveness.

As mentioned, there are suggestions that culture can direct the effectiveness of leadership (Shamir & Howell, 1999). For instance, experimental evidence suggests that transactional leaders, who focus on self-directed, short-term goals, elicited stronger performance from individualists (Jung & Avolio, 1999). Conversely, collectivists may perform better when their leader is transformational because such leaders focus on the goals of the group and a shared purpose. Based on a cross-national study of financial services teams, Schaubroeck et al. (2007) found results at the team level that coincide with those of Jung and Avolio's (1999) experiment: Transformational leadership affected team potency more for groups with shared collectivist values. In addition, shared power distance values also enhanced the effects of transformational leadership on team potency. Individuals with strong power distance values have a greater respect for leaders and thus are more likely to internalize a transformational leader's confidence in the team's capabilities. However, evidence for the moderating effects of culture extends beyond followers' values to the leaders' values as well. Spreitzer, Perttula, and Xin (2005), for example, showed that *leaders'* traditional cultural values moderated the relationship between transformational leadership and effectiveness. Taken together, these studies suggest that culture is a significant, yet perhaps underrepresented and under-explored, component of the leadership process.

The final category of moderators that has garnered empirical support relates to organizational context. Shamir and Howell (1999) proposed that charismatic leadership emerges more often and has stronger effects in weak psychological situations, which are characterized by ambiguity, whereas in strong psychological situations, which constrict behavior, the reverse is true. In contrast is Lim and Ployhart's (2004) exploration of transformational leadership in typical and maximum contexts. A maximum context consists of three components: (a) followers are aware that their performance is under evaluation, (b) followers are committed to exerting maximum effort, and (c) the task is short in duration (e.g., SWAT teams). Lim and Ployhart argued that the potential of transformational leaders is amplified in maximum contexts (which should seemingly be "stronger situations") and showed that the relationship between transformational leadership and performance is weaker in typical performance contexts as compared with these maximum contexts.

Another example of a contextual moderator of leadership stems from Lowe et al.'s (1996) meta-analytic review, which concluded that charisma was significantly more highly correlated with effectiveness in public ($r = .74$) versus private ($r = .59$) organizations (correlations corrected for unreliability of measures, measurement error, and sampling error). One possible reason for Lowe et al.'s finding is that public-sector organizations tend to be more consultative than their private-sector counterparts, which are more hierarchical in nature.

Sizeable proportions of the employed workforce in virtually all countries are employed within the public sector, making the study of leadership in this context more than a mere passing curiosity. Also motivating the need for this focus is the frequent stereotype of differences in leadership and motivation between the private- and public-sector environments (e.g., leadership is "better" in the private sector). Instead of denigrating leadership within public-sector organizations, a more constructive approach might be to learn from them. In this case, given the demonstrated effectiveness of transformational leadership, one lesson might be that changing to a more consultative and less hierarchical nature might help private-sector organizations enhance their transformational leaders' effectiveness.

The foregoing discussion of contextual moderators suggests that the results of charismatic and transformational leadership in one context may be different in another context. Along the same lines, Judge and Piccolo (2004) showed that transformational leadership validities differed between organizational and military contexts. This result is important because many leadership studies take place in military contexts, and their findings have been used in support of obtaining similar results in nonmilitary organizations. Therefore, a more detailed discussion of these studies and their findings is warranted.

First and foremost, unlike business or similar organizational contexts, military contexts provide an opportunity to understand the nature, development, and consequences of leadership in life-and-death situations. Second, the fact that military personnel who are often engaged in highly dangerous work could be volunteers, regular employees, or involuntarily conscripted provides a rich context in which to test the intersection between leadership effectiveness and follower characteristics. Third, given the norms and prescriptive behavior in the military, leadership behaviors may be more evident in individuals who hold relatively high status in the chain of command (Kane, Tremble, & Trueman, 2000).

Two studies based in a military context provide useful insights. First, Bass et al. (2003) studied the longitudinal effects of transformational leadership in four different brigades undergoing tactical mission exercises in the United States. Like others, they showed that the effects of transformational leadership and contingent reward on platoon performance were not necessarily direct; they were partially mediated by the direct effects of leadership on platoon cohesion and potency. In addition, their results revealed that passive or laissez-faire leadership style exerted negative effects on group cohesion, potency, and performance. Second, the implications of Dvir et al.'s (2002) findings for the development of leadership, discussed earlier in this chapter, were that cadets' performance (e.g., knowledge and use of light weapons and physical performance on an obstacle course) was highest in the transformational leadership group.

Continuing the discussion on moderators of leadership, an understanding of the labor-union context, in which union officials exercise little formal power and democracy is integral to union dynamics, would be instructive. Unions differ in many ways from private- and public-sector organizations. Specifically, although membership is sometimes mandatory, participation is voluntary. Leadership occurs at all levels of organizations—and unions are no exception; a great deal of research has focused on the lowest levels of unions (i.e., on shop stewards; Barling et al., 2002). In addition, because obtaining participation from members is critical for union survival and success, understanding leadership in unions is both a means to an end and an end in itself. Beginning in the 1950s, leadership research emphasized typologies of union leaders' behavior. Gouldner (1947) first differentiated between union leaders who were focused on bread-and-butter issues and those who were governed by more progressive priorities. Batstone, Boraston, and Frenkel (1977) extended this model, suggesting four "types" of union leaders, namely, the leader, cowboy, nascent leader, and populist leader.

Later, researchers applied existing leadership theories to the unionized context. Consistent with LMX theory, McClane (1991) initially showed the importance of the interaction between union leaders and their members and identified some critical personality factors that moderated this relationship. However, most of the subsequent research has focused on transformational leadership, showing that transformational leadership influences union attitudes and union participation (e.g., Catano, Pond, & Kelloway, 2001; Fullagar, McCoy, & Shull, 1992; Kelloway & Barling, 1993). Nonetheless, given the democratic nature of unions, it remains for research to investigate directly just how the unionized context might moderate the effects of transformational leadership.

In summary, although a great deal of knowledge has emerged from studying the outcomes of leadership, further conceptual and empirical attention is needed to fully appreciate the leadership process, particularly in terms of its mechanisms and contingencies. We hope that this relatively brief review stimulates thought toward such endeavors.

EXPLORING THE ROLE OF FOLLOWERS IN LEADERSHIP

So far, we have focused our attention exclusively on leaders and leadership. However, any act of leadership requires the active involvement of, and agreement by, followers. In this next section, we reverse this bias by introducing followers into our understanding of leadership. There are many reasons why followers look to their leaders, one of which is to help them to make sense of organizational life (Pfeffer, 1977). To understand how followers engage in sensemaking, we turn our discussion to topics involving the social construction of leadership, focusing on two frameworks: the "romance of leadership" (Meindl et al., 1985) and implicit leadership theories (ILTs; Epitropaki & Martin, 2005b). We then consider the social identity analysis of leadership, which relates both leader and follower properties to the emergence and effectiveness of leadership. All of these frameworks help to accomplish our goal of shifting the discussion away from leader behaviors and traits and toward followers' perceptions of those behaviors and traits. Accordingly, this section raises some critical questions for future research on followership.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, an emphasis on leader behaviors—or what might appropriately be referred to as a *leader-centric focus*—dominates leadership studies. Consequently, we know much about leader behaviors and how they are associated with follower performance and satisfaction; in contrast, much less is known about followers' perceptions of leader behaviors and how they might be influenced, or be a function of, leaders' behaviors. Consistent with a follower-centric focus, in this section we ask how followers perceive and understand leadership behaviors.

The "Romance of Leadership"

Perhaps nowhere might the concept of the romance of leadership be better understood than during times of abject crises. During crises, leadership almost always induces follower perceptions of leader charisma; where recovery from the crisis is critical to the future well-being of followers, such recovery is often attributed to that leader's capabilities (Pillai, 1996; Pillai & Meindl, 1998).

This process was evident in Rudi Giuliani's popularity after the attacks of September 11: "He had created ardent critics and foes along the way, but all were silenced by the stern-jawed competence that characterized the outgoing mayor's statesmanlike response to the worst tragedy in his city's history" (Fiorina, 2001, p. 8). Fiorina's observation illustrates how a successful response to a grave crisis can overwrite past "critics and foes," with much more favorable leadership perceptions taking their place. Similarly, Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl (2004) wrote of President Bush,

> Prior to the events of 9/11, President George W. Bush was generally not seen as a strong, charismatic leader that people would place their faith in during times of crisis or external threat. . . . the media often characterized the President as oratorically challenged. . . . Seemingly overnight, however, Americans embraced the President and his leadership. Before the terrorist attacks, 51% of Americans approved of Bush's job performance, whereas after the attacks, his approval ratings jumped to 86%. (p. 213)

In both of these cases, one plausible explanation is that followers are retrospectively romanticizing the role that their leaders played in their recovery, attributing their safety and well-being to the perceived extraordinary qualities and behaviors of their leaders.

The romance of leadership notion has spurred many research questions that differ significantly from the traditional leader-centric paradigm. To illustrate: In the traditional focus, ratings of leadership (e.g., to what degree the leader exudes power and confidence) are interpreted as actual accounts of leader behavior; consistent with the romance of leadership notion, ratings are more likely to be seen as information about followers' *constructions* of leadership (Meindl, 1995). Moreover, after gathering leader ratings from different followers, researchers typically aggregate those ratings. Aggregation of the ratings disregards the uniqueness of each follower's construction of leadership. Inspired by the romance of leadership notion, researchers would seek to explain why there are differences or similarities in followers' ratings.

Assuming a romance of leadership perspective raises several issues. First, formal leadership status, rank, and position in the organization assume less importance. When followers' constructions of leadership are critical to a comprehensive understanding of leadership, the importance of informal leaders (e.g., peer leaders) who attract followers' attention and commitment increases (e.g., Loughead & Hardy, 2005; Neubert, 1999), even in the presence of a formal leader (e.g., Manz & Sims, 1987). Evidently, for followers, leadership means more than official status or ranking in an organization.

Second, although in theory we are all sensemakers, some individuals are more prone to romanticizing leadership than others (Felfe, 2005), hence the development and usefulness of the Romance of Leadership Scale (RLS; Meindl, 1998). The RLS suggests how leader ratings could be over- or underestimated: Individuals who score high on the RLS tend to overestimate leader competencies, whereas those low on the RLS tend to underestimate leaders (Felfe & Petersen, 2007). These findings should prompt researchers and practitioners to interpret follower ratings of leadership cautiously.

Third, leaders also have romantic notions about their own leadership style and may encourage the romance of their leadership so as to garner follower support and approval (Gray & Densten, 2007). One way of romanticizing one's own leadership is to deemphasize one's faults, which may be done unconsciously (e.g., leaders deceive themselves into believing their own rhetoric) or consciously (e.g., they deliberately manage a favorable impression; Gray & Densten).

Fourth, the "romance" of leadership does not imply only positive constructions of leadership.

> If a positive halo exists, people may see even obviously poor performance in a somewhat positive light if they attribute it to the efforts and activities of top

> management. But it is more likely that the halo is negative when people evaluate poor performance—when leadership appears to have produced poor outcomes, observers may view those outcomes in an exaggeratedly negative way. (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987, p. 105)

In other words, followers can attribute both organizational successes and organizational failures to leaders during sense-making (e.g., Bligh, Kohles, Pearce, Justin, & Stovall, 2007; Boeker, 1992; Cameron, Kim, & Whetten, 1987). Therefore, what is being romanticized is the power of leaders (to bring about success or failure), not the leaders themselves.

Implicit Leadership Theories

Implicit leadership theory (ILT) originates from leadership categorization theory, which suggests that expectations and beliefs about the "ideal leader" serve as standards against which we compare our actual leaders (Lord & Maher, 1993). ILT research has investigated the distinctions among expectations and beliefs about "ideal leaders," "leaders in general," "effective leaders," "supervisors," and "leaders worthy of influence" (e.g., Kenney, Schwartz-Kenney, & Blascovich, 1996; Offermann, Kennedy, & Wirtz, 1994). Much of the initial research was conducted in laboratories, but more recent research has applied ILT to the field. Offermann et al. conducted a series of studies using university students and employed adults. The results of these studies yielded eight dimensions that were frequently used to describe leaders: sensitivity, dedication, tyranny, charisma, attractiveness, masculinity, intelligence, and strength. Ever since these dimensions were identified, subsequent research has asked questions such as "What are the implications for leaders, leadership, and organizations of matching or not matching a follower's implicit notions of leadership with specific leaders?" and "Where do these ILTs originate?"

To answer these and other questions, Epitropaki and Martin (2005b) investigated the extent to which followers' actual leaders matched those followers' ILTs and whether the degree of matching significantly predicted relationship quality, work attitudes, and well-being. As predicted, closer matches were significantly related to ratings of leader–follower relationship quality, and relationship quality related to attitudes (e.g., job satisfaction) and well-being. Additionally, Epitropaki and Martin (2005a) collected data a year later from the same participants and used cross-lagged modeling analyses to test for the feedback loop originally proposed by Lord and Maher (1993). If a feedback loop exists, then individuals should update their ILTs when they are confronted with contrary evidence. A research question that tests the feedback loop could be, "What happens to the structure of one's ILTs if the characteristic 'male' is part of the ILTs, and yet one's male leader fails at a business venture?" Epitropaki and Martin (2005a) sought to better understand whether the feedback loop existed and how it worked. However, no support for the feedback loop was found: Followers' perceptions of leaders tended to be stable over time despite any disconfirming evidence. However, Epitropaki and Martin (2005a) maintained that a feedback loop may still exist; one year of exposure to disconfirming evidence may not have been sufficient to have an effect on follower perceptions. Overall, Epitropaki and Martin's (2005a) research demonstrated that despite the abstract nature of ILTs, they have practical implications for organizations and work outcomes.

Keller (1999) provided insight into the origin of ILTs. Although Offermann et al.'s (1994) initial research specified eight leader dimensions, Keller (1999) related each dimension to the Big Five dimensions of personality mentioned earlier in this chapter. For example, agreeableness and sensitivity were correlated. Expanding our understanding of the development of leadership, Keller also examined the role of parenting style in this study. She concluded that an individual's ideal leader images were significantly related to that individual's perceptions of his/her parents; if one's parents were perceived as tyrannical, then tyrannical was integral to his/her perception of an ideal leader. Keller's research goes beyond understanding the structure of ILTs and toward understanding the source of them.

As presented here, research on the social construction of leadership (whether focusing on the romance of leadership or ILTs) accentuates the role of follower cognitions in attributing leadership and identifying leaders. Despite progress in this area, important questions remain. Although the conceptual role of ILTs is obvious—they influence people's expectations about their leaders—empirical research has yet to establish how extensive ILTs are in the first place. Looking forward, attempts should also be made to track the stability of ILTs over time. In addition, how much others' (e.g., parents', first supervisors', peers') expectations and beliefs about leaders affect one's own ideal leader traits needs to be better understood. A rich understanding of followership awaits a social constructionist view of leadership.

Prototypicality

In the predominant leader-centric tradition, heroic images of leaders overshadow the role of the group that the leader belongs to and leads, yet many leader behaviors are targeted toward mobilizing followers, emphasizing group goals, and uplifting group morale (Chemers, 2001). Accordingly, group characteristics are critical for leader effectiveness. The social identity analysis of leadership postulates that the congruence between group characteristics and leader characteristics is critical to understanding evaluations of leader effectiveness and leader endorsement. The term *leader group prototypicality* is used throughout this literature to describe the extent to which leaders represent group norms, values, and standards, also known as *group prototypes*. Group prototypes are "fuzzy sets of characteristics that in a given context define the group" and they "describe and prescribe group membership appropriate attributes and behavior in a specific context" (Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008, p. 15); this effect is heightened as the salience of the group increases (Hogg, 2001). The social identity analysis of leadership that underlies group prototypicality describes the mechanisms through which leaders emerge and gain follower endorsement.

Unlike LMX and transformational leadership theory, which focus on the nature of leadership, the social identity analysis of leadership is concerned with identifying the features of leaders and followers that critically define a leader's emergence and development (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). In addition, unlike implicit leadership theories, which provide a within-person understanding of leadership, prototypicality addresses relational issues between followers, groups, and leaders. The social identity analysis of leadership addresses itself to questions such as "To what extent does group composition relate to leader effectiveness?" "How do groups select their leaders?" and "Why do some leaders gain significantly more follower support than other leaders?"

A major tenet of the social identity analysis of leadership is that the group member who most accurately embodies the group's values and norms is the most likely to emerge as the group's leader. One example of this derives from the fashion industry, where leadership succession is frequent and group prototypes are not only readily observable but are also potential sources for competitive advantage. In that industry, successors are pressured to maintain a fashion house's values and standards while simultaneously injecting their own uniqueness into each collection. Valentino Garavani's announced departure from his fashion house in 2007 led to a search for his successor, with Alessandra Facchinetti eventually named as his replacement. The CEO of Valentino Fashion Group, Stefano Sassi, remarked, "Facchinetti is the designer who can interpret and continue the legacy of Valentino's core values at their best" (Barnett, 2007), suggesting that Facchinetti's successful emergence as the house's leader was based, at least in part, on her ability to accurately represent the group prototype (i.e., "Valentino's core values").

In a second example, after CEO Robert Meers announced his retirement from the primarily women's clothing retailer Lululemon Athletica Inc., Christine Day was named his successor in April 2008. Clearly expressing an interest in preserving the group prototype, founder and chairman Chip Wilson had said earlier in February, "I have a quest now to turn Lululemon into truly a women's company. I believe the next CEO will be a woman" (Shaw, 2008, p. FP7). Having a female CEO reflects and reinforces Lululemon's interest in women's health and lifestyle issues; indeed, Day admitted to participating in yoga, Pilates, and running—activities to which Lululemon caters with its fitness-brand merchandise (Constantineau, 2008). Meers further affirmed the importance of Day's representation of the organization: "She also happens to be our target customer—she lives and breathes it, and that was exactly what I was looking for" (Constantineau, 2008). Wilson intimated that Day will have a hand in creating "female-friendly policies," underscoring how much the organization values being a "strong women's company" (Shaw). Moreover, being female, Day enhances her leader group prototypicality, as the majority of the organization's employees are women.

The social identity analysis of leadership can be applied to both examples; leader role occupancy and emergence were dependent on the congruence between the organization's and the successor's values, norms, and standards, thereby enhancing leader group prototypicality. Beyond leader emergence (e.g., van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, & van Dijk, 2000), research findings support the notion that leader group prototypicality is associated with leader endorsement (e.g., Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001), ratings of effectiveness (e.g., Hains, Hogg, & Duck, 1997), and persuasiveness (e.g., van Knippenberg, Lossie, & Wilke, 1994), and it affords prototypical leaders latitude in their actions (Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008). Likewise, the effects of leader group prototypicality are more pronounced when group members strongly identify with the group (e.g., Hains et al.; Hogg, Hains, & Mason, 1998; Platow & van Knippenberg). The underlying rationale is that leader group prototypicality conveys to followers the notion that the leader is aligned with collective interests and is truly a member of the group, and it reinforces the group's identity (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

Despite such findings, there is no empirical support for the relationship between leader prototypicality and objective measures of performance. Nonetheless, group-prototypical leaders fare better with respect to evaluations of effectiveness. Giessner and van Knippenberg (2008) reported that in times of failure, leaders who were prototypical of group norms were judged less harshly than leaders who were less prototypical of group norms. Leader prototypicality, then, provided a "license to fail." Similarly, leader prototypicality also provides what may be thought of as a "license to eccentricity." The positive feelings surrounding a prototypical leader (e.g., who is presumed to have the collective's interests at heart) could afford the leader leeway in his or her actions (including actions that lead to failure) that should extend to that individual's unconventional or risky behaviors (van Knippenberg et al., 2000; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005).

The situation of *low* group prototypicality has also been studied. Van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2005) found a significant relationship between leader self-sacrifice and evaluations of leader effectiveness, and this was most pronounced for leaders who were low in group prototypicality. This finding suggests that leaders' self-sacrificing behaviors may compensate for the lack of group prototypicality: Self-sacrificing behavior, not unlike group prototypicality, signals that a leader is genuinely interested in the collective good. Future directions for research may take this a step further and posit situations in which low leader group prototypicality is actually beneficial for followers, such as during times of change or when the group's culture is counterproductive.

Relatively new to leadership studies, the social identity analysis of leadership is predominantly studied in laboratory experiments. It follows that the challenge is to apply these concepts to real-world situations or to experiments that maximize ecological validity, where group prototypes and leader prototypicality may not be as salient as they appear in experiment designs. In this vein, Hogg and colleagues (2006) conducted an experiment in which the group prototype was not explicit. To create an ambiguous group prototype, they manipulated the salience of either a stereotypically feminine (e.g., creative) or masculine (e.g., rational) group norm rather than explicitly stating that the group prototype was "male" or "female." They also manipulated leader gender and measured participants' sex-role orientation (i.e., beliefs about female and male behavioral norms), and they found that even when the group prototype was ambiguous, male leaders were judged as more effective when the group prototype was stereotypically masculine. Similarly, female leaders were judged as more effective when the group prototype was stereotypically feminine. It follows that even under conditions of inexplicitness the significance of a group prototype for leadership endorsement is not diminished.

To further improve upon the generalizability of findings from this area of research, it would be useful to investigate leader emergence, endorsement, and perceptions in groups without any group prototypes. The absence of a group prototype may be more representative of the real-world context in which (new and temporary) groups operate. Following the earlier examples of Valentino and Lululemon, future field research may also explore the phenomena of leader emergence on group norms (i.e., Day's contribution to a "women's company") as well as group norms contributing to leader emergence (i.e., Facchinetti's fit with the established Valentino norms) in tandem.

The social identity analysis of leadership provides a fresh perspective that depicts a relational model of leadership: The characteristics that support a leader's endorsement and emergence are specific to the group being led. Reflecting its social identity and self-categorization foundations, the social identity analysis of leadership promotes research where the variables of interest are followers' perceptions, such as their perceptions of a leader's representativeness of the group, and curiosity lies in the cognitive processes in which followers engage to inform their perceptions.

DESTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP

Until now, we have focused primarily on high-quality leadership. Unfortunately, not all leadership is either ethical or productive. In this section, we review common conceptualizations of undesirable leadership styles, including passive, abusive, and unethical leadership. (See also Vol. 3, chap. 15, this handbook.)

Neglectful and Abusive Leadership

For the most part, the effects of passive leadership have been compared with those of active leadership (e.g., by comparing laissez-faire with transformational leadership). It is widely held that passive leadership fails to produce the positive outcomes of more active leadership styles (Skogstad, Einarsen, Torsheim, Aasland, & Hetland, 2007), but it is not necessarily presumed to result in negative effects. Only rarely has passive leadership been linked to detrimental results. A meta-analysis of the full-range model of transformational leadership showed that laissez-faire leadership was negatively related to leader effectiveness ($r = -.54$), and that followers of laissez-faire leaders tended to be dissatisfied with their jobs ($r = -.28$) and leaders ($r = -.58$; all correlations corrected for unreliability of measures, measurement error, and sampling error; Judge & Piccolo, 2004). Skogstad et al. (2004) extended these findings to show that passive, indirect leadership also predicted role ambiguity, role conflict, conflict with coworkers, bullying behaviors, and, indirectly, psychological distress.

Similarly, passive leadership may also be conceptualized as neglectful, particularly with respect to employee safety. Earlier we described how transformational leaders may act as role models of safe behaviors, lowering incidents of workplace injuries. Conversely, passive leaders are detached from their leadership responsibilities and unlikely to be involved in promoting safety behaviors (Kelloway et al., 2006). As a result, instead of acting as role models, passive leaders signal that safety is unimportant, and such neglect can have adverse effects on safety outcomes. Kelloway et al. (2006) provided empirical support for this proposition, finding that safety-specific passive leadership negatively predicted safety-related outcomes even after accounting for the positive effects of safety-specific transformational leadership. More recently, Hinkin and Schriesheim (2008) showed in a series of four studies that when leaders avoid giving appropriate rewards and punishment, follower perceptions (satisfaction and perceptions of effectiveness) of the leader are negatively influenced, as are subordinates' perceptions of role clarity and supervisors' perceptions of their subordinates' performance.

Kelloway et al. (2006) made a clear distinction between the passive leadership that they studied and directly abusive leadership, suggesting that, in the case of safety, leaders are more likely to overlook safety issues than to purposefully or maliciously obstruct and compromise the safety of their employees. A separate line of research has clarified the behaviors of abusive supervision, despite its relative infrequency (e.g., Tepper, 2000; Zellars, Tepper, & Duffy, 2002; for a detailed review of the abusive supervision literature, see Tepper, 2007). Tepper (2000) defined *abusive supervisions* as "subordinates' perceptions of . . . the extent to which supervisors engage in *the sustained display of hostile verbal and nonverbal behaviors, excluding physical contact*" (p. 178, emphasis in original). Example behaviors include criticizing followers in front of others, yelling at followers, belittling followers, lying, and unjustifiably blaming followers for mistakes.

Abusive supervision predicts a host of negative outcomes, including follower deviance, poor attitudes and performance, turnover, diminished psychological health, and poorer work-family functioning (see Tepper, 2007, for a review). Abusive supervision is also met with greater follower resistance (Tepper, Duffy, & Shaw, 2001). Tepper, Moss, Lockhart, and Carr (2007) reported that followers of abusive supervisors tended to use "regulative maintenance communication tactics" that involved maintaining the leader–follower relationship through avoidance and evasion tactics (e.g., distorting negative reports to prevent a punitive reaction from the leader). Ironically, Tepper et al. (2007) found that such tactics actually exacerbate the relationship between abusive supervision and follower psychological distress.

Two primary mediators relate abusive supervision to these dysfunctional outcomes, namely, perceptions of injustice and lack of control. Followers of abusive supervisors are likely to feel unfairly treated, explaining both their resultant negative attitudes and states and also their retaliatory behaviors (e.g., Tepper, 2000; Zellars et al., 2002). Followers may retaliate against an abusive supervisor not only to restore equity but also to regain a sense of personal control over the situation. Mitchell and Ambrose (2007) showed that followers of abusive supervisors were more likely to display deviant behaviors toward their supervisor and that this relationship was stronger when followers held negative, "an eye for an eye," reciprocity beliefs. In addition, followers acted more defiantly toward others in the organization as well, suggesting that their inability to restore justice and personal control may have initiated displaced aggression.

An equally interesting stream of research has considered how displaced aggression can explain abusive supervision (Tepper, 2007). In a study of supervisors, followers, and followers' family members, Hoobler and Brass (2006) found evidence consistent with the notion that supervisors displaced their anger on followers, as evidenced by abusive supervisory behaviors, and that followers displaced their aggression onto their family members. Specifically, when supervisors perceived a breach in their psychological contract with their organizations, then followers were more likely to report abusive supervisory behaviors; this was particularly the case for leaders with a hostile attribution bias or the tendency to overly blame others. Moreover, family members of abused followers reported higher levels of family undermining committed by the abused followers. A second empirical study also lends some support to the displaced aggression theory of abusive supervision. In this study, leaders who experienced interactional injustice from their immediate supervisors were more likely to be perceived by their followers as abusive. However, this relationship only held for supervisors with an authoritarian leadership style (Aryee, Chen, Sun, & Debrah, 2007).

Although concern about the predominant negative focus in much of psychology is not new, such negativity may be less prevalent in the field of leadership, with its strong emphasis on the benefits of positive leadership. In fact, further research is required to more fully understand the antecedents of abusive supervision and how follower attributes and behaviors moderate these relationships (Tepper, 2007). For example, leader depression is one empirically tested predictor of abusive supervision (Tepper, Duffy, Henle, & Lambert, 2006), while other proposed antecedents, such as leader personality and organizational culture, remain unexplored (Tepper, 2007). Perhaps one explanation for the overall lack of studies on negative leadership is that leaders' behaviors are not always consistent; for example, they could be charismatic, yet also display bouts of hostile behavior (Pfeffer, 2007). Steve Jobs of Apple Computer might reflect this: He has been credited with reviving Apple and painted as charismatic in the process (e.g., Harvey, 2001), but he also has a reputation for "sadistic perfectionism, often without discernible provocation" (Berglas, 1999, p. 29). These complexities and inconsistencies are difficult to capture in single studies but must be reflected in research to avoid simplistic interpretations of "purely evil" (or "purely good") leaders.

We now turn our attention to unethical leadership, which goes beyond behaviors and spotlights leaders' values, beliefs, and morals.

Unethical Leaders

Despite considerable concern devoted to this issue by the lay public, the ethics of leadership has all too often escaped systematic study by organizational scholars (Brown, Treviño, & Harrison, 2005), although this critical omission is now being reversed. Greater attention is being accorded to ethical issues in leadership from an array of different approaches, such as personality (e.g., House & Howell, 1992; Judge et al., 2006), values (e.g., Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999), moral reasoning (Turner, Barling, Epitropaki, Butcher, & Milner, 2002), moral orientation (Simola, Barling & Turner, in press), generalized ethical leadership (Brown et al.), follower attributions (Dasborough & Ashkanasy, 2002), and behavioral integrity (Dineen, Lewicki, & Tomlinson, 2006).

Brown et al. (2005) defined *ethical leadership* as "the demonstration of normatively appropriate conduct through personal actions and interpersonal relationships, and the promotion of such conduct to followers through two-way communication, reinforcement, and decision-making" (p. 120). The authors conceptually distinguished this concept of ethical leadership from other similar constructs, such as transformational leadership and leader honesty, and showed that ethical leadership was positively associated with follower satisfaction with the leader, job dedication, willingness to speak up about problems, and leader effectiveness.

More frequently, scholarly attention has been drawn to depictions of leaders as immoral or unethical, which should describe leaders who fail to uphold the behaviors described by Brown et al. (2005). One of the most prominent distinctions is between socialized charismatic and personalized charismatic leaders (e.g., House & Howell, 1992; Howell & Avolio, 1992) or, in parallel, transformational, and pseudotransformational leaders (e.g., Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999). Personalized charismatic, or pseudotransformational, leaders offer the illusion of transformational leadership through their strong inspirational appeal. As Bass described pseudotransformational leadership, "it looks like a transformational leader, it acts like a transformational leader, but in fact it is not" (Hooijberg & Choi, 2000, p. 298). In contrast to transformational leaders, these leaders place their own self-interested goals above the collective good; a typical example, according to Bass, "would be the executive who cries crocodile tears when downsizing, but then gives himself a big bonus" (Hooijberg & Choi, 2000, p. 298). Pseudotransformational leadership is thought to be especially destructive to followers because these leaders have a powerful ability to motivate others, while largely ignoring their welfare. They may also select followers who provide them unwavering support: "As one former disciple of Michael Milken, the junk bond king, said, 'If he walked off the cliff, everyone in that group would have followed him' " (Howell & Avolio, 1992, p. 47).

Related to unethical leadership is self-focused leadership, as depicted in the study of leader narcissism. By nature, narcissism may provoke leaders to overly attribute organizational successes to their own virtues and efforts and accordingly undervalue the contributions of followers. This is an important issue, as anecdotal evidence suggests that narcissistic individuals may be more likely to emerge as leaders (see Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006, for a review). However, Paunonen, Lönnqvist, Verkasalo, Leikas, and Nissinen (2006) distinguished between what they deemed as the more positive elements (i.e., egotism and self-esteem) and the more negative elements (i.e., impression management and manipulation) of narcissism, and they showed that the positive elements of narcissism predicted leadership only in the absence of the negative elements. Research is needed to explain the relationship between narcissism and leadership emergence and thus further understand self-focused leadership styles.

Resisting the temptation to draw conclusions about leadership based on outcomes, this section on the dark side of leadership clearly describes deleterious leadership based on underlying motivations, intentions, values, and behaviors. Moving forward, research may benefit most from understanding which conditions are more amenable to destructive leadership styles, and why, and whether some individuals are more predisposed to the "dark side" of leadership

(Hogan & Hogan, 2001), as well as ways to mitigate any harmful effects (Sutton, 2007).

MEASURING LEADERSHIP

> The typical approach to investigating leadership is not without its flaws. More precisely, by conducting a study that focuses on subordinate perceptions and uses pre-developed measures and approaches to leadership, we are making a number of assumptions—assumptions that appear, in many cases, misguided. (Hunter et al., 2007, p. 436)

In a quest for "true meaning, substance, and practical utility" (p. 443), Hunter et al. challenged leadership researchers to move away from a number of fundamental assumptions, including (a) that leadership is equally important for all followers, (b) that followers witness leader behaviors and therefore can evaluate them, (c) that instruments to measure leadership are psychometrically sound, and (d) that current leadership instruments capture critical leader behaviors.

It is tempting to regard Hunter et al.'s observations as a critique of the leadership field, but we regard their insights as directing future research. In this vein, the present section reviews select assumptions and debates about common methods in leadership research.

As noted earlier in this chapter, transformational leadership remains the most widely researched leadership theory, and to date the most widely used instrument to measure transformational leadership is the MLQ (Bass & Avolio, 1990). The MLQ has also been used to assess transactional leadership and laissez-faire leadership. Despite its extensive use in organizational research, many concerns remain, primarily relating to the factor structure of the MLQ. Bycio et al. (1995) noted that the four facets of transformational leadership are so highly correlated that, in practice, it is unlikely that a leader would score high on one facet and low on the others. Moreover, the high correlation between transactional and transformational leadership has also been raised, and together these concerns have resulted in much research on the psychometric properties of the MLQ (e.g., Bycio et al., 1995; Carless, 1998; Den Hartog, Van Muijen, & Koopman, 1997; Heinitz, Liepmann, & Felfe, 2005; Tejeda, Scandura, & Pillai, 2001; Tepper & Percy, 1994).

Interpreting precisely what these findings mean is difficult. From a practical perspective it is evident that it is challenging to separate the four transformational components (Heinitz et al., 2005). The four behaviors are held to be conceptually separate, but the consistent factor analytic findings could point to measurement problems (which is frequently the position taken) or might indicate that the four behaviors are not conceptually separate after all. To complicate matters further, Bass (1998) himself suggested that "transformational leaders . . . behave in ways to achieve superior results by employing one or more of the four components of transformational leadership" (p. 5). If a leader has to use only one component of transformational leadership to be considered transformational, then despite any conceptual differences, all four behaviors are equally indicative of transformational leadership, and substitutable. Clearly, research will need to isolate the most appropriate conceptualization and measurement of transformational leadership (MacKenzie et al., 2005).

Accordingly, alternative measures for transformational leadership have been proposed. Carless, Wearing, and Mann (2000) developed the seven-item Global Transformational Leadership scale (GTL; e.g., "encourages thinking about problems in new ways and questions assumptions," "communicates a clear and positive vision of the future") rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (e.g., 1 = *Rarely or never*, 5 = *Very frequently, if not always*). More recently, in Herold at al.'s (2008) study, transformational leadership was assessed using 22 items (e.g., "I believe my leader encourages employees to be 'team players' " and "I believe my leader shows respect for individuals' feelings") that were based on the earlier work of Rubin et al. (2005). In addition, Alimo-Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe (2001) developed the Transformational Leadership Questionnaire (TLQ), as well as a specific version for government employees. The TLQ yielded nine factors, including "genuine concern for others," "accessible and approachable," and "encourages critical and strategic thinking." The comparative advantages and disadvantages of all these scales, including the MLQ, need to be investigated further.

To complement this discussion of transformational leadership measures, Table 7.2 contains a list of leadership measures that cover many of the leadership concepts in this chapter. Although not exhaustive, this list illustrates the advance of relational leadership measures (e.g., how the leader treats the follower). This trend has prompted studies on leader–follower agreement, and it presents an opportunity for the development of a measure of leadership that requires information from both the leader and the follower to capitalize on the unique information about the relationship that both members possess.

Departing from *how* to measure of leadership, we now turn our attention to the question of *when* to measure leadership, and this discussion identifies three perceptual biases that may significantly affect leadership assessment: (a) honeymoon effect, (b) hangover effect, and (c) halo error.

Honeymoon biases occur at the start of one's tenure in the organization; the enthusiasm of starting a new job, combined with the organization putting its best foot forward for new hires, may solicit (overly) positive attitudes toward the organization; the *hangover effect* describes the decline and eventual stability in positive attitudes after the honeymoon period (Boswell, Boudreau, & Tichy, 2005). Both of these biases could influence leadership ratings, with followers rating their leaders more highly at the start of their relationship (i.e., during the honeymoon period). Over time, perceptions of the leaders may decline as followers gain more information about the organization, the job, and the leaders' behaviors (i.e., during the hangover period). It follows that the length of time that the leader and follower have spent together can influence leadership ratings, and researchers might be well advised to account for honeymoon and hangover biases.

Approaches based on employees' ratings of leadership rest on the assumption that followers have continued interactions with their leaders. In reality, that is likely not the case; Hunter et al. (2007) asked researchers to consider the extent to which followers are actually privy to leader behaviors. One way to satisfy this query is to study specific incidents or episodes of leadership. Within this framework, the most appropriate time to measure leader effectiveness would be after an episode of leadership rather than relying on retrospective accounts. Self-defined episodes of leadership may be the most appropriate, given the established role of critical moments in (mis)shaping memories (e.g., Redelmeier, Katz, & Kahneman, 2003); on the other hand, focusing on episodes may promote a so-called halo effect.

A halo effect results from judgments that are based on a general impression, thereby neglecting specific acts that may disconfirm one's general impression, and "[a]s a result of the halo effect, individuals are rated as consistently good or consistently poor performers, regardless of their variable strengths and weaknesses" (Nathan & Lord, 1983, p. 102). To underscore the importance of this bias, consider that measures of leadership rely on follower perceptions and that previous research has established that follower ratings are especially vulnerable to halo error (Frone, Adams, Rice, & Instone-Noonan, 1986). Therefore, when measuring leadership, it is important to note that followers' ratings of leadership may contain followers' general impressions of the leader and may not necessarily be based upon what a leader actually does.

We have concentrated on measurement issues in this section, but methodological issues in leadership research are also pervasive. Hunter et al. (2007) provided important recommendations to address such concerns. These included the need for multiple sources of information about leader behavior, paying equal attention to positive and negative aspects of leadership, accounting for the context in which leadership occurs, and engaging in multilevel and/or longitudinal research. Collectively, confronting the measurement and methodological challenges that pervade the field of leadership studies will enable the further development of comprehensive understanding of leadership.

LEADERSHIP IN RELATED CONTEXTS

Thus far, we have reviewed the leadership literature from a multitude of contexts and have considered how leadership effects can be minimized or maximized in different contexts. In this next section, we

TABLE 7.2

Measures of Leadership Styles, Behaviors, and Perceptions

Construct	Measure	Source	Example item (if available)
Abusive supervision	Abusive Supervision	Tepper, 2000	"My boss tells me my thoughts or feelings are stupid."
Charismatic leadership	Conger-Kanungo (C-K) scale of charismatic leadership	Conger and Kanungo, 1994	"Appears to be a skillful performance when presenting to a group."
Ethical leadership	Ethical Leadership Scale	Brown, Treviño, and Harrison, 2005	"Discusses business ethics or values with employees."
Follower style	Followership Questionnaire	Kelley, 1992	"Are your personal work goals aligned with the organization's priority goals?"
Implicit leadership	Implicit leadership theories	Epitropaki and Martin, 2004; Offermann, Kennedy, and Wirtz (1994)	How characteristic is each trait of a business leader? (e.g., dominant, sensitive)
Leader–member exchange	LMX-7	Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995	"How well does your leader recognize your potential?"
Leadership style	Supervisory Behavior Description Questionnaire (SBDQ)	Fleishman, 1953	"He 'needles' people under him for greater effort."
	Ohio State Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ)	Stodgill, 1963	
Need for supervision	Need for Supervision Scale	de Vries, Roe, and Taillieu, 1998	"The region manager has a marked influence on my performance."
Romance of leadership	Romance of Leadership Scale (RLS)	Meindl, 1998; Meindl and Ehrlich, 1988	"When the top leaders are good, the organization does well; when the top leaders are bad, the organization does poorly."
Self-leadership	Revised self-leadership questionnaire (RSLQ)	Houghton and Neck, 2002	"I establish specific goals for my own performance."
Situational leadership/leader adaptability	Leadership Effectiveness and Adaptability Description (LEAD) instrument	Hersey and Blanchard, 1988	
Supervisory control	Supervisory Control Over Work Performance	Dupré and Barling, 2006	"My supervisor does not give me the freedom to do things that I want to do in my work."
Transformational leadership	Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ)	Bass and Avolio, 1990	"My leader displays a sense of power and confidence."
	Global Transformational Leadership (GTL)	Carless, Wearing, and Mann, 2000	"My leader communicates a clear and positive vision of the future."

take a special interest in the studies conducted in the sports and education contexts. By doing so, we illustrate how organizational leadership frameworks are being applied to other settings and how we can potentially advance organizational leadership studies.

The Sports Context

Sports psychologists have likened coaches to business leaders (see Kellett, 1999), and as a result the application of organizational leadership frameworks to a sports context has garnered interest. In particular, several empirical tests of the role of transformational leadership in sports performance exist. For example, Rowold (2006) studied 200 martial arts students and showed that leaders' idealized influence, inspirational motivation, and individualized consideration predicted athletes' extra effort, perceptions of coaches' effectiveness, and satisfaction with the coach. Inspirational motivation also predicted the frequency of training each month. Zacharatos et al.'s (2000) study showed the generalizability of these findings: Although the average age of Rowold's sample was 32 years, Zacharatos et al. showed that the same pattern of results was obtained among adolescent athletes. Charbonneau et al. (2001) studied elite university athletes, finding that the effects of transformational leadership on sports performance were indirectly related through intrinsic motivation. Given these performance outcomes, it follows that transformational leadership in sports teams may be a competitive advantage for sports teams.

Day et al. (2004) did not focus their study on a particular style of leadership, but they found that occupying a leadership role (i.e., team captain) in the National Hockey League (NHL) was related to performance—even after controlling for performance prior to assuming the leadership role. To our knowledge, there has yet to be an empirical test of whether leadership titles in organizations would yield similar results, and Day et al. also made an important distinction between the sports and organizational contexts. In sports teams, there are followers—the athletes—and leaders such as coaches, managers, and team captains, but there is some overlap; that is, a team captain can be considered one of the athletes. In organizations, there is a distinction between leaders and followers—often defining each role against the other and arguably placing more emphasis on hierarchy and status. This structural difference between contexts warrants consideration before organizational researchers (or sports psychologists) transplant leadership frameworks developed for organizations to the sports context.

Revealing another difference between these contexts, Kellett (1999) interviewed coaches and concluded that "leadership" was not an integral part of coaches' self-defined job description, even though researchers are quick to make such a parallel. Kellett went on to argue that elements of transformational leadership were rarely referenced in his interviews, yet Kellett also argued that coaches described their work as "facilitating the development of others" (p. 165), which is consistent with individualized consideration. Furthermore, not confining their analysis to coaches, Hoption, Phelan, and Barling (2007) interviewed professional athletes and found evidence of transformational leadership in sports. To explain some of the inconsistency, future research may explore sports-specific transformational leadership.

Education

The educational or school context also applies to the study of leadership. Intriguingly, effective leadership in this context may have long-term consequences for student attitudes and performance. Whether the focus is on the influence of principals on teachers or on the influence of teachers on students, many of the behaviors under consideration (e.g., student performance) are largely discretionary, increasing the potential influence of leadership.

Like other contexts we have showcased thus far, studies in the education milieu have focused on transformational leadership, showing, for example, that teachers' transformational leadership is related to students' perceptions of teacher performance and students' involvement in their own studies (Harvey, Royal, & Stout, 2003). Nguni, Sleegers, and Denessen's (2006) study also highlighted the effectiveness of transformational leadership but reiterated that any leadership effects are often indirect. In addition, their results supported the "augmentation hypothesis" (Bass, 1998) demonstrating that teachers' transformational leadership provided unique variance after accounting for the effects of transactional leadership. In another example of transformational leadership in this context, Sahin's (2004) study documented the association between school principals' transformational leadership and school culture.

Arguably the most comprehensive study in an educational context is Koh, Steers, and Terborg's (1995) multilevel study within 89 schools in Singapore. They studied the effects of school principals' transformational leadership on teachers' satisfaction, organizational commitment, and citizenship behaviors and their students' academic performance. Their results both replicated and extended other findings on transformational leadership. First, they found no compelling evidence that transformational leadership affected student performance directly; instead, like others studying transformational leadership and performance, they found evidence for an indirect effect, thereby highlighting the role of critical mediating variables (e.g., teacher attitudes). Second, Koh et al.'s data replicated the "augmentation hypothesis"; however, the authors go a step further, showing that transactional leadership did not account for any significant variance after the effects of transformational leadership were controlled. Third, the importance of cross-cultural nuances is demonstrated in Singaporean context because of one finding that appears to be at odds with prior research, namely, that principals' transformational leadership did not predict teachers' citizenship behaviors. However, this is consistent with the notion that many of the teachers' measured citizenship behaviors were not discretionary but instead were contractual obligations in the Singaporean context. Last, like findings in the military context (Dvir et al., 2002), Koh et al. went beyond this dyadic focus, showing that leaders can indeed affect the performance of the followers of their followers.

WHAT WE STILL NEED TO KNOW

As indicated at the outset of this chapter, although much is known about leadership, much remains to be learned. In this final section of the chapter, we consider what we believe are some of the major lessons that need to be learned.

Followership

Perhaps Napoleon Bonaparte said it best: "Soldiers generally win battles; generals get credit for them." The leader-centric studies that dominate research on leadership result in an incomplete knowledge about "leadership"; however, advocating an exclusive follower-centric research agenda would result in similarly unbalanced knowledge. Thus, we advocate a relational view of leadership, one in which leaders and followers together produce leadership. Inserting followers into the leadership equation is not novel, but, as reflected in the opening quote to this section, the contribution of followers is underappreciated and, moreover, often restricted to "obeying orders" and "taking direction" (Baker, 2008).

We join the call for research to combat such a passive stereotype of followers; it diminishes the role of followers in organizational success and leader effectiveness and followers' ability to motivate leadership change (e.g., Deluga, 1987), and by default it exaggerates the role and importance of leaders. Suggestive support for followers as active contributors to leadership emerged in Dvir and Shamir's (2003) longitudinal study in which leaders were rated as *less* transformational as followers developed their own leadership skills. One possible explanation is that with follower development, a transformational *relationship* emerged, meaning that the responsibility to motivate, inspire, stimulate, and nurture are shared between leader and follower. Although the possibility for *bi*directional socialization remains to be investigated directly in a leadership context, evidence of such effects exists in other hierarchical relationships, including parent–child relationships (e.g., Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986).

Developing implicit followership theories (i.e., expectations and beliefs about followers) might be especially useful in understanding followership. With expectations on leaders and followers, dyadic data become essential. Each member of the leader–follower dyad gains meaning from and through the other.

Shared Leadership

Moving beyond leader–follower distinctions, what about the situation in which many individuals in the same group demonstrate leadership behaviors?

When this occurs, it is termed *shared leadership*. Although varied definitions of shared leadership exist, in general, it is a team property that depicts the extent to which team members mutually influence each other with or without formal leadership (e.g., Carson, Tesluk, & Marrone, 2007; Ensley, Hmieleski, & Pearce, 2006). Essentially, the presence of shared leadership flattens an organization's hierarchy and harnesses the power of leadership by distributing it among team members so that peer-to-peer influence flourishes.

Shared leadership is associated with performance outcomes in problem-solving groups (e.g., Carson et al., 2007), new ventures (e.g., Ensley et al., 2006), and medical teams (Klein, Ziegert, Knight, & Xiao, 2006). In addition to performance, shared leadership is linked to group cohesion (e.g., Perry, Pearce, & Sims, 1999), collective vision (e.g., Ensley, Pearson, & Pearce, 2003), collective identity (e.g., Shamir & Lapidot, 2003), and creativity and intrinsic motivation (e.g., Hooker & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003). Nonetheless, Perry and colleagues (1999) cautioned against the assumption that shared leadership is always beneficial: "When the inherent benefits of working in a [team] are not necessary for the [task], the costs of the shared leadership process may actually decrease effectiveness" (p. 45). Additionally, Barry (1991) argued that effective shared leadership becomes problematic if members do not have the skills to demonstrate those behaviors and if teams are not purposefully composed to address a team's various leadership needs. Equally important, the effectiveness of shared leadership depends on team members' enjoying shared goals (Conger & Pearce, 2003).

Qualitative and conceptual manuscripts outnumber the empirical tests of shared leadership. One reason for this could be the varied operationalizations of shared leadership, each of which expresses shared leadership differently. Conger and Pearce (2003) and Carson et al. (2007) identified aggregation techniques, network analysis, and group measures as possible ways to quantify shared leadership. Each methodological approach has its advantages (e.g., richness of the data) and disadvantages (e.g., complicated statistical methods), so it would be helpful for future research to compare the use of different methodological approaches (Conger & Pearce, 2003) in empirically advancing our understanding of shared leadership.

Having acknowledged that there are limitations to shared leadership and its operationalization, its benefits are still intriguing for many scholars and practitioners. The following suggestions have been raised for establishing shared leadership: provide feedback on leader behaviors (Shamir & Lapidot, 2003): offer leadership training for all team members (Houghton, Neck, & Manz, 2003); ensure that the organizational culture is aligned with team leadership, such as replacing individual rewards with team-based rewards (e.g., Hooker & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003); and use an external leader to monitor the rate and progress of shared leadership (Perry et al., 1999). There is a strong likelihood that team members who know each other well will be more likely to engage in shared leadership (e.g., Barry, 1991; Morgan, Salas, & Glickman, 1993; Perry et al., 1999), so it is important to keep in mind that shared leadership emergence requires time and long-term planning.

Authentic Leadership

Consistent with the attention given to some major ethical lapses by leaders, the notion of authentic leadership has attracted much interest since the turn of the century. Following early debate, Avolio and his colleagues included the following components in their definition of authentic leadership (see Avolio & Luthans, 2006; Walumbwa, Avolio, Gardner, Wernsing, & Peterson, 2008): self-awareness, relational transparency, balanced processing of all relevant data in an objective manner before decisions are made, and finally, an internalized moral perspective. Although the relative newness of this perspective means that few empirical studies have been reported, Walumbwa et al. have provided a reliable and valid measure, and their data supported a higher-order multidimensional model of the construct. One benefit of these early data is that they were collected not just in the United States but also in Kenya and China (Walumbwa et al., 2008), allaying concerns that the concept of authentic leadership may be culturally bound.

Important questions remain for this nascent theory. On a conceptual level, there are differing views as to whether authenticity requires a grounding in moral values (Avolio & Gardner, 2005) or whether authenticity requires leaders be true to their values and beliefs no matter how socially unacceptable (Shamir & Eilam, 2005). Shamir and Eilam (2005) and Sparrowe (2005) went further, questioning the advisability of authenticity among leaders who are narcissistic or who display questionable values. Second, the theory underlying the concept of authentic leadership suggests that the four dimensions are related but separate, but the available data suggest strong intercorrelations among the dimensions. Third, given the core characteristics of authentic leadership, it remains for research to demonstrate that it is empirically separate from conceptually similar constructs. Fourth, it remains to be seen whether authentic leadership can be developed in leaders.

Leadership in Critical Moments

Leadership is often operationalized as the frequency of leadership behaviors. For example, using the MLQ, followers rate how often their leaders engage in transformational behaviors, and it is assumed that followers construct their ratings by accurately averaging those behaviors over a specified time period. However, it may be more likely that leadership has relatively greater meaning in times of crisis (Pillai, 1996; Pillai & Meindl, 1998) and that followers construct their perceptions of leadership in pivotal moments when leadership is either highlighted or critical (Tucker, Turner, Barling, Reid, & Elving, 2006). Understanding leadership in the midst of these critical moments is thus essential to a complete characterization of leadership.

How leaders respond to critical moments can be vital. Dutton, Frost, Worline, Lilius, and Kanov (2002) highlighted the need to lead with compassion in times of organizational and individual crisis, which could include incidents such as the events of September 11, a natural disaster, the death of an employee, or an employee's unexpected illness. When this occurs, employees are likely to feel a greater sense of commitment to the organization, often enhancing performance. Accordingly, leadership behaviors in times of crisis can extend beyond those critical moments, shaping leader–follower relationships and the organization into the future. Supporting this notion is the aforementioned finding that leaders' apologies following transgressions are related to transformational leadership ratings (Tucker et al., 2006); Tucker et al. argued that apologies are critical moments in the leader–follower relationship and defined such moments as "distinct interactions that, while occurring relatively infrequently, serve to punctuate or reinforce the status quo" (p. 197).

Similarly, whether or not charismatic leaders are more likely to emerge in times of crisis has been debated (for a review. see Shamir & Howell, 1999). Although some studies suggest that charismatic leaders emerge in times of crisis (e.g., Roberts & Bradley, 1988), evidence to the contrary is not uncommon (e.g., Pillai & Meindl, 1998). Alternatively, it is possible for leaders to frame situations in a way that is perceived as critical or extraordinary, suggesting reverse causality (Shamir & Howell, 1999). Nevertheless, recent research suggests that transformational leaders may be more effective under critical performance conditions than in more ordinary situations (Lim & Ployhart, 2004). Clarifying these issues is required if researchers are to elucidate the role of leadership in critical moments.

Preliminary evidence points to potential differences in leadership behaviors and leadership perceptions in ordinary versus extraordinary situations. However, many questions remain. Is leadership best conceptualized as an average frequency of behaviors over time, or do some situations enhance the salience of certain leadership behaviors? Do any benefits that accrue to leaders because of their behaviors during a crisis carry over to an everyday basis? Researchers have the opportunity to provide new knowledge by focusing on questions such as these.

Humility

One way to understand leadership is to through the core role of humility. Morris et al. (2005) defined *humility* as "a personal orientation founded on a willingness to see the self accurately and a propensity to put oneself in perspective" (p. 1331). While acknowledging that other leadership theories also accord a critical role to humility (e.g., level 5 leadership; Collins, 2001), the behaviors involved in transformational leadership make it as relevant to humility.

Humility has been identified as important to understanding transformational leadership (Bass & Riggio, 2006) in that humility would restrain leaders from becoming entranced with public adulation and would influence leaders to be other-focused (Morris et al, 2005). Despite this recognition of the importance of humility in transformational leadership, there has not yet been a focus on how the specific humility-related behaviors engaged in by leaders underlie transformational leadership.

Leadership Meets Social Neuroscience

Unquestionably, some of the most substantial and intriguing advances in our understanding of individual behavior over the past 2 decades originated with merging social and biological knowledge. The field of social neuroscience uses broadly based biological processes to explain social interactions and behaviors (Cacioppo et al., 2007). This breadth and depth of the knowledge awaits those wishing to expand our understanding of leadership.

As noted earlier in this chapter, an intriguing question that continues to bedevil social and behavioral scientists is whether leadership is learned or inherited. Several studies based on a behavioral genetic approach have addressed the relative role of environmental and genetic factors in leadership emergence (Arvey et al., 2006, 2007). Despite those advances, genetic and biological effects on the development of leadership *behaviors* warrant attention and robust empirical examination. For example, testosterone is consistently linked with behaviors (e.g., social control and aggression) that characterize negative leadership (e.g., van Honk & Schutter, 2007; White, Thornhill, & Hampson, 2006). There is also evidence linking counterproductive organizational behaviors to the early emergence of childhood conduct problem disorders (Roberts et al., 2007). Incorporating leadership into the field of social neuroscience would respond to calls for more integrative theory building with respect to leadership (Avolio, 2007) and open up the field of leadership development as a viable opportunity for future research on social neuroscience (Cacioppo et al., 2007).

Nonetheless, the success of these endeavors requires knowledge of the social and the biological bases of behavior and the research methods underlying both. With the majority of leadership researchers being trained in the social sciences, collaboration across fields traditionally seen as unrelated will be a necessity.

Humor

Although there is some research on humor in the workplace (e.g., Fleming, 2005; Francis, 1994; Yovetich, Dale, & Hudak, 1990), its prevalence in organizations is widespread and diverse in nature. Leaders have certainly been exhorted to provide a so-called fun workplace culture (Pfeffer, 1998), including the use of humor (Fleming, 2005). Such appeals are based on the notion that fun workplace cultures are associated with many benefits, including increased worker motivation (Crawford, 1994), commitment, and performance (Avolio, Howell, & Sosik, 1999). In this sense, humor is instrumental and strategic; as explained by Fleming, "humor is ultimately a serious business. It is unsurprisingly driven by very sober corporate motives" (p. 288).

Although humor can sometimes be beneficial, positive outcomes do not always ensue. Avolio and colleagues (1999) found that the frequent use of humor does not always lead to better performance; they speculated that some issues (e.g., setting target objectives) were not amenable to humor because of their seriousness. Additionally, positive outcomes depend on the type of humor used. Decker and Rotondo (2001) distinguished between negative (e.g., sexual and insult humor) and positive (e.g., nonoffensive humor) forms of humor and concluded that leaders who used positive forms of humor received more positive leader ratings than leaders who used negative forms of humor. One question that immediately emerges is: Why would leaders choose to use negative forms of humor?

According to the superiority theory of humor, negative forms of humor (such as insults) reinforce the hierarchy between leaders and followers (Westwood, 2004). Leaders who want to maintain power distance may be especially prone to using humor in this manner. In contrast, positive forms of humor should minimize the distance between leaders and followers (Barsoux, 1996). In essence, humor can be used to communicate a leader's values, especially the type of leader–follower relationship that he or she desires.

Thus far, we have considered the strategic use of humor, but we also acknowledge that humor could be an individual difference: People have general tendencies when using humor. To this end, Martin, Puhlik-Doris, Larsen, Gray, and Weir (2003) developed an instrument to measure individuals' humor style, the Humor Styles Questionnaire (HSQ). They defined four styles of humor usage: affiliative (e.g., "I enjoy making people laugh"), self-enhancing (e.g., "If I am feeling upset or unhappy I usually try to think of something funny about the situation to make myself feel better"), aggressive (e.g., "If I don't like someone, I often use humor or teasing to put them down"), and self-defeating (e.g., "If I am having problems or feeling unhappy, I often cover it up by joking around, so that even my closest friends don't know how I really feel."). To our knowledge, empirical investigations into leadership and Martin et al.'s forms of humor have yet to be explored. However, because the HSQ focuses on the joke-teller's motivations (e.g., to feel better versus to make others laugh), it would be useful to explain *why* leaders choose to use some forms of humor over others.

Furthermore, it is possible that leaders use more than one form of humor, such as both affiliative and aggressive humor, with equal frequency; how would this impact their leader ratings? It would be interesting to investigate how followers reconcile this seeming inconsistency, as well as the situational conditions that may be more (or less) conducive to certain forms of humor and the stability of humor style over time.

Corporate Social Responsibility

Organizations' attempts to recognize social issues are usually encapsulated within "corporate social responsibility" (CSR), which "reflect[s] the organization's status and activities with respect to its perceived societal obligations" (Dacin & Brown, 1997, p. 68). We would be remiss if we did not comment on the potential role for leadership in this area, as one might reasonably expect that this will become an increasingly important issue for organizations in the future (see Vol. 3, chap. 24, this handbook). In general, most research on CSR has been conducted at the organizational level (e.g., Bird, Hall, Momentè & Reggiani, 2007); it is extremely unusual to encounter research on this topic at the individual employee level. This remains surprising, as the success or failure of any CSR initiative presumably rests largely on whether employees identify with the values inherent in the CSR initiative and are willing to go beyond normal job expectations to ensure that the initiative succeeds.

Given its value-based focus and empirical research showing that it can motivate employees' discretionary behaviors, charismatic leadership might be especially appropriate in this context. Previous research has highlighted the effectiveness of charismatic leaders in selling a message and producing rhetoric to justify a cause (e.g., Den Hartog & Verburg, 1997; Seyranian & Bligh, 2008), and the societal impact of CSR initiatives could be consistent with idealized influence's emphasis on the collective good and collective goals. In the future, it will be critical for leaders to move beyond a philanthropic approach to one which emphasizes the many ways in which organization and their members can benefit from organizational responsibility interventions (see Vol. 3, chap. 24, this handbook). How organizations respond to, and raise awareness of social issues (e.g., the environment) further illustrates the potential role for and impact of leadership both within and beyond the organization.

Leadership Selection

While genetic and early family environment influences leadership role occupancy and behaviors, the selection of leaders is in the hands of organizations. To facilitate leadership selection, questionnaires and different assessment tools (e.g., structured interviews; Krajewski, Goffin, McCarthy, Rothstein, & Johnston, 2006) are frequently used. Nonetheless, the basic conceptual assumption, that performance on a questionnaire can predict performance "on the battlefield," is debatable (Gladwell, 2004, 2008).

Use of personality tests to aid in selecting leaders rests on the premise that certain personality traits are empirically associated with effective (and noneffective; Hogan & Hogan, 2001) leadership behaviors. Perhaps the most widely used personality inventory for leadership selection is the Myers-Briggs Type Instrument (MBTI; Gardner & Martinko, 1996; Roush & Atwater, 1992), a self-report measure of personality preferences or "types" developed by the mother-and-daughter team of Katharine and Isabel Briggs, that is based on the theory of Carl Jung. The use of the MBTI for selection in general, and leadership selection in particular, is clouded in considerable controversy owing to lingering concerns about theory, reliability and validity, and appropriate administration and scoring procedures (e.g., Jackson, Parker, & Dipboye, 1996; Pittenger, 1993). One straightforward prediction is that, given the importance of leadership selection and the practical and financial efficiency of online questionnaires, there will be growing pressure to move toward the use of online leader selection tools. Nonetheless, practical problems need to be confronted, including whether online methods can assess the interactive and dynamic functions of leadership. The future for leadership selection tests depends on the availability of reliable and valid tests that can be used appropriately and that predict the outcomes of interest. It would be premature to discard leadership selection tests in their entirety and risk throwing the baby out with the bathwater (e.g., Paunonen, Rothstein, & Jackson, 1999). However, an updated perspective of leadership selection and selection tests is warranted. At the same time, nontechnological techniques such as leaderless group tasks (Hooijberg & Choi, 2000) and unstructured interviews might still prove useful in leadership selection, and subordinates need to be engaged in the leadership selection process. Moreover, given that a large portion of the leadership function now involves team processes and that teams hold a central role in organizations, team-based selection will likely be a part of the future of leadership selection.

Contrasting Different Leadership Theories

As is no doubt evident from the preceding discussions, there is clearly no dearth of available leadership theories. Although Hunter et al. (2007) have described the content of the typical leadership study, it is also possible to characterize the approach taken within the typical leadership study: Specifically, Hunter et al. described research—be it correlational or experimental, cross-sectional or longitudinal—that tests the central tenets of a single, specific theory. One of the ultimate goals of all such research would be to make informed judgments about the relative utility and validity of the different leadership theories. However, because of the meaningful differences across all these studies—for example, in the measures used, the outcomes addressed, and the time needed for interventions to exert any effects—any such judgments would be difficult at best.

Instead, like the research conducted on goal-setting theory some 2 decades ago by Latham, Erez, and Locke (1988) that was designed to disentangle seemingly contradictory findings about the same phenomena from different studies, substantially more can be gained at this stage from conducting research that a priori sets up fair comparisons (Cooper & Richardson, 1986) between competing leadership theories that can produce "winners" and "losers." Moreover, the process described by Latham et al., which engages the theories' disputants in the design of the research, remains underutilized yet extremely promising. The results of such research would have the potential to help researchers and practitioners alike make sense of the existing leadership theories and enumerable empirical tests.

CONCLUSION

Our understanding of leadership has come a long way since physical features such as height and attractiveness were thought to be prime determining factors of leadership emergence and effectiveness. Despite the wealth of knowledge that has accumulated, opportunities to answer new questions promise to expand our knowledge of leadership to new and different directions in the near future. After almost a century of social and behavioral science research on leadership, we stand on the brink of a new and expanded knowledge of organizational leadership.

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