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Contents

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From the Editor

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Welcome to this 21st issue of the *International Leadership Journal,* an online, peer-reviewed journal. This issue contains six articles.

In the first article, Parry, Fischer, and Hanson explore the effects of gender balance on leadership processes at a workgroup and industry level. They conceptualize leadership as a social process occurring between individuals, rather than as the behavior or attribute of a single individual. They find that gender balance between work teams and industries affects leadership processes between individuals.

Hoover and O'Neil also explore diversity in leadership with respect to race, gender, and collaboration. By analyzing the home page images of 24 leading universities around the world, they speculate that these images might be a resource to constructively communicate the leadership potential of men, women, Whites, and non-Whites to lead and collaborate with diverse others. Their findings identify specific opportunities for increased communication for collaboration with people of heterogeneous gender and race.

Sarsar examines a new kind of Palestinian business leadership that is performing very well while overcoming major obstacles. He explains the general context under which Palestinians live and work and then highlights four successful Palestinian business leaders and compares their similar leadership qualities, which reveals the potential for enhanced business practices and a healthier economy and society.

Onorato and Zhu investigate the influence of authentic leadership on employee job satisfaction through a nationwide, cross-industry-sector survey. They examine the authentic leadership influence at both the aggregate level and within each industry sector and conclude that authentic leadership is a reliable predictor of employee job satisfaction in every industry sector.

Earnhardt, Richardson, and Marion study the phenomena of project management leadership development and its impact by analyzing 87 successful project managers' descriptions of how their leadership evolved. Their findings indicate that on-the-job training is the primary means by which project managers become leaders. Responsibility, communication, initiative, and taking care of followers are also important for project leader effectiveness.

Finally, Genovese uses humor as a lens to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities and contradictions of the presidency of George W. Bush. He explores how the popular image of Bush as a political joke impacted his leadership and how he was able to use that image to disarm some critics and take advantage of adversaries who took him for an intellectual lightweight.

Please let us know your thoughts and feel free to submit articles for review. Enjoy!

Joseph C. Santora, EdD
Editor

ARTICLES

Gender Congruity and Social Processes of Leadership: Is Gender Balance Important?*

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This article presents the results of a study investigating the effects of gender balance on leadership processes at a workgroup and industry level. Leadership is conceptualized as a social process occurring between individuals, rather than as the behavior or attribute of a single individual. Transformational leadership processes were found less often in male-dominated industries. Furthermore, gender congruity effects were found, showing that gender balance between work teams and industries affects leadership processes between individuals. Leadership processes were reported most often in female-dominated work teams within female-dominated industries, but least often in female-dominated work teams within male-dominated industries. The implications for both leadership and gender research are discussed.

Key words: gender balance, gender congruity, leadership

Women in industrialized societies participate in leadership roles to an increasing degree. It has been shown that women will exhibit different leadership styles from men. For example, a recent meta-analysis has shown that women are more likely to display transformational and reward-contingent transactional leadership styles than men (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Koenig & Eagly, 2014). Also, on average, women are as effective as men and are more effective in leadership roles that are defined in less masculine terms (Eagly & Carli, 2003); in experimental studies, women exhibit more interpersonal-oriented and democratic leadership styles (Eagly & Johnson, 1990); men are more directive and women are more

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supportive (Voelck, 2003); and women managers are also found to adopt somewhat more democratic and participative leadership styles than men (Eagly, 2011; Eagly & Carli, 2003). With the changing structure of organizations, the need for cooperative and transformational leadership styles is increasing, and female leaders might be particularly well suited for these challenges (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). However, simultaneously, female leaders face stereotyping and prejudice if they behave in gender-incongruent ways and show effective leadership behaviors since leadership is traditionally associated with being male (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Previous research showing these effects has focused primarily on leadership as a particular style or behavior exhibited by individuals.

However, there is an emerging consensus among many leadership theorists that *leadership* is a social process of influence (Bass, 1998; Conger, 1998; Parry, 1998; Rost, 1993; Uhl-Bien, 2006, 2011; Yukl, 2012). “Influence” has long been seen as an axiomatic characteristic of “leadership.” In particular, Conger (2011) and Conger and Toegel (2002) have asserted that influence as persuasion, rather than coercion, is the one ubiquitous and axiomatic characteristic of almost any conceptualization of leadership. Also, because leadership is about relationships and interactions between people rather than solely emanating from individuals, it is a *social* construct (Rost, 1993). Leadership is about “doing,” as much as it is about a personality, a position, or a set of competencies. Finally, leadership involves changes to the beliefs, actions, and motivations of followers over time. Hence, it is also a *processual* construct (Hernez-Broome & Hughes, 2004; Parry, Mumford, Bower, & Watts, 2014).

Using an Appropriate Research Methodology

Reflecting the growing consensus about the social and processual nature of leadership, new and innovative forms of leadership research have recently been called for (Conger, 1998; Horner, 1997; Koenig et al., 2011; Parry, 1998; Parry et al., 2014). In particular, a growing number of qualitative research programs have begun to contribute rich and in-depth analyses of the processual and contextual

characteristics of the phenomenon of leadership. For example, researchers like Kempster and Parry (2011) have used Glaser and Strauss's (1967) grounded theory associated with a critical realist method to derive more profound and adequate comprehension processes of leadership. However, as Bryman (2004) observes, in only very few cases has the grounded theory method been central to the research methodology. Those cases include the work of Irurita (1994, 1996) and Parry (1999).

The grounded theory method uses qualitative data to produce detailed, in-depth, and contextually relevant theory. The analysis follows an iterative format focused on theory-*emergence* rather than theory-*testing*. The emergent theory is based on the determination of a "basic social process" that explains the phenomenon under investigation—in this case, leadership. Due to these qualities, the grounded theory method offers a useful form of analysis for the investigation of leadership processes that extends beyond traditional static methods.

A number of theorists (Clegg & Hardy, 1996; Flyvbjerg, 2001; Weick, 1999) have called for an end to the "paradigm wars" between qualitative and quantitative approaches and suggest that it is time for researchers to bridge the gap between the two. This article is presented in the spirit of this calling.

Unfortunately, as Parry et al. (2014) conclude, relationships between qualitatively derived social process theories—in particular, grounded theories—and the mainstream psychometrically derived theories of leadership have not been associated other than conceptually. Such comparison and cross-validation of social process and traditional mainstream leadership theory is needed to confirm the relevance and validity of work on social processes of leadership and inform future work in this area. There is a need to empirically test the relationships between both bodies of knowledge. One way this can be achieved is by qualitatively testing extant theory. Another way is by quantitatively testing qualitatively derived theoretical constructs. We have chosen the latter course.

In particular, the study described in this article reports the effects of gender balance at a team and industry level on the prevalence of these "social

processes of leadership" within teams. We conceptualize social processes of leadership as conceptually similar to transformational leadership, but as social processes occurring between individuals rather than emanating from individuals in a top-down process. Using a new instrument based upon and derived from extant grounded-theory-based qualitative research, we then investigate the extent to which the gender makeup of teams within particular industries influences which teams demonstrate these social processes of leadership.

The Social Processes of Leadership

Mainstream theories of leadership generally assess the relationship between leaders and followers or, more specifically, between managers and subordinates, but often do not consider the leadership interactions between and among employees within a workplace and throughout an organization. The extant leadership research has mainly been concerned with leadership as a behavior or style of a specific individual, usually the manager of a team or organization. The extant research also mainly assumes that leadership is individualized and predominantly top-down (Yukl, 2012) and examines the role of the "leader" rather than the process of "leadership." In contrast, we adopted the latter position.

The meaning, function, and outcomes of leadership are embedded within broader factors such as organizational practice, organizational structure, and external employment markets. As such, the rapidly changing nature of such factors has led to a strengthening awareness of the importance of social processes in the theory of leadership. For example, as teamwork is becoming predominant in flatter organizational structures, the leadership behavior of an individual (traditionally held as central in hierarchical organizations) has had to share the limelight with leadership processes occurring between people and within groups (Horner, 1997). Horner states:

> there is a need for research that builds on the history and prior work done about leadership but also adapts this body of knowledge to fit today's environments. Consequently, a shift is needed in the way team leadership is studied, as well as the behaviors required for effectiveness. (281)

Conger (1998); Lovelace, Manz, and Alves (2007); and Yukl (2012) view leadership as a "shared influence process," a dynamic process involving multiple levels of phenomena, possessing a dynamic character and a symbolic component. Horner (1997) believes that it is a highly complex phenomenon involving multiple actors and their actions, behaviors, and relationships. It is a dynamic process that involves transformation of beliefs, actions, and motivations within the context of multiple concurrent relationships between different individuals at many different levels over time (Parry, 2002; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Uhl-Bien, Marion, & McKelvey, 2007; Yukl, 2012). Yukl suggests that there is a strong view among leadership theorists that leadership is a social influence process that occurs naturally within a social system and is shared among various members of that social system. Chen and Meindl (1991), Conger (2011), and Derue and Ashford (2010) argue that leadership is not a simple reflection of objective reality, but a socially constructed process wherein the desired influence on interactions can be produced and reproduced over time. This implies that leadership needs to be researched as a process, rather than through the study of leaders alone (Yukl, 2012).

In recognition of its changing nature, the concept of leadership as a social process has gradually been acknowledged (Derue & Ashford, 2010; Drath & Palus, 1994; Hunt, 1991; Rost, 1993; Yukl, 2012; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1982), and alternative forms of analysis have begun. In particular, three theories of the social processes of leadership are used in this article: (a) optimizing (Irurita, 1994, 1996), (b) resolving uncertainty, and (c) enhancing adaptability (Parry, 1999). These theories are important and useful because they have begun to look at leadership as a dynamic social process that involves both the transformation of beliefs, actions, and motivations over time and the interactional links between a range of variables and individuals at many different levels (Parry, 1998).

These theories of the social processes of leadership that have emerged from qualitative research are likely to show some overlap with existing theories. Nevertheless, conceptually similar theories of social process are based upon the dyadic relationship of leader-follower, and therefore overlook some critical

dimensions of the social processes of leadership involving the larger context and interactions between people across organizational positions and levels. Qualitatively derived theories provide a strong basis for the extension of existing theory because they concentrate on the dynamic and process-based nature of leadership, rather than on specific qualities possessed by the leader. We will present these theories derived from grounded theory methodology, as it has been detailed over the years by Glaser & Strauss (1967), Glaser (1978), Strauss (1987), Strauss & Corbin (1990), and ultimately, by Glaser (1992). The grounded theory method enables theory generation from data rather than the use of data to support already formed theories (Glaser, 1992). Because the social processes of leadership are as yet minimally understood and theorized, it is a very exciting and promising approach for investigation in this area.

We have delimited our interest to those findings from leadership research using the full grounded theory method and from which a basic social process is the theoretical outcome. As stated earlier, the grounded theories that are the subject of the current research are (a) optimizing, (b) resolving uncertainty, and (c) enhancing adaptability.

Optimizing. Irurita (1996) conducted a qualitative analysis of nursing leadership from data collected over four years. The emerging theory of optimizing (Irurita, 1994) reflects the effective leadership process of "making the best of the situation, making the most effective or optimal use of all available and potential resources to compensate for the state of retardation and to move beyond mediocrity toward excellence" (Irurita, 1996, 129). It considers the three aspects of a social process of leadership identified above, that is: change and transformation over time, the linking of interactional sequences, and the relationships and interactions between people (Parry, 1998).

Optimizing involves three progressive phases of process, depending on whether an organization is in a period of surviving, investing, or transforming (Irurita, 1996). *Survival* occurs when the organization moves from retardation and mediocrity, through turbulence in which *investing* is key, on toward excellence, a period of continuous development and *transformation* (Irurita, 1996). The

transforming phase is conceptually similar to Burns's (1978) social process theory of the same name. Contextual variables impact the leadership process of optimizing. These variables include environmental and organizational aspects such as culture; the characteristics of subordinates; and the leader's values, attitudes, knowledge, skills, and traits (Irurita, 1996). The leader attributes that are clearly important for the optimizing process include optimism, caring, commitment, determination, courage, articulate communication, and self-esteem. It is important to note that in the context of this study, Irurita (1996) found that such attributes of successful leaders are guided by values and strong morals.

Just as Irurita (1996) highlights leader attributes and actions in the process of optimizing, we suggest that all work unit members contribute to this social process of leadership. Consistent with Irurita's (1994, 1996) and Parry's (1999) work, a leader is someone who demonstrates leadership, and not the manager in charge of a work unit. Therefore, this social process of leadership is something demonstrated within a work unit by all its members. Irurita found that behaviors exhibited by members of a work unit and the interactional processes between them are likely to promote or limit the effects of optimizing. Therefore, the analysis of this process at a group level is an important addition to the theory.

Resolving Uncertainty and Enhancing Adaptability

Parry (1999) also used qualitative data and the grounded theory method to explore the leadership processes occurring amidst turbulent change in Australian local government settings. Through this work, two social processes were found to occur in relation to leadership, change, and following. These social processes involve *resolving uncertainty* and *enhancing adaptability* of followers and the leaders in organizations. Again, in parallel to Irurita's (1996) optimizing model, Parry's theory is important because, as a result of using the full grounded theory method, it explicitly focuses on aspects of a social process of leadership—changes occurring over time and the interaction sequences arising between human individuals in the organization.

The social processes of resolving uncertainty and enhancing adaptability are two critical steps toward effective management of change within organizations. In

particular, enhancing one's own and others' personal adaptability to change becomes important because low adaptability accentuates a person's experience of the complexity and turbulence of change. In turn, this exacerbates the stress felt by followers and leaders. The inertia generated by change may also be accentuated. On the other hand, high adaptability reduces stress experienced due to change, increases teamwork and harmony, and may even aid in the manifestation of leadership. The adaptability of followers is influenced by several factors, including experience, personality, knowledge of change outcomes, and leader interventions (Parry, 1999). Thus, a leader's ability to resolve uncertainty and enhance adaptability has great value. Once again, a leader is anyone who demonstrates leadership within the interactions of the work unit.

Resolving Uncertainty. Parry (1999) found that where an effective leadership process was present, the uncertainty of change of both the followers and leaders could be resolved through strategies, behaviors, and activities demonstrated by the leaders. Moreover, in the absence of effective leadership, both leaders and followers became consumed with uncertainty, and their knowledge, performance, and morale were reduced, while inaccurate perceptions were maintained. Thus, the resolution of uncertainty due to change and turbulence may directly reduce the degree to which the change becomes threatening to individuals in the organization.

Within the process of resolving uncertainty, it is important for the leader to have a clear understanding of their leadership role. Leaders' self-awareness of personal adaptability helps them increase the adaptability of their followers through strategies such as identifying positive outcomes of the change and providing followers with the experience of success through the change. The description of this process is in parallel with much of the past literature, which makes an implicit assumption about the leader's centrality in the effectiveness of the leadership process. Contrary to this assumption, we suggest that effectiveness within organizations is a function of leadership demonstrated throughout the organization by all employees rather than only at higher organizational levels. Thus, the theory of resolving uncertainty may be applied to

individual employees, regardless of rank or leader status. In the case of resolving uncertainty, awareness of one's own leadership roles and personal adaptability are important components of the process. Therefore, the two characteristics of resolving uncertainty, at a lower level of abstraction, are (a) improving knowledge and perceptions and (b) role clarity and personal adaptability.

However, despite the importance of the process of resolving uncertainty, this strategy is ineffectual in isolation in an organization that deals with continuous change. Because resolving uncertainty is a reactive process that responds to uncertainty created by episodes of change, it is a short-term strategy that is more curative than preventative. Rather, it is more effective to help others prepare for the future by developing personal capabilities, such as adaptability, that can preempt negative effects of change (Cabana, 1996; Parry, 1998).

Enhancing Adaptability. Parry (1999) recognized that the process of resolving uncertainty lacked important strategies required by leaders to help enhance their own and followers' adaptability to turbulence and change. As a result of further iterations of data analysis, Parry identified some key strategies of enhancing adaptability that the process of resolving uncertainty lacked. When enhancing their ability and that of others for turbulence and change, people cooperate to get things done, share critical information, provide rational explanations for phenomena, demonstrate persistence, and display values that complement those of the organization.

As with the two previous social processes, *enhancing adaptability* is couched in terms of leader and follower behavior, but can be extended to the group level of analysis while maintaining the leadership focus. Although some of the enhancing adaptability process appears to be driven by positional power, such as the provision of resources, organizational authority levels do not bind many key aspects of this process. For example, people at all levels can demonstrate complementarity of values, communication of desirable messages about change, and facilitation of information flow. Moreover, the cumulative effect of multiple members within a work unit participating in this type of process will increase the frequency and improve the potential benefits of enhancing adaptability.

Organizational or Workgroup Processes and SPL

Those basic social processes have been operationalized psychometrically by Parry (2002) into the Social Processes of Leadership (SPL) scale. This scale does not purport to measure the entirety of the social processes that constitute leadership within work units. Rather, it merely operationalizes the social processes that had been identified to date by leadership research using the fully qualitative grounded theory method. However, given the strong conceptual, theoretical, and empirical similarities between the SPL scale and other measurable leadership constructs (Parry, 2002), we assert that the SPL scale provides a more than adequate indication that these leadership processes are present within a given workplace setting. The SPL scale measures leadership at the group or workplace level of analysis, rather than at the individual level as most leadership instruments do.

The SPL scale originally validated grounded theory leadership research, focusing on the leadership social processes of optimizing, enhancing adaptability, and resolving uncertainty. Parry (2002) explains that these processes have been found empirically and theoretically to be conceptually similar to transformational and constructive transactional leadership, which, in turn, have been found to predict individual and organizational performance (Bass, 1998).

Although the social processes of leadership have been under-researched over the years, organizational processes have been extensively researched. Social processes, including citizenship, work-unit cohesion, innovation promotion, and trustworthiness, have all been considered as part of wider organizational factors. However, with changing organizational structures and the dominant trend of movement toward team management and collaboration at various organizational levels, these processes in particular have also become more explicitly related to the leadership process. As such, we will briefly consider these relationships here followed by consideration in our empirical analysis.

The first organizational process aligned to leadership processes is *organizational citizenship behavior (OCB),* which has been described by Organ,

Podsakoff, and Podsakoff (2011) as incidents of discretionary behavior by individuals that, in aggregate, improve the functioning of organizations. Citizenship constructs include conscientiousness, sportsmanship, civic virtue, courtesy, and altruism (Organ, 1988). Factors related to OCB include job satisfaction (Bateman & Organ, 1983; Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983; Swaminathan & Jawahar, 2013), attitudes, and individual differences (Organ & Ryan, 1995). Traditionally, OCB has been investigated on an individual level of analysis (Organ & Ryan, 1995), which is represented in Organ's (1988) definition. However, more recently, the benefit of considering OCB as a group-level phenomenon has been identified (Bommer, Dierdorff, & Rubin, 2007; George, 1990; George & Brief, 1992; Nielsen, Hrivnak, & Shaw, 2009; Organ & Ryan, 1995). For example, team cohesiveness has been related to prosocial or organizational citizenship behavior (Lin & Peng, 2010; O'Bannon & Pearce, 1999), which in turn has been related to motivating increased participation in team activities (Cartwright & Zander, 1968). Citizenship can also be related to leadership processes. For example, citizenship describes behavior that goes above and beyond the call of duty to ensure organizational success (Organ, 1988). Similarly, transformational leadership is said to encourage followers to do more than they expected to do (Bass, 1998). Therefore, we propose that citizenship behavior is related to, but empirically distinct from, social processes of leadership. In a study of 474 New Zealand managers, Fischer and Parry (2004) showed that levels of altruism (helping coworkers) and civic virtue (being up-to-date with changes in the organization) at a team level were empirically distinct but positively correlated with social processes of leadership.

Group cohesiveness is another established component of effective process within team or workgroup contexts (see Evans & Dion 2012; Mullen & Copper, 1994; Webber & Donahue, 2001 for meta-analyses). Cohesiveness improves productivity via the creation of productivity norms (Munroe, Estabrooks, Dennis, & Carron, 1999), task norms, improved organizational context (Langfred & Shanley, 1997), and surface- and deep-level diversity within groups (Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998; Woehr, Arciniega, & Poling, 2013). Group cohesion itself has

been found to moderate the relationship between leadership and team performance (Carless, Mann, & Wearing, 1998; Daspit, Tillman, Boyd, & McKee, 2013) and between motivation and performance (Chia, 1998). Therefore, it appears that workgroup cohesion is firmly embedded within the social processes occurring within collective environments. In their study, Fischer and Parry (2004) also include measures of team cohesion, finding it to be positively related to social processes of leadership. However, their confirmatory factor analysis also shows that social processes of leadership are empirically distinct from cohesion as a group process.

Finally, trust is an important social process dimension within the organizational context. Schoorman, Mayer, and Davis (2007) define *trust* as a willingness to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on expectations that the other will perform an action important to the trustor, but without the ability of the trustor to monitor or control the other party. This definition is focused on dyadic relationships. Webber (2002) applies this definition to a team level. She defines *trust* at a team level as the perception shared by the majority of individuals within a team that individuals perform particular actions that are important to team members and that individuals recognize and protect the rights and interests of all members of the team in the pursuit of their joint goal. Trust within a relationship has been shown to affect many desirable variables in an organizational context, such as levels of commitment, job satisfaction, and levels of citizenship behavior, as well as to reduce undesirable behaviors and attitudes, such as intention to leave (Aryee, Budhwar, & Chen, 2002; Goris, Vaught, & Pettit, 2003; McAllister, 1995; Pillai, Schriesheim, & Williams, 1999; Tan & Tan, 2000). Jarvenpaa, Knoll, and Leidner (1998) highlight the importance of trust in new organizational arrangements in which previous hierarchical and highly structured forms are replaced by flexible, flatter, and more collaborative systems, such as project teams and work units. In a finding especially relevant to the current research, Jarvenpaa et al. found that teams demonstrating high trust levels have rotating leadership. In their study, the leader was not consistent or chosen throughout the project, and each individual member demonstrated certain leadership strengths

during the course of the project. Thus, trust and the social process of leadership appear to be closely connected. This is supported Fischer and Parry (2004), whose study shows that trust is related to both optimizing and enhancing adaptability. Again, their confirmatory factor analysis also provides support for the empirical distinctiveness of social processes of leadership and trustworthiness as team processes.

Gender and Social Processes of Leadership

People have stereotypical beliefs about "natural" gender leadership styles (Cann & Siegfried, 1990), and these beliefs might influence actual behaviors within the workplace. Eagly's (1987) social role theory and its extension, role congruity theory (Koenig & Eagly, 2014), suggest that to avoid criticism and to achieve praise, people behave consistent with society's expectations of their gender. Women have been associated with so-called communal characteristics, which entail a primary concern with the welfare of others and include characteristics such as being affectionate, helpful, kind, and sympathetic (Eagly & Carli, 2007). In contrast, men are associated with more agentic characteristics such as being assertive, aggressive, ambitious, and forceful. Therefore, as leaders, women strive to be nurturing and caring, while men are more task-focused, ambitious, and competitive. For example, Astin and Leland (1992, cited in Tucker, McCarthy, & Jones, 1999) find that women believe, more so than men, that listening to and empowering followers is important, and they are more likely to use conferences and networks to achieve results. Vinkenburg, van Engen, Eagly, and Johannesen-Schmidt (2011) suggest that such differences occur because men and women view the world differently and, consequently, male leaders seek autonomy and control over their followers, while women favor connection and relatedness. In a large-scale meta-analysis of organizational, laboratory, and assessment studies, Koenig et al. (2011) report small, but reliable, gender differences in leadership style. Female leaders, especially at the higher levels of the hierarchy, were found to emphasize both interpersonal relations and task accomplishment more than men. These findings suggest that women might

engage in more social processes by establishing more interpersonal relations, as well as by clarifying task objectives and resolving uncertainties.

We proposed earlier that social processes of leadership at a team level are very similar conceptually to the transformational leadership of individual leaders. Moreover, a meta-analysis of transformational leadership research shows a significantly more frequent display of transformational leadership by women over men (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003). Therefore, it is possible that women, in general, might be more transformational than men. Generalizing to processes at a team level, it is plausible that female-dominated industries are more likely to show social processes of leadership since these processes involve a strong transformational component.

In line with these industry-wide effects, Koenig et al. (2011) suggest that even though an organization's recruitment, selection, and socialization criteria might be identical for men and women, the sector in which the organization operates might contribute to the presence of gender differences in leadership processes. For example, they suggested that male-dominated sectors such as the military encourage masculine styles of leadership, while public sector organizations encourage more feminine styles.

In summary, gender differences in leadership styles of individuals have been observed. Therefore, we extend the research to the group level by focusing on social processes of leadership. We argue that the gender ratio of the industry will influence the social processes of leadership within the workplace in a similar way. Therefore, we expect that social processes of leadership are more likely to be observed in settings that are not male-dominated.

Hypothesis 1: People in male-dominated industries will report fewer social processes of leadership than in female-dominated industries.

The Effect of Gender Balance in the Workplace upon Leadership Processes

We argued earlier that gender dominance within an industry influences the manifestation of leadership processes. However, Eagly and Johnson's (1990) meta-analysis suggests that "the sex of the subordinates might affect the

behavior of leaders of both sexes more than it affects sex differences" (248). In other words, "stereotypical" leadership of men and women will be adjusted to suit the gender of their followers. Therefore leadership processes might vary according to the gender composition of the workplace as much as the gender dominance of the industry. Both social identity theory and self-categorization theory (Hogg & Terry, 2000), as well as role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), could be used to derive some particular hypotheses about gender differences on social processes of leadership depending on the particular context. We still know relatively little about how leadership processes change when the gender ratio of the work unit is not congruent with the gender ratio of the overall industry. Williams and O'Reilly (1998) had called for more research that investigates the proportion of men and women in the workplace to generate a better understanding of gender balance on workgroup functioning. Until now, no one seems to have heeded that call.

Focusing on individual leaders, a meta-analysis by Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani (1995) found that (a) women were less effective compared to men when the proportion of male subordinates increased, and (b) in strongly male-dominated industries such as the military, women were less effective than men, but were somewhat more effective in traditionally female-dominated industries such as education and social service. This indicates that the role congruity between the expectations within the industry and the gender of the leader is important. Extending this line of reasoning, we would argue that the gender balance of the work unit in relationship to the gender dominance of the industry is also important. Social categorization and social identity theory (see Hogg & Terry, 2000; Turner & Haslam, 2001, for reviews in an organizational context; see Williams & O'Reilly, 1998, for a review from a diversity perspective) would predict that gender would become important in contexts where there is a gender imbalance. These effects are context dependent. In male-dominated industries, a work unit consisting of mainly men is less distinct, and the gender ratio of the work team seems not to be so important. However, as the number of women increases within a work unit that operates in a male-dominated industry, gender

becomes more salient. As reviewed above, the expectations of leaders are incongruent with the gender role of women (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Furthermore, there is consistent evidence showing that distinctiveness leads to less social cohesion (Turner & Haslam, 2001) and fewer social processes (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Furthermore, discrimination against female-dominated teams in male-dominated industries might be particularly high and therefore, it might be expected, based on both role congruity theory as well as social identity and self-categorization theories, that increasing numbers of women in work teams in male-dominated industries will exhibit fewer social processes of leadership.

Furthermore, social identity and self-categorization theories would predict that increased similarity leads to more social cohesion. Cohesion has been shown to be linked to higher task performance (Greene, 1989; Gully, Devine, & Whitney; 1995; Mullen & Copper, 1994). It could be expected that gender-congruent teams (male-dominated teams in male-dominated industries, female-dominated teams in female-dominated industries) are more likely to show increased cohesion, which, in turn, might lead to more social processes being manifested. Furthermore, as we have argued above, female-dominated industries are more likely to show more social processes of leadership. Consequently, we predict that female-dominated teams in female-dominated industries would show the highest level of social leadership processes. Within the female-dominated industries, if the proportional number of men in teams increases, we would expect the manifestation of social processes of leadership to fall. By contrast, in male-dominated industries, an increased level of women in teams is likely to lead to lowest levels of social processes of leadership at a team level. On the other hand, if the number of women decreases and the gender congruence increases within these male-dominated industries, social processes should increase. However, in line with the previously predicted main effect, we would still expect that the mean levels of social processes are not as high as in female-dominated industries, even in those cases where there is gender balance between teams and within the larger industry. These considerations led us to propose the following hypothesis and corollaries:

Hypothesis 2: There will be an interaction between gender ratios at the team level and the gender domination of the industry, for social processes of leadership.

- *2.1: In female-dominated industries, a proportional increase in men at the team level will lead to fewer social processes of leadership.*

- *2.2: In male-dominated industries, a proportional increase in men at the team level will lead to more social processes of leadership.*

- *2.3: The highest levels of social processes of leadership are expected in female-dominated teams in female-dominated industries.*

- *2.4: The lowest levels of social processes of leadership are expected in female-dominated teams in male-dominated industries.*

Gender of Respondent and Team and Industry Gender Balances

In the previous section about gender balance at the team level and the effect on leadership processes within the context of the larger industry, we used both social identity and self-categorization theories and role congruity theory to make some specific predictions about the extent to which leadership processes will be present. However, one last issue needs to be addressed: the gender of the respondent. In the current study, we asked managers to report on the leadership processes within their work unit. Consequently, it might be that the gender of the manager will influence the reporting, depending on the gender balance in the work unit and/or industry.

Chatman and O'Reilly (2004) found that women expressed greater commitment, positive affect, and perceptions of cooperation when they worked in all-female groups. Some studies have found that men tend to become more personal and less competitive and disagreeable when removed from male-dominated groups and placed within a group comprised of mostly women (e.g., Aries, 1976; Piliavin & Martin, 1978). However, many studies (e.g., Spangler,

Gordon, & Pipkin, 1978; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992) have found that being in groups with few members of their gender led to decreased satisfaction in men more so than in women. Men in predominantly female work units experience little discrimination from their female coworkers, but women in predominantly male groups are more likely to face ostracism and rejection of their methods (O'Farrell & Harlan, 1982). Women in male-dominated groups and careers are less confident and less likely to participate (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Therefore, the gender of the responding manager might influence how leadership and group processes are experienced, depending on the gender balance of both the work unit and industry.

The previous studies suggest that the experience of men and women in work teams that are dominated by the opposite gender might be qualitatively different. Therefore, it would be important to study whether male and female respondents differ in their reports on leadership processes within the work unit and the larger industry. We are interested in the social reality as perceived by those people. These reports might be a reflection of actual levels of social processes or an indication of different perceptions depending on the gender of the respondent. We also believe it is important to account for these effects before testing our second hypothesis, because not accounting for those gender differences in experienced reality as reported by those managers might obscure the relationship between gender balance at a team and industry level.

To date, there is no clear evidence as to whether men and women would experience the leadership processes differently. Men have been found to experience less discrimination in female-dominated groups, compared with women in male-dominated groups (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Koenig et al., 2011). Men have also been found to be more socially oriented and less aggressive in female-dominated work settings, therefore, male managers might report more social processes of leadership when in female-dominated work settings (both work unit and industry) compared with women in male-dominated work settings (both work unit and industry). It should be noted that these hypotheses are exploratory.

Hypothesis 3: Male managers will report more social processes of leadership in female-dominated industries compared with reported levels of social processes of leadership by women in male-dominated industries.

Hypothesis 4. Male managers will report more social processes of leadership in female-dominated work units compared with reported levels of social processes of leadership by women in male-dominated work units.

Method

Sample

Data were collected from surveys completed by middle and senior managers drawn from a membership list of the New Zealand Institute of Management. Questionnaires were mailed to members with a letter of support from the CEO of the institute. Completed surveys were returned in postage-paid envelopes. A total of 4,470 questionnaires were mailed out, and 934 responses were received, a response rate of 21%. Although low, this is not an unusual response rate based on historical trends for this particular data set. Nonrespondents include managers who could not respond for a variety of reasons. These reasons might include wrong mailing address, company policy, retirements, clashes with vacation, working in organizations that were too small to provide an adequately sized work unit, and so forth. The latter is likely to be an issue unique to New Zealand, being an economy with a preponderance of small-sized organizations and owner-manager operations. Overall, as Waldman, Ramirez, House, and Puranam (2001) found, the response rate should be considered reasonable, given the high level of many managers, and the potential sensitivity of the questionnaire.

In order to ascertain whether the low response rate was likely to produce biased results, a nonresponse analysis proposed by Moser and Kalton (1971) (also called wave analysis; Rainey, Sanjay, & Bozeman, 1995) was conducted. Cross-tabulation analyses of early (within the first two weeks), medium (two to three weeks) and late (after three weeks) responses were performed against all demographic characteristics and measurement scales. A significant chi-squared

result would indicate a nonresponse bias. This type of analysis is based on the premise that later respondents in the research sample are the most akin to those who do not respond at all (Fowler, 1988; Moser & Kalton, 1971). No significant demographic differences were found between early and late respondents. Nor were there any significant differences in any of the leadership measures. The only aberration was a systematic trend for nonrespondents to more likely be middle or senior managers rather than CEOs. However, in the absence of any other significant difference across all other measures, these results suggest a low probability of response bias (Moser & Kalton, 1971).

Because the research was aimed at workplaces or "work units," responses that indicated a work unit size greater than 200 people were withdrawn from analysis. Accordingly, 14 responses were removed, leaving 920 usable responses.

A majority of managers in the final sample were from the private sector (58%), with the remainder from the public sector. The average size of work units was 20 members, with 11 men and 9 women. The gender of the respondents was not evenly distributed (71% men, 29% women). The age of respondents ranged from 21 to 79 years with a mean of 47, and 66% of the sample's respondents were self-selected as senior management level or higher. These statistics suggest that a large proportion of the work unit sample probably operated at management or senior management level, although many would have been from quite small organizations. Apart from the obvious potential limitation of low response rate, another potential source of bias is that respondents were predominantly senior managers. All respondents are members of the New Zealand Institute of Management, therefore would most likely self-classify as "managers." It is quite possible that many respondents are the manager in charge of their work unit. We cannot confirm or refute that. All we know is that they are all *members* of the work unit upon which they are reporting.

Measurement

Social Processes of Leadership. The social processes of leadership were measured by the 20-item Social Processes of Leadership (SPL) scale (Parry, 2002). This scale measures the frequency with which leadership is displayed

within work units (see Appendix A). The work unit was defined as "the immediate group of people with whom you work on a regular basis. For example, you may work within a project team, a business unit, or some other kind of workgroup." On a scale from 0 ("not at all") to 4 ("frequently, if not always") (Bass, Cascio, & O'Connor, 1974), respondents were asked to indicate how frequently people in their work unit do certain things. For the social process of optimizing, those things include active management processes such as "display sound management practice," "facilitate the flow of information," and "effectively plan ahead for variation in workloads." The social process of enhancing adaptability includes communication and support for each other (e.g., "cooperate to get things done") and the display of personal efficacy (e.g., "persist in efforts to achieve unit goals"). For the social process of resolving uncertainty, those things include resolution of uncertainty (in self and in others), engaging in reciprocity and interdependence (e.g., "rely on each other for information" and rely on each other for support"), and having personal discussions about change.

To assess the dimensionality of the instrument, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted using maximum likelihood estimations in LISREL (Version 8.50, 2001), a statistical software used in structural equation modeling (SEM) for manifest and latent variables. To assess the adequacy of the proposed structure, a number of fit indices were compared. According to Hu and Bentler (1995), values of the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990) and Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) or non-normed fit index (NNFI; Bentler & Bonett, 1980) should reach levels of .95 or higher. A second set of fit indices focuses on lack of fit. The root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Browne & Cudeck, 1993) should ideally be below 0.05, while values ranging between 0.06 and 0.08 are deemed acceptable. Values of the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) should ideally be below .05 (Hu & Bentler, 1995). A three-factor solution showed good fit: $\chi^2(167) = 1{,}018.17$, TLI = .97, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .04. Furthermore, a single-factor solution did not provide better fit: $\chi^2(170) = 1{,}267.48$, TLI = .96, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .09, SRMR = .05. In fact, the fit was significantly worse: $\Delta\chi^2(3) = 249.31$, $p < .001$, indicating that the three-

factor solution provided a significantly better fit. The internal consistencies were .87 (optimizing) and .78 (for both enhancing adaptability and resolving uncertainty).

Gender-Related Variables. A selection of demographic items regarding the respondent's work unit was included in the questionnaire. We asked participants to state their gender, report the number of male and female members in their work unit (to generate a gender ratio), and report the industry in which their organization is operating. In the interests of consistency, we used the standard industry classifications provided by *Statistics New Zealand*. In the year 2000, about 45% of women were in paid employment (World Bank Group, 2002). Traditionally male-dominated industries are agriculture, including forestry and fishing, and industry, including mining, manufacturing, construction, defense, electricity, gas, and water. These industries employ more than twice as many men as women. Traditionally female-dominated industries are service industries, including wholesale/retail trade; restaurants and hotels; transport, storage, and communications; financing, insurance, real estate, and business services; and community, social, and personal services. As of 2000, these industries employed 81% of the entire female workforce. Industries dominated by neither gender are the remaining industries, including public administration, entertainment, education, health, and computing. These classifications are based on New Zealand statistics provided by the World Bank Group (2002). We used the classification of proportion of the female workforce in these industries as an indicator of gender dominance. Other demographic items included the function, size, main sector type (public or private), and personal attributes of the respondent, including organizational level and age. Table 1 (on the following page) displays the descriptive statistics and intercorrelations of the variables used in this study.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations Among Study Variables

	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Enhancing adaptability	3.05 (0.52)	—									
2. Resolving uncertainty	2.74 (0.60)	.66**	—								
3. Optimizing	2.84 (0.61)	.72**	.72**	—							
4. Female respondent	28.1%	.06	.10**	.08*	—						
5. Gender ratio of the work unit (men)	0.55 (0.28)	-.06	-.12**	-.08*	-.41**	—					
6. Male-dominated industries	41.1%	-.07	-.06	-.09*	-.13**	.34**	—				
7. Senior management level or CEO	66.6%	.14*	.11**	.12**	-.10**	.00	.01	—			
8. Participant's age	47.28 (9.37)	.13*	.07*	.17**	-.27**	.09*	-.10*	.15**	—		
9. Public sector	42.0%	-.05	.02	.02	.15**	-.17**	-.10*	-.23**	-.04	—	
10. Size of work unit	20.23 (27.91)	-.11*	-.05	-.09**	-.03	-.02	-.00	-.01	-.02	.13**	—
11. Workgroup tenure (in years)	4.08 (1.25)	.03	.05	.07*	-.08*	.03	.05	.05	.20**	.05	.14**

*p < .05; ** p < .01

Analysis

To test our hypotheses, we used moderated multiple regression analysis. In a first step, we entered all the main effects of interest. These are the gender of the respondent work-unit member (dummy coded, 1 for "female"); the gender ratio of the work unit (higher number indicating a larger proportion of men), and traditionally male-dominated industries (dummy coded, 1 for "male-dominated industries"). Participants from industries dominated by neither gender were removed from this analysis. This allowed us to test Hypothesis 1. Then we introduced the two two-way interaction effects with which to test Hypotheses 3 and 4. A significant "male-dominated industries by gender of respondent" interaction effect would support our third hypothesis. A significant interaction effect of "gender ratio of the work unit by gender of respondent" would support our fourth hypothesis. We tested these two hypotheses first, because these

hypotheses are concerned with experiences of social reality by male versus female managers. Then, we introduced the interaction of "gender ratio of the work unit by male-dominated industries." If this interaction was significant, it would provide an answer to our second hypothesis. In particular, we hypothesized particular patterns; for example, that the highest level of social processes should be found in female-dominated teams in female-dominated industries (Hypothesis 2.3), whereas the lowest level should be found in female-dominated teams within male-dominated industries (Hypothesis 2.4). A proportional increase in men in teams in male-dominated industries is expected to lead to an increase of social processes (Hypothesis 2.2), whereas an increase of men at a team level in female-dominated industries is expected to lead to lower social processes (Hypothesis 2.1). Finally, we also tested the three-way interaction in the final step of the regression. Table 2 displays the results of the analyses separately for the three social processes.

Table 2: Effect of Gender of Respondent, Gender Ratio in the Work Unit, and Male-Dominated Industries on Social Processes of Leadership

Variable	Optimizing	Enhancing Adaptability	Resolving Uncertainty
Step 1	$F(3,519) = 2.01$ $\Delta R^2 = .011$	$F(3,519) = 1.25$ $\Delta R^2 = .007$	$F(3,519) = 2.06$ $\Delta R^2 = .012$
Female respondent manager	.06	.03	.02
Gender ratio in work unit	.00	.00	-.05
Male-dominated industries	-.11	-.08	-.05
Step 2	$F(2,517) = 1.49$ $\Delta R^2 = .006$	$F(2,517) = .74$ $\Delta R^2 = .003$	$F(2,517) = 1.66$ $\Delta R^2 = .006$
Gender ratio x male respondent manager	.07	.05	.09
Gender of respondent manager x male-dominated industries	.14	.06	.08
Step 3	$F(1,516) = 6.59$* $\Delta R^2 = .012$	$F(1,516) = 3.97$* $\Delta R^2 = .008$	$F(1,516) = 4.85$* $\Delta R^2 = .009$
Gender ratio x male-dominated industries	.16*	.10*	.14*
Step 4	$F(1,515) = .01$ $\Delta R^2 = .000$	$F(1,515) = .08$ $\Delta R^2 = .000$	$F(1,515) = .03$ $\Delta R^2 = .000$
Gender ratio x gender of respondent manager x male-dominated industries	.01	.03	.02

*p < .05; ** p < .001

Results

Supporting our first hypothesis, people from traditionally male-dominated industries reported lower levels of social processes of leadership. Our third hypothesis was not supported. The “gender of respondent manager by male-dominated industries” interaction effect was not significant. Therefore, male and female managers do not report different levels of social processes of leadership. Our fourth hypothesis was not supported. The interaction between gender of respondent and gender ratio in the work unit was not significant. Therefore, the gender balance of the work unit did not affect the way male versus female managers reported on levels of social leadership processes. However, concerning our second hypothesis, the interaction effect between gender ratio and traditionally male-dominated industries was significant for all three leadership processes. Figures 1 to 3 show the plotted regression line for male-dominated and female-dominated industries. In line with Hypothesis 2.1, an increase of men at a team level in female-dominated industries is associated with fewer social processes of leadership for all three leadership processes. Second, in line with Hypothesis 2.2, a proportional increase of men in teams within male-dominated industries is associated with more optimizing and enhancing adaptability processes. However, no increase was observed for resolving uncertainty. Third, in line with Hypothesis 2.3, the highest levels of social processes of leadership were observed in female-dominated work teams in female-dominated industries. This effect was found for all three social processes. Finally, the lowest levels of social processes were found in female-dominated teams in male-dominated industries. This is line with Hypothesis 2.4, and this trend has been found for all three processes, although the trend was weaker for resolving uncertainty.

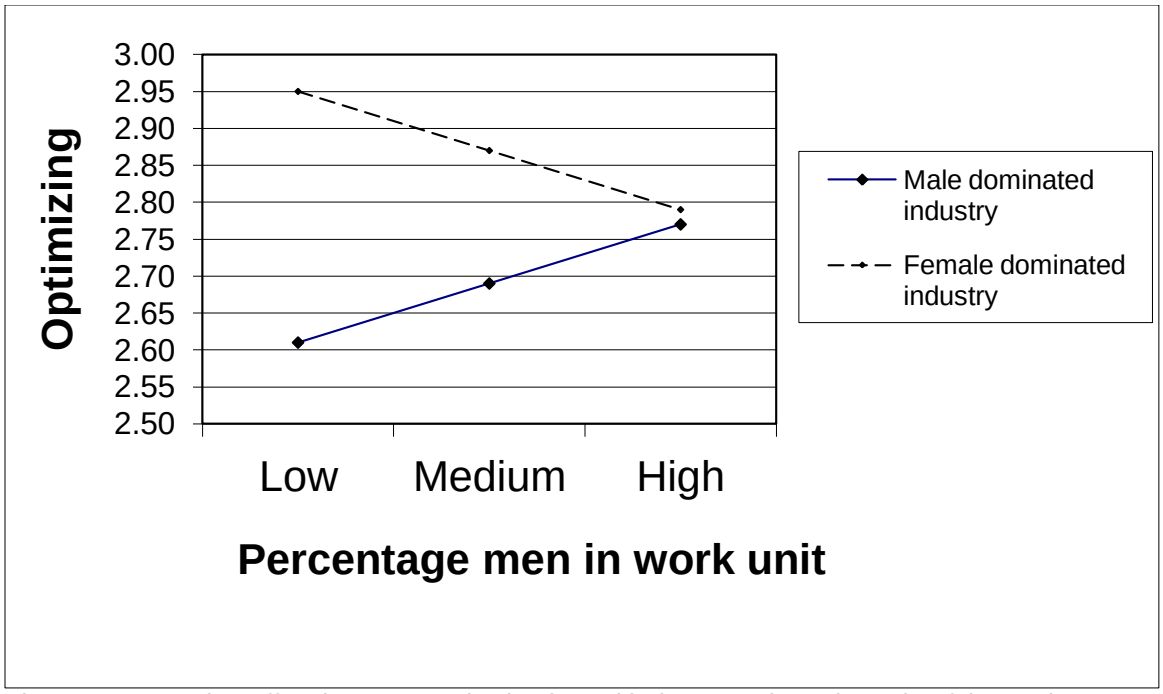

Figure 1. Interaction effect between male-dominated industry and gender ratio of the work unit on optimizing

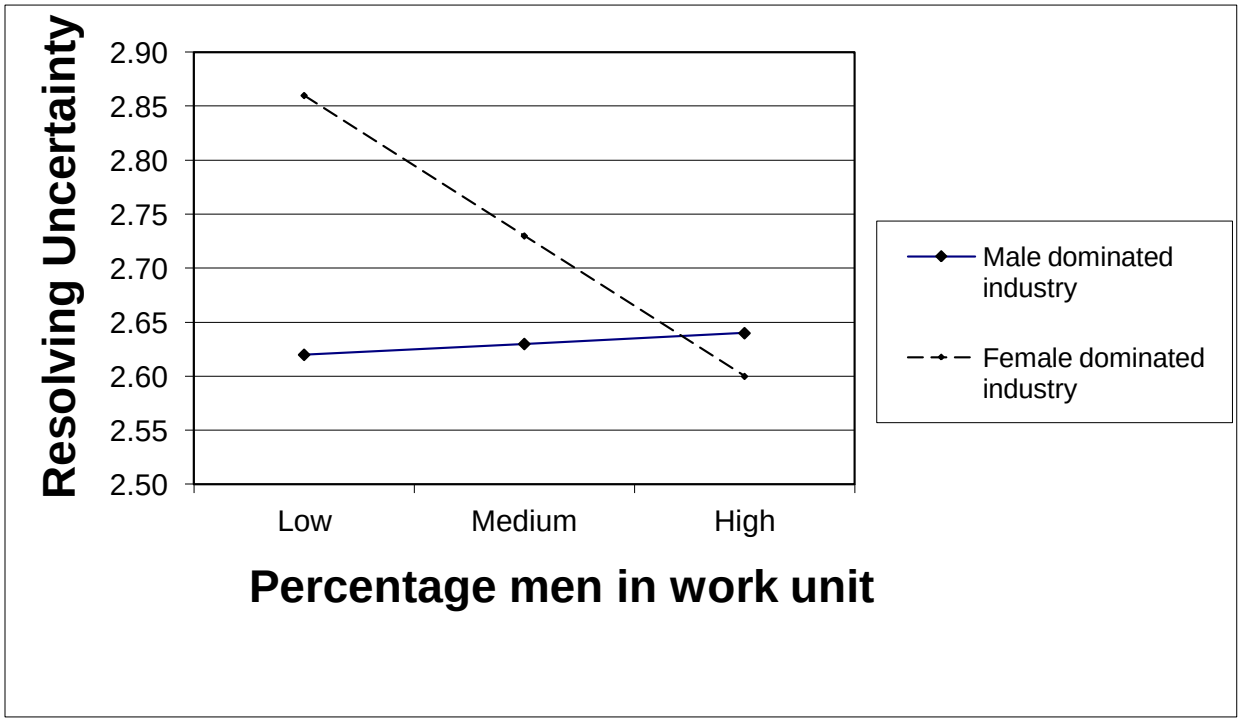

Figure 2. Interaction effect between male-dominated industry and gender ratio of the work unit on resolving uncertainty

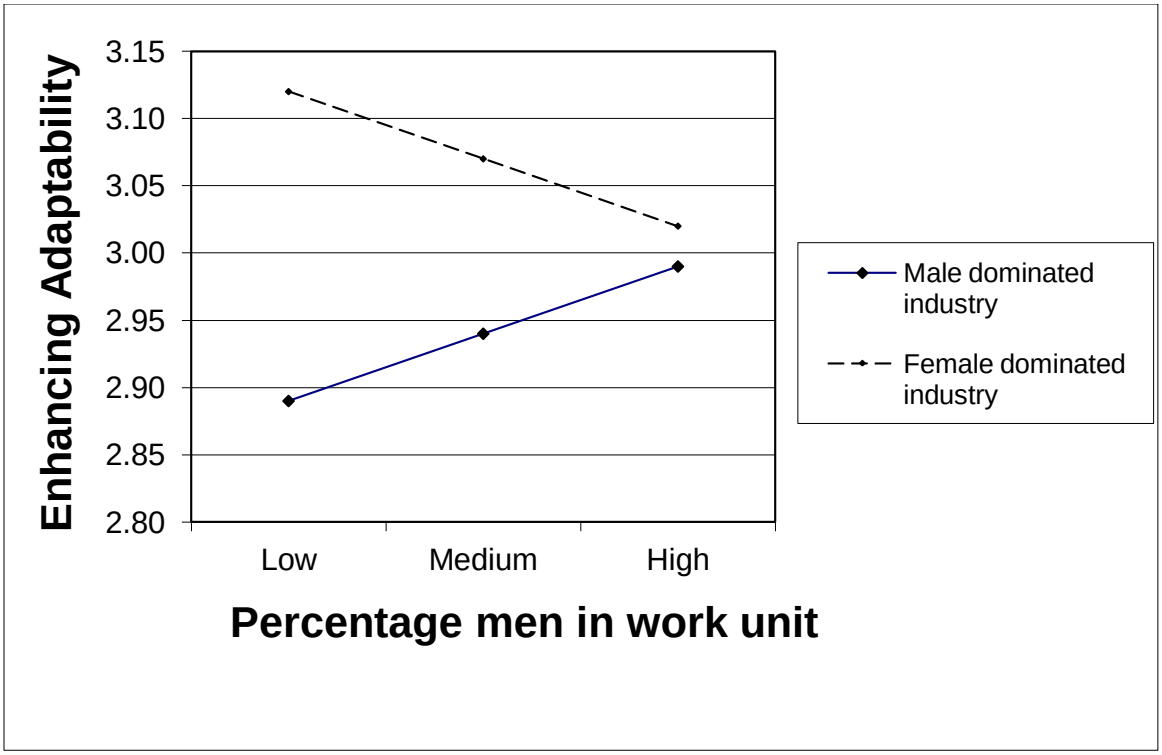

Figure 3. Interaction effect between male-dominated industry and gender ratio of the work unit on enhancing adaptability

To explore the robustness of this interaction effect, we ran further regression analyses in which we controlled for the effects of the size of the work unit, the length of time a team has been together, the sector (dummy coded, 1 for "public sector"), the organizational level of the respondent (dummy coded, 1 for "senior manager or higher"), and the age of the respondent. The interaction effects were still significant for optimizing (β = .16, p =< .05) and resolving uncertainty (β = .15, p < .05). The effect for enhancing adaptability was only marginally significant after controlling for these other variables (β = .12, p = .06). Controlling for the effect of these variables allows us greater confidence in interpreting the effects of variables entered subsequently. Additionally, some of these demographic variables were significant. Older managers reported more leadership processes in their work unit (all β > .10; all p < .05). Higher-level managers (CEOs and senior management) reported more social processes of leadership compared with middle and lower-level managers (all β > .10, all p < .05). Finally, public sector organizations showed higher levels of optimizing (β = .10, p < .05). These emergent findings are also discussed below.

Discussion and Conclusion

We have presented an empirical test of social processes of leadership at a team level and the effect of gender balance at a team and industry level on these processes. Two firm conclusions can be drawn from this study. First, traditionally male-dominated industries tend to manifest fewer social processes of leadership overall. More accurately, managers in male-dominated industries, irrespective of their gender, perceive fewer social processes of leadership. These industries seem to rely on more traditional, economic exchange, and transactional relationships than female-dominated industries. Previous research has demonstrated that male managers exhibit a more transactional leadership style (active and passive management by exception), whereas female managers demonstrate more transformational leadership styles and more contingent reward behaviors (e.g., Eagly et al., 2003). The current study has extended this research by showing that similar trends can be found at a team level within male- versus female-dominated industries. This is an important extension of previous research at an individual level.

Second, congruity effects are important. Within traditionally male-dominated industries, male dominance at the workplace is generally associated with greater manifestation of social processes of leadership, whereas increasing numbers of men in female-dominated industries results in fewer social processes of leadership. Congruity between the gender dominance of the industry and the gender balance of the workplace is associated with a greater display of social processes of leadership. This congruity effect has important implications for organizations. First, it seems that men in male-dominated industries may have a comfort zone when working together with other men wherein they can open up and more transformational and relationship-oriented interactions take place. Ibarra (1992) argues that people tend to associate with people who are similar. Williams and O'Reilly (1998), in their review of diversity in the workplace, showed that gender diversity is negatively associated with group outcomes, especially for men. However, it appears from our research that the gender of the responding manager has no impact on the manifestation of social processes of leadership

per se. Nor does the gender balance of the workplace have an impact on the manifestation of social processes of leadership per se. Instead, it appears that gender is only important when examined within the context of particular industries with certain demographic characteristics. When trying to understand leadership processes, managers and scholars may need to pay attention to industry-specific characteristics and their relationship to the gender makeup of individual workplaces, rather than the gender of individual managers or leaders.

The findings are encouraging in that they show that female-dominated industries might be excellent environments for enhancing the adaptability of team members to change and uncertainty, resolving emerging uncertainties, and optimizing existing work procedures and processes. However, an increasing number of men in those industries might lead to a steady decline in these processes. Similarly, having a proportionally larger number of women in male-dominated industries might lead to lower levels of these social processes of leadership, particularly enhancing adaptability and optimizing. Therefore, one controversial conclusion could be that senior management should avoid staff teams exclusively or predominantly composed of women in those industries. However, we cannot say anything about the experiences of those individual women in those male-dominated industries. Realistically, at an aggregated team level, it seems that having fewer women results in more social processes of leadership; however, these women might be subject to increased prejudice and stress and reduced well-being (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Gardiner & Tiggemann, 1999). We can only comment on the manifestation of social processes of leadership in the context of this study. This is an important area for further research, however.

We did not find the expected pattern for resolving uncertainty. An increase in the number of men within workgroups in male-dominated industries was not associated with increased efforts to resolve uncertainty. Resolving uncertainty involves high levels of interpersonal communication about change, interpersonal and intrapersonal resolution of uncertainties about the future, and people relying on each other for support and information. This dimension is quite close to communal characteristics that are traditionally been associated with women

(Eagly & Karau, 2002). Eagly and Karau might suggest that men are not expected to show these behaviors to a great extent and, consequently, these behaviors are not part of their typical work behavior repertoire. Therefore, being in a homogeneous team within a male-dominated industry is not likely to be associated with more of these social processes with a more communal aspect. Consequently, it is not unduly surprising that having more men in teams within male-dominated industries will have little effect upon the resolving of uncertainty.

Concerning the emergent findings, older managers and more senior managers reported more leadership processes in their work units. In view of the positive correlation between these two variables, it would make sense that older managers are generally also more senior than other respondents. Because of their relative seniority, it could be that these people are more likely to be the manager responsible for the work unit, and therefore more likely to see leadership being manifested. Such a phenomenon has been observed by Cook and Emler (1999), among others. Finally, managers in public sector organizations reported more optimizing than those in private sector organizations. The tone of optimizing is much more in line with traditional management functions, whereas the other two leadership processes are much more in line with interpersonal interactions. Considering the managerialist nature of public sector work, it makes sense that traditional management functions might be more manifest in the processes that occur. Furthermore, the public sector operates within a reasonably stable environment in New Zealand. Workloads, responsibilities, and leadership roles are clearly defined; informational channels and information flow are explicitly specified; and there is a strong determination within the public sector to show exceptional standards of social responsibility, accountability, and serving as a role model as best practice for society. Therefore, the higher scores might reflect this implicit aspiration toward optimizing within the public sector.

Limitations and Future Directions

Two limitations should be noted. First, our study included very uneven numbers of women and men in the different industries and work units. This is partly due to

the effects in our area of interest (for example, the influence of the workplace gender ratio in male-dominated industries). However, these uneven numbers might reduce our statistical power. Other interaction effects might be found with more powerful designs. On the other hand, we found an interesting and meaningful result that was reliable even when controlling for other variables. Future research should try to include other sources for the reported leadership processes. Same-source bias is not a problem because we ran regression reports of social processes of leadership on demographic variables. Even so, research using 360-degree feedback on formal and informal leaders and concurrent examination of the whole work unit (measuring climate or culture, for example) might also prove to be informative.

Second, more representation of the entire workforce is required in any replication of this research. Because most respondents were middle and senior managers, many may have been the manager in charge of the workplace they were describing. Because we found a small effect of the hierarchical level of the respondent on perceptions about leadership processes, it could be that not all group members would perceive the same manifestation of leadership. For example, a formal group leader might perceive the manifestation of processes differently than a group member who is a process or clerical worker. Also, a formal group leader responsible for the work of many subordinates might perceive certain processes differently than another coworker at the same hierarchical level but without such a wide span of control. These issues would need to be probed in subsequent research, probably at the level of a case study. There are many other interactions from a range of possible variables that need to be researched, such as the perceptions of process and clerical workers. Such case study work could also determine the extent to which the nature of the work in certain industries is more or less predictive of interpersonal interactions than is the gender composition of the industry. For example, business services might require coworkers to engage in more interpersonal interaction than fishing or mining.

However, there is considerable evidence from this study to suggest that gender balance does have a great impact in certain specific industry environments. We used a large sample of New Zealand managers and focused on leadership processes within work units, rather than the leadership styles of formal leaders. We found that the gender of the respondent and the gender ratio of the work unit per se do not have a significant impact on the manifestation of social processes of leadership. Rather, we found that industry characteristics interact with work unit characteristics and affect the reported level of social processes of leadership within workplaces. These are very important characteristics of the operating environment of organizations, but they should not be examined in isolation. We would not advocate that selection decisions are made according to gender criteria for certain industries. Rather, we would advocate recognition that altering the gender balance may not always be the best strategy when attempting to maximize the leadership that is displayed in the workplace. We would conclude that the major contribution of this research is that although the gender balance of the workplace does not affect the manifestation of leadership processes overall, there appear to be important industry-specific interactions that warrant further research. This finding also has important implications for both academics and practitioners interested in a better understanding of gender effects on social processes of leadership.

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Appendix A

Social Processes of Leadership (SPL) Scale

Your work unit can be defined as the immediate group of people with whom you work on a regular basis. For example, you may work within a project team, a business unit or some other kind of workgroup.

0 = Not at all
1 = Once in a while
2 = Sometimes
3 = Fairly Often
4 = Frequently, if not always

Using the scale above, please indicate how *frequently* people in your work unit do the following.

The following six items represent the process "enhancing adaptability."

- Cooperate to get things done.
- Share information needed to help make decisions.
- Try to provide rational explanations for why things happen.
- Take advantage of opportunities when they arise.
- Persist in efforts to achieve work unit goals.
- Display personal values that complement those of the organization.

The following six items represent the process "resolving uncertainty."

- Have face-to-face or phone discussions about change.
- Discuss where the organization is heading.
- Resolve the uncertainty that other members feel about the future.
- Seek to resolve any personal uncertainty about the future.
- Rely on each other for information about work.
- Rely on each other for support.

The following eight items represent the process "optimizing."

- Effectively plan ahead for variation in workloads.
- Take personal responsibility to educate themselves where needed.
- Display a clear perception of their own leadership role within the work unit.
- Attempt to move the work unit forward.
- Display sound management practice within the work unit.
- Prioritize their own work tasks.
- Facilitate the flow of information within the work unit.
- Distribute tasks and responsibilities where appropriate.

Leading by Example: Images of Diversity and Collaboration on University Web Pages*

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Acknowledging Eagly and Chin's (2010) concerns for the paucity of research in leadership and diversity, this study explores one form of communication at 24 leading universities through analysis of their website home pages to identify implicit messages about gender, race, and working collectively. These universities were identified from the Academic Ranking of World Universities (2010). The visual representations on the home pages in this study ranged from buildings and DNA to individuals and small groups to large gatherings of people. Building on leadership as a relational construct (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995), we speculate that these images might be a resource to constructively communicate the leadership potential of men, women, Whites, and non-Whites to lead and collaborate with diverse others. Our findings identify specific opportunities for increased communication for collaboration with people of heterogeneous gender and race.

Key words: diversity, gender, race, web-page images

Our need for leadership and the ability to influence and work together with others to achieve a vision has only grown as the challenges facing our current global community mount. At the 2005 United Nations World Summit, then-Secretary-General Kofi Annan noted that "whether our task is fighting poverty, stemming the spread of disease, or saving innocent lives from mass murder, we have seen that we cannot succeed without the leadership of the strong and the engagement of all" (BBC, 2005). Chin (2010) claims that "theories of leadership need to be expanded to incorporate diversity if they are to be relevant for the 21st century amidst new social contexts, emerging global concerns, and changing population demographics" (150). The world teems with significant issues that require leaders' attention, and although there are many paths to developing future leaders, institutions of higher education play a significant role in the supply of this

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critical human resource by teaching individuals how to collaborate in pursuance of shared goals to address the demands and challenges of the 21st century.

Deng and Gibson (2008) found that cultural intelligence is needed to succeed in a globalized world. Cultivating leadership with cultural intelligence can occur in institutions of higher education. Discussing the aspirations and purpose of higher education, Shapiro (2005) notes that universities can and must help create a better world through the generation of new ideas that help invent the future and move society forward. As a former president of both Princeton University and the University of Michigan and chairman of the National Bioethics Advisory Commission under U.S. President Bill Clinton, Shapiro emphasizes the responsibility of universities as societal stewards. Of note, he points to questions asked at Princeton regarding higher education's accessibility to talented individuals from all socioeconomic classes. Although this line of questioning focused on financial aid policies, it aligns with a concern to ensure that higher education's doors are open to all those with merit to enter and, thus, an expansion of the leadership pipeline.

If indeed "leadership of the strong and the engagement of all" (BBC, 2005) is an antecedent to addressing global challenges such as hunger, abuse, and environmental sustainability, institutions of higher education may be responsible for communicating leader role models who represent individuals from all backgrounds and who are capable of working collectively. University website home pages are the portals through which interested parties can view images that convey the culture and values of the institution (Hoover, O'Neil, & Poutiatine, 2014) and the messages they convey about future leaders. Given the need for leadership in a complex and global society, this study examines diversity (images of gender and race) and collaboration (images with more than 12 collective individuals) on university home pages to determine the implicit messages about who are portrayed as leaders and how leadership is enacted.

Theoretical Framework

This study examines how images on leading university home pages communicate leadership in two fundamental ways: first, as a role that diverse individuals are capable of fulfilling (i.e., the extent to which men and women and Whites and non-Whites are portrayed on the web pages), and second, as a collaborative activity expressed by the extent to which collectives are represented on the web pages. Both leader prototypes (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and group prototypicality (Gartzia, 2010) may encourage males to be leaders more than females. Van Knippenberg (2011) speculates whether prototypical representations of organizations are more associated with characteristics of the cultural majority rather than those of the cultural minority. We examine literature specific to leadership and diversity (Eagly & Chin, 2010) as well as leader-member exchange and multi-level leadership (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995) to better understand to what extent leading university home page images articulate this diversity and collaboration.

We speculate that institutions of higher learning reveal their impressions of leadership through the images they choose to display on their university web pages. In turn, these web pages model the universities' ideal students to individuals who visit those sites. These images of individuals serve as role models and provide information about leadership through the depiction of appropriate attitudes and behaviors. Learning from role models can occur through observations from synchronous face-to-face interactions, as well as by seeing others in various mediums of communication, including television (Bandura, 1977; Gerbner, 1958) and static advertising images (Goffman, 1974, 1979). Bandura (1986, 2001) believed that the modeling process extended beyond imitation and involved changes in attitudes, values, aspirations, and other characteristics to match the model. Given the need for collaboration with diverse persons within the 21st century's globalized context, images that model diversity and collaboration become significant in learning to lead.

Leadership and Diversity

Eagly and Chin (2010) note that the paucity of literature addressing leadership and diversity relative to culture, gender, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation results in a prejudice against people with attributes that are stereotypically not aligned with the socially learned requirements of leadership (Eagly & Diekman, 2005; Heilman, 2001). These cultivated stereotypes can operate at the implicit or subconscious level (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004) to the extent that individuals may be unintentionally discouraged or denied access to leadership roles (Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Leslie, King, Bradley, & Hebl, 2008). Messages about who can lead, such as those portrayed on television, advertisements, or web pages, become important mechanisms for opening doors and encouraging power to be shared beyond those who have historically led.

Not surprisingly given our global society, multicultural leadership competencies have emerged as some of the greatest leadership challenges (Hunt et al., 2009). While some leadership attributes are culturally specific, other leadership characteristics have been found relatively consistent across cultures. These characteristics include team building, communication, and coordination (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004), each requiring collective work.

Leadership and Collaboration

Depictions of collaboration with diverse others can influence who is endorsed as a more effective leader. Graen and Uhl-Bien (1995) call for a multi-level approach to leadership studies. Multi-level analysis expands the understanding of leadership to include the leader-follower dyad, the group or collective, and the systems level. Graen and Uhl-Bien's (1991) leader-member exchange (LMX) model recognizes that the tendency to associate with others similar to oneself has implications for relational constructs of leadership. Specifically, antecedents to the exchange include cross-cultural variables (Uhl-Bien, Tierney, Graen, & Wakabayashi, 1990; Wakabayashi, Graen, & Uhl-Bien, 1990). Similarities, however, become entrenched as "more prototypical members are perceived to be and are endorsed as more effective leaders" (Hogg, Epitropaki, Mankad, Svensson, & Weeden, 2005, 1002).

Vroom (2000) proposed a normative leadership model that identified multiple levels of collaboration. Vroom's model focuses on various leadership styles in decision making, ranging from autocratic to delegating decisions to the group. Although none of the variables in this model explicitly address diversity, the model posits that the most effective leadership is concerned with group commitment, group support, common goals, and potential group conflict. Significant here is the recognition of leadership interactions beyond the leader-follower dyad and, specific, to the focus of this study, the depiction of collaboration needed to address systemic societal issues.

Method

This study examined images on the home pages of the top 24 universities listed on the Academic Ranking of World Universities (2010; see Table 1 on the next page). A screenshot of the initial home page for each university was captured and archived as either a Microsoft Word or Adobe PDF file, which is similar to the process followed by Singh and Point (2006) in their study of diversity on European company websites.

Table 1: Number and Percentage of Images on Each Home Page

Rank	University	Number of Images With People	Number of Images Without People	Percentage of Images With People
1	Harvard University	3	0	100%
2	University of California–Berkeley	3	1	75%
3	Stanford University	3	4	43%
5	University of Cambridge	2	1	67%
6	California Institute of Technology	1	0	100%
7	Princeton University	3	3	50%
8	Columbia University	1	0	100%
9	University of Chicago	7	2	78%
11	Yale University	2	1	67%
12	Cornell University	4	2	67%
13	University of California–Los Angeles	5	1	83%
14	University of California–San Diego	3	2	60%
15	University of Pennsylvania	2	4	33%
16	University of Washington	3	3	50%
17	University of Wisconsin–Madison	3	4	43%
18	Johns Hopkins University	3	1	75%
19	University of California–San Francisco	5	0	100%
20	University of Tokyo	2	0	100%
21	University College London	2	3	40%
22	University of Michigan	2	3	40%
23	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich	1	2	33%
24	Kyoto University	5	1	83%

Note: Two of the home pages did not contain any images of people: 4: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and 10: Oxford University.

Coding Procedures

The unit of coding was individual people on each university's home page represented as a tableau. At this level, the first question addressed was whether there were people depicted or not. If a home page did not portray people, then the coding was concluded for that university. If a home page did portray people, then frequency counts were conducted on the following categories: the number of people who were identifiable as men, women, and those whose gender could

not be determined; and the number of people who were identifiable as White, non-White, and those whose race could not be determined.

In addition to the head counts on each tableau, the researchers also coded images. Images were defined as the actual frames or pictures on a given tableau. Images were coded to indicate *collaboration* (defined as more than 12 collective individuals) as well as if the collective images were homogenous or heterogeneous (with regard to gender and race). The delineation for collaboration was based on the effective group size for decision making (Benne & Levit, 1953; Blenko, Mankins, & Rogers, 2010; Hare, 1952). After independent coding, we calculated percentage agreement scores during an iterative coding process, resulting in inter-rater reliability consistent with acceptable levels (Boyatzis, 1998). Table 2 indicates the percentage of coder agreement by category.

Table 2: Percentage of Coding Agreement by Category

	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
Initial Coding	100	75	75	100	58	75	75	54	75	71
Final Coding	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

1 Display of people in images
2 Number of images with people
3 Number of images without people
4 Number of collectives (>12 people)
5 Number of men on the home page
6 Number of women on the home page
7 Number of people of indeterminate gender
8 Number of Whites
9 Number of non-Whites
10 Number of people of indeterminate color

Results

Two of the 24 leading university home pages in this study did not contain any images of people (Oxford University and the Massachusetts Institute of

Technology [MIT]), which resulted in 22 university home pages in the final sample. As tableaux, there were 214 people shown on the 22 home pages. There were 103 images or pictures displayed (65 with people and 38 without people). Table 1 reports the number and percentage of images with people on each home page.

In the coding for gender and race, a coding of man, woman, White, or non-White required a clear and strong indication of the characteristic. People with uncertain or ambiguous characteristics were coded as indeterminate. Reasons for not being able to tell the gender or race of a person included the image being too small (even when enlarged) and the person positioned or dressed in such a way that features were obscured. For example, Cornell University had a picture of two people in hazmat suits, obscuring all body features. Data for the home page analysis can be found in Table 3.

Table 3: Number of Collectives and Individuals on Each Home Page

	Range on Each Home Page	**Mean on Each Home Page**
Collectives	0–2	.23
Men (*n* = 99, 46%)	1–16	4.50
Women (*n* = 66, 31%)	0–9	3.00
Indeterminate Gender (*n* = 49, 23%)	0–30	2.23
White (*n* = 89, 42%)	0–14	4.05
Non-White (*n* = 48, 22%)	0–10	2.18
Indeterminate Race (*n* = 77, 36%)	0–42	3.50

Gender Diversity

On the 22 home pages, 99 people (46%) were identified as men, while 66 people (31%) could be identified as women, and 49 people (23%) were of an indeterminate gender. Each home page tableau had averages of 4.50 men (range 1–16), 3.00 women (range 0–9), and 2.23 people of indeterminate gender

(range 0–30). Every home page with people, however, pictured at least one man. Two home pages (9%) did not picture any identifiable women, and 14 home pages (64%) that did not contain pictures of people of indeterminate gender. Princeton's image of their football team pictured the most men (16), and Kyoto's home page pictured the most women (9) and people of indeterminate gender (30). Table 4 lists the number of people by gender on each home page.

Table 4: Number of Men, Women, and People of Indeterminate Gender

Rank	University	Men *n* =99	Women *n* = 66	Indeter. *n* = 49
1	Harvard University	5	7	3
2	University of California–Berkeley	1	3	0
3	Stanford University	13	1	7
5	University of Cambridge	4	3	0
6	California Institute of Technology	1	0	0
7	Princeton University	16	1	0
8	Columbia University	6	2	0
9	University of Chicago	4	7	4
11	Yale University	1	2	0
12	Cornell University	2	7	3
13	University of California–Los Angeles	3	3	0
14	University of California–San Diego	5	7	0
15	University of Pennsylvania	4	4	0
16	University of Washington	3	2	1
17	University of Wisconsin–Madison	1	1	1
18	Johns Hopkins University	3	2	0
19	University of California–San Francisco	3	2	0
20	University of Tokyo	7	1	0
21	University College London	2	1	0
22	University of Michigan	2	1	0
23	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich	1	0	0
24	Kyoto University	12	9	30

Of the 20 home page tableaus with both men and women, 13 (65%) depicted at least one man and one woman together in the same image. Of the 103 total images in the study, only 17 of the images (17%) showed at least one man and one woman together in the same image. Table 5 indicates the heterogeneous gender composition of the images in the study.

Table 5: Number of Heterogeneous Gender and Collective Images

Rank	University	Number of Images With Men and Women	Number of Collective Images
1	Harvard University	1	
2	University of California–Berkeley		
3	Stanford University		1
5	University of Cambridge	1	
6	California Institute of Technology		
7	Princeton University		1
8	Columbia University	1	
9	University of Chicago	2	
11	Yale University		
12	Cornell University	1	1
13	University of California–Los Angeles		
14	University of California–San Diego	1	
15	University of Pennsylvania	1	
16	University of Washington	1	
17	University of Wisconsin–Madison		
18	Johns Hopkins University	1	
19	University of California–San Francisco	1	
20	University of Tokyo	1	
21	University College London		
22	University of Michigan	1	
23	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich		
24	Kyoto University	4	2

Racial Diversity

In terms of race, the composition of people depicted on the home pages was 42% White, 22% non-White, and 36% of indeterminate race. There were averages of 4.05 Whites (range 0–14), 2.18 non-Whites (range 0–10), and 3.50 people of indeterminate race (range 0–42). There were 2 home pages without Whites, 6 home pages without non-Whites, and 12 home pages without people of indeterminate race. Harvard pictured the most Whites (14), while the University of California–San Diego pictured the most non-Whites (10). Kyoto University pictured the most people of indeterminate race (42). Of note, 14 of the

22 home pages (64%) as tableau had both Whites and non-Whites depicted. Of those, seven home pages (50%) depicted images of Whites and non-Whites together in the same image. Table 6 indicates the heterogeneous racial composition of the images in the study.

Table 6: Number of Whites, Non-Whites, and People of Indeterminate Race

Rank	University	White *n* = 89	Non-White *n* = 48	Indeter. *n* = 77
1	Harvard University	14	1	0
2	University of California–Berkeley	3	1	0
3	Stanford University	6	0	15
5	University of Cambridge	6	0	1
6	California Institute of Technology	0	1	0
7	Princeton University	6	1	10
8	Columbia University	0	8	0
9	University of Chicago	11	1	3
11	Yale University	2	1	0
12	Cornell University	8	2	2
13	University of California–Los Angeles	3	3	0
14	University of California–San Diego	2	10	0
15	University of Pennsylvania	6	2	0
16	University of Washington	4	1	1
17	University of Wisconsin-Madison	2	0	1
18	Johns Hopkins University	3	2	0
19	University of California–San Francisco	4	1	0
20	University of Tokyo	1	5	2
21	University College London	3	0	0
22	University of Michigan	3	0	0
23	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich	1	0	0
24	Kyoto University	1	8	42

Collaboration

Four home pages (18%) depicted collaboration (images with more than 12 collective individuals), and the range of number of images with collectives per home page was 0 to 2. There were five collective images (5%) displayed on these four home pages (of 103 images). Three universities located in the United States (Stanford, Princeton, and Cornell) had one collective image each; Stanford and Princeton both depicted their respective schools' football teams,

while Cornell showed children on a field trip. Only the home page of Kyoto University had more than one collective image. The collective images on the Kyoto home page were of a large meeting and a large lecture hall setting. Overall, two of the home pages (9%—Cornell and Kyoto) portrayed one collective image each with men and women together, and the same home page image of a collective at Cornell is the only one to portray a collective image of Whites and non-Whites together.

Discussion

Top universities represent, consciously or unconsciously, the culture and values these institutions wish to promulgate through their web page images. Story (2011) claims that adaptation, the ability to "experience another culture and from this experience" (382) be able to behave in culturally appropriate ways, is central to succeeding in cross-cultural encounters that are becoming more common in our globalized world. Through images on their home pages, leading world universities reveal a disposition toward diverse others, which may help or hinder effective global leadership. Our findings provide insights regarding opportunities for universities to depict even greater leadership diversity and collaboration in terms of gender, race, and working collectively.

Gender Diversity

Of the people depicted, 46% were men, 31% were women, and 23% were of indeterminate gender. While women comprise 40% of workers in the global economy (Carter & Silva, 2010; World Bank, 2012), men still primarily dominate organizations and political institutions in senior level positions. According to Catalyst (2013), only 14.6% of Fortune 500 executive officer positions were held by women in 2013, up slightly from 13.9% in 2009. As of 2015, 6 women were serving as U.S. governors (10%), and 20 of 100 senators (20%) and 84 of 435 U.S. representatives (19%) were women (Center for American Women in Politics, 2015a, 2015b). To the credit of these top universities in our study, 66 women of the 214 people (31%) depicted in the home page images is a far greater ratio than the number of women currently found in the top leadership

roles in the Fortune 500, the United States Congress, and state governments. This suggests an opportunity for universities to continue to model women succeeding in higher education—an important prerequisite for senior positions in the public and private sectors.

Racial Diversity

In 2009–2010, associate, bachelor's, and master's degrees were conferred to non-Whites in the following proportions: 34%, 28%, and 21% respectively (NCES, 2012). In the current study, non-Whites were depicted in 16 of the 22 home pages (73%). The percentage of non-Whites depicted overall (48 of 214, or 22%) is at or below national degree statistics and provides an opportunity to have greater parity with graduation rates as well as with the greater population. The Congress of Racial Equality (n.d.) states that "the final frontier for civil rights is equality of economic opportunity" (About CORE). Economic opportunity and leadership are often most difficult to achieve without higher education.

Collaboration

An unexpected finding of our coding was the lack of images depicting collaboration (more than 12 collective individuals). There were only four sites (18%) that displayed collectives. Combined, there were only 5 collective images (5%) of the 103 images on the 22 home pages. Although there were two institutions (16%) that showed collective images of mixed gender and or mixed races engaged in activities together, the American university (Cornell) did so with images of children, while the Asian university (Kyoto) showed adults. The majority of home pages (18 of 22, 82%) examined in the current study showed images of individuals, rather than collectives, at a time when calls abound for increased collaboration to tackle pressing global issues such as climate change and world economics.

The focus on portraying individuals rather than collectives may represent a lost opportunity for prototypically depicting leadership (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Gartzia, 2010) at the collective level through these images. Maintaining an individualistic

perspective may have implications for both learning and leadership as viewers of these web page images may be left with the impression that leadership is an individual endeavor. Kyoto University, one of the two institutions in the sample located in Asia, depicted the largest number of people engaged together, although many were of indeterminate gender and color. Significantly, of the three universities in the United States (Stanford, Princeton, and Cornell) with collective images, two depicted all-male football teams and a third depicted children. One possibility may be that the football teams are reflective of the "cult of the athlete" pervasive in American society. Another possibility may be that these results are a reflection of more Western individualistic versus more Eastern collectivist cultures.

Homogeneity

While the vast majority of the home page tableaus showed both men and women (20 of 22, 91%), an unexpected finding was that very few of the images depicted women and men together (17 of 103, 16.5%). Similarly, the majority of tableaus showed both Whites and non-Whites (14 of 22, 64%), whereas only half of those home pages (7 of 14) depicted them together in the same image.

These are confusing messages to send about homogeneity versus diversity at institutions of higher learning. While most universities promote the enrollment of both men and women and both Whites and non-Whites, the institutions of higher education in our sample seem to be modeling segregated prototypical group behavior through the display of images on their websites featuring segregated genders and races. This seems counterintuitive to a university's function in role modeling images of leadership and preparing future leaders. One of the ways that individuals learn about people who are different from them is to engage with those of different backgrounds, gender, and race. Twenty-first-century universities perpetuating images of homogeneity in an increasingly diverse society would seem to be working against their missions of educating the next generation of world citizens. These home page images seem to be modeling less learning or working across differences because people of different gender and race are infrequently depicted as engaged together.

No People and People with Indeterminate Characteristics

If a purpose of using images on web pages is to communicate and cultivate values, these universities have chosen a "both/and" approach. All of the home pages in this study contained at least one image; 22 (92%) included images with people; 17 (70%) combined these with images without people (e.g., an image of a gene or a building); and 2 (8%) displayed only images without people. The use of images without people provides for greater variation of the content of the images, while the images with people provide a greater opportunity for both the modeling of and the cultivation of relational values.

Seven of the 22 home pages (32%) included 49 people of indeterminate gender (23%), while 9 of the home pages (41%) included 77 people of indeterminate race (36%). No web pages displayed only images of people with indeterminate characteristics. Given the limited quantity of images that are possible to post on a web page at any one time, displaying both people with determinate and indeterminate characteristics on the same tableau may allow more observers to imagine themselves as like those modeled, thus creating greater opportunities for enculturation. In contrast, if cultivated stereotypes do operate at the implicit or subconscious level as Dovidio and Gaertner (2004) suggest, resulting in individuals being discouraged or denied access to leadership roles (Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Leslie et al., 2008)—however unintentional—the dearth of clear images of women, men, Whites, and non-Whites portrayed together may have a negative impact on aspiring future leaders who cannot "see" themselves reflected in the present student bodies.

Limitations and Future Research

While this study examined images in terms of gender, race, and collectives, we recognize that diversity extends far beyond these visual characteristics. We also acknowledge that determining gender, race, and numbers of individuals from web images is an inexact and imperfect way to measure diversity.

It is also important to note that the home pages in this study are snapshots of a moment in time. Many home pages utilize rotating images, provide new images

each time a home page is opened, and or embed video—none of which were captured in this sample. Our sample of the 24 leading institutions in higher education was composed of 18 institutions located in the United States (75%), four in Western Europe (17%), and two in Asia (8%). Future studies should consider the cultural implications of these images from larger samples representing the global community.

This study does not make claims about the composition of student enrollments or the leadership at these institutions. Although certainly parity in these areas is critical, this study explored the clarity with which universities represent the ideals of working with and leading diverse others. Although research has been done regarding how views of reality are cultivated by mass media (specifically television and magazine advertisements), there is far less work done on exploring how these concepts apply to images displayed on websites. More research in this medium is warranted, given the prevalence of the Internet as an expanding medium for learning and social interaction. Future research should also explore the use of images without people and with people of indeterminate characteristics and examine the portrayal of leadership diversity and collaboration relative to the impact on the observer.

Conclusion

The myriad challenges currently facing the world call for collective action on the part of the global citizenry. Leading universities' home pages portray messages about prototypicality that reveal latent understandings of leadership as either an individual or a collaborative activity, as the purview of men or women and of Whites or non-Whites. By modeling prototypical behavior, university home pages provide an important space for demonstrating the leadership and group practices that future leaders need to learn to address the challenges facing our world. In any large organization, people "often come from varied backgrounds differing in the way they prefer to speak their minds" (Kumar, Jain, & Tiwary, 2013, 23). Thus, leader and group prototypes portrayed on university websites may model forms of leadership and interaction that expand opportunities for diverse others.

While we are encouraged by the results of our study, we hope universities will continue to depict diverse others engaged together in the pursuit of solving challenges as they educate the future leaders the world so desperately needs.

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A New Kind of Palestinian Business Leadership*

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Few leaders are exemplary enough to stand out during challenging times or crises. Even fewer are able to articulate a vision, act strategically, motivate and respect followers, and put community interests first. This article discusses a new kind of Palestinian business leadership that is performing exceedingly well while overcoming major obstacles. The general context under which Palestinians live and work is described, and the work and accomplishments of four Palestinian business leaders are presented. The article concludes by highlighting similarities among those business leaders, which reveals the potential for enhanced business practices and a healthier economy and society.

Key words: business leadership, corporate social responsibility, Palestine

A new generation of business leaders is emerging in Palestine, even under the tough conditions of the Israeli occupation, internal Palestinian dynamics, and the uncertainty of the future. These leaders are intimately connected to their people and cultural heritage as well as to their people's current circumstances and aspirations. These leaders tend to be efficient and effective and are able to balance principles with pragmatism. In addition to planning for a better tomorrow, they understand that to improve their community, Palestinians need to adopt and adapt new skills, methods, and programs that fit the local, regional, and international conditions.

This article explains the general environment under which Palestinians live and business is conducted, focusing specifically on the Israeli occupation and the main internal divisions in Palestine, the obstacles for Palestinian business and economy, and the patriarchal nature of Palestinian culture. The work and accomplishments of four business leaders and how they are transforming their environment amid extremely tough conditions are then presented. The article concludes by highlighting the similarities among them, which point the way toward a healthier Palestinian business environment and society.

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Palestine: Between a Rock and a Hard Place

Israeli Military Occupation and Internal Palestinian Divisions

During the Six-Day War in June 1967, Israel took possession of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, among other territories, from its neighboring Arab countries. The West Bank and Gaza Strip were placed under military occupation until 1994–1996, when security and civilian responsibility for various Palestinian-populated areas were passed on to the Palestinian Authority (PA), specifically the Palestinian Liberation Organization with its ruling Fatah Party, under a series of agreements, while maintaining control over land, air, and sea access. In late 2005, Israel unilaterally withdrew its military forces and settlers from the Gaza Strip but consolidated its hold on the West Bank with more settlements for Israelis and restricted access for Palestinians.

The relationships between Israelis and Palestinians on the one hand, and between Palestinian factions on the other hand, are untenable or unsustainable, which adversely impact daily life and business interactions. For example, Israeli practices—as reflected in military checkpoints, the serpentine wall cutting through Palestinian neighborhoods and property in the West Bank and the environs of Jerusalem, and Israeli settlers living in East Jerusalem and in the West Bank—have disempowered and dispossessed Palestinians. Two resultant Palestinian intifadas, or uprisings, against the Israeli occupation (from 1987 to 1993 and from 2000 to 2005) brought fear and distrust to Israeli-Palestinian relations (Sorenson, 2014, 360–362). The worsening conditions in Palestine—weak institutions, a depressed economy, high unemployment, and social conflicts of all kinds—as well as the Palestinian divisions and clashes between the Fatah Party and Hamas (the Islamic Resistance Movement) that have left the PA governing most of the West Bank and Hamas governing the Gaza Strip—have disheartened many Palestinians (Sorenson, 2014). Negotiations over the years between the PA and Israel have not yet produced peace (Sarsar, 2009). Conflict between Hamas and Israel generated bloody cross-border attacks, rocket firings, and wars, including those in 2008 to 2009, 2012, and 2014.

Obstacles to a Healthy Palestinian Business Environment and Economy

The Israeli occupation and the economic institutions and policies in Palestine have prevented the development of a healthy business environment. Awartani (2005), director of the Center for Private Sector Development, notes:

> In addition to inherent constraints relating to the scarcity of natural resources and deformations in the educational and training systems, the Palestinian economy and private sector have been severely influenced by a wide range of policies and measures taken by the Israeli authorities. (para. 1)

Moreover, the arrival of the PA in 1994 has not helped the governance dynamics of public sector institutions. As Awartani argues:

> Despite repeated proclamations concerning privatization, transparency, the rule of law, the adoption of prudent hiring policies, and the institutions of overall reforms, the private sector representatives seem to be still unsatisfied with the pace and direction of the reform process. (para. 32)

In 2009, Salam Fayyad, former prime minister of the Palestinian National Authority (2007–2013) and briefly the first prime minister of the State of Palestine (January to June 2013), introduced a working plan anchored in law and order with strong security, good governance, and economic opportunity. The ultimate goal of this plan was to create self-reliance and self-empowerment so as to achieve statehood (Danin, 2011). Although Fayyad has his detractors, his strategy attracted international attention. Friedman (2010) comments:

> Fayyad calls . . . for a nonviolent struggle, for building non-corrupt transparent institutions and effective police and paramilitary units, which even the Israeli Army says are doing a good job; and then, once they are all up and running, [for the declaration of] a Palestinian state in the West Bank by 2011. (A27).

Corruption remains endemic in Palestinian society, as indicated in a special report (Ramahi, 2013). This is also confirmed by Transparency International (TI, n.d.), the global coalition against corruption, which publishes the annual Corruption Perceptions Index. Favoritism and nepotism are common forms of corruption (Chêne, 2012).

Palestinian Culture: Women Between a Conservative Society and Modernity

Historically, Palestinian society gave more voice and touch to men than women. Men were provided with more opportunities to actualize themselves by engaging in politics, starting business ventures, and traveling abroad. They were and still are expected to defend their families, honor, and property. Palestinian women normally acted in secondary or supportive roles to men; patriarchy, religious dogmas, and outdated customs served as impediments to their self-actualization and socioeconomic and political participation. Most women opted to play it safe by continuing their traditional roles in the family—taking care of their siblings, or being good daughters, wives, and mothers. As for their societal roles, they usually pursued traditional careers, such as teaching and nursing, and carried out welfare activities and relief efforts. However, that was unacceptable to some, who resorted to working in the nationalist movement so as to resist injustices wherever they existed in their lives and their community's life, including foreign rule and occupation (Sorenson, 2014).

During the past five decades, Palestinian women have increasingly listened to their own voices and searched for their own identities within the context of the national journey for self-determination and statehood. Sarsar (2002) says that "from teaching to writing, from demonstrating to organizing, women are challenging opposing forces in their lives and the life of their community, thereby claiming their rightful place in society" (146). Much progress has been achieved, but Palestinian females have to work harder and smarter than their male counterparts in order to reach or surpass similar goals.

It is important to note that:

> despite a high female enrollment in secondary education and a literacy rate among female youth of 99 percent, Palestinian women's labor force participation rate is among the lowest in the world. Only 17 percent of women aged 15 and above are actively engaging in the labor market either by working or looking for work, compared to 68 percent for men. Globally, the labor force participation rate of women is 52 percent. (UNICEF, 2011, 4)

It is no wonder that only 2% of Palestinian companies are run by women (Neslen, 2011, 144).

Business Leaders: Nature of Work and Accomplishments

Many Palestinian business leaders are transforming the way they conduct business as well as the way they relate to their surroundings. Among them are Hashem Hani Shawa, a banker; Manal Yaish Zraiq**,** a business executive; Ammar Aker, a telecommunication expert; and Amal Daraghmeh Masri, a marketing and public relations specialist.[1]

Hashim Hani Shawa

Shawa has been the chairman and general manager of the Bank of Palestine since 2007. He is building on the legacy of his grandfather, the late Haj Hashem Shawa, who established the Bank of Palestine in Gaza City in 1960. After receiving a bachelor of science degree from the University College of London, Shawa began his banking career at Citigroup in 1997. He held various management positions in corporate and private banking, working in the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland. In 2005, he joined HSBC in Switzerland as a director of the bank's Middle East and North Africa business.

On his return to Palestine to lead the Bank of Palestine, Shawa was determined to be part of the solution, not the problem. He embarked on an ambitious journey to modernize the bank and forge local, regional, and international relations. He held firm to his belief that, "no opportunity should be missed in the building of the economy and of the morale and capabilities of our society, regardless of the setbacks or interruptions we might face" (Bank of Palestine Staff & Shawa, 2009, 20). Under Shawa's leadership, the Bank of Palestine carefully considers the socioeconomic, security, and national concerns of the people in its strategy and daily activities. Success has come in a variety of fields, including microfinance, investments, and corporate social responsibility.

[1] Biographies of the highlighted business leaders are taken from a variety of sources, including the websites of their respective companies and their LinkedIn profiles.

To overcome the people's financial hardships because of Israeli restrictions placed on movement and freedom of access, the Bank of Palestine expanded its branch network. This was especially important in the small towns and villages, where they were able to facilitate banking and financial services and provide customers with credit and loans. There is a serious focus on assisting the small business community, mainly the agriculture sector. Enlivening small businesses creates job opportunities, and these provide for a healthy economy.

The Bank of Palestine also established a brokerage subsidiary, Al Wasata Securities, which gives customers trading access to stocks listed on the Palestinian Stock Exchange and regional markets. This subsidiary has now become a major brokerage company in terms of trading volume and new customer accounts.

Shawa and the Bank of Palestine have intensified their worldwide banking connections with Citigroup, JP Morgan, HSBC, Deutsche Bank, and Commerzbank. They have entered into important agreements, including corporate governance and risk management with the International Finance Corporation. Shawa has also been central to establishing strong financial ties with Chile, which is home to half a million people of Palestinian origin.

As Shawa notes, "true progress begins with social and economic development on a community level" (*The New Economy,* question 4, para. 1). The Bank of Palestine contributes around 5% of its net profit to corporate social responsibility (CSR), a percentage that is more than double the worldwide average of 2%. Monies have supported activities and programs in education, development, childhood, health, culture, and sport.

Manal Yaish Zraiq

Zraiq is a partner and the general director of Massar International, a consultancy firm providing investment promotion, management solutions, and development services to the Palestinian private and public sectors (Massar International, n.d.). She is a pioneering woman working to enhance the development and advancement of businesswomen in Palestine. An experienced business executive and a skilled communicator, Zraiq's wide range of specialized skills

include administrative operations, financial management, and project implementation.

At Massar, Zraiq is involved in investment projects and has oversight over new business initiatives in journalism, information technology, financial services, real estate, media, and fund management. Among the key ventures she helped launch is Rawabi, the first planned Palestinian city and the largest private sector project in Palestine. Once completed, the city will be home to some 40,000 people in 23 neighborhoods and will generate a few thousand jobs in the service, technology, and related industries. She serves on Rawabi's Municipal Council and is the deputy of the Rawabi Foundation.

Zraiq contributes to CSR, as Massar is engaged in the sustainable economic development in Palestine while being socially and environmentally responsible. Massar's programs include fighting poverty, protecting the environment, assisting education, advancing gender equity, boosting innovation, and sponsoring cultural and sports activities (Massar International, n.d.).

Zraiq also serves as a board member of several privately held Palestinian companies, in addition to serving on boards of publicly traded companies such as the Palestinian Company for Rental and Leasing and the Palestinian Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Palestinian Investment Development Company.

As one of the accomplished female executives in the Middle East, Zraiq was a founder and the first chairperson of the Business Women Forum–Palestine, an organization that supports aspiring female entrepreneurs and businesswomen. She is also a founding member of the Palestine Governance Institute and a member of the Young Presidents' Organization.

In 2013, Zraiq earned the Vital Voices Global Leadership Economic Empowerment Award. Her "achievements are about tenacity, imagination, and taking risks, qualities she is now helping to pass on to businesswomen around the region as it goes through enormous changes" (Vital Voices Global Partnership, 2013). She is also a fellow of the Middle East Leadership Initiative of the Aspen Global Leadership Network.

Ammar Aker

Aker is Palestine Telecom Group's CEO and a member of the board of directors for Paltel Group, the second largest employer in Palestine after the PA, that provides "state of the art services to the Palestinian end user . . . [including] local and international fixed telephony services, internet, data communications, mobile services and next generation services" (Paltel Group, n.d., para. 1). Prior to assuming the position at Telecom, he was the CEO of Jawwal, the Palestine Cellular Communications Co., Ltd., which is the first private leading cellular operator in Palestine. As Jawwal's CEO, he led efforts to keep the largest market share, surpassing the 2,000,000-subscriber threshold, as well as to create a unique experience for millions of customers despite the variety of operational challenges by illegal Israeli operators in the Palestinian market.

Aker is also the chairperson of the board of directors of VTEL Middle East and Africa, which was founded to give Paltel wider access to regional telecom markets. He is a member of the Board of Palestine Development and Investment Company (PADICO Holding), the largest investment holding company in the country, and is a member of its Executive Management Committee. He is also the vice chairman of the board of directors for the Jericho Gate Investment, a project of PADICO Holding.

Aker, who earned a BS in Accounting from Edinboro University in Pennsylvania and an MS in Accounting from Kent State University in Ohio, has advanced best practices in management and corporate governance and has encouraged his colleagues to excel. During his tenure, four female Paltel Group employees were ranked among the top 50 women executives in telecom, and the group was ranked among the top 20 telecom operators in the Middle East and North Africa.

Aker is active in a number of international, regional, and local initiatives such as Palestine for a New Beginning, an international network aiming to empower the lives of Palestinians; the Palestine International Award for Excellence and Creativity, which allows Palestinian society to honor role models of excellence and exceptional talents in Palestine; and AMIDEAST's Palestine Advisory Board.

He is also an active member of the Young Presidents' Organization, Palestine Branch, and of the Palestinian Businessmen Association.

Aker promotes CSR by building community through the Paltel Group Foundation. His focus is on education, youth, and women empowerment, as well as technology inclusion.

Amal Daraghmeh Masri

Daraghmeh Masri is editor in chief, CEO, and founder of *Middle East Business News* and editor in chief and founder of *EcoMag Palestine Magazine* (in French). She is also the CEO of Ougarit Group, a marketing and public relations firm in Palestine with national and international clients.

Ougarit believes in transparency and fairness in business and that businesses have a right to succeed. So does Daraghmeh Masri, who is passionate about building long-term relationships with her clients and enabling them to succeed. She is equally committed to CSR. It is no surprise that Ougarit's (n.d.) CSR policy declares:

- We will not work with cigarette producers or organizations creating products that are harmful to humans, animals, or the environment.
- We train new graduates in graphic design and marketing, allowing them to gain as much experience as possible and become professionals in their field.
- We support various local and national charities that focus on health issues (e.g., Dunya Center for Female Cancers and Breast Cancer Awareness Events) and business education for young people.

Educated in France, Daraghmeh Masri returned to her homeland in Palestine not only to advance professionally, but also to build her national community. She is a strong advocate for women's empowerment and a believer that a good education and business opportunities are essential for empowering women and advancing society. It takes confidence, education, an entrepreneurial spirit, and respect to the surrounding cultural codes to be accomplished. Her achievements

start by setting goals for herself to be fulfilled within a time frame (*This Week in Palestine,* 2009).

Daraghmeh Masri organizes and heads economic events that address key issues such as unemployment. In 2010, she developed and ran the first PR Conference in Palestine, which was celebrated as being the third of its kind in the region. She was voted one of the top 10 influential Arab women working in public relations in the Arab world. She regularly appears on TV and radio in Palestine and overseas.

Daraghmeh Masri is deeply engaged in her work and is well networked. She is a member of several organizations and advisory boards in Palestine and abroad, including the Palestinian Working Women's Society for Development, and is a founding member and former president of the Business Women Forum–Palestine. She is a founder and former board member of the Middle East Business Women's Network and a member of the Arab International Women's Forum–London. She sits on the steering committee of the Fostering Women Entrepreneurs in the Middle East Initiative. In 2013, Daraghmeh Masri received the Best Woman Entrepreneur Award from the MENA Council of Regional American Chambers of Commerce.

Palestinian Business Leaders in Comparison

Shawa, Zraiq, Aker, and Daraghmeh Masri truly represent a new kind of outstanding leadership with a focused vision on commitment, strategic thinking, and care for coworkers, customers, and community. They provide great contributions to economic progress, the welfare of society, and peace building. In a comparison, what stands out is a variety of strengths they all enjoy.

- *Palestinian pride.* All four leaders are proud of their background and culture. They act as cultural bridges, representing their nation as they conduct their business at home and abroad.
- *Higher education and access.* All four leaders are well educated, well trained, and well traveled. While they live and work in Palestine, they are fully aware of Middle East affairs and international relations.

- *Proactive leadership.* All four leaders are ambitious, disciplined, and hard-working, giving them advantages in Palestinian society and beyond. Their expertise and business ventures provide them with access to a large, worldwide network of funders, politicians, and nongovernmental organizations, which they use to full advantage.
- *Corporate social responsibility.* All four leaders are forward-thinking. Their commitment to CSR speaks volumes of their attention to others as they pursue their professional and company goals.
- *Stress management.* All four leaders work under stress, which is generated not only by the pressures of their work and the business environment they address daily, but also by the Israeli occupation, the internal Palestinian divisions, and the corruption from which the governmental structure and society suffers. All seem to be doing well, as they are managing to transform crises into opportunities.

Moreover, the two female leaders among them, Zraiq and Daraghmeh Masri, like other women in Palestinian society, have to work harder than men in order to break through not only glass ceilings, but cement walls as well (Sarsar & Stephan, in press). Palestinian women are expected to be good daughters, wives, and mothers, as well as to perform well in their chosen professions if they happen to work. Striking a balance between family and work is never easy for anyone, but it is always harder for women. Daraghmeh Masri explains to Neslen (2011) that “when I had my last child, for the eight months I went to work with my baby in one hand and my briefcase in the other” (144).

Based on the profiles of these Palestinian business leaders, suggestions for continuous improvement for business leaders in general include the following:

- Mentor youth and inspire them with good business habits so as to excel in preparation for good careers and leadership roles, which are necessary for nation- and state-building.
- Strengthen business cooperation and joint ventures in order to enable the sharing of talent, resources, and profits, and lay the groundwork for a healthier business environment.

- Enhance good business ethics and transparency to prevent conflicts of interest and nepotism, which often create morale problems and derail economic justice.
- Continue to advocate for gender equity in educational opportunities, hiring practices, and promotions. Any society that disempowers half of its population will not achieve progress.
- Advance corporate social responsibility, as it creates potential and represents important dimensions of stewardship and community building.

Palestinian business leaders, as illustrated above, have largely done well and are bringing new energy and vision into their community. Their prospects and the prospects of other business leaders in particular and citizens in general will increase exponentially as the socioeconomic, political, and cultural conditions improve.

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The Relationship Between Authentic Leadership and Employee Job Satisfaction: A Cross-Industry-Sector Empirical Study*

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In this empirical study, we investigate the influence of authentic leadership on employee job satisfaction through a nationwide, cross-industry-sector survey. The data covers many industry sectors, including food and beverage, information technology, manufacturing, accounting, financial and investment services, and retail. We examine the authentic leadership influence at both the aggregate level (combining all industry sectors together) and within each industry sector. Our data concludes that authentic leadership is a reliable predictor of employee job satisfaction. Our study supports the authentic leadership construct as a reliable predictor of employee job satisfaction in every industry sector. Our data also reveals that authentic leadership practices differ among these industry sectors. The study's findings provide further evidence that leaders who practice the authentic leadership style can, in practical terms, positively affect employee job satisfaction.

Key words: authentic leadership, employee job satisfaction, employee motivation

As we entered the new millennium, many people were shocked and dismayed by the unethical practices of major U.S. corporations like Enron, WorldCom, Tyco, and Arthur Andersen. Corporate America was thirsting for a new brand of leaders who represented a sense of purpose and were true to their set of core values. Bill George (2003), author and former chairman and CEO of Medtronic, notes that "we need leaders who lead with purpose, values and integrity, and who are good stewards of the legacy they inherited from their predecessors" (10).

As a result, recent research has included many studies of the aspect and constructs of authentic leadership. According to Northouse (2013), authentic leadership style represents one of the most recent areas of research that is still in the formative stages of development. Studies on authentic leadership over the past 15 years have mainly focused on presenting the authentic leadership construct in theoretical frameworks that have studied characteristic traits of the conceptual authentic leadership style. In earlier studies, Luthans and Avolio

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(2003) built upon the research development of transformational leadership, which led to additional research by Walumbwa. Avolio, Gardner, Wernsing, and Peterson (2008); Clapp-Smith, Vogelgesang, and Avery (2009); and Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, May, and Walumbwa (2005). These researchers studied the significance of the authentic leadership construct and the effects of a leader's positive behavior, which influences their followers' behavioral outcomes.

Additional research involving various tenets of the authentic leadership construct has also been notable. Jensen and Luthans (2006) examined the authentic leaders' impact on employee attitudes. Their study suggests that a business founder's ability to present a clear concise and truthful direction of the business is critical for achieving success. Additionally, Peterson, Walumbwa, Avolio, and Hannah (2012) posited the construct of follower job performance and organizational behavior. The purpose of their study was to explore whether authentic leadership predicts follower performance through the leader's influence on the positivity (positive emotions) experienced by followers, which affects organizational performance. They also found that authentic leadership fully predicted follower job performance through leaders' influence on followers' psychological capital (PsyCap).

The *PsyCap* attribute is a development composite of attitudinal and cognitive resources that have a positive impact on individual performance (Luthans & Avolio, 2009). Luthans and Avolio's (2009) research studied the effects of authentic leadership by assessing the positive psychological capital that affected organizational behavior. Their study focused on the effects of the PsyCap attributes of the leader and the overall positive effects on the organization's performance. A more recent study performed by Woolley, Caza, and Levy (2011) enhanced the PsyCap construct by building upon that formative research. Wooley et al. conducted a study of 3,000 working adults in New Zealand and concluded that the PsyCap attribute is a key element in enhancing the authentic leader's effect on organizational work climate. The research also concluded that followers must be considered as an important attribute in the leadership process.

More recent studies continue to focus on the follower's effect construct, including the research performed by Ilies, Curseu, Dimotakis, and Spitzmuller (2013). They studied the overall effects of the emotional expressiveness of the leader and how this attribute influences the follower. As such, the follower's effect has attracted supplemental interest in the study of authentic leadership. Researchers have begun to address the followership development influenced by the authentic leadership style by assessing favorable outcomes such as trust, workplace well-being, motivation, and employee job satisfaction.

Authentic Leadership

Luthans and Avolio (2003) initially define *authentic leadership* "as a process that draws from both positive psychological capacities and a highly developed organizational context, which results in both greater self-awareness and self-regulated positive behaviors on the part of leaders and associates, fostering positive self-development" (243). The framework of their research suggests that authentic leaders are able to enhance the engagement and satisfaction of followers by strengthening their identification with the leader (Avolio, May & Zhu, 2004). Clapp-Smith et al. (2009) also support the notion that authentic leadership is positively related to employee performance Additionally, Shamir and Eilam (2005) describe *authentic leaders* as people who exhibit genuine leadership from conviction and are originals, not copies. Their theoretical framework is focused on an interpersonal approach of the leader having the following attributes: (a) "the role of the leader is a central component of their self-concept," (b) they have achieved a high level of self-resolution (Turner, 1976) or self-concept clarity," (c) "their goals are self-concordant," and (d) "their behavior is self-expressive" (398).

Davis and Rothstein (2006) focused on the behavioral integrity construct, considered to be a moderator to the authentic leadership construct. Their meta-analysis integrates the empirical research on the relationship between the perceived integrity of managers and the employee attitudes of job satisfaction. Building upon this framework, Leroy and Palanski (2012) assessed authentic leadership behavior as an antecedent to follower perceptions of leader

behavioral integrity. Based on their study of 25 organizations in Belgium, consisting of 345 followers and 49 team leaders, they concluded that leadership integrity through an authentic leadership style is related to follower work role performance. In essence, authentic leadership drives follower identification with the organization because these leaders stay true to themselves, which facilitates the perception of leadership integrity.

Authentic leadership works when leaders and followers come together to define their concerns and determine what is the right thing to do about them (Northouse, 2013). Ultimately, authentic leaders try to determine what is truly good for the leader, followers, and organization. Walumbwa et al. (2008) found authentic leadership to be a significant predictor of follower trust and satisfaction. They theorize that authentic leadership is a positive outcome predictor for follower outcomes such as job satisfaction.

Job Satisfaction

Employee job satisfaction tends to have a large effect on organizations. When an employee has a higher job satisfaction level, the employee may contribute more positively to the overall success of the organization. Stamps (1997) offers a fundamental definition of *job satisfaction* as "conceptually defined as the extent to which employees like their job" (13). When low job satisfaction is proven to result in absenteeism, turnover, stress, and less commitment to an organization, the overall productivity of the organization is in jeopardy. Companies stand to lose a great deal of money and productivity if employees are not satisfied.

The costs of turnover and absenteeism alone can be very large for a company with job satisfaction issues amongst the employees. The relationship between leadership and job satisfaction is one of critical importance due to the ongoing efforts of management to drive worker performance based on the employees' positive state of mind. This premise is also supported by Walumbwa et al. (2008), who more thoroughly examined the leader-follower exchange model and found authentic leadership to be a significant predictor of follower trust and employee satisfaction. Giallonardo, Wong, and Iwasiw (2010) found in a study of the

nursing industry that the exposure of newly graduated nurses to a nursing preceptor (lead nurse) who demonstrated an authentic leadership style positively predicts the newly graduated nurses' job satisfaction.

According to Chiaburu, Diaz, and Pitts (2011), authentic leadership produces satisfied direct reports by establishing trust, which leads to social exchanges that benefit the entire organization. Shirey (2006) posits that the positive attributes of authentic leaders' actions can be used to influence organizational outcomes by example. Shirey's theory supports the notion that good leadership adds to a healthy environment in which direct reports are encouraged to feel emotionally safe. Laschinger, Wong, and Grau (2013) link the limitation of employee burnout to a positive authentic leadership style. They assessed the Canadian nursing industry, which experienced an absenteeism rate 58% higher than the overall labor force and concluded that a supervisor's authentic leadership behaviors are related to higher levels of structural empowerment, which, in turn, are related to lower emotional exhaustion.

Numerous researchers have studied job satisfaction in a plethora of industries to determine what employees need in order to be satisfied in their jobs. Studies involving the job satisfaction construct have been widely conducted in industries such as nursing and healthcare, oil and energy utility, services, construction, and banking (Giallonardo et al., 2010; Malhotra & Mukherjee, 2004; Morris & Bloom, 2002; Okpara, 2006; Snowden, 2011; Testa, 2001; Toor & Ofori, 2009). For example, Testa (2001) describes job satisfaction as a significant concept to organizational leadership as well as workplace turnover. In his study, Testa sampled 425 service employees from 24 departments of a cruise line and a food service organization. The behaviors of the leaders studied strongly predicted direct reports' satisfaction and related job attitudes.

Research in many industries has shown that the leadership style of the supervisor is one of many variables related to the outcome of employee job satisfaction of subordinates. Medley and Larochelle (1995) found in a hospital study that when head nurses served as supervisors, the type of leadership they provide can influence staff nurses' job satisfaction. In a study of 2,000 nurses

from various teaching hospitals, Doran (2003) concluded nurses' managers' leadership had significant positive influence on nurses' perception of job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction was also studied from a cultural aspect. Lok and Crawford (2004) evaluated the effect of organizational culture and leadership style on job satisfaction and commitment. They studied a random sample of participants completing MBA studies who held middle or senior management positions. The study involved the analysis of two cultures of managers, those from Australia and Hong Kong. They concluded that the leadership styles practiced by the Australian managers were more related to an open type of leadership style, thus resulting in a higher degree of employee job satisfaction.

Building upon the studies that have focused on the followership constructs of authentic leadership, the intent of this study is to determine the effects of authentic leadership on the follower and corresponding outcomes such as employee job satisfaction in the organization. Using a nationwide survey, we examined the relationship between authentic leadership behavior and employees' job satisfaction across industry sectors.

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate employee outcome of job satisfaction within the organization while assessing the antecedent of authentic leadership. The research investigated various industry sectors and the association between managerial authentic leadership styles of perceived managerial leadership and its perceived effect on job satisfaction in the organization. Accordingly, this study will focus on the employee/follower outcome of the organizational employee job satisfaction referent. The research study will enhance the knowledge in the leadership construct, providing additional information to practitioners to help them gain a better understanding of the relationship of authentic leadership and employee job satisfaction in different industry sectors. This study focused on followership development as influenced by the authentic leadership style.

The significance of this study is as follows. First, our study contributes to the literature discussion on authentic leadership development and employee outcomes posited as having a positive effect on employee satisfaction. The authentic leadership construct has been a significant topic recently and an interesting research topic in the study of the leadership exchange construct. For instance, the GLI group (Gallup Leadership Institute), comprised of researchers such as Avolio, Gardner, Walumbwa, and May, have studied the authentic leadership construct (Avolio et al., 2004). Also, research initiatives prior to 2000 focused on the theoretical development of the authentic leadership construct founded upon the roots of the transformational leadership construct. Subsequently, a meta-analysis performed by Gardner, Cogliser, Davis, and Dickens (2011) of the literature on authentic leadership has demonstrated a research concentration on the many antecedents of the authentic leadership construct. However, as Avolio, Walumbwa, and Weber (2009) note, "work on defining and measuring authentic leadership is in the very early stages of development. Future research will need to offer additional evidence for the construct" (424).

Second, we focused our study on the relationship between authentic leadership and employee job satisfaction. A key component of positive organizational behavior is employee job satisfaction in the organization. The relationship between leadership and job satisfaction is one of critical importance due to the ongoing effort of management to drive worker performance based on employees' positive states of mind. Job satisfaction is correlated to employee motivation, which is a variable within the organizational behavior context. Many researchers and practitioners, including psychologists and organizational behavior and management scholars, have conducted research on employee outcomes. (e.g., Spector, 1997). However, recently there has been a focus on employee outcomes relative to the authentic leadership construct. An additional employee outcome derived from the effectiveness of good leadership clearly impacts the employee work environment, resulting in increased employee productivity. Researchers such as Avolio, Gardner, and Luthans support the notion that when

authentic leaders are open, transparent, and collegial, a positive environment is created that produces favorable employee productive outcomes. This article will contribute to the authentic leadership construct by supporting prior studies' frameworks that assess authentic leadership as a predictor in influencing job satisfaction.

Lastly, we used a nationwide survey involving participants from several industry sectors for this study. To our knowledge, there are very few empirical studies on authentic leadership behavior involving multiple industry sectors simultaneously. This approach makes our finding more robust.

Methods and Measures

This study intends to provide additional empirical evidence that authentic leadership has a positive influence on follower outcomes. In particular, we intend to confirm the positive influence of authentic leadership on follower job satisfaction. In practice, management can practice authentic leadership to increase employee job satisfaction. Our hypothesis is as follows:

> *Hypothesis: Authentic leadership is a significant predictor of employee job satisfaction in organizations.*

To test the hypothesis and study the positive influence of authentic leadership on employee job satisfaction within an organization, we use the following two variables: (a) the perceived authentic leadership style of the leader by the participant; and (b) the participant's job satisfaction in the workplace.

Survey Design

In a single survey form, we asked survey participants to provide us with their perceptions about the authentic leadership behaviors of the leader(s) in the organization and their job satisfaction at the organization. The survey included the Authentic Leadership Questionnaire (ALQ), which measures perceived authentic leadership behaviors of the leaders by the survey participants, and the Job Satisfaction Survey (JSS), which measures the participants' employee job satisfaction. The employee job satisfaction was the dependent variable in our

study. Both the ALQ and the JSS are well-known, published surveys. We obtained permission to use them and combine them into one survey.

The ALQ, designed by Walumbwa et al. (2008), is a highly reliable survey instrument that is widely used to measure the authentic leadership construct. Although empirical research on authentic leadership has been limited, Walumbwa et al. state that the ALQ has initial evidence to support its reliability and validity. According to Northouse (2013), the instrument was used in numerous studies in China, Kenya, and the United States to support the validated dimensions of the instrument. The ALQ survey consists of 16 questions utilizing a five-point Likert scale. The JSS is a 36-question survey instrument, consisting of a six-point Likert-scale measurement of nine subscales based on research on the conceptual framework of job satisfaction (Spector, 1985).

Data Collection

Our survey was administered via the Internet by a marketing research company, Qualtrics Inc., using the company's web-based survey software. Qualtrics maintains a database of people who work in different industry sectors from all regions and counties throughout the United States. The participants were randomly selected from this database, and the participation requests were then sent out via e-mail. This random selection offered equal selection from all regions and counties within the defined population domain. A sample of 6,717 workers from various industry sectors were invited to participate in the study by e-mail. Approximately 3.8% (257) responded to the e-mail. All participants were also informed of the voluntary and confidential nature of the study. Before the completion of the surveys, the participants were also provided an option to opt out of any participation. At the conclusion of the data collection, we collected 257 valid and usable responses for the analysis. The Qualtrics database randomly included people of people of different management levels, years of experience, age, gender, and level of education who worked in mainly six industry sectors: food and beverage, information technology (IT), manufacturing, accounting, financial and investment services, and retail (see Table 1 on the next page).

Table 1: Description of Sample Population

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Industry Sector	Food and Beverage	58	22.6	22.6
	Information Technology (IT)	36	14.0	36.6
	Manufacturing	39	15.2	51.8
	Accounting	32	12.5	64.2
	Financial/Investment Services	25	9.7	73.9
	Retail	29	11.3	85.2
	Other	38	14.8	100.0
Management Level	First-Line Supervisor	88	34.2	34.2
	Manager	64	25.0	59.1
	Director/GM	20	7.8	67.0
	VP or greater	15	5.8	72.8
	Other (including non-management level)	70	27.2	100.0
Years of Experience	0–5	128	49.8	49.8
	6–10	63	24.5	74.3
	11–20	44	17.1	91.4
	21–30	16	6.2	97.7
	30+	6	2.3	100.0
Age in Years	30 or under	156	60.7	60.7
	31–45	60	23.3	84.0
	46–50	21	8.2	92.2
	51–55	7	2.7	95.0
	55+	13	5.1	100.0
Gender	Male	163	63.4	63.4
	Female	94	36.6	100.0
Highest Level of Education	High School Diploma	84	32.7	32.7
	Bachelor’s Degree	131	51.0	83.7
	Master’s Degree	35	13.6	97.3
	Doctoral Degree	7	2.7	100.0
Total Population Sample		257		

Data Quality

To check the reliability and internal consistency of our collected data, we calculated the following Cronbach's alpha values. Cronbach's alpha for the 16 ALQ questions (items) is 0.94, and Cronbach's alpha for the 36 JSS questions (items) is 0.90.

Measures

To measure the perceived authentic leadership style of the leader by the participant, we added the scores of 16 questions in ALQ questionnaires together and labeled it as TOTALQ. To measure participant's job satisfaction in the workplace, we added the scores of 36 questions in JSS questionnaires together and labeled it as TOTJSS.

We are among the very few studies that identify survey participants by industry sectors. The data enabled us to investigate the authentic leadership behaviors among various industry sectors. Table 2 shows the some of the basic statistics for the ALQ total scale (TOTALQ) and the JSS total scale (TOTJSS) by industry sector.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of ALQ and JSS Scores by Industry Sector

Industry Sector		N	Min.	Max.	Sum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Food and Beverage	TOTALQ	58	16.00	80.00	2,964.00	51.1034	14.21722
	TOTJSS	58	49.00	205.00	7,531.00	129.8448	28.86314
Information Technology (IT)	TOTALQ	36	42.00	76.00	2,172.00	60.3333	9.27670
	TOTJSS	36	110.00	180.00	4,994.00	138.7222	20.10346
Manufacturing	TOTALQ	39	37.00	80.00	2,298.00	58.9231	10.41352
	TOTJSS	39	88.00	214.00	5,407.00	138.6410	26.94877
Accounting	TOTALQ	32	25.00	76.00	1,829.00	57.1562	12.37612
	TOTJSS	32	71.00	195.00	4,115.00	128.5937	26.99923
Financial/ Investment Services	TOTALQ	25	26.00	80.00	1,486.00	59.4400	13.80543
	TOTJSS	25	95.00	199.00	3,413.00	136.5200	27.00327
Retail	TOTALQ	29	33.00	74.00	1,639.00	56.5172	11.69744
	TOTJSS	29	71.00	177.00	3,915.00	135.0000	25.11118
Other	TOTALQ	38	38.00	80.00	2,102.00	55.3158	10.07299
	TOTJSS	38	84.00	178.00	5,172.00	136.1053	21.15552

Results and Findings

To study the followership development (i.e., employee job satisfaction) as influenced by the authentic leaders and test our hypothesis, we performed a regression analysis to test if the ALQ score (TOTALQ) is a reliable predictor for the JSS score (TOTJSS). The regression model is:

$$(TOTJSS) = a + b*(TOTALQ)$$

We first performed the test using the combined industry sector data (i.e., all industry sectors were assessed in aggregate). The model significance and model coefficients are listed in Table 3 and Table 4, respectively.

Table 3: Regression Analysis—ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	Sig.
1	Regression	41,859.843	1	41,859.843	85.006	.000[a]
	Residual	125,570.928	255	492.435		
	Total	167,430.770	256			

[a]Predictors: (Constant), TOTALQ. [b]Dependent variable: TOTJSS

Table 4 Regression Analysis—Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	*t*	Sig.
		*b**	Std. Error	β		
1	(Constant)	75.472	6.542		11.536	.000
	TOTALQ	1.046	0.113	.500	9.220	.000

Table 3 and Table 4 support our hypothesis. The model is significant with a *p*-value of 0, and the coefficient (slope) of TOTALQ is positive. We conclude that the ALQ score is a reliable predictor of the JSS score and authentic leadership behavior has a positive influence on employee job satisfaction. Our finding suggests that organizational leaders who practice the authentic leadership style can, in practical terms, affect employee job satisfaction.

Cross-Industry-Sector Analysis

We further examined the ALQ scores (TOTAQL) and found that they are significantly different between some of the industry sectors. We performed a one-

way ANOVA analysis on the TOTALQ against industry sector type. The results are listed in Table 5, where TOTALQ is the total ALQ score of each participant. The analysis indicates that the authentic leadership behaviors are significantly different among industry sectors, with a *p*-value of 0.005.

Table 5 ANOVA—Industry Sector with Dependent Variable: TOTALQ

	Sum of Squares	***df***	**Mean Square**	***F***	**Sig.**
Between Groups	2,726.651	6	454.442	3.195	.005
Within Groups	35,561.979	250	142.248		
Total	38,288.630	256			

The differences are mainly concentrated between three industry sectors. Table 6 on the next pages contains the results of multiple comparisons, which shows that, with a significance level of 0.05, significant differences exist between the food and beverage and IT industry sectors, and between the food and beverage and manufacturing industry sectors. The *p*-values are 0.006 and 0.028, respectively.

Table 6: Multiple Comparisons of TOTALQ Mean

(I) Industry Sector	(J) Industry Sector	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Food and Beverage	Information Technology (IT)	-9.22989*	2.53059	.006	-16.7521	-1.7077
	Manufacturing	-7.81963*	2.46980	.028	-15.1612	-.4781
	Accounting	-6.05280	2.62637	.246	-13.8597	1.7541
	Financial/ Investment Services	-8.33655	2.85350	.058	-16.8186	.1455
	Retail	-5.41379	2.71250	.420	-13.4767	2.6492
	Other	-4.21234	2.48916	.622	-11.6114	3.1867
Information Technology (IT)	Food and Beverage	9.22989*	2.53059	.006	1.7077	16.7521
	Manufacturing	1.41026	2.75658	.999	-6.7837	9.6042
	Accounting	3.17708	2.89769	.929	-5.4363	11.7905
	Financial/ Investment Services	.89333	3.10504	1.000	-8.3364	10.1231
	Retail	3.81609	2.97598	.860	-5.0300	12.6622
	Other	5.01754	2.77393	.543	-3.2280	13.2631
Manufacturing	Food and Beverage	7.81963*	2.46980	.028	.4781	15.1612
	Information Technology (IT)	-1.41026	2.75658	.999	-9.6042	6.7837
	Accounting	1.76683	2.84475	.996	-6.6892	10.2229
	Financial/ Investment Services	-.51692	3.05570	1.000	-9.6000	8.5662
	Retail	2.40584	2.92446	.982	-6.2872	11.0988
	Other	3.60729	2.71859	.839	-4.4738	11.6883
Accounting	Food and Beverage	6.05280	2.62637	.246	-1.7541	13.8597
	Information Technology (IT)	-3.17708	2.89769	.929	-11.7905	5.4363
	Manufacturing	-1.76683	2.84475	.996	-10.2229	6.6892

	Financial/ Investment Services	-2.28375	3.18358	.991	-11.7470	7.1795
	Retail	.63901	3.05783	1.000	-8.4504	9.7285
	Other	1.84046	2.86158	.995	-6.6656	10.3465
Financial/ Investment Services	Food and Beverage	8.33655	2.85350	.058	-.1455	16.8186
	Information Technology (IT)	-.89333	3.10504	1.000	-10.1231	8.3364
	Manufacturing	.51692	3.05570	1.000	-8.5662	9.6000
	Accounting	2.28375	3.18358	.991	-7.1795	11.7470
	Retail	2.92276	3.25500	.973	-6.7528	12.5983
	Other	4.12421	3.07136	.831	-5.0055	13.2539
Retail	Food and Beverage	5.41379	2.71250	.420	-2.6492	13.4767
	Information Technology (IT)	-3.81609	2.97598	.860	-12.6622	5.0300
	Manufacturing	-2.40584	2.92446	.982	-11.0988	6.2872
	Accounting	-.63901	3.05783	1.000	-9.7285	8.4504
	Financial/ Investment Services	-2.92276	3.25500	.973	-12.5983	6.7528
	Other	1.20145	2.94083	1.000	-7.5402	9.9431
Other	Food and Beverage	4.21234	2.48916	.622	-3.1867	11.6114
	Information Technology (IT)	-5.01754	2.77393	.543	-13.2631	3.2280
	Manufacturing	-3.60729	2.71859	.839	-11.6883	4.4738
	Accounting	-1.84046	2.86158	.995	-10.3465	6.6656
	Financial/ Investment Services	-4.12421	3.07136	.831	-13.2539	5.0055
	Retail	-1.20145	2.94083	1.000	-9.9431	7.5402

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Investigating the causes of the existence of such difference is beyond the scope of this study. One possible cause might be that a leader sometimes has to

consider trade-offs between being totally authentic or accomplishing his/her goals efficiently and effectively (Ibarra, 2015). Ibarra (2015) discusses this paradox that leaders might face when practicing authentic leadership. It seems that a successful leader often modifies his or her authenticity to the situation. We argue that such situations may include organizational culture. Ibarra presents the case of a Malaysian executive in an auto parts company where people valued a clear chain of command and made decisions by consensus. When a Dutch multinational with a matrix structure acquired the company, this executive found himself working with peers who saw decision making as a freewheeling contest for the best-debated ideas. To be more effective and accomplish more, this executive had to change his leadership style and choose between being a failure or being a fake. One certainly can imagine the company culture differences between a typical food-and-beverage company and a typical IT company.

While we recognize the existence of authentic leadership differences between various industry sectors, our interest focuses on whether such differences will affect the support of our hypothesis. We would like to confirm that authentic leadership having positive influence on employee job satisfaction remains true in every industry sector despite the cultural company differences of the sectors. In other words, are our results and findings robust across all industry sectors? To test the robustness of our results, we performed regression analysis on each industry sector to see if the ALQ score (TOTALQ) remains a reliable predictor to predict JSS score (TOTJSS) in each industry sector. The results of these single-industry-sector regression models (Table 7) show that, at a significance level of 0.05, all models are significant. The *p*-values range from 0 to 0.033 among the industry sectors.

Table 7: Regression Analysis (by Industry Sector)—ANOVA

Industry Sector	Model		Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F*	Sig.
Food and Beverage	1	Regression	12,697.035	1	12,697.035	20.439	.000[a]
		Residual	34,788.568	56	621.224		
		Total	47,485.603	57			
Information Technology (IT)	1	Regression	1,798.300	1	1,798.300	4.952	.033[a]
		Residual	12,346.922	34	363.145		
		Total	14,145.222	35			
Manufacturing	1	Regression	6,463.630	1	6,463.630	11.316	.002[a]
		Residual	21,133.345	37	571.171		
		Total	27,596.974	38			
Accounting	1	Regression	6,727.882	1	6,727.882	12.718	.001[a]
		Residual	15,869.836	30	528.995		
		Total	22,597.719	31			
Financial/ Investment Services	1	Regression	4,618.507	1	4,618.507	8.246	.009[a]
		Residual	12,881.733	23	560.075		
		Total	17,500.240	24			
Retail	1	Regression	5,368.032	1	5,368.032	11.795	.002[a]
		Residual	12,287.968	27	455.110		
		Total	17,656.000	28			
Other	1	Regression	2,877.473	1	2,877.473	7.571	.009[a]
		Residual	13,682.106	36	380.059		
		Total	16,559.579	37			

[a]Predictors: (Constant), TOTALQ. [b]Dependent variable: TOTJSS.

Also, the coefficients (slopes) of TOTALQ in all models are positive (see Table 8 on the next page), which indicates that authentic leadership has a positive influence on employee job satisfaction in every industry sector studied.

Table 8: Regression Analysis (by Industry Sector)—Coefficients

Industry Sector	Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	*t*	Sig.
			B	Std. Error	Beta		
Food and Beverage	1	(Constant)	76.197	12.310		6.190	.000
		TOTALQ	1.050	.232	.517	4.521	.000
Information Technology (IT)	1	(Constant)	92.103	21.189		4.347	.000
		TOTALQ	.773	.347	.357	2.225	.033
Manufacturing	1	(Constant)	64.845	22.268		2.912	.006
		TOTALQ	1.252	.372	.484	3.364	.002
Accounting	1	(Constant)	60.558	19.506		3.105	.004
		TOTALQ	1.190	.334	.546	3.566	.001
Financial/ Investment Services	1	(Constant)	76.793	21.331		3.600	.002
		TOTALQ	1.005	.350	.514	2.872	.009
Retail	1	(Constant)	68.101	19.878		3.426	.002
		TOTALQ	1.184	.345	.551	3.434	.002
Other	1	(Constant)	87.677	17.882		4.903	.000
		TOTALQ	.875	.318	.417	2.752	.009

[a]Dependent variable: TOTJSS.

Discussion and Conclusion

Authentic leadership research has been focused on the definition and theoretical framework. Only recently has it has begun to address the followership development influenced by authentic leaders. In this article, we used a nationwide cross-industry-sector survey to assess the effect of authentic leadership on employee job satisfaction. The survey used two questionnaires (ALQ and JSS), and each participant answered them at the same time. The ALQ score reflects a participant's perception of his or her leader's authenticity, and the JSS score reflects a participant's job satisfaction. Our empirical data show a high positive correlation between the ALQ score and the JSS score. Workers who view their leader(s) as having stronger authentic leadership experience more job satisfaction. The regression analysis indicates that ALQ score is a reliable predictor of JSS score and, therefore, authentic leader has a positive influence

on employee job satisfaction. This study provides additional empirical evidence to support the literature that authentic leadership has an influence on positive follower outcomes.

Our data also reveal some differences in authentic leadership behavior between various industry sectors. However, the positive influence of authentic leaders on employee job satisfaction remains significant in each industry sector. To the best of our knowledge, this study is the first empirical study on authentic leadership involving the collection of data from multiple industry sectors in a single survey. The cross-industry-sector data allowed us to check the robustness of our results. The managerial implication of this study is that managers who practice authentic leadership can increase employee job satisfaction.

There some several limitations of our study. First, the participants of the study were randomly selected throughout the United States using the database that Qualtrics Inc. maintained and invited by e-mail. Due to the nature of e-mail surveys, including low response rate, we have no control over who returns the survey. This may compromise the sample randomness. Second, our data are relatively small, which limits our ability to conduct more in-depth investigation while controlling for other factors (such as participant age, education level, and management level) that might affect our results. Third, our data only cover a few industry sectors, when ideally, we would cover more.

There are a few suggestions for the future studies. Large-scale studies are needed that include more industry sectors. Greater sample data will control for factors such as age, management level, and education level while studying the positive influence of authentic leadership on employee job satisfaction. Also, this study does not investigate the causes of authentic leadership differences between industry sectors. We suggest more studies on the causes of authentic leadership behavior differences by industry sector. Learning the causes of such differences will have important managerial implications.

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Project Leadership: An Emerging Phenomena*

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Despite an evolving profession, project managers do not always lead projects to success. However, leadership roles influence project performance and are tied to project success. This study examined 87 interview summaries to explore the emergent leadership theme. The objective was to investigate the phenomena of project management leadership development and its impact by analyzing successful project managers' descriptions of how their project management leadership evolved. Findings indicate that on-the-job training is the primary means by which project managers become leaders. Responsibility, communication, initiative, and taking care of followers are important for project leader effectiveness. Recommendations for future research are discussed.

Key words: leadership, project leaders, project management

This study builds upon a previous study by Marion, Richardson, and Earnhardt (2014), which examined 87 project managers' responses to interview questions associated with entry into the field, career progression, and advice for the new project manager, seeking to better understand practicing project manager career progression. In that study, a conceptual project management career path was presented (see Figure 1), and it was concluded that the project management career path remains an informal one in many companies. Furthermore, it was found that project managers arrive at that role through years of experience in which they become accomplished in managing, leading, and executing projects as they rise through the ranks. A recommendation was to delve into the interview data to seek out the leadership theme as it translates into successful project managers.

A benefit of qualitative inquiry is that researchers have the opportunity to answer a research question that was not originally posed. This study examined those 87 interview summaries to explore the emergent leadership theme. The objective was to investigate the phenomena of project management leadership development and its impact by analyzing successful project managers'

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descriptions of how their project management leadership evolved. The study's purpose was to give voice to the practicing project manager, providing new insights regarding successful career progression. Therefore, the current study will offer a literature review on project skills and traits and then provide results related to project management leadership development.

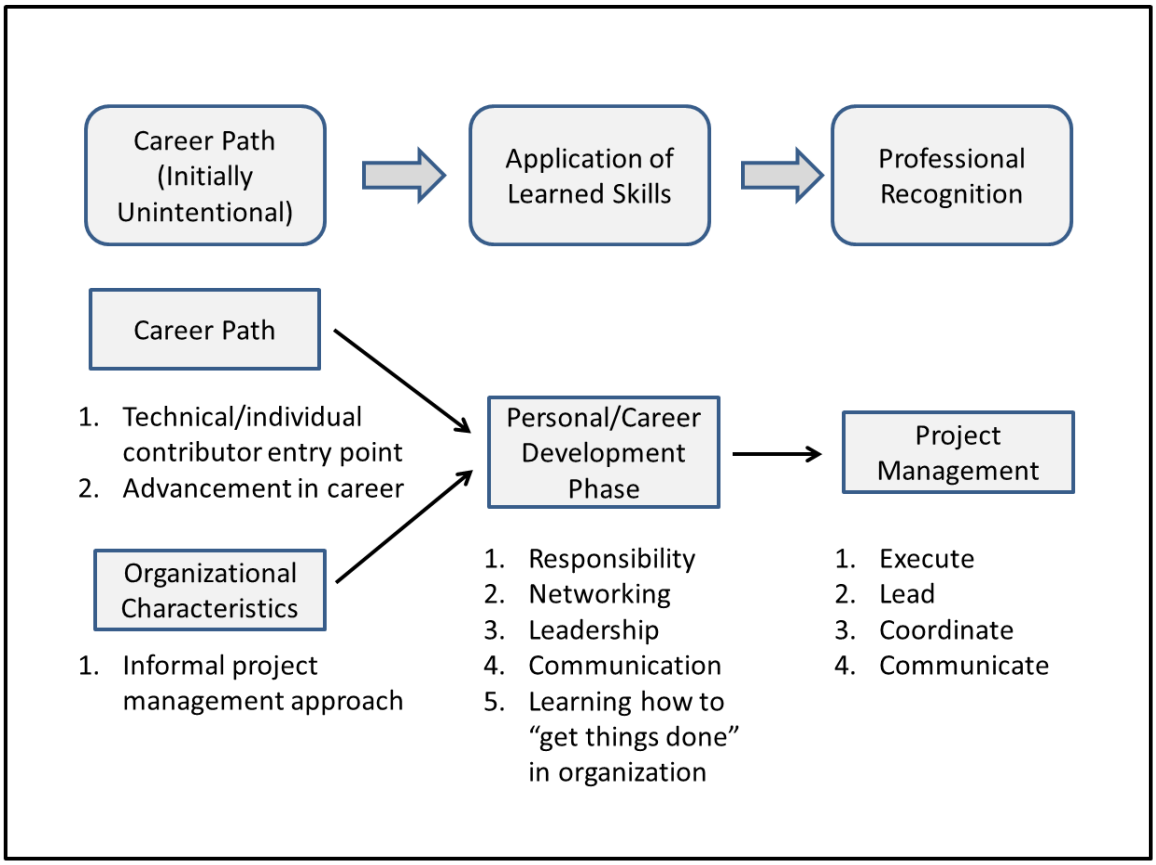

Figure 1. The conceptual framework of the project management career path

Literature Review

Despite an evolving profession, project managers have not always led projects to success. However, leadership roles influence project performance and are tied to project success (Anantatmula, 2010; Kaminsky, 2012; Shore, 2005). Kaminsky (2012) exclaimed that projects often fail because of lack of leadership, rather than lack of management. In other words, a project will fail without leadership from the people on the project. Project failure has been linked to leadership, and "human skills" have an incredible influence on project management practices

(Shore, 2005; Skulmoski & Hartman, 2010). Anantatmula (2010) indicated that motivating a project team, communicating values, and paying attention to project processes are what make up "good" project leaders. Following Yukl's (2013) definition of leadership, a *project manager* (leader) is someone who influences others to agree about what needs to be done and then facilitates those efforts to accomplish a shared objective. In order to influence others, project managers should have good interpersonal skills, which often result in influencing others beyond the project arena (Jowah, 2012). Stagnaro and Piotrowski (2014) refer to the successful project manager as a social architect who leads others to actively participate on the common goal. Though some research has been done on the leadership aspect of project management, more work needs to be done (Bopanna & Gupta, 2009; Müller, Geraldi, & Turner, 2012; Shore, 2005). Given the dearth of studies exploring leadership within the project management profession, the current study addresses project leadership.

Although the research on project management has acknowledged the importance of leadership in organizations, the role of leadership regarding projects has largely been ignored until recently (Müller et al., 2012). Bopanna and Gupta (2009) echo this sentiment by stating that the project management literature has focused on management rather than leadership. While leadership is seen as a success factor, it is not explored with any depth (Shore, 2005). Therefore, relevant to the current study, it is important to explore both leadership in project management and project leader skills and traits.

Leadership in Project Management

Every project is unique and fraught with complex problems and unknowns. Therefore, the project manager's role is important to project success (Anantatmula, 2010). Austin, Browne, Haas, Kenyatta, and Zulueta (2013) note that "it is often said leaders are focused on the big picture and long term goals while managers are focused on day to day activities and achieving those goals. In project management, both roles are merged" (80). Kaminsky (2012) indicates

that projects often fail because of lack of leadership rather than lack of management.

A project manager has influence over internal and external stakeholders of the project, including considerable influence over the project team. In the current complex business environment, there is a demand for teams and leaders who are creative, fast, and flexible in executing a project (Barnwell, Nedrick, Rudolph, Sesay, & Wellen, 2014). As the team leader, the project manager must establish a collaborative culture that accounts for internal and external forces in project execution (Barnwell et al., 2014). This is difficult because team selection often occurs under less than ideal conditions (Anantatmula, 2010). Hogan (2011) noted that leadership can align teams with project goals, leading to project and organizational success. Additionally, project leaders keep a unifying spirit to the project (Lundy & Morin, 2013). Important to understanding why leadership in project management is so important is an understanding of the skills and traits that are important for the project leader.

Project Leader Skills and Traits

Anantatmula (2010) states that competence and leadership style are critical to facilitating project success factors. In addition to style, the personal traits of the leader also contribute to project success and execution (Nixon, Harrington, & Parker, 2012). In other words, the project leader must exhibit appropriate skills, traits, and competence for project execution to the various team members. For example, to lead project teams effectively, intrapersonal and interpersonal skills are needed (Redick, Reyna, Schaffer, & Toomey, 2014).

According to Bopanna and Gupta (2009), good leadership requires good soft skills, such as the ability to set clear goals that others buy into and by which they are motivated. Fisher (2011), who investigated the telecommunication, engineering, consultancy, and banking industries, identifies six specific skills and behaviors needed by the effective project manager that focus on people: (a) cultural awareness, (b) conflict management, (c) authentic behavior, (d) influence, (e) leading, and (f) understanding the behavior of others. Fisher explains that in addition to those skills, an effective project manager must show

concern and respect for others. In other words, the "people side" is very important to project effectiveness. In a Delphi study of project managers, Keil, Lee, and Deng (2013) found many of the same skills as Fisher, but added communication, personal characteristics, problem solving, professionalism, and organization as necessary skills for the successful project leader.

Communication is critical for a project leader. An effective project leader should listen actively and communicate the shared values of the group. Wiegold (2011), in describing communication in music, states that "the best musical compositions have integrity and a sense of purpose and voice, while at the same time being fluid, flexible, never staying on ideas too long and always reaching forward for implied goals" (46). The same can be said of project leaders who need to communicate the vision of the project and ensure everyone has a voice and input into the shared purpose. The importance of communication in leadership and project leadership has been affirmed by countless researchers (e.g., Friedman, 2011). Strong communication helps project managers succeed in successfully executing a project (Friedman, 2011; Keil et al., 2013).

Traits are also very important to the project leader and can impact project success. Cohen, Ornoy, and Keren (2013) conclude that project managers have unique personality traits that differ from the general population. Additionally, Müller and Turner (2010) indicate that certain traits lead project managers to remain in their job longer (person–job fit). Some of the traits that impact project success are the degree of innovativeness, communication apprehension, Myers–Briggs Type Indicator score, openness, degree of emotional intelligence, preference for soft skills, technical skill, level of self-monitoring, conflict management style, and degree of change orientation (Creasy & Anantatmula, 2013; Dolfi & Andrews, 2007). In considering the role of project leader traits on project success, one needs to recognize that a variety of factors impacts project outcomes, including external and internal constraints. Having said that, attention should be given to project managers' traits within the systems and organizations within which they operate (Creasy & Anantatmula, 2013). The literature indicates a link between personality traits and job performance and project manager

success, though Thal and Bedingfield (2010) indicate that more research needs to be performed in this area.

Method

This article is a follow-up study of an emergent topic—project management leadership. In Marion et al. (2014), graduate students in a project management degree program were given the assignment to interview a professional project manager and pose questions associated with entry into the field, career progression, and advice for the new project manager. The authors qualitatively coded the 87 project managers' career experiences as documented in the informal interviews. The interview followed the topical protocol presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Interview Protocol Questions

Order	Question
1	How did the project manager get started in the field?
2	How has the project manager's career progressed?
3	What advice would the project manager give to someone considering a PM career?

The initial objective was to learn about project management careers. The leadership theme was so dominant that it drove this follow-up examination of the participants' descriptions of their experiences in the current research study. The interviews were coded for a second time, seeking themes to answer the following research questions: (a) How does a project manager develop leadership skills? and (b) What is the impact of the new skill set?

The coding process involved a review of each interview and an effort to link the interviews' individual comments to themes and begin a cataloging process (Saldaña, 2012). To this end, the 87 interview summaries were imported independently into the qualitative coding software NVivo (Version 9, QSR International, 2010), and the list of emergent themes was loaded as categories or nodes. Further analysis was conducted through key word queries to ensure all

instances of specific leadership key words or phrases were reviewed and coded (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). Then, themes were collected and the frequency of each theme was documented. A word frequency analysis was performed against each segment of coded text in order to gain an understanding of how closely each identified theme was related to others in terms of common words and expressions, allowing the authors to reflect on the implication (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). Relationships were established, and then themes were classified into groups. Finally, the conceptual framework was built up from the themes, classifications, and relationships.

Analysis

In this analysis, following the recommendations of Marion et al. (2014), the leadership theme observed from that previous study was further analyzed in order to better understand (a) the phenomena of project management leadership development and (b) the impact of project management leadership. The analysis of the 87 interview summaries revealed a series of recurring themes. Table 2 lists the leadership themes and illustrates both the number of participants who contributed to the theme (sources) and the number of times the theme presented itself (references). The themes describe the success factors that the project managers experienced throughout their careers. Leveraging NVivo's (Version 9, QSR International, 2010) sorting feature, the themes were examined a second time, and groupings emerged. Each recurring theme was identified, supported by interview summary excerpts, and is discussed here.

Table 2: Leadership Themes

Name	Sources	References	Rank
Leadership_On the Job Training	23	27	621
Leadership_Traits	6	7	42
Leadership_Military Experience	6	6	36
Leadership_Responsibility	6	7	42
Leadership_Communications	5	5	25
Leadership_Promotion	5	5	25
Leadership_Not Required to Be an Expert	3	3	9
Leadership_Supporting the Team	3	3	9
Leadership_Taking Initiative	2	2	4
Leadership_Education	1	1	1
Leadership_Well Organized	1	1	1
Leadership_Response of Followers	1	1	1
Leadership_Demonstration of Skills	1	1	1
Leadership_Adaptability	1	1	1
Leadership_Setting the Pace	1	1	1

Each series of codes was grouped according to rank. The rank was a function of the number of times that the theme appeared and the number of interviews in which it appeared. On-the-job leadership stood out as the most commonly appearing theme. Group 1 included themes ranking greater than 100. Group 2 included those ranking from 26 to 50. Group 3 included themes ranking exactly 25. Group 4 includes themes ranking from 2 to 25. Finally, Group 5 included those ranking exactly 1.

Table 3: Leadership Themes by Grouping

Theme	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5
Leadership_On the Job Training	X				
Leadership_Traits		X			
Leadership_Military Experience		X			
Leadership_Responsibility		X			
Leadership_Communications			X		
Leadership_Promotion			X		
Leadership_Not Required to Be an Expert				X	
Leadership_Supporting the Team				X	
Leadership_Taking Initiative				X	
Leadership_Education					X
Leadership_Well Organized					X
Leadership_Response of Followers					X
Leadership_Demonstration of Skills					X
Leadership_Adaptability					X
Leadership_Setting the Pace					X

Group 1 Interview Excerpts (Sources 23/References 27)

Leadership: On-the-Job Training (OTJ)

> My start into that field began years before through a series of career opportunities and experience that enabled me to lead projects of increasing intensity and responsibility.
>
> Progressing through my organization gaining experience in leadership roles, I began to find myself in charge of increasingly larger assignments and overseeing more and more people.
>
> Project management was a part of the overall skill sets expected, but there was no formal or defined training. I was simply expected to bring jobs in on time, on budget and safely. A good project manager just somehow knew what to do.

The Group 1 interview excerpts are representative of the frequently expressed observation that leadership is a skill that is developed over the duration of a career. It is of interest to note the emphasis on learning by doing rather than

through formal training. Regardless of the stated importance of other factors, traits, or skills, it is typically on the job where such factors are acquired.

The career path experience described by successful project managers is observed to be similar to that of successful functional managers. The sequence of taking advantage of leadership opportunities, gaining experience, and being assigned greater responsibility is the story of "working one's way up through the ranks." The only observed difference is that in the case of the interviews, the senior ranks were involved in managing projects rather than functions. In a multi-project organization, it may be that more leadership opportunities are available than functional opportunities, thereby making project management a potentially excellent field for career growth.

Group 2 Interview Excerpts (Sources 18/References 20)

Leadership: Traits

> Being able to demonstrate that you can follow procedures; have people skills; and are able to manage time, people, and money will help you get hired. He stressed the ability to be able to moderate between the stakeholders will be a plus.

Leadership: Military Experience

> Her background as a soldier developed her team-building skills and perseverance to complete any mission.

Leadership: Responsibility

> [The subject] said that the best thing a program manager can do for their career is to take on more responsibility. Sometimes you have to go looking for more responsibility and take the initiative.

Learning to lead, as described in the interviews, was enhanced with the willingness on the part of the manger to take responsibility. In the Group 2 interview excerpts, military service offered opportunities to learn responsibility. Once opportunities to take responsibility have been accepted, managers have the forum to demonstrate leadership skills.

Group 3 Interview Excerpts (Sources 10/References 10)

Leadership: Communications

> A good foundation in communication and learning to manage people will make all the difference in the world.

Leadership: Promotion

> As he worked his way up the company, he eventually was moved to a project manager position.

As evidenced in the Group 3 interview excerpts, communication is a foundational leadership skill. The expression of such skill is said to lead to promotions.

Group 4 Interview Excerpts (Sources 8/References 8)

Leadership: Not Required to Be an Expert

> He advised me that I don't need to be the expert in the field that I am managing a project for because my job is to organize, plan, and motivate those around me.

Leadership: Supporting the Team

> He told us it was his job to ensure that we had what we needed to do our job and also his job to make sure no one could interfere with us doing our job. I think that is the perfect description of what a project manager is there to do.

Leadership: Taking Initiative

> If you find yourself leading in the little parts of your life, from always being the one to plan the party, to the one who designs the new deck, to the vacation planner, to the one people come to at work to get ideas about how to do something, then you are a project manager already.

The Group 4 interview excerpts illustrate that although effective leaders take initiative, this does not imply that the leader does the work of the team. Instead, the leader supports the team and makes effective use of the available expertise. The likely implication of these interview excerpts was that project management candidates were not necessarily those with deep technical domain expertise. Rather, they were more likely to be generalists who have significant interpersonal skills. Project management research supports this with its increasing emphasis on the human side of project management rather than the traditional "hard

paradigm" of management linked solely to the management of the triple constraint (scope, time, and cost).

Group 5 Interview Excerpts (Sources 6/References 6)

Leadership: Education

> The project manager position comes with great responsibility for any program and, as a result, requires advanced education, specific training.

Leadership: Well Organized

> Her meetings are well organized and cover all necessary business.

Leadership: Response of Followers

> Look at yourself and ask, "Do people follow my lead in life?" People have always responded to my leadership. From grade school to college, working, playing rugby and other sports, I have always found myself in a leadership position.

Leadership: Demonstration of Skills

> Being able to demonstrate that you can follow procedures; have people skills; and are able to manage time, people, and money will help you get hired.

Leadership: Adaptability

> [The subject] expressed that leadership abilities are a must in project management [as is] the ability to adapt to many different personality types to get the job done.

Leadership: Setting the Pace

> Program or project management is like a marching band. There is a drum line, and everyone else takes their cues from the beat of the drums. Program managers are the drums—be the drums.

The Group 5 themes appear only once throughout all interviews. They were illustrative of the many generic capabilities that successful leaders often display within the field of project management. The Project Management Institute (PMI) Project Management Competency Development Framework appeared to support the view that successful project managers employ a range of personal as well as project management performance competencies.

Correlation Coefficient

Another approach taken to evaluate the degree to which each theme was related to examine the similarity of words used in each theme. In this cluster analysis generated by NVivo (Version 9, QSR International, 2010), the correlation coefficients measuring the relationships of common words found between themes are illustrated in Figure 2 (QSR International, 2014). For example, in the dendrogram, two major groupings of themes diverge based upon their relatedness. The upper portion of the diagram could be viewed as themes associated with on-the-job experiences. The lower portion could be viewed as themes associated with personal demonstration of skills and observable traits. It is interesting to note that the first theme suggests they are successful project managers because of their inherent personal characteristics (suggesting personality), and the second theme suggests that becoming a successful project manager can be taught and learned through education and experience.

Figure 2. Node cluster by word similarity

From Themes to Theory

An inductive approach to developing theory began with the data (interviews), sought patterns in the data (themes), and then sought to build up a larger picture of the phenomena under study (conceptual framework; Creswell, 2013). Themes were identified by a process of closely reading the text and using constant comparison with other thoughts, ideas, and expressions found in the interview summaries. Details deemed to be significant are highlighted and coded in NVivo (Version 9, QSR International, 2010). Codes that appear more frequently and are observed in more than one interview are considered to carry more weight than those that do not, and this is reflected in the thematic ranking system. In this study, the frequency of occurrence of the identified themes and the relationships between the themes were used as the basis for building a clearer picture of the phenomena under study.

Framework

Figure 3 on the next page represents the conceptual framework inferred from the themes found in the interview summaries. The conceptual framework was constructed as follows:

1. A cluster analysis of the themes was performed using NVivo (Version 9, QSR International, 2010), and the Pearson's correlation for word similarity between the themes was analyzed.
2. Each of the interview segments identified as themes were then reread and compared with other themes in that frequency group to draw conclusions on how the themes were related.
3. The themes were then organized first in group order (indicating frequency of theme occurrence), then by the logical relationship of each theme to other themes identified within the group.

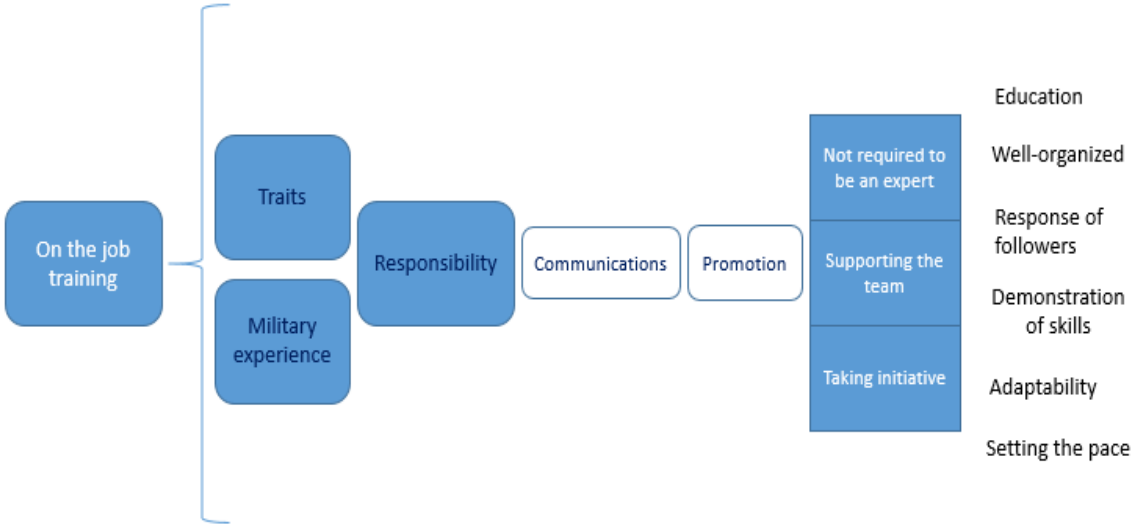

Figure 3. Conceptual framework

Discussion

As evidenced in the project manager interviews, on-the-job training was the primary means by which project managers become leaders. Interview excerpts indicate that leadership was developed as a skill over the duration of a career. In the interviews, many participants stated that as they progressed through their organization and gained more experience, they saw themselves gaining responsibility over larger assignments and increased leadership roles. Another project manager indicated that he received no formal training; it was through experience that he understood expectations.

It should be noted that the emphasis on learning by doing rather than through formal training, reinforcing Clarke's (2009) research regarding the benefits of learning leadership on the job. Furthermore, as indicated by our study and in congruence with Atwood, Mora, and Kaplin (2010), leaders need to find their own way regarding using leadership skills in the workplace, and education and experience have an effect on leader behavior. This study's analysis indicated the same results through interviews with project managers. Project managers can learn leadership through both education and experience.

Certain personality characteristics seem to be present in the project leader, namely responsibility, communication, and initiative. First, taking responsibility led to opportunities to build and demonstrate leadership capability. Learning to

lead, as described in the interviews, was enhanced with the willingness on the part of the manager to take responsibility. In one interview, the program manager stated that the best thing a project manager could do was take on more responsibility, and proactivity was a key ingredient to success. In leadership and team literature, proactive individuals and teams achieve positive outcomes (Williams, Parker, & Turner, 2010). The results of the current study with project managers would indicate the same.

Further, communication was considered an essential skill when displayed effectively. Strong communication helped project managers succeed in successfully executing a project (Friedman, 2011; Keil et al., 2013). Neufeld, Wan, and Fang (2010) agree, indicating that communication effectiveness is a strong predictor of leader performance. In a study of change, Gilley, Gilley, and McMillan (2009) note that providing effective communication is a necessary foundation for employee motivation and success. In the interview summaries used for this study, one project manager called communication a foundational skill. Communication is critically important to leader success and needs more attention in the project manager (leader) toolkit. Gilley et al. indicate that leaders do not devote sufficient time to communication strategies. Therefore, project leaders need to give sufficient attention to communication strategies with internal and external organizational stakeholders.

Third, effective leaders are those who take initiative, but initiative in leadership was related to supporting the members of the team rather than doing the work of the team. Instead, the leader supported the team and made effective use of available expertise. Bruttel and Fischbacher (2013) describe taking initiative as a crucial leadership element. One of the current study's participants stated:

> If you find yourself leading in the little parts of your life, from always being the one to plan the party, to the one who designs the new deck, to the vacation planner, to the one people come to at work to get ideas about how to do something, then you are a project manager already.

Leaders exhibit a number of abilities that do not have the same frequencies of responsibility, communication, and initiative, but are important nonetheless. Project managers indicated that positive response to followers was important.

Furthermore, demonstrating the skills and leading the way were important skills of the project leader. Also, adaptability and willingness to change were seen as important. Adaptability did not just refer to the general organization but to an ability to work with others with different personality traits.

Our study did not identify one particular leadership theory that was more successful than others with project leaders. One reason for that was it was beyond the scope of the current study to test different leadership theories, but also because, as Almansour (2012) notes, any number of leadership styles will work in motivating employees dependent on the situation. It is up to the individual to determine what style works best based on their values, beliefs, preferences, and organizational cultures. Therefore, project leaders need to find what leadership style works best within their particular organization and with their particular followers.

Limitations

Though several insights emerged in the current investigation, there are still several limitations to the current research. One limitation that is inherent to qualitative research is that it typically has high internal validity and low external validity. The authors attempted to mitigate those limitations by using a larger-than-typical sample size (Marshall, Cardon, Poddar, & Fontenot, 2013). Additionally, the students of nine different graduate-level Project Management Fundamentals courses followed a specific interview process. Each of these sections was taught by a different professor, suggesting that the results remained consistent regardless of numerous external variables. That said, the absence of interviewer training for the many graduate students performing the interviews and the authors' lack of contact with both the students and the interviewees contribute to the low external validity. A second limitation is the lack of demographic information collected, making it difficult to draw generalizable conclusions that would have benefited the data. Information such as the participants' industry, years of experience, and whether or not they were certified project management professionals would have greatly aided the study.

Future Research

The results offer several areas for future research. One is related to proactivity and leadership within project management. Congruent with other studies, results indicate that being proactive is an important skill of the project leader. But as Williams et al. (2010) indicate, more work needs to be done regarding proactive behaviors and individual and team performance. Perhaps future research could investigate the role of proactivity on project management and leadership team success. As indicated, several leadership themes, such as adaptability, demonstrating skills, leading the way, and working with followers, were important to the project manager. The project manager interviews did not discuss these themes with the prevalence of some of the other themes. Future research should investigate their importance to project leadership. Finally, future research should ask in-depth demographic information and determine the cultural differences between project leaders from different countries and organizational types.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Shore (2005) indicates that more studies exploring project leadership are needed. Following the recommendations and building on the work of Marion et al. (2014), this study sought to fill that gap and explore project management leadership development. The study indicated that project managers primarily gain leadership competence through on-the-job training. This would indicate that project leadership can be taught to a certain degree through experience and training. Furthermore, the study concluded that to a degree, personality plays a role in the leadership characteristics of the project manager. The study found that responsibility, communication, initiative, and willingness to adapt and change were important skills for the project leader. Finally, the study recommended several avenues for future research.

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No Laughing Matter: Understanding the Leadership of George W. Bush Through the Skewering of the President*

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"George W. Bush is doing the job of two men: Laurel and Hardy."
—Old, recycled political joke

This article takes political humor seriously, and uses humor as a lens through which we might come to a deeper understanding of the complexities and contradictions of the presidency of George W. Bush. In this article, I explore the use of political humor to discern how the popular image of George W. Bush impacted his leadership as president. Bush was the victim of some savage humor. Yet, in being treated as a joke so often, he was able to disarm some critics and was also able at times to take advantage of adversaries who took him for an intellectual lightweight.

Key words: Bush, humor, leadership, politics, satire

Political humor is funny—except when it isn't. And it is serious business as a way of unmasking hypocrisy, bringing the corrupt and venal to their knees, or exposing the knaves and fools who sometimes occupy high public office. In a democracy, it is also a useful tool for reminding politicians that they should not get big-headed or aloof, as we are always ready to knock them down a peg.

All presidents have faced criticism; and all presidents have found themselves skewered by the biting impact of humor. In a democracy, free speech and the deflating of our leaders are more than rights; we take them as a responsibility, or even as a pleasure. For presidents, being mocked goes with the territory. It is healthy for our political system that we knock the elites off their haughty pedestal now and then.

Of course, this mocking can go too far at times. Former vice president and one-time presidential candidate Walter Mondale went so far as to suggest that the

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presidency has become the "nation's fire hydrant" (Robinson & Sheehan, 1983, 193).

In this article, I will explore the use of political humor to discern how the popular image of George W. Bush impacted his leadership as president by developing the following five points:

1. George W. Bush was mocked repeatedly and mercilessly in the popular media, and virtually all humorous parodies of President Bush stressed his lack of intelligence, fractured syntax, bumbling and fumbling sentence structure, and Texas cowboy image, creating a clear and simple narrative: Bush is dumb!
2. President Bush was a comedic enabler, repeatedly giving humorists ammunition that could be used against him.
3. George Bush was *not* dumb.
4. The popular image of Bush as a dumb person lulled his adversaries into a false sense that they could outfox him, allowing Bush to often outflank his rivals.
5. Clearly, President Bush was not dumb, and yet he made a host of mistakes.

Political Humor in Context[2]

"Humor is anarchistic."
—Malcolm Muggeridge (Gardner, 1989, 14)

One of the biggest fears for politicians is that the public will laugh *at* them, and not *with* them. Just ask Sarah Palin. Is it even possible to think of Palin and not see Tina Fey's mocking—yet so very close to reality—parody of Palin? Today, Palin exists as little more than a caricature of herself. Humor hurts.

If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, parody is the deepest slit of the throat. In a television (especially cable) and social media era, political parody seems—to the politician at least—ubiquitous and able to spread like a virus.

[2]From Building Tomorrow's Leaders Today: On Becoming a Polymath Leader (pp. 102–103), by M. A. Genovese, 2014, New York, NY: Routledge. Copyright 2014 by M. A. Genovese. Adapted with permission.

Chevy Chase doing Gerald Ford, Dan Aykroyd doing Richard Nixon, Dana Carvey as both George H. W. Bush and Ross Perot ("Here's five dollars, bark like a dog"), Phil Hartman as Ronald Reagan, Darrell Hammond as Bill Clinton, and, of course, Will Ferrell as George W. Bush on *Saturday Night Live* (*SNL*) and in the one-man Broadway hit *You're Welcome America: A Final Night with George W. Bush,* all parodied and punctured their targets while imprinting on the minds of many an image of bumbling buffoonery.

While we have a long history of comically mocking our leaders—from the plays of the Greek comic Aristophanes to Cervantes' *Don Quixote,* from the biting drawings of Honoré Daumier to the cartoons by Thomas Nast and Herblock and Mark Twain's classic short stories—today's media have been especially effective at dispensing the message to a national audience. And as hard news and soft entertainment seem increasingly to be merging (e.g., *Saturday Night Live, The Daily Show, The Colbert Report*), news has become entertainment, and entertainment, news.

The public consistently demands that their president pass the character test, and one measure of character is seen as having a good sense of humor as well as being able to take a joke and laugh at oneself. Abraham Lincoln was widely known for his "stories"—humorous parables that also taught a lesson and helped humanize him. John F. Kennedy had a quick wit that served him well in the early days of televised presidential news conferences. Ronald Reagan was a master of self-deprecating humor (one famous saying: "People say that hard work never killed anybody, but I say, why take the chance?") that often offset criticism as well as endeared Reagan to the public.

Humor tests politicians, and it also tests citizens. Those among us who engage in public debate and exhibit no sense of humor are to be feared more than listened to. The Israeli novelist Amos Oz (2006) noted quite appropriately: "I have never once in my life seen a fanatic with a sense of humor, nor have I seen a person with a sense of humor become a fanatic (64–65)." Indeed, we should be wary of people and presidents who do not exhibit a healthy sense of humor. Richard Nixon seemed absolutely humorless. Jimmy Carter's staff joked that

"Carter's idea of self-deprecatory humor is to insult his staff" (Genovese, 2014, 103).

In his collection of presidential humor, Gardner (1989) writes:

> Bromidic as it may sound, humor is a most essential element in a democracy. Curiously, the one ingredient that totalitarian societies seem to have in common is a lack of humor. In a dictatorship the practice of satire is a jeopardous pastime indeed. This is doubtless because no public figure willingly subjects himself to the barbs of the satirist if there is some way to dispose of the troublesome fellow. In a democracy we cannot so readily eliminate our critics and iconoclasts. (xi–x)

This is not altogether surprising. Humor can be a wounding weapon, and a persuasive one. The witty plays of George Bernard Shaw have proselytized more theatergoers than the grim narratives of Henrik Ibsen. So humor is considered subversive by the powers that be, who often pay it the compliment of suppression.

Humor is necessary in a democracy for reasons other than serving as a device for spreading truth and attacking fools and knaves. In a free society, every few years, the populace engages in a wrenching struggle for power. Humor lets us take the issues seriously without taking ourselves too seriously. If we are able to laugh at ourselves as we lunge for jugular, the process loses some of its malice. The wise politician knows he or she is a walking target for ridicule. Misstatements, exaggeration, flip-flopping, and phoniness become the butt of jokes, and in the case of president, he can become the "butt-in-chief." Experienced politicians try, usually in vain, to be guarded in what they say. Successful politicians learn how to swallow ridicule.

Freud (1928), in his treatise on jokes and the unconscious, said that jokes were a rebellion against authority, an often-therapeutic venting toward, or mocking of, those in power. Humor helps us cope with the painful and forbidden and thus, at times, helps us cope in an unfair or mad world. Carr and Greeves (2006) note that "wherever human beings are oppressed—by corrupt government, poverty or merely the specter of disease and death—jokes thrive" (8).

People everywhere are ambivalent about political leaders, and rightly so. They know someone has to solve public problems, forge policy compromises, and help govern our communities and nation-states. Yet most people fear the abuse of power, think politics is often unsavory, and view most politicians as hopelessly unprincipled. In short, they are suspicious of power-wielding politicians. Writers from Niccolò Machiavelli and William Shakespeare to Mark Twain and George Orwell warn us about the guile, manipulation, and "double-sidedness" inherent in the art of political leadership (Machiavelli, 1532/2011). Even at its best, politics can be the skilled use of a blunt instrument. One way we deal with this is by laughing at politicians. We laugh at pretentiousness, hypocrisy, failures, and duplicity. Humor puts politicians on notice that we are watching and inherently distrustful, if not outright cynical. A good joke at the expense of a politician helps level the playing field. It helps prick pomposity and sappy sentimentality (Carr & Greeves, 2006).

Americans have a rich tradition of poking, and sometimes piercing, fun at politicians. Every president has been skewered by comedians and caricaturists as well as partisan activists. Mark Twain, Henry Adams, Will Rogers, H. L. Mencken, Bob Hope, Mort Sahl, and countless others—including Art Buchwald and Molly Ivins—all successfully made us laugh at politics and politicians. Further, the well-crafted cartoon by Thomas Nast or Herblock sometimes proves more of a rhetorical weapon than a rival's policy argument. Political humorists abound in today's 24/7 media culture. Thus Jay Leno, Jon Stewart, Garry Trudeau, Jon Stewart, Dennis Miller, Stephen Colbert, and Bill Maher, among others, earn a splendid living making us laugh at Hillary and Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Barack Obama, and the rest.[3]

Humor is a means of lighthearted (usually) fencing or even an unsubtle communication of disrespect toward politicians who seem to be always craving flattery. Who can help laugh (as well as cry) at Bill Clinton's squirming to explain his relationship with a White House intern, or at Republican leaders squirming

[3]This section draws on the pioneering work on political humor by Thomas E. Cronin (2014), who has generously allowed me to borrow from his work.

about Congressman Mark Foley and his inappropriate advances toward Congressional pages?

Another reason we laugh at politicians is because some of them actually are corrupt—corrupted by the money it takes to win office, by bribes in office, and sometimes by power itself. Richard Nixon and his vice president, Spiro Agnew, are mainly remembered today for their various corruptions in office—and they are quite rightly satirized, ridiculed, and scorned. More recently, U.S. Representative Randy "Duke" Cunningham made millions for himself as he represented his San Diego-area constituency by steering Department of Defense and other federal agency contracts to grateful businesses who rewarded him in-kind. He served jail time and was one of the reasons Democrats retook the House of Representatives in the 2006 elections.

Thus, laughing at wayward politicians is in some ways retribution, a punishment, a scolding, and a way to get back at sleaze. By laughing at politicians, we are trying to warn them and set parameters—letting them know what's acceptable and what's not. Clinton may not have been convicted when he was impeached for his lies about an external affair, but the many jokes made at his expense reminded him that we are not entirely accepting of what he did. Irreverent humor can help demystify and check some of the unacceptable behaviors of corrupt and venal politicians.

Comedians and cartoonists operate as a disloyal opposition; a kind of third party maintaining the negative campaign long after the election is over. Through humor, they can raise objections or question the sincerity, honesty, integrity, and the lack of transparency of those in office.

We laugh at politicians because politics can be deadly serious. Humor can relieve some of the tension that is all too present in public affairs. The effective politician has to be able to take a joke and to tell jokes about his or her own mistakes to let people know he or she is human. A politician who can poke fun at him or herself earns our respect. "There is an art to politics," notes Klein (2007), "and neither Kerry nor Gore had it" (234). Neither John Kerry nor Al Gore could tell a joke or come across as especially spontaneous, endearing, or real.

Few things are worse for a politician than to be called “humorless” or, worse, “absolutely humorless.” Ralph Nader, Jimmy Carter, Richard Nixon, and Lindsey Graham were so tagged. “He’s just a total joke” might be even more damaging. Still, Will Rogers repeatedly warned, “the trouble with practical jokes is that very often they get elected.” Most people are bored and bewildered by politics and politicians. Lawmaking, policymaking, and diplomacy are slow moving, tedious, and hard to follow. Political humor typically focuses on the negative. Unattractive foibles, negative traits, as well as lies and mistakes, invite mocking. We want to (and need to) laugh at misery, failure, and sleaze so as to lessen their effects on us. Negativity is simply more interesting to us than positive news. This is why, sadly, negative ads and campaigns work so well. Thus the sinister refrain in recent elections, “If you can’t say anything nice about a candidate, by God, let’s hear it!” (Cronin, 2004, para. 1).

A day rarely goes by when rival politicians aren’t accusing one another of being “political.” You don’t hear doctors accusing one another of being “medical,” or a good writer accusing a fellow colleague of “being a writer.” If in being political, a politician—by definition—is being disingenuous, then only humor can mend our wounds. We thus invite self-mocking when politics is seen as self-loathing.

Humor as Teacher, Pain-Reliever, Weapon, or Insult?

Someone once said that freedom encourages jokes, and conversely that jokes encourage freedom. George Orwell noted that every joke “is a tiny revolution” in that whatever diminishes the dignity or levels those in power can be both funny and liberating (Adams, 2005, 12). But Alexander Rose (2001), after analyzing joking in authoritarian regimes such as Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, suggests that jokes there were rarely tiny revolutions. They were “temporary pain relievers serving as a substitute for being allowed to participate in real politics” (68). Yet the most useful political humor makes us laugh not only at politicians but at life and ourselves. Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* and Woody Allen films do precisely this. March (March & Weil, 2005) writes:

> Cervantes glorifies laughter, not because comedy must serve a serious aim, such as teaching us something, but because laughter is fundamental. It allows us to go beyond our tragic condition, to understand the human condition better by recognizing that life is intrinsically funny. . . . Don Quixote celebrates imagination, commitment, and joy. He reminds us of how ambiguous reality is and how it can be subject to humorous interpretations. He thus makes us aware of certain absurdities in the life of a leader. . . [and] the comic nature of the posturing and pretention of leaders. (90–91)

Humor can also misinform and encourage bigotry, hate, and needless denigration. Lewis (2006) rightly warns that just as is the case with raunchy sexist jokes or mean-spirited ethnic jokes, political humor can be lethal, can misinform, and can just as easily help us deny than cope with our societal problems.

Thus attack humor, like negative political ads, can be divisive, yet they can also be effective. Lewis (2006) reminds us that "At its most insidious, humor can put us into a nonserious frame of mind about matters we urgently need to take seriously" (205).

On the Necessity of Politics and Politicians

Laughing at politics is natural, inevitable, and usually desirable. But laughter can also trivialize and perhaps demonize the essential enterprise of politics. And as journalist Dionne (2004) writes: "A nation that hates politics will not long survive as a democracy." (3). Does political humor help us "put up" with the uglier side of politics, or does it demean and destroy both our politics as well as our politicians, thus preventing us from constructively engaging in the necessary and, at times, honorable work of politics and community building?

Relentless negative ads, innuendo humor, and trash-talking pundits have succeeded in mocking politics and politicians. A steady diet of attack humor doubtless encourages the cynical "Don't vote, it only encourages them" attitude.

So let us laugh at politics and politicians and salute the humorists like Molly Ivins and Art Buchwald, but let us also respect the inevitability, necessity, and desirability of politics and politicians. We will continue to ask of politicians to

accomplish the impossible. They, in turn, will struggle and sometimes succeed, and we will form our judgments and predictably laugh at their failures.

Politics is a rough, tough, ceaselessly demanding profession. We force our politicians to perpetual self-promotion and then knowingly place them in many a no-win situation and mock them for what we often wrongly assume they can do. What this may suggest is that we are as much the hypocrites as the politicians, and, in the end, *that* may be the real joke.

Political humor can take many forms, but one of the most common—and effective—is parody. Often seen in sketch comedy (e.g., *SNL*), *parody* involves a comedian taking the persona of another in order to amusingly imitate or mock that person. As communications expert Hariman (2008) writes, "parodic techniques involve various combinations of imitation and alteration: direct quotation, alternation of words, textual rearrangement, substitution of subjects or characters, shifts in diction, shifts in class, shifts in magnitude, etc." (250). In particular, Hariman notes that "when the weight of authority is converted into an image, resistance and other kinds of response become more available to more people" (254). Will Ferrell mocking George W. Bush's fumbling style and Tina Fey ridiculing Sarah Palin are good examples of this type of humor.

Satire can also be an effective form of political humor. In *satire,* one takes on the persona of another in order to exaggerate and thereby expose the absurdity of that person. Stephen Colbert does this by "becoming" a Bill O'Reilly on his Comedy Central show *The Colbert Report.* Of course, as Roth (1971) noted more than 50 years ago, it is hard to do satire in America because reality can be so absurd that it soon outdoes the satire one is attempting.

George W. Bush: Humor, Image, and Power

"There are two things I admire about George W. Bush: his face."
—Old recycled political joke

"Madame, if I had another, do you really think that I'd be wearing this one?"
—Abraham Lincoln, in answer to a woman accusing him of being two-faced (Leidner, 2015, 88)

With this brief introduction to the uses and abuses of political humor, we can now turn to the central subject at hand: how humor was used against George W. Bush, its impact on his public image, and the role it played in Bush's power.

1. George W. Bush was mocked repeatedly and unmercifully in the popular media, and virtually all the humorous parodies of President Bush stressed his lack of intelligence, fractured syntax, bumbling and fumbling sentence structure, and Texas cowboy image, creating a clean and simple narrative: Bush is dumb!

One cringes with the thought that George W. Bush's two daughters watched *Saturday Night Live.* Famously portrayed as a moron, a pseudo-cowboy, a puppet, and a daddy's boy, other than Bill Clinton—another rich and deserving target—"43" was, at least after 2004, relentlessly mocked, abused, and skewered by late-night comedians and cable TV programs, as well as in the movies.

The tragic events of 9/11 rallied the media behind the president, and for about two years or so, made humor directed at George Bush tantamount to treason. But as the war in Iraq turned bad, and the president's popularity dropped, he once again became an inviting target for political humor.

Will Ferrell mocked him as a moron on *Saturday Night Live* (*SNL*), and Comedy Central aired (before 9/11) a sitcom *That's My Bush,* featuring a dim bulb of a president modeled after Bush. Late-night comedians Jay Leno, David Letterman, Craig Ferguson, and others regularly (as they did with other presidents) directed their undeniable talents at the president. Oliver Stone made a feature-length film (*W.*, 2008) starring Josh Brolin as a daddy-obsessed failure. Comedy Central aired an animated satire entitled *Lil' Bush* (with Bush as a child, along with Lil' Cheney, Lil' Condi, and others), and *South Park* and *The Simpsons* regularly featured Bush in less than a positive light (Kingsley, 2011). Political cartoonist Garry Trudeau's *Doonesbury* featured Bush as a cowboy hat atop an asterisk (after 9/11, the cowboy hat was replaced with a Roman military helmet atop an asterisk).

On *SNL,* Will Ferrell played Bush as a lovable oaf, a well-meaning fool. It was a character the viewers liked, even if he was not admired. Did this character's

likability—derived in part perhaps from Ferrell's humorous but somewhat sympathetic portrayal—help voters warm up to the real Bush? Had Ferrell portrayed Bush as an angry, harsh, or unlikable figure, the humor might not have worked. When Ferrell walked on camera as Bush, viewers smiled, they did not sneer. So, did *SNL* swing the 2000 and/or 2004 elections to Bush?

The composite portrait of George W. Bush is one of an intellectually challenged, immature daddy's boy, utterly incapable of putting together a series of coherent sentences, not to mention govern a nation.

Did this matter? While beginning his presidency with a 50% approval rating, Bush's public approval ratings soared after 9/11, reaching the 90% mark—the highest ever recorded for a U.S. president—and hovering in the 80% range for two years. Bush's ratings began to decline steadily as the war in Iraq—along with the justifications for that war—shattered. By 2006, Bush fell to the 40% level, and in 2008, after the Great Recession, his approval rating fell to 22%. When he left office, his popularity was below 20%—a record low to go along with his 2001 record high (American Presidency Project, n.d.).

By 2006, the "Bush is dumb" image prevailed. The old narrative of strength, determination, and power gave way to a new narrative: Bush as the fumbling, bumbling village idiot.

2. President Bush was a comedic enabler, reportedly giving humorists ammunition that could be used against him.

George W. Bush hand-delivered all the comedic ammunition the comedy world needed to skewer him. His "is our children learning?" bumbled syntax and malapropisms were a comedian's dream. He was an easy target because he supplied a never-ending stream of bloopers nearly every time he spoke.

Although born in Connecticut to a family of old money, earning degrees from Northeastern Ivy League universities, Bush adopted the persona of the Texas cowboy. He developed a Texas twang, dropped the "g" at the end of most words (e.g., "talkin'" and "thinkin'"), cultivated a walk that was more of an exaggerated swagger, and developed a folksy style that was very appealing to his political base. But was it the real George W. Bush? Real, cultivated, developed, or

earned, Bush became a cowboy who mangled the English language and was easily portrayed as a caricature of himself.

3. Bush was *not* dumb.

George W. Bush often appeared dumb, but dumb he was not. While often satirized as being an intellectual lightweight, Bush was by no means the oaf he was portrayed as. While no official Bush IQ score has been released, serious scholars have provided estimates. Bush earned a respectable 1206 on his SATs, which roughly translates into a 120 IQ. Simonton (2006) estimated Bush's IQ to be 124. Additionally, the president earned a BA from Yale University and an MBA from Harvard University.

4. The popular image of Bush as a dumb person lulled his adversaries into a false sense that they could outfox him, allowing Bush to often outflank his rivals.

Was George W. Bush "an Eisenhower" who exercised a "hidden hand" brand of leadership while appearing to be a bumbler? No. Bush's leadership—especially post 9/11—was anything but hidden-handed. He exercised leadership with a sledgehammer, barking, "I'm the decider."

Was Bush "a Reagan," called, as well as seen, by many as an amicable dunce who nonetheless often managed to get the best of his political adversaries? Perhaps a bit. But George W. Bush was, in the end, George W. Bush, exercising his own brand of leadership best characterized as "damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead." After 9/11, he was able to easily roll over adversaries. This was due largely to context, as 9/11 opened a door to power through which Bush was not at all shy about marching. His adversaries—for a time at least—offered little to no resistance as the crisis presidency of 9/11 made Bush all but untouchable.

This seeming paradox—that Bush was dumb yet so often seemed to get his way—was a political asset for Bush. He was repeatedly "misunderestimated" (as one "Bushism" has it) by his adversaries. This paradox also formed the core dilemma in David Hare's play *Stuff Happens.* As political scientist Altschuler (2010) wrote:

> Hare's curiosity was piqued by the contradiction between the popular stereotype of Bush as not particularly bright and his ability to prevail over others seen as far more intelligent. "I wanted to write the story of how a supposedly stupid man completely gets his way with two supposedly clever men," Hare explained, referring to Secretary of State Colin Powell and British Prime Minister Tony Blair, "and wins repeatedly." (89)

This caused Hare to reassess his view of Bush, who in the play is portrayed as "a lively and skilled manipulator who plays the role of a bumbling pseudo-Texan but constantly achieves his desired ends" (Altschuler, 2010, 93–94). Hare was not alone in this reassessment.

5. Clearly, President Bush was not dumb, and yet he made a host of mistakes.

How, indeed, do we come to grips with the failure of the Bush presidency? Having dispelled the "Bush is dumb" myth, how did the president and his team of smart, experienced men and women blunder so badly? Tuchman (1984) provides us with a useful approach for understanding the failures of government:

> A phenomenon noticeable throughout history regardless of place or period is the pursuit by governments of policies contrary to their own interests. Mankind, it seems, makes a poorer performance of government than of almost any other human activity. In this sphere, wisdom, which may be defined as the exercise of judgment acting on experience, common sense and available information, is less operative and more frustrated than it should be. Why do holders of high office so often act contrary to the way reason points and enlightened self-interest suggests? Why does intelligent mental process seem so often not to function? (7)

Tuchman's (1984) answer is that governments exhibit a persistent pattern of "wooden-headedness," defined as "assessing a situation in terms of preconceived fixed notions while ignoring or rejecting any contrary signs. It is acting according to wish while not allowing oneself to be deflected by the facts" (7). Bush's presidency seemed a close fit to Tuchman's definition.

I would argue that four factors help us understand the failures of the Bush presidency, and without giving precise weight to these factors, they combine to provide a partial answer to this question.

- George W. Bush was intelligent in an IQ sense, yet lacked the emotional intelligence necessary for good judgment. He was intellectually lazy and thus had a stunted intellectual growth. He was smart but incurious; he had a respectable IQ but seemed not to exert himself or work to develop his intelligence.
- Throughout his life, Bush ventured and lost, yet never seemed to feel the sting of his failures, thus he was robbed of the lessons he might otherwise have learned had he suffered the consequences of his mistakes. When he was arrested on a DUI charge in 1976, he paid a small fine and the story disappeared. When he failed in the oil business, his father's friends bailed him out. He never paid a price for failure, so he did not learn the valuable lesson it might have taught him. Skating through life is not really living life—not fully, at least. One can easily develop a sense of entitlement or idea that this charmed life is God's own doing and easily slip into hubris.
- Bush relied on *faith* over *evidence*, *belief* over *reason*. The story of Bush finding God and changing his ways at 40 rings true. Yet, one can go too far in placing it all on faith. After all, who among us can truly understand God's plan? No, we must do the hard work of thinking and do our best to rely on reason in decision making. Strongly held beliefs can obscure rather than enlighten, and Bush's faith-based decision making was nowhere more evident, and nowhere more damaging, then in the decisions leading to the war in Iraq.
- Bush has a bit of a daddy complex. His father was a decorated Navy pilot in World War II; W. had a questionable stint in the National Guard. His father was a member and captain of the Yale baseball team that went to the College World Series twice; W. was a cheerleader. His father was a successful businessman; W. failed at several business ventures. In Iraq, W. seemed determined to win or finish the job his father had—to W.—only just begun. Living in the extended shadows of a highly accomplished father is a challenge under any circumstance. In the harsh glare of the presidential

spotlight, it can be debilitating. George W. Bush did not seem up to the task.

Not Funny!

"Everything human is pathetic. The secret source of Humor itself is not joy but sorrow. There is no humor in heaven."
—Mark Twain (1897/2011, 55)

The question remains: if George W. Bush was not dumb, why did he make such monumental blunders? I refer here to (a) the response to Hurricane Katrina, (b) the decision to go to war in Iraq, (c) the prosecution of the war in Iraq, and (d) the collapse of the economy. The first three fiascos rest on the shoulders of the president; the fourth involves wider blame. Regardless, why so many blunders?

Did Bush have a dysfunctional advisory system? While he relied too heavily on his vice president in his first six years, the people were not the tipping point problem. Nor was the quality of his advisors who were generally qualified and experienced.

Might the culprit be the "system," the Madisonian construction of checks and balances embedded into the separation of powers? While this often proves a reliable gauge in explaining why President X failed to achieve his goals, in the case of George W. Bush, this does not apply, as the crisis of 9/11 expanded Bush's power and gave him enormous—and only marginally checked—powers. Bush had the power to get his way, and he was anything but shy about using that power (Genovese, 2012).

Were there psychological factors at work that warped Bush's decision making? Was there some sort of Oedipus complex at work? Was he trying to outperform his more successful father? While some may see an Oedipus complex at work here—and the evidence does suggest it, it is simply too far a leap to draw this conclusion.

Plato (380 BC/2013) argued that leaders had to go through extensive and laborious training in order to be successful. While coming from a wealthy, politically active family, George W. Bush had limited experience when he won the

presidency. Was that the problem? Was Bush, as his critics charged, lacking in political skill? In many ways, Bush seemed a natural politician, comfortable making decisions ("I'm the decider") and willing to make political changes as he deemed necessary. Bush was able to gain key legislative victories *before* 9/11 on education reform and tax cuts, and he even reached across partisan divides to promote his legislative agenda (see Lammers, Genovese, & Belt, 2014).

Machiavelli (1532/2011) warned leaders that they must not ignore the lessons of the past, and to guide their actions by the lives of the great leaders of the past. Did Bush ignore this advice? While he did not demonstrate a keen knowledge of the past, Bush (2010) went to great lengths to let us know that he was a voracious reader, claiming that he and advisor Karl Rove "squared off in a book reading contest" (52). He also once noted that his favorite philosopher was Jesus Christ, and that his model was not his father, but Ronald Reagan. Yet, it is hard to see any of these influences in his behavior as president. He more often ignored the lessons of the past, preferring an ad hoc, fly-by-the-seat-of-your-pants style of leadership.

Abbott (2013) argues that we can understand and evaluate the "bad presidents" by applying standards established by Shakespeare. In his historical plays, Shakespeare presents three "categories of badness": badness as *ineptness*, badness as *ruthlessness*, and badness as *impotence* (201). Abbott suggests that given the Bush response to Katrina, the road leading to the invasion of Iraq, and the inept prosecution of the war, *ineptness* best characterizes the Bush presidency.

As the rationale for invading Iraq fell apart, Bush was left with little to do but jump from reason to reason: WMDs, Hussein linked to 9/11, bringing democracy to the Middle East. Had he "pre-decided," force feeding the data into his preconceived conclusions? This disturbing possibility raises several questions about the "ineptness" of Bush. This is especially alarming when one compares the presidential decision making of the father to the hasty and ill-conceived decision making of the son. While there are many causes of presidential failure

according to Pious (2008), in this case, the failure squarely points to Bush the "decider."

How, in the end, are we to judge the presidency of George W. Bush? As Sherlock Holmes would say, "eliminate all the other factors and the one which remains must be the truth" (Doyle, 1890). What remains?

Three factors stand out when we are explaining the failures of the Bush presidency:

- Bush was incurious and intellectually lazy. He was not "dumb" as the late-night narrative suggested; he merely did not fully develop or use his intellectual and cognitive tools.
- The previous factor led Bush to exhibit a careless ineptitude seen in his responses to Katrina and the prosecution of the war in Iraq.
- Bush was a faith-based, not an evidence-based, decision maker. Compare his father's decisions in the first Gulf War (evidence and reason based) to those of George W. Bush.

Bush's sin was not that he was dumb, but, for worse, that he was lazy and ill prepared. His wasted youth—so unlike the wild youth of Shakespeare's Henry V, who used his experiences to grow—did not prepare him for the heavy lifting required of the president. He was a perpetual child who, in confronting the pressures of 9/11, could not fully rise to the occasion because he had so very far to go.

Conclusion

Humor did not bring George W. Bush down. George W. Bush brought George W. Bush down. While riding high at 90% approval with nearly limitless power, comedy might have (should have?) taken the president down a notch or two. But it did not, and perhaps could not. The public *needed* a Superman in the White House, and they suspended disbelief, eschewed humor, and gave of themselves to the savior for whom they hungered.

Comedy can puncture, perhaps even wound, but even when speaking the truth, it is no match for a popular president, a blindly supportive public, and a helpless

opposition and a determination to be a war president. That is real power, and comedy is not even a pretender.

Two wars and an economic recession brought down George W. Bush. In the end, when his hapless image caught up with him and the public embraced a "Bush is dumb" narrative, it was far too little and far too late. Bush's failures made that narrative believable, even necessary.

Did the skewering of George W. Bush *cause* his decline, or did it *reflect* his decline? Certainly, Bush got a free pass from comedians after 9/11, but that free pass could last only for so long. By 2003, the comedy directed at Bush got sharper and more frequent. As his policies met with a certain amount of failure, the Bush parodies may have marginally accelerated this swift and drastic decline.

Of course, the consequences of the Bush presidency are anything but funny. Be it the two wars, an economic meltdown, the narrowing of constitutional rights, the "outing" of CIA official Valerie Plame, or the misleading of the public about Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction, the Bush years proved as damaging for the nation as they were beneficial to our nation's comedians. Amid such debilitating events, humor can be a healthy and cleansing antidote to the harsh reality on the ground.

Humor may soften the blow, but does it also distract? Does it make the intolerable tolerable? Does it give us comfort when events should make us uncomfortable? Is any political joke a mini-rebellion, or, to paraphrase Marx, is humor the opiate of the masses? Is humor truly a politician's best friend?

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