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University College Cork, Ireland Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

Perceptions of Leadership in the Public Library: A Transnational Study

John Mullins, Dip. in Librarianship, BA, MComm

A thesis submitted for a degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the National University of Ireland Cork

Department of Management and Marketing Faculty of Commerce National University of Ireland Cork

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June 2004

The author hereby declares that, except where duly acknowledged, this thesis is entirely his own work and has not been submitted for any degree in the National University of Ireland, or in any other University

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SUMMARY

This study explores the topic of leadership as perceived and practised by public library leaders. Library leaders have a wide-ranging impact on society but have been largely overlooked as the subject of serious study. Prior to this study, only one small *interview*-based study and five *survey*-based studies have been undertaken on public library leaders/leadership — all in North America. No study on the topic has been researched and published outside of North America. The current study is the most in-depth study to date, drawing on face-to-face interviews with thirty public library leaders. As this study was undertaken in three national jurisdictions — Ireland, Britain, and America — it is also the first transnational study on the topic.

The study investigates library leaders' perceptions of leadership, and critically explores if head librarians distinguish classic leadership from management practices, both conceptually and in their work lives. In addition to exploring core leadership issues, such as positive or negative traits, the study also investigates the perceptions of library leaders on matters closely connected with their careers. The study investigates the impact of public library leaders on their followers and on the broader society they serve.

This study of the perceptions of senior public library leaders, across national boundaries, makes a theoretical contribution not just to leadership in librarianship, but also to the broader theory of library and information science, and in a limited way to the broad corpus of literature on organizational leadership. The study aims to develop an understanding of the perceptions of current leaders in the field of public librarianship.

The results of the study show that leadership is a relatively scarce quality in public libraries in Ireland, Britain, and America. Many public library leaders focus on management and administration issues rather than leadership. The study also illustrates that varying leadership styles are practised by the interviewed librarians, and that there are no universal or common traits, even within national boundaries, for effective public library leadership. The implications of the study for both practising librarians and research literatures in librarianship and organizational leadership are also explored and a future research agenda developed.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The most important thing for a leader is to be a human manager. Liam Ronayne, Cork City Librarian, 2004

No management success can compensate for failure in leadership. Covey, 1990: 102

1:0 Introduction

This study presents new findings on public library leadership, based on empirical data from in-depth interviews with thirty senior library leaders in Ireland, Britain, and the United States. The findings are critically examined in the context of recent literature on leadership and on librarianship. The research addresses (i) the paucity of studies on public library leadership, and (ii) an apparent paucity of leadership practice in libraries. A distinction between leadership and management/administration of public libraries forms part of this inquiry. Along with examining *theories* of leadership, the *application* of leadership at the hierarchical top, in the public library service, forms the essential field focus of this study.

This chapter provides an overview of the study. First, a rationale for the study is presented, in essence, the lack of research in the area of public library leadership. This is followed by a subsection on the lack of professional research by practising librarians. The second section draws on the literature in order to present arguments on the importance of leadership to librarianship. The third section examines the importance of the public library, particularly the library's role in enhancing the lives of individuals and society. Finally, the fourth section discusses the research focus and theoretical contributions of the study.

1:1 Rationale for the Study

Preliminary investigation into the subject area for this study included bibliographical searches and informal contact with academics in Irish and British university colleges of librarianship. That investigation into the status of any recent studies on the topic of leadership in public librarianship in Britain or Ireland elicited replies stating that there was none. One academic mentioned a study, two decades old, *The Public Library and the Local Authority: Organization and Management* by Lomer and Rogers (1983). Their work, however, focused on management processes rather than leadership. Their report addressed organizational issues concerning public libraries in England and Wales after the reorganization of local government in 1974, or "How... the different forms of local authority organizational structures and management processes affect the operation of the public library service" (Lomer & Rogers, 1983: 1). The report, however, did *not* examine the topic of leadership.

Only six studies on library leaders in North America have been reported in the literature. Incidentally, the first four of these studies had chronological overlaps with their total fieldwork confined to a four-year time frame from 1987 to 1990:

- Gertzog (1990, 1992), in a two-part survey, circulated during 1987-8, asked respondents to nominate librarians who should qualify as the top sixteen library leaders in America, based on notoriety, etc. The second part of her survey was sent to a different cohort of librarians, who voted on a second list of sixteen foremost American library leaders. Some nominees overlapped on both counts, providing a total of twenty-four different nominees as the 'top' American library leaders. Interestingly, only two *public* library leaders were included among these top twenty-four nominees. Gertzog concluded that 'the public library field may have become more insular and inward looking' whereas originally public libraries were looked to as exemplars for developing the wider field of librarianship.
- Crismond and Leisner (1988) reported on a telephone-based survey they conducted with just *nine* public library leaders in the United States during **1988**. That narrow-focus survey was undertaken 'to determine what traits were most important in making a library leader'. They concluded that 'there is not a single formula for a library leader; rather, several

components combine to enable an individual to make a difference' (1988: 122-3).

- Sheldon (1991, 1992) conducted a series of brief interviews, using only five-questions, with thirteen public library leaders - among a larger interview pool of sixty librarians from all library sectors - during 1987-**1990.** The objective of Sheldon's study was to replicate the research methodology of Bennis and Nanus (1985). Her study sought to determine whether Bennis and Nanus's findings concerning the characteristics of corporate leaders were also applicable to library leaders. The five investigated interviewees' strengths/weaknesses, questions major influences on their management styles, major career decisions, their views of being mentored, and the future of the profession. Sheldon concluded, inter alia, that differences, if any, between corporate and library leaders were insignificant.
- Durrance and Van Fleet (1992) reported on their telephone-based survey of *twenty-three* public library leaders in the United States, conducted in February and March **1990**. The focus of their study was on change in the public library and on the apparent direction being undertaken by public libraries at the beginning of the last decade of the twentieth century. Their respondents concluded that the major changes they envisaged were concerned with: librarians' increasing access to information technology; responding to community needs; the marketing of the service; and, responding to limited funding.
- Cottam (1994) reported on his six-question survey of just *eight* public library leaders, among a total of thirty library leaders whom he surveyed in **1993**, to investigate how their roles, functions and activities changed over the previous five to ten years. He reported that directors increasingly spend time responding to 'social shifts' (e.g., lifelong learning trends, diversity issues, economic changes, technical changes) and on external environmental factors (e.g., communicating externally, strategic planning for external changes, and professional association leadership) instead of the traditional focus on internal managerial matters (1994: 17-19).
- Osborne's (1996) Master of Public Administration study, in **1995**, was based on a 14-point questionnaire that sought the views of board members and senior staff on their chief librarians, in fifty-four public

libraries in Ontario. Osborne did not survey the library leaders themselves. His survey found that chief librarians were perceived most successful in the traditional management functions of planning, organizing, directing, and controlling. The lowest ratings were given for the leaders' creativity, interpersonal relationships, communicating, securing commitment of staff, wisdom and perception, working cooperatively, and formulating clear policies. In summary, the Ontario librarians were evaluated more positively on management competence than with respect to the leadership qualities of vision, interpersonal relations, and creativity.

As the empirical work for these six North American studies was confined to the eight years from 1987 to 1995, the current study updates and broadens their findings. Significantly, only one of the above studies (Sheldon) was based on face-to-face interviewing, using a modest five-point questionnaire with thirteen public librarians. More significantly, the current work, based on its thirty-point questionnaire with thirty participants, appears to be the most in-depth study on public library leadership conducted worldwide to date. Of particular significance is that this study appears to be the only study on public library leadership conducted North America.

1:1.1 Paucity of Empirical Research on Public Library Leadership

Karp and Murdock (1998) suggest, "Leadership as a concept in the profession of librarianship seems not to be concretely acknowledged as a legitimate entity that merits clearly identified discussion and definition" (1998: 251). When Winston (2001) claims that "Effective leadership in the public library has been addressed in the literature, often in relation to its role as a public institution", he is referring to studies confined to the United States. Winston further states that these public library studies have focused primarily on "those who are in senior positions", and that "In some instances, these individuals have been surveyed in order to determine their perceptions regarding factors such as the role of mentorship in their career development" [e.g., Chatman (1992)] — rather than on the topic of leadership (Winston, 2001: 27). The current study aims to expand these investigations, for the first time, beyond national boundaries and across a broader perspective on leadership.

Osborne (1996) affirms the importance of leadership for public libraries:

Libraries, like other public organizations, require effective leadership in order to provide quality service. The library is arguably one of the most heavily used public services in any community, and this level of use only continues to grow (1996: 21).

Riggs (2001b) declares:

For too long, libraries have been over-managed and under-led. If this practice continues, libraries are headed for big trouble! Leadership in libraries can no longer be pushed aside and ignored; it must be brought to centre stage, and treated with a capital L. Without strong, dynamic, and visionary leadership, libraries are certain to drift backward into the future (2001b: 5).

Riggs, nevertheless, endeavours to point out that it would be erroneous to "imply that one cannot be both a good manager and a fine leader", adding that "Competent managers are extremely important to our libraries" and that "Many library leaders were first effective managers". Since, however, he argues that libraries "are under-led", he concludes, "It is quite obvious we must give greater emphasis to library leadership" (2001b: 7). Similarly, Karp and Murdock (1998) contend that "Libraries, as organizations, are not exempt from the necessity of leadership but are very much in need of it due to the demands of orchestrating the large variety of services that a library provides" (1998: 256). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) argue that it is "critical to develop leadership within the library profession at this particular time", adding that while "leadership within the profession has always been important, the hyper speed of changes in information services now demands libraries that are lean, mobile and strategic" [emphases in original]. "They must be *lean* to meet expanding customer expectations within the confines of limited budgets; mobile to move quickly and easily with technological and other innovations; and strategic to anticipate and plan for market changes" (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 36). Mech (1998) focuses on the indispensability of leadership within professions, which "thrive or die, depending on the vision, adaptability, and leadership of their members" (1998: ix).

Kanungo and Mendonca (1996) affirmed that the study of organizational leadership along cross-cultural dimensions has received little attention (1996:

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106). Li (2001) also suggests, "Further empirical and non-empirical research needs to be carried out in the study of the concept of leadership, rather than limiting to a few countries" (2001: 184). The current study addresses this lack by adding new cultural perspectives from Ireland and Britain to the little already written about American public library leaders. The current study also attempts to make a contribution, albeit in a specific field, to redress the imbalance of what Peterson and Hunt (1997) termed the "American academic colonialism" of the study of leadership (1997: 203).

In the field of library studies, Sheldon (1991) observed that "very little has been done in our field on leadership" (1991: 3). In the mid-1990s, Casey (1996) observed that "library and information research features relatively low in the scale of priorities" in the context of Ireland's national funding of research, and he suggested that public and other libraries "are typically concerned with operational rather than research activities". Casey added, however, despite "minuscule" national funding, "the EU Libraries Programme has had a profoundly positive effect on the advancement of research in Irish libraries" (1996: 22). This funding aided practical research on projects, such as: adult literacy projects, healthcare information, business information, a project on the preservation of newspapers on microfilm, and the promotion of advanced telecommunications services (Casey, 1996: 22-5).

Riggs (2001*a*) reports that the lack of academic study is not confined to the *public* library service, as "the contribution to the research/professional literature by the leaders of North American academic libraries is relatively insignificant". His conclusion — that, "Intellectually, the profession will suffer from the absence of the directors' insights, reflections, and assessments" (2001*a*: 212-3) — is also relevant in the case of public libraries. The current study aims to contribute to addressing this challenge by presenting a representative sample of insights, reflections, and assessments from the participating public library sample and the profession and assessments.

Neal (1995) argued that "Librarians have a fundamental responsibility to contribute to professional communication" (1995: 199). As well as individual librarians benefiting from their own research, he suggests that library institutions will secure important staff knowledge as a result. Argyris & Schön (1996) suggest that such sharing of knowledge contributes to *organizational learning*, wherein knowledge can spread throughout an organization, influence the day-to-

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day and strategic life of the organization, and survive through staff changes. Interestingly, Neal opines that librarians are "too often information practitioners surviving in an information-poor profession, in spite of significant outlets for publishing". He also believes that librarians have a certain cynicism and guilt "because of the predominance of 'glad tydings and testimonials'" in the literature of librarianship (1995: 200). Neal asserts that this is made worse since "Too much important information produced in libraries and by librarians never gets shared or applied beyond the local level". He believes that to successfully redress these organizational deficiencies, "Libraries must support the research and publishing activities of librarians." (Neal, 1995: 200).

Winston and Neely (2001), after surveying 150 *junior* librarians with an average of eight years' library experience in the Unites States, including 66 staff from public librarians, all of whom had attended a 'leadership training' course, concluded that: "More empirical research is needed... to identify and illuminate the differences and importance of all leadership characteristics within librarianship and its many facets" (2001: 31). This reflects Durrance and Van Fleet, a decade earlier, who found that public librarians complained that researchers on public librarianship "do not pay enough attention to research needs articulated by public librarians" (1992: 118), and that:

The field's need for research support is great; however, communications between researchers and librarians is limited. Public librarians do not regularly come to researchers for assistance in planning and evaluating services designed to respond to changing community needs. Likewise, library education researchers tend not to choose research problems based on needs articulated by public librarians. The fault for this lack of communication lies with both groups; however, partnerships between such researchers and librarians can contribute to making libraries more effective community resources and can help librarians effectively anticipate and respond to a wide range of community needs (Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 118).

Riggs (2001*b*) asks, "Why are we not giving greater attention to, writing more about, and talking more about library leadership?", and he adds, "This question deserves an answer now!" (2001*b*: 16). The current research involved senior librarians, reporting on their perceptions of their leadership skills. Bass (1990) observed that many studies of chief executive officers (CEOs) rely on interviews with CEOs about themselves. Five of the thirty questions in the current study

ask about the leader's *own* leadership style and methods. The remaining questions deal with their views generally on library leadership. Bass suggested that "CEOs are likely to be highly selectively biased in their self-descriptions", but added that, "This is not to say that the leaders' self-descriptions are necessarily incorrect and the colleagues' descriptions of the leaders are necessarily correct", especially where the two views on the leader, one from the leader and the other from the subordinate, are at variance with each other (1990: 889). Bass declared, "leaders' perceptions, attributions, cognitions, and opinions will continue to be of considerable research importance" (1990: 890).

1:1.2 Lack of Research by Practising Librarians

Riggs (2001b) reports that his monograph, Library Leadership: Visualizing the Future (1982), was the first on the topic of library leadership. While researching for this pioneering book, he observed "a noticeable scarcity" of published material on leadership in librarianship, while at the same time "there were many articles and books written on and about leadership in other professions". This led him to ask, "Why do we librarians not like to talk or write about leadership?" (2001b: 7). While Rogers and Shoemaker (1983) found that opinion leaders tend to be active members of associations, Durrance and Van Fleet reported, however, that the public library leaders whom they interviewed "do more public speaking than writing", and, "Some lament that they have not had enough time Molholt (1998), noting such paucity, criticizes the to write" (1992: 32). profession for its lack of 'research-mindedness'. Powell, Baker, & Mika (2002) assert, "Research by library and information science (LIS) practitioners is needed to create new knowledge and thereby contribute to the growth of LIS as a profession or discipline", and they also report that "some LIS practitioners do not take research seriously and have difficulty in understanding original research" (2002: 49, 50). The current study, by a practising librarian, addresses this challenge, as it aims to contribute to the profession (i) by sharing its findings with fellow librarians, and (ii) by contributing to, and acting as a catalyst for, further studies on leadership in librarianship. The research is firmly grounded on the realities of empirical data, from experienced practitioners in a very public profession providing a service that is available to all members of society. As Hernon and Schwartz (1993) asserted, "Research is not an activity that occurs

at the fringes of the field. Rather, it is central to the continued development of library and information science as a profession" (1993: 116).

Bennis (1997) argues that there is a crisis in leadership worldwide which, he believes, is one of the most dangerous threats we face today, particularly since the threat is neither recognized nor understood. Bennis asks if there is a fear of creative leadership, together with cynicism, complacency, and inaction towards leadership — any of which can discourage persons to become leaders. Riggs (2001b) expresses bewilderment over librarians doing little to address such concerns in writing. In a challenge to librarians, Riggs asks, "How many library and information science books do you know that were published during the past five years that contain the word 'leadership' in their titles?... Can you name three library and information science journal articles published during the past five years with the word 'leadership' in their titles?", and "why does someone not begin a new journal entitled Library Leadership?" (2001b: 7-8). Riggs also commented that while business schools are now providing leadership classes, library schools are teaching management classes. These observations led him to declare a "wake-up call" to librarians to take leadership as a serious "part of our daily working lives", since he believes that not enough is being done to prevent "an unconscious conspiracy against library leadership" (2001b: 8).

1:2 Importance of Leadership in Librarianship

Winston (2001) asserts, "One of the major issues facing organizations in the 21st century will relate to the need for effective and proactive leadership" (2001: 20). Munitz (1999) suggests, "change today is driven by technology, and not by policy" (1999: 1). In these new circumstances, it is apparent that library leaders need to fundamentally review visions and strategies "in the face of aggressive societal transformation and rapidly changing technology" (Glogoff, 2001: 62). Davis and Meyer (1998), likewise, contend that new organizational models are being driven by rapid changes dictated by digital economies, requiring organizational restructuring that promotes adaptability (1998: 120). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) insist that "transformation in library and information services demands intrepid leadership". They add, "Within the profession, we see excitement for boundless possibilities, mingled with apprehension about which directions to pursue". This accompanies leaders' "own fears about being

up to the task" (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 35). These apprehensions reflect leadership in the private sector, as articulated by a Fortune 500 leader who asserted: "If you're not confused, you don't know what's going on" (in Bennis, 1999b: 21). Brophy (2001) confirms that the field of librarianship is not immune to this general organizational malaise: "For everyone involved in libraries, these are confusing times" (2001: xv). Schreiber and Shannon argue that libraries now require "leadership which moves away from the bureaucratic paternal/ maternal model of the past to a more fluid, engaging, and collaborative one" (2001: 36). Needham (2001) too contends that libraries need to engage in institutional change because they "need to make the leap into this new world, to continue to contribute to the intellectual growth of our communities" (2001: 134).

Winston and Neely (2001) insist, because of the multitude of issues facing public libraries now and in the future, that "public libraries require effective leadership in terms of developing and promoting vision, identifying priorities, handling competitors, and providing information services needed by a changing, diverse, and increasingly technologically savvy user population" (2001: 15-6). Reflecting Gardner (1990), who declared that leaders must now 'rise above their jurisdiction', Berry (1998) summarizes:

True leadership respects no boundaries. Leaders liberate both themselves and those around them. They tear down walls, they see the bigger picture, the longer term. They reach outside of and beyond their turf and constituencies.... They see and understand the relationship of their enterprise to the rest of the community, world, and universe. Leaders risk making decisions on a case-by-case basis, not by a rulebook or policy manual (Berry, 1998: 6).

Glogoff (2001) surmises that the path of librarianship over the first two decades of the twenty-first century "does not guarantee that libraries will retain the esteem traditionally held for them by the public". He argues that "It requires skilful leadership from administrators to pilot a course through the enormous challenges looming ahead. Changing the library's 'corporate culture', while one of the most daunting tasks a library administrator faces, is an essential component for future success". He believes that "Changing the culture starts with an appreciation of what technology brings at the organization's highest level". Glogoff suggests that library leaders practise leading-edge technical innovations through "organizational adaptability" to "build an infrastructure that positions the library as an active participant in knowledge communities". He

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believes that if library leaders do this, "then the profession will not be driven by technology but, instead, will be viewed as the driver" (Glogoff, 2001: 76).

Karp and Murdock (1998), after reviewing many studies on leadership, conclude that "the quality of leadership is born in an individual's inherent personality and then refined by that individual's life experiences, behavioural choices, attitudinal proclivities, and core values". From this, they suggest that attempting to describe leadership is elusive, since it is "impossible to define in abstraction but recognizable when it is modelled in reality" (1998: 256).

Berry (1998) concludes, "When an organization has true leaders and can tolerate them, it succeeds like no other. I guess that is why leadership is still, as it should be, the holy grail of librarianship" (1998: 6). Henington (1994) asserts, "More than anything else, the effectiveness or success of the director is not dependent upon status or position in the organizational structure but rather on the leadership, charisma, and the ability to mobilize constituencies". He adds, "The effectiveness of the public library director originates from close proximity to three sources of real or perceived power: (i) having a role high up in the hierarchical structure of government, (ii) acquiring poll influence from close alliances with like-minded politicians and elected officials, and, (iii) appealing directly to grass-roots constituencies for support" (Henington, 1994: 102). The above leadership issues are discussed by the participants in the current study.

1:3 Centrality of Librarianship to Society

The paucity of media coverage and lack of research into the library service belies the popularity of the public service, a local authority resource *voluntarily* used. Illustrating this point, the relative totals of visits to public libraries and the attendance figures at football games illustrate the popularity of public libraries. The total attendance at championship GAA matches during 2003 was 1.96 million (GAA, 2004), for example, while, in the same year, almost thirteen million visits were made to Irish public libraries (McDermott, 2004). Similarly, in Britain, "More people go to libraries than cinemas", and "Visits to libraries outnumber visits to professional football grounds" (*Framework for the Future*, 2003: 12). In an American context, Bob Rohlf, as director of the Hennepin County (Minnesota) public library service, reported of his pleading at a budget hearing:

We were probably the most heavily used public institution that they [local authority members] dealt with, and I could just see that they didn't believe me one bit... and I said, "I'd like to explain that to you by saying that last year more people used your public libraries than went to see the Minnesota Twins, the Minnesota Vikings, the Minnesota North Stars, and the Minnesota Strikers combined; and we [the Library] didn't get three pages of news in the paper every day. But we impacted more people than all of those teams put together (in Sheldon, 1991: 16).

Glogoff (2001) reports how libraries have been associated with values such as "intrinsic to democracy" and as a "crucial resource for self-improvement" (2001: 60). This is consistent with many national aims in western democracies, for example, the Irish government's vision of a public library service, as clarified in the Department of the Environment and Local Government's report, *Branching Out: A New Public Library Service* (1998), which views the public library as a democratically accessible:

- resource for information and learning
- resource for culture and the imagination
- resource for lifelong learning
- resource that belongs to all, where everybody is welcome, in the absence of elitism or exclusivity, and where nobody needs to justify their presence
- place to read
- resource for children and young people
- place where people can go for self-development, individually or in groups (Department of the Environment and Local Government, 1998: 16).

Similarly, Northern Ireland's *Turning Over a New Leaf* report (1995) affirms that the role of public libraries is 'to enhance the quality of life and social and economic development of the community' (General Consumer Council for Northern Ireland, 1995: 29). Kent (1996) sees the primary goal of the public library as: "a place to provide equity of access to information and the world of knowledge" (1996: 209). Unesco (1994), the European Commission (1997) and the Department of the Environment and Local Government (1998) concur that the central goal of the public library is to provide and facilitate access to information for anyone, at any time and any place, without any ideological, political or religious forms of censorship. These three bodies emphasize the importance of bridging the gap between the information-rich and the informationpoor, through lifelong learning opportunities, democratic access to all published information, access to computer facilities, and the safeguarding of cultural identities. The public library provides a locus for ready access to the collective memory of communities while also providing ready access to global information sources. Finally, as Unesco holds that democracy depends on satisfactory education and on free and unlimited access to knowledge, thought, culture and information, it affirms that the public library is an active and ongoing contributor to the development of democracy (1994).

In Britain, the ASLIB (Association for Information Management) *Review of the Public Library Service* (1995) declares, "Public libraries will need dynamic leadership to expand their roles and seize the opportunities that are emerging" (ASLIB, 1995: 13). One librarian in Britain, Jacquie Campbell (2001), suggests that library professionals must strive to convince others and to defend their service "passionately", and adds that librarians in recent years "are finally being recognized as the cornerstone of lifelong learning, the gateway to the information age, [and] the key to modernization" (2001: 80). New demands on library services require new directions. "The expectations of customers are expanding and becoming more diverse... [for example] patrons on both sides of the digital divide ... are looking to libraries for additional, improved, and faster services" and libraries and their leadership must "maintain their relevance at the core of communities" (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 36).

The intrinsic importance of libraries to democratic society, as affirmed by the above arguments, underlie the importance of the library leader's role in determining the current and future direction of public libraries. This study explicates the centrality of leadership for effective organizational outcomes in public libraries.

1:4 Research Focus and Theoretical Contributions of the Study

This study is exploratory, because of the paucity of previous research that specifically addresses the issue of leadership in the public library. The focus on leaders in this study is on the *titular* leader in the public library, or occasionally on his/her deputy. A semi-structured interview format was used. This ensured that the interviewees addressed the same main questions. It also allowed participants to respond in a variety of ways and to raise issues pertinent to the topics under investigation. To allow for a number of potentially different perspectives, interviews were spread outside Ireland, the author's home country. Emergent commonalities and differences in views informed the variety of interview outcomes and the categorization of these outcomes. The overall conclusions of the study are constructed from summaries of the interview data.

The study takes as its unique focus the perceptions of thirty currently serving senior library leaders on the topic of leadership in public librarianship. The author developed an interview guide, using a semi-structured interview format, for an in-depth exploration of the views of the thirty contributors. While the research primarily extends work in the literature of *public* librarianship, it also contributes to the research literature on the wider field of librarianship studies, and to a lesser extent, adds to the very large and growing corpus of studies on general organizational leadership.

Chapter 2 presents a literature review in three major parts. The first part presents an overview of the extensive literature on organizational leadership, largely reflecting the classic taxonomic divisions of organizational leadership. The second part narrows the literature review focus to explore public sector leadership, providing a bridge between general organizational leadership and leadership in public librarianship. The structure of the third part of Chapter 2 provides a thematic review of the limited literature on leadership in public librarianship. This part of the literature review provides a thematic and contextual background for exploring the new empirical data arising from the current study. In Chapter 3, some of the philosophical issues involved in choosing a qualitative approach to research are presented. The steps associated with developing and carrying out a research project using in-depth interviews are discussed. A detailed description of the selection of appropriate participants, gaining access to the participants, conducting the interviews, and the process of reducing, organizing and coding the interview data for this study are also presented.

In Chapter 4, the salient findings are presented from the empirical research, based on data from interviews with the thirty senior public librarians. Fifty per cent of the interview pool comprises Irish county/city librarians. The fifteen non-Irish librarians comprise ten British and five American senior public librarians. While the fifteen home-country/Irish participants are chief librarians, six from the fifteen British/American interviewees are deputy leaders. The interview excerpts in Chapter 4 are organized thematically from the thirty interview transcripts, arising from questions that were informed by the relevant literature. The findings were subsequently collated in the following broad thematic areas:

- overview of leadership in librarianship
- central role of the library leader
- qualities/traits of library leaders
- career narratives (individual contributions, career choice, if mentored, etc.)
- leadership and communication
- developing new leaders, role modelling, mentoring, nurturing successors
- people-centred leadership styles
- difficulties associated with leading
- library leaders looking to the future.

These thematic areas provided a structured process of engaging in analysis of the research.

Chapter 5 discusses the implications of the empirical findings in Chapter 4. The thematic discussions in Chapter 5 mirror the thematic presentation of primary data in Chapter 4. The discussion of the data confirms, challenges, or adds to earlier published literature. The study contributes to research literature in the thematic areas of public librarianship outlined in the above bullet-point list.

Chapter 6, the final chapter, presents summary conclusions to the overall study. Arising from the interview data, a diagrammatic summary of the major themes pertinent to senior leadership in public librarianship is included. This is followed by twelve propositions, which provide challenges for further researchers to test and develop. The propositions are followed by an agenda for future research, pointing to areas that might usefully be focused on and expanded by subsequent researchers. Finally, based on the collective experience of the thirty interviewees, recommendations for practice are presented, which current and future library leaders might consider adopting.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Leadership takes precedence over all other factors in determining organizational success. Tichy & Cohen, 1997: 6

2:0 Introduction: Scope of Literature Review in This Study

This chapter is presented in three parts, and presents a review of the literature in the following areas:

- Part A: Organizational leadership
- Part B: Leadership in the public sector
- *Part C*: Leadership at senior level in public libraries.

This study draws on journal articles, book chapters, and monographs (i) where the theme of general organizational leadership is prominent, and (ii) where the themes of leadership and management in the public sector and especially in the public library context are discussed. The references draw on academic research and on practitioner accounts. Included in the literature review are references to materials from history, public administration, findings on psychology, organizational behaviour, and public library administration. The aim of the review is to be representative. A comprehensive review of the accelerating number of books on leadership in organizations generally or on library management/administration, even confined to those published in recent years, is beyond the scope of this study. PUMA, the Public Management Service / Public Management Committee of the OECD, (2000) acknowledges the "huge volume of theoretical literature on what constitutes leadership and what makes a good leader" (OECD/PUMA, 2000: 2). Goffee and Jones (2000) report that more than two thousand books related to leadership studies were published in the year 1999 alone (2000: 63).

The literature in this study focuses primarily on senior level leadership, reflecting the primary focus of leadership in this study at senior level in the public library sector. As most research in the field of leadership is American based, this is reflected in the literature review. Notwithstanding the volume of material being published on leadership in general, Zaccaro and Klimoski (2001) report that research and models on executive leadership are particularly scarce in the industrial/organizational (I/O) literature (2001: 5). Bass (1990), reporting that much work on leadership remains unpublished, suggested there are difficulties in getting qualitative research published:

Descriptions of more subtle, less well documented, less evident phenomena are not considered acceptable for the scientifically more rigorous journals. These phenomena are more likely to be found in unpublished manuscripts, dissertations Experimental scientists still have plenty of catching up to do with the intuitive understanding of leadership present among many of the most successful and effective leaders (1990: xiv).

The dearth of literature on the topic of leadership was discussed in Chapter 1, Sections 1:1 to 1:1.2. Part C of Chapter 2 examines a representative section of the recent literature on senior leadership in public libraries.

> Part A ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP

2A:1 What is Leadership?

Vasu, Stewart, & Garson (1998) suggest that leadership is a construct, "In other words, leadership is an abstraction formed by generalizations from particulars", such as traits or the lack of them (1998: 90). Bass (1990), Rost (1991), Bryman (1992), Scholtes (1998) and many others observe that there has never been clarity, or widespread agreement, about what precisely 'leader' or 'leadership' might mean. For many observers, 'power wielders' are unquestioningly viewed as 'leaders', while other observers argue that leadership can be exercised by people regardless of their social or professional hierarchical status. Stogdill (1974) noted that "there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there

are persons who have attempted to define the concept" (1974: 259). Riggs (1998), acknowledging the "many definitions of 'leadership'", argues that the topic "cannot be easily described empirically or operationally studied". He contends that:

Leadership can be represented by an emotional or unconscious attitude rather than an intellectual or rational approach. This is possibly the one reason the attempt to study leadership scientifically has not provided a widely accepted body of knowledge as to what leadership is and does.

Dictionaries provide different definitions of leadership. Various verbs are used to describe leadership; they include to act, to begin, to continue, to achieve, to finish, and to lead. Taking the lead could be interpreted as assuming the point, and point could mean the end or death; thus, one can ascertain the multitude of words used to characterize 'leadership'. In recent years, the word 'vision' has become more closely associated with leaders and leadership. 'Vision', in essence, is what a library 'wants to become' (Riggs, 1998: 55-6).

Bleedorn (1988) observed that "The concept of leadership is in the process of evolution" (1988: 7). Gibb (1968), a psychologist, suggested that "There is a great variety of ways in which one individual stands out in social situations and in which the one may be said, therefore, to be 'leading' the others"; he cautions, "So diverse are these ways that any concept attempting to encompass them all, as 'leadership' does, loses the specificity and precision that's necessary to scientific thinking" (1968: 91).

The Secretariat of the OECD/PUMA (2000) acknowledges that "leadership is difficult to define and means different things in different countries" (OECD/PUMA, 2000: 2). Northouse (1997) compared the concept of leadership to concepts like democracy, love, and peace — insofar as individuals intuitively have their own understanding or meaning for these concepts, but which can vary greatly between individuals (1997: 2). Kellerman and Webster (2001) suggest that the lack of clarity encountered by researchers, in the field of leadership studies, should be viewed as a positive, insofar as it forces an ongoing engagement with "some of the most complicated and richly textured questions about the nature of human affairs", and that such lack of prescription liberates the parameters of leadership studies (2001: 486).

For leadership study purposes, Kellerman and Webster provide working definitions of a leader and leadership. For them, a leader is a person "who creates or strives to create change, large or small", whether they do or do not hold formal authority. Thus, "leadership" refers to the dynamic process in which the leader(s) and followers interact to generate change (Kellerman & Webster, 2001: 487). Over the decades, many others (e.g. Schenk, 1928; Koontz & O'Donnell, 1955; Neustadt, 1960; Merton, 1969) have described leadership as a process:

leadership is the art of dealing with human nature. ... It is the art of influencing a body of people by persuasion or example to follow a line of action. It must never be confused with drivership... which is the art of compelling a body of people by intimidation or force to follow a line of action (Copeland, 1942).

or,

[leadership is] an interpersonal relation in which others comply because they want to, not because they have to (Merton, 1969).

and, reflecting a time when leadership was seen as the preserve of males:

a leader is a man who has the ability to get other people to do what they don't want to do, and like it (Truman, 1958: 139).

Senge (1996) suggests,

Leadership is a phenomenon, not a position. It's absolutely nothing to do with hierarchy. Leaders are people who move ahead and who have some influence over others.

Hersey and Blanchard (1988) summarized that most writers on management agree that

leadership is the process of influencing the activities of an individual or a group in efforts toward goal achievement in a given situation (1988: 86).

This encompassing definition implies that the leadership process is a function of the leader, the follower, and other situational variables — or 'L = f(I,f,s)' in formulaic shorthand (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 86). This definition does not confine leadership to any particular type of organization, whether formal or informal, and allows for any situation in which somebody tries to influence the behaviour of another person or group. This definition makes no reference to hierarchical positions, thus allowing for any individual to be a potential leader to

influence a potential follower (the latter may be formally superior in rank) in any social or institutional interaction. Consistent with the centrality of influence, Hightower (1990) saw leadership as the capacity to guide or motivate followers in a particular direction, as well as being a quality that is able to induce, persuade, and motivate followers to identify with institutional goals.

Schreiber and Shannon (2001) propose that "to become a leader, you must first be a good follower; that is, you must be loyal, ethical, proactive, and constructively confrontive, leading from your current position". They believe that any efforts at defining leadership should be based on the study of "those who have insight and initiate action in an effort to inspire others to positive action" (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 37).

2A:1.1 Leadership: An Overview

Leadership has been conceptualized in various ways, such as a trait or a behaviour, and across many perspectives, such as political, task oriented, and humanistic viewpoints. A review of the scholarly studies on leadership shows a wide variety of differing theoretical approaches proffering explanations of the complexities of the leadership process (e.g. Bass, 1990; Bryman, 1992; Conger, 1993; De Vries, Roe, & Taillieu, 1999; Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge, 2000; Li, 2001; Lord & Brown, 2001). Qualitative and quantitative studies have extended the corpus of rigorous research on the topic, illustrating that leadership is far more complex than the topics discussed in many popular books on leadership. Li (2001) reports that "A survey of the literature reveals a large amount of scholarship on leadership from many different perspectives: psychological, managerial, ethnological, and empirical" (2001: 170). For this study, Section A of the current chapter presents an overview of some of the complexities of the major theoretical approaches to leadership. These are attempts at "gross typologies" (Bass, 1990: xii), in order to attempt a thematic discussion of what is an organic and continually changing process. Fleishman et al. (1991) report that as many as sixty-five different classifications on leadership had been developed over the fifty years between 1940 and 1990. Earlier in the twentieth century, researchers had already started classifying the topic of leadership.

Source	Definitions/Qualities
Pigors (1935)	"Leadership is a process of mutual stimulation which by the successful interplay of individual differences, controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause."
Stogdill (1948)	Stogdill (1948) reported that, rather than being a quantity that individuals possessed, leadership became reconceptualized as a relationship between people in a social situation.
Urwick (1953)	The leader is "the personal representation of the personification of common purpose not only to all who work on the undertaking, but to everyone outside it".
Koontz & O'Donnell (1959)	"Leadership is <i>influencing</i> people to follow in the achievement of a common goal."
Terry (1960)	"Leadership is the activity of influencing people to strive willingly for group objectives".
Tannenbaum, Weschler, & Massarik (1961)	Leadership defined as "interpersonal influence exercised in situation and directed, through the communication process, toward the attainment of a specialized goal or goals".
Davis (1962)	Leadership defined as "the human factor which binds a group together and motivates it toward goals".
Burns (1978)	Leadership is "a process of leaders engaging and mobilizing the human needs of followers".
Hersey & Blanchard (1988)	"In essence, leadership involves accomplishing goals with and through people. Therefore, a leader must be concerned about tasks and human relationships".
Badaracco & Ellsworth (1989)	"Leadership in a world of dilemmas is not, fundamentally, a matter of style, charisma, or professional management technique. It is a difficult quest for integrity".
Yukl (1994)	"Influence is the essence of leadership".
Northouse (1997)	"Influence is the sine qua non of leadership. Without influence, leadership does not exist".
Tichy & Cohen (1997)	"The essence of real leadership is assessing changing situations and motivating others to act in an appropriate manner. Leadership is more about thinking, judging, acting and motivating than it is about strategies, methodologies and tools. Leadership reflects a person's mindset and his or her approach to the world".
Heifetz & Linsky (2002)	"Leadership is an improvisational art".

Table 2.1 Sample Definitions/Qualities of Leaders/Leadership

Source: compiled by author

2A:2 Leadership and Cultural Contexts

Bass (1990) reported differences in the concept or meaning of leadership across different national and cultural boundaries: "The differences in socialization in the various nations of the world give rise to different conceptions of leadership" (1990: 760). Li (2001) believes that "it is difficult to provide a fixed definition of the concept of leadership because leadership styles vary drastically and, in particular, from culture to culture" (2001: 171). Hofstede (1980) defined culture as, "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another", and he found that, in countries with similar value orientations, similar leadership styles prevail, and differing cultures have different impacts on leadership styles (1980: 25). Nahavandi (1997) suggests, "there are many cross-cultural differences in what a leader should do to be effective" (1997: 6). Likewise, Naulleau and Harper (1993), contrasting French and British management cultures, argued that leadership roles are deeply embedded in local social and cultural environments (1993: 15). Contrasting with findings reporting a loosening of the older culture of unquestioned control in Western leadership cultures, Li (2001) reports that, for example, "China has retained its own view of leadership as being one in which the concept of control is valued" (2001: 177). Lewis (2000) suggests that Soviet republics also expected leaders to rule with an iron fist (2000: 231), but Brown (1995) observed that "The task of leadership in the conditions of collapse of the Soviet Union has been a conspicuously difficult one" (1995: 28). Reflecting on the recent unstable nature of leadership in Russia, Li argues, "As culture may change over time, leadership changes accordingly, as well" (2001: 181).

Li contrasts the Chinese and Russian models with the espoused American culture of leadership, which acknowledges individual equality and freedom: "a leader in the American mind should be someone who is not only able to protect citizens' individual rights and freedom but also possesses his/her own unique individuality that can move the country forward" (2001: 182). American leadership is also strong on supporting "the risk-taking, adventurous, and entrepreneurial spirit", and where corporations are "rewarded for their individuality in getting the job done well" (Li, 2001: 182). Li confirms that this risk-taking culture is not appreciated or encouraged by Asian cultures. "Americans are" however "fully aware of their roles in continuing to create and define the concept of leadership", but, Li contends, "As society changes,

leadership in America has been and will continue to be defined and redefined in the years to come" (2001: 183).

2A:3 Leadership and Followers/Followership

Some early twentieth century researchers regarded leadership as the *focus of group processes*, insofar as the leader was viewed as being at the centre of group change and activity and embodying the will of the group, for example, Blackmar (1911) saw leadership as the "centralization of effort in one person as an expression of the power of all". Likewise, Bernard (1927) suggested that leaders are influenced by the needs and wishes of their followers but that, in turn, leaders focus followers' attention to release their energies in a desired direction. Redl (1942) saw the leader as the central or focal person who was responsible for the integration of a group. Kretch and Crutchfield (1948) said of a leader that:

by virtue of his special position in the group he serves as a primary agent for the determination of group structure, group atmosphere, group goals, group ideology, and group activities (Kretch & Crutchfield, 1948).

Later in the twentieth century, many researchers (e.g. Carter, 1953; Shartle, 1956; Hemphill, 1949) viewed leadership as an *act* or *behaviour* executed by leaders in order to effect change in a group. Fiedler (1967) suggested that behaviour "may involve such acts as structuring the work relations, praising or criticizing group members, and showing consideration for their welfare and feelings" (Fiedler, 1967). Other researchers (e.g. Weber, 1924/1947; Bowden, 1926; Bingham, 1927; Stark, 1970; Burns, 1978) conceptualize leadership from a *personality perspective*, contending that leadership is a combination of special traits or characteristics possessed by individuals, which enable them to influence others to accomplish tasks.

In addition to these perspectives, many viewed leadership as a *power relationship* between leaders and followers, wherein leaders wield power to change others. This has been written on over the centuries, for example, by Machiavelli in *The Prince* (1513) and by Marx both in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Das Kapital* (1867), as well as more recently by Bennis (1990), Pfeffer (1981), and House & Howell (1992). Bass (1990) observed that "power

is regarded as a form of influence relationship" (1990: 15). French (1956) believed that interpersonal power is the difference resulting from the subtraction of the maximum force of the person in the relatively less powerful position from the maximum force of the person in the more powerful position. Interestingly, Denhardt (1987) suggested that myths and symbols based on the master–slave relationship may unconsciously influence superior–subordinate relationships in modern organizations. Adair (1984) believes that "Leadership can only be expressed in a relationship with others" (1984: 8); while Osborne (1996) summarizes, "No leader exists without followers" (1996:22).

Leadership can also be viewed (cf. K. Davis, 1942; Jacobs & Jacques, 1987) as an *instrument of goal achievement* in helping colleagues to achieve shared goals. This coincides with the view that leadership is about transforming followers, creating visions for targeting collective energies, and articulating for followers the methods for achieving goals (e.g. Burns, 1978; Bennis, 1984; Bass, 1985*a*; Tichy & Devanna, 1986).

Many commentators in the twentieth century viewed leadership as *the initiation of structure* (e.g. Smith, 1935*a*; Lapiere & Farnsworth, 1936; Gouldner, 1950; Bavelas, 1960). Homans (1950) distinguished the leader of a group as the person who 'originates interaction'. Stogdill (1959) cautioned that leaders also needed to *maintain* what they started, as he equated leadership with "the initiation *and maintenance* of structure in expectation and interaction".

The literature on leadership broadly agrees that some defining elements are common to the multitude of leadership conceptualizations, such as:

- leadership is a *functional* process of developing and achieving organizational purpose
- leadership involves nonroutine *influence* on organizational life
- leadership occurs within a group/social context
- leadership involves *goal* attainment, and (Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2001).

The *functional* perspective deems leadership to be at the service of collective effectiveness (Fleishman et al., 1991; Hackman & Walton, 1986; Lord, 1977). Earlier commentators, such as, McGrath (1962), summarized the functional context by saying that the leader's "main job is to do, or get done, whatever is

not being adequately handled for group needs" (1962: 5). Hackman and Walton (1986) suggested that a good leader ensures that all functions critical to both task accomplishment and group maintenance are taken care of. They add that functional leadership is not usually defined by a specific set of behaviours but rather by generic responses that are prescribed for, and that will vary by different situational requirements. In this way, Hackman and Walton emphasize that the focus switches from "what leaders *should do*" to "what *needs to be done* for effective performance" (1986: 77). Similarly, Mumford (1986) states that leadership is defined in terms of those activities that promote team and organizational goal attainment by being responsive to contextual demands.

Leadership was also seen to involve *influence*, as leadership is concerned with how leaders affect followers. Jago (1982) saw leadership as the exercise of noncoercive influence to co-ordinate the members of an organized group to accomplish group objectives. Northouse asserted, "Influence is the sine qua non of leadership. Without influence, leadership does not exist" (1997: 3). Katz and Kahn (1978) considered "the essence of organizational leadership to be the influential increment over and above mechanical compliance with the routine directives of the organization" (1978). They also suggested the defining aspect of leadership is a process that does not reside in the routine activities of organizational work. Instead, leadership occurs in response to, or in anticipation of, nonroutine organizational events (Katz & Kahn, 1978: 528). Fleishman et al. (1991) and Zaccaro (1995) defined nonroutine events as any situation that constitutes a potential or actual hindrance to organizational goal progress. They added that organizational leadership can be construed as social problemsolving, where leaders are constructing the nature of organizational problems, developing and evaluating potential solutions, and planning, implementing, and monitoring selected solutions within complex social domains (Fleishman et al., 1991; Zaccaro, 1995).

Leadership occurs in *groups* or a social context where individuals are moving towards a shared goal. Leaders need followers and followers need leaders (Burns, 1978; Jago, 1982; Heller & Van Til, 1983; Hollander, 1992). Zaccaro and Klimoski (2001) suggest that leader effectiveness is defined as a function of the dynamic that occurs between leader and followers. Leaders provide direction, guidance, and activity structuring for a collective; in turn, members of a collective grant permission to the leader to influence them, thus conferring

legitimacy on the leader (Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2001: 14). Burns (1978) cautioned against a view that leadership is elitist, with implied power and importance frequently ascribed to leaders in the leader-follower relationship. He emphasized that leaders are not above followers or better than followers. Hersey & Blanchard (1988) describe position power as the power to induce compliance from others because of one's position in an organization (1988: 42), and they contended that, while position power tends to be delegated from leaders, many researchers suggest that the personal power of leaders is granted to them by followers, through follower acceptance of their leaders (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988; Block, 1993). Kouzes and Posner (1993) argue that leadership is a reciprocal relationship, and that being a leader means being "a part of, not apart from" followers (1993: 2). These philosophies also relate to the idea of the leader as servant, a concept first presented in terms of modern leadership by Greenleaf (1977; 1996). Greenleaf (1996) suggested that the "way some people serve is to lead" (1996: 112). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) argue that leaders "can bask in the reflected light of others' success, and thereby comfortably assume the role of servant leader... [and] rather than being threatened or diminished by their followers' success, they are delighted by it and proud to be supportive" (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 50).

Leadership includes attention to *goals*, meaning that leadership is concerned with directing a group of individuals towards achieving a task or purpose (Northouse, 1997: 3). Tichy and Cohen (1997) assert that an essential element in getting people to change is to offer them attractive goals or missions (1997: 141). Leaders who are successful in motivating employees provide an organizational environment in which appropriate goals or incentives are available to satisfy many personal needs — such as financial rewards, desire of appreciation, or desire to make a useful contribution — which coincide with organizational needs (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 19).

* * *

Zaccaro and Klimoski (2001) suggest that the social exchange approach to leadership is perhaps the most popular and pervasive perspective in the literature. Models from this approach focus on one or more of three elements: (i) characteristics of the leader, (ii) characteristics of the followers, and (iii) characteristics of their relationship. Overall, researchers have focused primarily on the leader's predominant interaction style. In particular, leaders

vary in terms of their primary tendency to adopt a structuring task-oriented style towards their employees or else a considerate, socio-emotional style (Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2001: 14).

2A:4 Requisites for Leaders/Leadership

Hersey (1984) and Hersey & Blanchard (1977) concluded that there are three competencies or general skills in leading or influencing:

- (i) *diagnosing* being able to understand the situational context of the influencing activity,
- (ii) adapting being able to adapt one's behaviour and resources to meet the contingencies of a situation, and
- (iii) *communicating* being able to communicate in an effective manner.

Hersey (1984) when describing these three competencies, said that

(i) Diagnosing is a *cognitive* or cerebral competency, in that it generates understanding of the particular situation and knowledge of reasonable expectations for a future new situation. The discrepancy between the two is the *problem* to be solved.

The following competencies aim to provide this solution.

- (ii) Adapting is a *behavioural* competency, involving behavioural responses to close the gap between the current situation and a desired future.
- (iii) Communicating is a *process* competency. Even where the first two competencies are present, a leader cannot effect satisfactory responses without effective communication.

John W. Gardner (1988), Director of the Leadership Studies Program of the Independent Sector (in the United States), identified twelve attributes of a leader, including the following:

- Understanding of followers and their needs
- Courage, resolution, and steadiness
- Willingness (eagerness) to accept responsibility
- Capacity to manage, decide, and set priorities, and
- Capacity to motivate (Gardner: 1988).

Bennis and Nanus (1985) asserted that "leaders are the most results-oriented individuals in the world", and "like a child, completely absorbed with creating a sand castle in a sandbox, they draw others in" (1985: 28). Bennis and Nanus also contend that the best leaders maintain a positive self-regard, which inspires self-confidence in others. In their survey of ninety senior executives, they suggested a relationship between positive self-regard and 'emotional wisdom', outlined in five key skills:

- The ability to accept people as they are, not as you would like them to be
- The capacity to approach relationships and problems in terms of the present, rather than the past
- The ability to treat those who are close to you with the same courteous attention that is extended to strangers and casual acquaintances
- The ability to trust others, even if the risk seems great
- The ability to do without constant approval and recognition from others (Bennis & Nanus, 1985: 66-7).

While earlier researchers (for example, Blake, Mouton, McGregor) argued that there was a single optimal style of leadership — a style maximizing productivity and satisfaction, and organization-wide growth and development — research over recent decades (including studies by Bennis; Kerr; Yukl; House; Robbins; Tannenbaum & Schmidt; Fiedler; Reddin; Bass; Vroom) illustrates how no single description of leadership is agreed on as definitive or the best (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 100-101). Griffin (1999) argues that managers should recognize that any suggested universal or "one best way" models of leadership are of dubious value. He believes, nevertheless, that managers should appreciate the importance of leadership behaviours and should also be familiar with a variety of leadership behaviours (1999: 523).

2A:5 Leadership and Organizational Culture

Schein (1992) linked organizational culture to the ideal of a leading organization. He argued that in a world of turbulent change, organizations have to learn even faster, requiring a learning culture that functions as "a perpetual learning system" (1992: 185). Schein saw the primary task of a leader in modern organizations as the creating and sustaining of a learning culture. Schein defined leadership as "the attitude and motivation to examine and manage culture" (1992: 374). He viewed organizational culture as a pattern of basic assumptions shared by an organizational group, acquired by solving problems of adaptation and integration, working "well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" (1992: 390). In organizational learning, fundamental assumptions are reinterpreted in the minds of organizational members. Schein sees the function of a learning leader as the promoting of such reviews by helping group members to "achieve some degree of insight and develop motivation to change" (1992: 390).

Argyris & Schön (1996) suggest that,

A learning leader must assess the adequacy of his organization's culture, detect its dysfunctionality, and promote its transformation, first by making his own basic assumptions into 'learning assumptions' and then by fostering such assumptions in the culture of his organization (1996: 185).

They also advocate that one of the most important learning assumptions is that people want to contribute and that they can be trusted. They also promote the practice of a leader being humble enough to readily admit to 'not knowing', and becoming a learner and endeavouring for others to become learners also, to share the culture of learning (1996: 185). Schein (1992) contends that "the process of learning must ultimately be made part of the culture" (1992: 390). He is consistent with Senge (1990), who asserted that "the rate at which organizations learn may become the only sustainable source of competitive advantage" (Senge, 1990: 3). Senge believes that a leader's responsibility extends to cultivating learning organizations where:

People continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together (Senge, 1990: 2).

Bass (1999) asserts that "For an organizational culture to become more transformational (see Section 2A:8.15 below), top management must articulate the changes that are required" (1999: 16). Through this articulation, an organization's vision can be promulgated to employees. House styles, such as consultative styles of management, can be made more effective by daily practices of articulated visions. Bass adds that:

Desired role models of leadership begin at the top and are encouraged at each successive level below. The behaviours of top-level leaders become symbols of the organization's new culture. Stories are created around the leader and mechanisms are developed to improve upward communication (1999: 16).

Bass suggests that leaders promoting organizational renewal will encourage cultures that promote creativity, problem solving, risk taking, and experimentation, and this begins with articulation of desired changes (1999: 17). Stites-Doe, Pillai, & Meindl (1994), after investigating the influence of transformational leadership on organizational culture, found that leaders who are considerate to individuals will invest more time in activities that promote the spread of desired organizational cultures.

2A: 6 Importance of Leadership for Organizational Outcomes

In the recent literature on leadership studies, good leadership is seen as important to developing positive organizational growth (e.g., Day, 2001: 385). Winston (2001) suggests that the theoretical basis for leadership in organizations includes, among other factors, the relationship between effective leadership and organizational success (2001: 19). Half a century ago, Drucker (1954) asserted that leaders were the basic, but scarcest, resource of any business enterprise. The OECD (2000) endorses these arguments:

leadership plays an important role in the implementation of reform because it involves two of the most important aspects of reform: change and people. Leadership is manifested in relations between people. Good leaders inspire people. Changing organizations is really about changing people's behaviour, so organizations undergoing reform need leadership (OECD/PUMA, 2000: 3).

Hersey and Blanchard (1988) similarly asserted that, "The successful organization has one major attribute that sets it apart from unsuccessful organizations: dynamic and effective leadership" and that "Most of the failures can be attributed to ineffective leadership" (1988: 85). If this premise is valid, the widespread failure of business organizations reflects a dearth of good leadership over recent decades. Terry (1960), for example, reported that "Of every one hundred new business establishments started, approximately fifty, or one half, go out of business within two years. By the end of five years, only

one-third of the original one hundred will still be in business" (Terry, 1960: 5). Csoka (1998) reported a study of nearly four hundred of the Fortune 1000 companies, where forty-seven per cent of executives and managers rated their company's overall leadership capacity as fair or poor, while only eight per cent rated it as excellent. Hogan, Raskin, & Fazzini (1990) and R. P. White & De Vries (1990) report that executive failure is widespread, with some estimates reaching as high as fifty to seventy-five per cent.

Pfeffer (1977), however, reported that in the mid-twentieth century it was popular to argue that whoever happened to occupy a company's executive suite was not of critical importance. Lieberson & O'Connor (1972) and Salancik & Pfeffer (1977) concluded that performance factors such as historical, environmental and industry inputs accounted for nearly all industrial outputs, thus allowing very little room for any other substantive input, such as individual leadership to effect overall outputs. As recent as the 1980s, Meindl and colleagues proposed that leadership was an overly romanticized concept that was associated with only ephemeral influences (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985).

2A:7 Background to Leadership Studies

Leaders (as prophets, chiefs, kings, priests) have been recorded in ancient mythologies — in the Old and New Testaments, the writings of Confucius, Greek and Latin classical literary works, and other ancient sources. Egyptian hieroglyphs, as old as 5,000 years represent the concepts of leadership, leader, and followers (Bass, 1990: 3). Greek philosophers, including Plato and Aristotle, wrote about leaders. Plato saw the philosopher king as the ideal type of political leader (Plato, *The Republic*, Books II and VII).

Bass (1990) believed that leadership grew with civilization, mutually influencing its cultural context:

The study of leadership rivals in age the emergence of civilization, which shaped its leaders as much as it was shaped by them. From its infancy, the study of history has been the study of leader (1990: 3).

During the Renaissance, Machiavelli wrote on difficulties of leadership:

There is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things (Machiavelli, The Prince, 1513).

Essentially, Machiavelli extolled pragmatism. He believed that leaders need steadiness, firmness, power, order and the maintenance of authority. Machiavelli recommended that these objectives be achieved by winning popular support, but that if the latter was not forthcoming, resorting to craft, deceit, threat and even violence was necessary.

The phenomenon of leadership throughout cultures, and even across species, is quite universal. Parent-child relationships provide ubiquitous examples of leader-follower patterns. Lewis (1974) observed that in any social group, initiators of activities provide examples of spontaneous leadership. In the animal kingdom, dominant members in groups are seen to determine group behaviours. Douglis (1948), for example, reported on the establishment and maintenance of hierarchical pecking order among farmyard fowl. Many studies of leadership behaviour among primates arguably coincide with aspects of leadership behaviour of human beings (e.g., Miller & Murphy 1956; Carpenter, 1963; Bernstein, 1964; Mason, 1964; Warren & Maroney, 1969). Zajonc (1969) found that fighting is reduced or virtually disappears among primate groups when a hierarchy of dominance has been established, allowing for norms to govern social behaviour. The relevance of animal social studies to understanding intrahuman leadership behaviour, however, remains controversial (Bass, 1990).

Bass (1990) remarks that, historically and up to present times, leadership was/is regarded as a critical factor in military success, insofar as better-led forces are generally more successful over poorly-led forces. He also observed that "leadership is regarded as the single most critical factor in the success or failure of institutions" (1990: 8).

Goffee and Jones (2000) report that it was not until the twentieth-century that *theories* of leadership emerged (2000: 64). A review of the literature on leadership shows that the last decade of the twentieth century had begun before academic studies of leadership became an essential part of American schools of business. For decades prior to that, leadership in a military context had been

studied in American military academies. Kellerman and Webster (2001) argue, however, that the short history of organizational leadership studies amounts to only a preliminary effort that will take years to reach a critical mass for intellectual and pedagogical maturity (2001: 486).

Twentieth-century leadership theory has developed from the 'great man' concept and trait theory to a contingency and transformational theories. The earlier 'great man' concepts assumed that certain people possessed personalities, energy levels and abilities that made them leaders. Later, contingency theory (see subsection 2A:8.6 below) developed, suggesting that the leadership process is influenced by the environment, by group cohesiveness, task structure, material technology, individual attributes, leader-member relations, individual expectations, and by the degree of formalization in an organization's structure (Bryson, 1999: 169-70).

2A:7.1 Rationalism

Goffee and Jones (2000) believe that organizations and society today have an obsession with leadership and a yearning for even more leadership (2000: 64). Goffee and Jones suggest, however, that there is a crisis of belief in the modern world that has its roots in the rationalist revolution of the eighteenth century, when Voltaire, Rousseau, Kant and other philosophers of the Enlightenment effectively undermined society's reliance for answers founded on tradition, and instead argued that reason would better serve the needs of individuals. This gave rise to increasing expectations for improving conditions for society, based on technical and rationalist grounds. In the nineteenth century, two beliefs stemmed from this rationalist notion: a belief in the inevitability of progress; and in the perfectibility of mankind. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, this increasing optimism began to be undermined, by writers such as Sigmund Freud and later Max Weber, both of whom exposed widespread vulnerabilities of individuals and society. These two thinkers undermined the Western world's hitherto growing confidence in rationality and progress for the advancement of mankind (Freud, 1913/1946, 1922, 1922/1939; Weber, 1924/1947). Goffee and Jones argue that the recent pursuit of leadership is an effort to remedy this loss of confidence in society's ability to spontaneously

regulate and govern itself for the benefit of individuals and organizations (2000: 64).

Goffee and Jones, among other writers, draw our attention to the seminal influence of Freud and Weber. Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, proposed the existence of an unconscious element in the human mind, an element influencing much of our rational thinking and behaviour. Freud, thus, undermined society's growing confidence in rational or scientific solutions to organizational problems. The writings of Max Weber, one of the founders of modern sociology, also explored aspects of fallibility in human reasoning. He was particularly critical of the destructive force of what he called technical rationality, that is, reasoning outside the context of any morality. For him, technical rationality, in an organizational context, manifested itself as He was critical of bureaucracies not just because of their bureaucracy. inefficiencies but also because of their capacities to dehumanize people. Weber believed that charismatic leadership was required in order to withstand bureaucratization. Goffee and Jones, however, caution that charismatic leaders can include leaders like Hitler, Stalin, and Mao Zedong who instigated widespread atrocities (2000: 64).

Charismatic leadership is discussed below under Transformational leadership, in subsection 2A:8.15.

2A: 7.2 Scientific Management Movement

In the early part of the twentieth century, two main schools of organizational theory were dominant: (i) the Scientific Management movement, and (ii) the Human Relations movement. Frederick Winslow Taylor's (1911) highly influential *scientific management* theories on administration were widely read in the early 1900s. His technologically-focused ideas suggested that that organizations would be more productive by improving productivity techniques used by workers. Workers were equated with instruments for organizational productivity. Rational planning and execution were seen as central to increasing production, and management systems were encouraged to become divorced from human emotions and consideration. Workers were to adapt to management rather than management to workers.

Taylor initiated time and motion studies to analyze work tasks for increased productivity. After increasing methods of greater efficiency, the incentive for workers was to be satisfied by methods such as piecework payments. According to this *scientific management* or *classical theory*, leaders were expected to enforce performance criteria to meet organizational goals. The leader also had to address organizational needs at the expense of the needs of workers (Taylor, 1911).

2A: 7.3 Human Relations Movement

The spread of the scientific management doctrine was challenged in the 1920s and early 1930s by the *human relations* movement, initiated by Elton Mayo and his associates. Contending that crucial power resides in the interpersonal relationships of working units, they argued that the human element of organizations needed to be addressed for improved productivity. The most important efforts of managers were to focus on human relationships, and organizations were to be built around workers, taking their attitudes and feelings into consideration (Mayo, 1945).

Contrary to scientific management theory, the human relations movement focused on the needs of individuals before organizational needs. The leadership functions in the newer movement were to assist in co-operative goal attainment among employees while providing opportunities for their personal growth and development. While the scientific management movement emphasized a concern for task (output), the human relations movement stressed a concern for relationships (people). Since Taylor and Mayo respectively highlighted these two organizational concerns, these approaches became central to subsequent studies on leadership.

* * *

The following sections outline many of the classic theories of leadership. These approaches developed through the twentieth century in three dominant phases: trait, attitudinal, and situational/contingent (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 88).

2A:8 Theories of Leadership

Bass (1990) remarked that many theories of leadership have been written on, but "relatively few models and theories have dominated the research community" (1990: 37). He cautions that sometimes leadership theories obscure facts, necessitating much effort to understand those obscurities in those cases. Glaser and Strauss (1967) asserted that a theory of leadership must be grounded in the concepts and assumptions that are used by managers and emergent leaders. In order for theory to be developed from the understandings of particular examples, however, rigour must be applied to astute observation and assumptions in order to present generalized theories that can employ standardized measurements (Bass, 1990: 37). The following subsections present some of the better known theories of leadership.

2A: 8.1 Trait Theory

Goffee and Jones (2000) suggest that by the twentieth century there was much scepticism about the power of reason and society's ability to progress continuously and, as a result, an intense interest in the concept of leadership began to develop, for both pragmatic and philosophic reasons. Coinciding with this, the first serious research on leadership started in the 1920s, producing the trait theory, the first theory of leadership (Goffee & Jones, 2000: 64). Trait theory attempted to identify the common characteristics of effective leaders. Naylor (1999), however, cautions that "While it has been accepted that leadership traits are both inherited and can be acquired through training and experience, there is little consensus on what these traits might be" (1999: 528). Gibb (1954), Jennings (1961), Jago (1982) and numerous other writers concur that the trait approach to leadership has revealed few significant or consistent findings. Yukl (1981) summarized these findings:

The old assumption that 'leaders are born' has been discredited completely, and the premise that certain leaders traits are absolutely necessary for effective leadership has never been substantiated in several decades of trait research.... It is now recognized that certain traits increase the likelihood that a leader will be effective, but they do not guarantee effectiveness, and the relative importance of different traits is dependent upon the nature of the leadership situation (1981: 70).

As a sample of traits and skills typically associated with leaders, Yukl offered the following characteristics, listed in Table 2. 2.

Traits	Skills
Adaptable to situations Alert to so social environment Ambitious and achievement-oriented Assertive Co-operative Decisive Dependable Dominant (desire to influence others) Energetic (high activity level) Persistent Gelf-confident Folerant of stress Willing to assume responsibility	Clever (intelligent) Conceptually skilled Creative Diplomatic and tactful Fluent in speaking Knowledgeable about group task Organized (administrative ability) Persuasive Socially skilled

Table 2.2 Yukl's list of traits and skills characteristic of successful leaders

Source: Yukl, 1981, p. 70

Bennis (1984), based on his study of ninety 'eminent' leaders and their followers, identified four common traits or areas of competency, or human handling skills, shared by all ninety leaders:

- attention to vision, providing people with a bridge to the future
- giving meaning to that vision through communication
- building trust, the lubrication that makes organizations function; and
- the search for self-knowledge and self-regard (Bennis, 2000: 18).

While a particular person may have traits considered to be desirable in a leader, Naylor points out that having those traits does not necessarily make a leader of anybody (1999: 528). Goffee and Jones note, despite numerous psychological and physical tests and studies of managers' social backgrounds and their social participation habits, that nobody could identify traits that were common to effective leaders. Because of this, the trait theory — as it was understood in the early twentieth century — lost credibility, and at times was even ridiculed, for example when extensive studies concluded merely that effective leaders were either above or below average height (Goffee & Jones, 2000: 64-5). Stogdill (1948) reported that rather than being a quantity that individuals possessed, leadership became reconceptualized as a *relationship* between people in a social situation. Griffin (1999) suggests that the lack of success in identifying

useful leadership traits urged researchers to investigate other variables associated with leaders who were more effective (1999: 521). Riggs (2001*b*) dismisses the trait theory, asserting: "The most dangerous leadership myth is that leaders are born", concluding instead that "Leadership evolves from life and job experiences", such as role models, mentors, and difficult experiences (2001*b*: 9).

Bryman (1992), however, observed a resurgence in interest in the trait approach since the mid-1980s. Lord, DeVader, & Alliger (1986) reported that personality traits were strongly associated with individuals' perceptions of leadership. Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991) claimed that effective leaders are special types of people in many ways: "it is unequivocally clear that leaders are not like other people" (1991: 59). Further evidence of the current focus on individual leader traits is reflected in the studies of many recent researchers, such as the emphasis on visionary and charismatic leadership (see Bass, 1985*a*, 1985*b*, 1990, 1996; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987, 1992; Sashkin & Fulmer, 1988; Nadler & Tushman, 1989; Kanungo & Conger, 1992).

Stogdill (1948) surveyed more than 124 trait studies, which were conducted by other researchers between 1904 and 1947, and the results showed that the typical leader differed from average group members through their: (a) intelligence, (b) alertness, (c) insight, (d) responsibility, (e) initiative, (f) persistence, (g) self-confidence, and (h) sociability. The analysis also showed that leadership traits have to be relevant to the situation in which a leader functions. A leader in one area might not be a leader in a different situation. Leadership was also shown not to be a passive but a proactive working relationship. Stogdill's findings marked the newer approach to leadership research that focused on leadership behaviour and situations.

Stogdill's (1974) second survey analyzed 163 studies that were conducted between 1948 and 1970. While his first survey (1948) largely interpreted that leadership is determined by situational factors rather than personality factors, his second survey (1974) suggested that both personality and situational factors determined leadership outcomes. This helped to revive arguments on the centrality of traits to leadership.

Northouse (1997) suggests that the trait approach is an integral part of modern leadership theories, but with a different emphasis. Having begun with a focus on the qualities of great persons, it shifted to encompass the role of situation in leadership, and most recently it has focused again on the critical role of traits in effective leadership (1997: 14). While no definitive list of leadership traits was identified in the many studies throughout the twentieth century, some traits repeatedly identified include: intelligence, self-confidence, determination, integrity, and sociability. Overall, the trait approach is not viewed as being useful for training and development "because individuals' personal attributes are relatively stable and fixed, and therefore their traits are not amenable to change" (Northouse, 1997: 30) and because "Possession of all the traits becomes an impossible ideal... and are so ill-defined as to be useless in practice (Handy, 1993: 99). The trait approach also fails to consider the impact of situations, and research does not adequately link the traits to organizational contexts and outcomes. Finally, Handy (1993) provides the following overview representing a view on the status of trait theory towards the end of the twentieth century:

To some degree the fade-out of trait theory in favour of style or contingency theory may be a function of democratic culture. For the implied assumption behind these latter theories is that anyone can be an effective leader provided he or she behaves in the right way, or at least in the way appropriate to the situation, whereas trait theories seemed to imply an elite officer corps of managerial talent who had inherited or acquired the requisite characteristics (Handy, 1993: 99).

2A: 8.2 Style/Behavioural/Attitudinal Approach to Leadership

Between 1945, with the Ohio State and Michigan studies, and the mid-1960s, with the development of the Managerial/Leadership Grid, new approaches to leadership studies replaced the reliance on trait approaches. The new approaches became known by different names: attitudinal (as attitudes on leadership were investigated), style, and behavioural. These studies grew from the failure of researchers to identify any distinguishing features common to all leaders. Researchers also began to investigate what *behaviours* distinguished successful managers from unsuccessful managers. This attention focused on behaviour, such as leaders' methods of communication and motivation of subordinates and how they made decisions. Goffee and Jones (2000) observed

that, during the 1940s, *style* theory became fashionable in the United States, largely replacing the focus on the trait theory. While the trait approach emphasized the *personality* characteristics of leaders, the style approach emphasized the *behaviour* or leaders. Fleishman (1973) observed, "The shift in emphasis... was from thinking about leadership in terms of traits that someone 'has' to the conceptualization of leadership as a form of activity" (1973: 3).

The style approach expanded leadership studies to include the behaviour of leaders towards employees. Its findings determined that leadership consisted largely of two behavioural styles: (i) task behaviour and (ii) relationship behaviour. Relationship behaviours influence how much employees feel comfortable with themselves, with each other, and with their situations. Essentially, the style theory of leadership aims to explain how leaders might best combine task and relationship behaviours for optimum organizational outcomes. Researchers into behavioural or style leadership investigated if effective behaviours could be identified, so that prospective managers who behaved according to these leadership methods might be chosen and, following that, if current managers might be trained to emulate these behaviours (Hannagan, 1998: 43).

Some of the earliest studies on the style approach were conducted in the late 1940s at Ohio State University — based on Stogdill's (1948) findings. At the same time, leadership behaviour in small groups was the focus of a series of studies at the University of Michigan. In the early 1960s, a third strand of studies was initiated by Blake and Mouton, exploring task and relationship behaviours of organizational leaders and managers. These three studies became the most widely known of the many research studies which could be categorized under the style approach.

2A: 8.3 Ohio State Studies

Research initiated in 1945 by Stogdill and others at the Bureau of Business Research at Ohio State University concluded that certain clusters of behaviours were characteristic of leaders, and these could be grouped under the two general leader behaviour types:

- Concern/Consideration for people: This behaviour involves a manager's concern for improving communication and developing mutual trust and liking between manager and subordinates. The Ohio State studies viewed Consideration as "behaviour indicative of friendship, mutual trust, respect, and warmth in the relationship between the leader and the members of his staff" (Halpin, 1959: 4).
- Initiating structure / Concern for the task: This managerial behaviour is formal, controlling, task-oriented, highly directive of subordinates, and focused on task achievement (Stogdill & Coons, 1957; Stogdill, 1974). Halpin (1959) summarized Initiating Structure as, "the leader's behaviour in delineating the relationship between himself and members of the workgroup and in endeavouring to establish well-defined patterns of organization, channels of communication, and methods of procedure" (1959: 4).

Using a *Leader Behaviour Description Questionnaire (LBDQ)*, the Ohio researchers surveyed hundreds of subordinates, superiors, and peers of leaders about their observations on the behaviour of the leaders — that is, on *how* leaders carried out their activities (Cartwright & Zander, 1960; Hemphill & Coons, 1957). Another study instrument, a *Leader Opinion Questionnaire (LOQ)*, was used by Hemphill, Seigel, & Westie (1951) and, in revised form, by Fleishman (1989), to gather data from leaders about their perceptions of their own leadership style.

According to Stogdill (1974) and his colleagues, employee satisfaction rates were highest and staff turnover lowest under leaders who were rated high in consideration for people. Under leaders with high task orientation and low concern for people, staff showed the highest grievance rates and highest turnover rates. The findings, however, showed contextual variation in the way managers' effectiveness was measured by their own leaders. Superiors overseeing the management of a manufacturing process accorded higher credit

to managers who were primarily task-oriented and less concerned about people. The opposite was found to be the case in service organizations, where the most highly rated managers were those with a higher concern for people than for task completion (Stogdill & Coons, 1957).

Determining how best a leader might mix task and relationship behaviours has been the focus of studies on the style approach. Northouse (1997) summarizes that research confirms that leadership which is high on both structure and consideration behaviours tends to be the best form of leadership (1997: 34). As the Ohio State studies showed that the behaviour of a leader could be described as any mix of both Initiating Structure and Consideration dimensions, leader behaviour was first plotted on two separate axes rather than on a single continuum. These two factors were drawn up by Halpin and Winer (1957), who studied American Air Force officers, and by Fleishman (1951, 1953, 1957) from studies of industrial supervisors, and formalized in their classic form by Fleishman (1973). From this, four quadrants were developed to illustrate various combinations of Initiating Structure (task behaviour) and Consideration (relationship behaviour), illustrated in Figure 2.1.

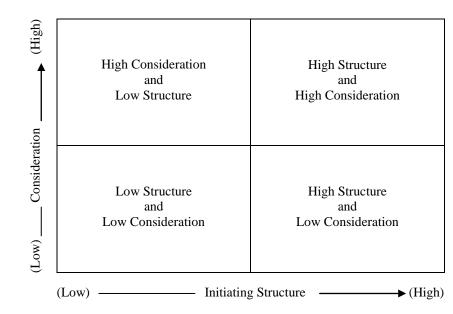


Figure 2.1 The Ohio State Leadership Quadrants

Source: Fleishman, 1973

2A: 8.4 The University of Michigan Leadership Studies

The earlier studies of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan identified two leadership concepts, based on clustering characteristics that seemed related to each other:

- *employee orientation*, which stresses the relationships aspect of leadership, and respect for the importance, individuality, and needs of each employee.
- *production orientation*, which emphasizes production and the technical aspects of work, and views an employee as a means of production.

Using these earlier Michigan studies as a starting point, Rensis Likert (1961) and his colleagues at the University of Michigan conducted extensive interviews with leaders (managers) and followers (subordinates). During the 1940s, their findings identified two basic forms of leader behaviour:

- Leaders using *job-centred leader behaviour* pay close attention to the work, procedures, and performance of employees. Likert reported that these leaders were found more often overseeing low production.
- Leaders using *employee-centred leader behaviour* endeavour to develop a cohesive work group and to promote employee satisfaction with their jobs.

The welfare of subordinates was reported to be the primary concern of employee-centred leaders (Likert, 1961). This employee orientation is similar to the cluster of *consideration* behaviours identified in the Ohio State University studies. Likert found that:

Supervisors with the best records of performance focus their primary attention on the human aspects of their subordinates' problems and on endeavouring to build effective work groups with high performance goals (Likert, 1961: 7).

The Michigan studies also found that employee-centred leader behaviour tended to be organic and flexible, whereas job-centred leader behaviour tended to be rigid and bureaucratic. Likert studied only the two styles of leader behaviour at the ends of a single continuum in order to contrast extremes. Likert also discovered that high-producing supervisors "make clear to their subordinates what the objectives are and what needs to be accomplished and then give them freedom to do the job" (1961: 7). He also reported that a more general style rather than more close supervision style tended to result in higher productivity. Researchers at Michigan University's Research Center for Group Dynamics including Cartwright & Zander (1960) and Katz & Kahn (1951) — also investigated the effect of leader behaviour on the outcomes of small organizational groups. Bowers and Seashore (1966) reported how employeeoriented leader behaviour manifested itself through leaders valuing the individuality of employees and by giving special attention to their personal needs. Task- or production-centred leader behaviour emphasized the technical and production aspects of a job, and treated workers as a means for accomplishing tasks (Bowers & Seashore, 1966).

Kahn (1956) reported how the earlier Michigan studies viewed employee and production orientations as opposite ends of a single continuum — suggesting that leaders were either production- or employee-oriented. Subsequent studies at Michigan, however, suggested that leaders could focus simultaneously on both production and employees (Kahn, 1956).

The behaviours described at Ohio State were reflected in those identified at Michigan, but with some essential contrasts. For example, the Ohio researchers did not see leader behaviour as one-dimensional as they assumed that each behaviour was independent. They argued that a leader could simultaneously practise differing levels of both initiating structure and consideration. The two distinct behaviours were seen as two different continua: a leader could be low in setting structure and low or high in consideration behaviour; or a leader could be high in initiating structure and high or low in task behaviour (Stogdill & Coons, 1957). According to Naylor (1999), these early systematic comparisons contributed to a growing focus on behaviour studies of leaders (1999: 530). Subsequent research, however, isolates other variables that make consistent prediction difficult and determines that situational influences also occur (Griffin, 1999: 522). These are discussed under the headings of situational/contingency approaches in subsection 2A:8.6.

Two theoretical concepts common to the Ohio State, Michigan, and Likert leadership studies emphasized (i) *task* accomplishment, and (ii) the development of personal *relationships*. These concepts were popularized by Blake and Mouton in their managerial/leadership grid which they used extensively for organization and management development programmes.

2A: 8.5 The Leadership Grid

In the early 1960s, Blake and Mouton first published a two-dimensional managerial grid (later renamed the leadership grid) outlining their theories on management behaviour. The grid used a vertical axis to quantify *concern with people* and a horizontal axis to quantify *concern for production*. Each of the axes are labelled with scales from 1 to 9, with a score of 1 representing minimum concern and 9 representing maximum concern. Over the next three decades they refined and revised the grid several times (Blake & Mouton, 1964, 1978, 1984, 1985, 1986). In the later versions they included a third dimension, the *motivation* axis (e.g., Blake & McCanse, 1991).

Blake and Mouton (1964) defined *concern for production* as concern with whatever an organization seeks to achieve. *Concern for people* refers to a leader's attention to the people who are engaged with achieving organizational goals. This concern includes building organizational commitment and trust, promoting personal worth of employees, providing proper working conditions and remuneration, and promoting good interpersonal relations (Blake & Mouton, 1964). In the Grid, five different types of leadership — based on concern for production (task) and concern for people (relationship) — are outlined, similar to the quadrants identified by the Ohio State studies.

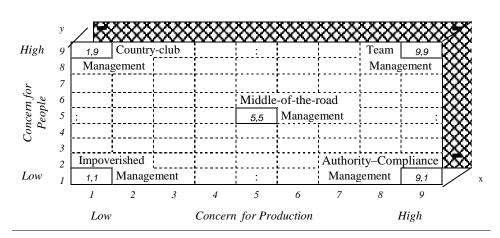


Figure 2.2 Blake & Mouton Leadership/Managerial Grid

Based on Blake & Mouton (1985), with 3D modification based on Blake & McCanse (1991: 33)

The leadership grid (Figure 2.2) portrays five major leadership styles:

• Country-club management (people-pleaser) — 1,9

Grid point 1,9 (axis-X, axis-Y co-ordinates) represents high concern for people and low concern for production. This management style may assume that a most important leadership activity is to secure the voluntary co-operation of followers to obtain high levels of productivity. Subordinates of these managers report generally high levels of satisfaction. These leaders promote a positive climate by being agreeable and supportive, but others may consider them to be too easy-going and sometimes indecisive.

• Authority-Compliance (Task) Management — 9,1

Grid point 9,1 scores a high concern for production and efficiency and a low concern for people, except as tools for effecting tasks. This management style is task oriented and stresses the quality of the decision over the wishes of subordinates. Such managers believe that group-centred action may achieve mediocre results. They can be conscientious, loyal and personally capable, but can be seen as overpowering and can become alienated from their subordinates who may do only the minimum to keep themselves out of trouble.

• Impoverished Management —1,1

Grid point 1,1 scores a low concern for both people and tasks. This type of leader exerts the minimum effort to manage, is reactive rather than proactive, and believes in a laissez-faire approach, relying on previous practice to keep the organization going.

• Middle-of-the-road Management — 5,5

Grid point 5,5 scores a moderate amount of concern for both people and production. Managers applying this management style believe in compromise, so that decisions are taken but only if endorsed by subordinates. These managers may be dependable, maintaining morale of workers at a satisfactory level, and supportive of the status quo, but are not likely to be dynamic leaders and may have difficulty facing up to innovation and change. They are often described as expedient but tend to ignore conviction for the sake of 'progress'.

• Team Management — 9,9

Grid point 9,9 scores high on concern for both people and production. Blake and Mouton argue that this management style provides the most effective leadership. These managers believe that concern for people and for tasks are compatible. They believe that tasks need to be carefully explained and decisions agreed with subordinates to achieve a high level of participation and teamwork, satisfying employees' basic need for trust, involvement, and commitment in work.

(Blake & Mouton, 1964, 1978, 1985)

By promulgating the grid, Blake and Mouton hoped to encourage people to recognize their own styles and therefore develop more effective leadership styles. In later studies, Blake and McCanse (1991) separated leaders according to whether they were driven by a desire to succeed (+) or by fear of failure (-). They represented this on a revised grid by projecting a third axis receding from the face of the earlier grid. This helped to identify other common types, particularly people who moved between two or more styles. Blake and Mouton (1985) suggested that individuals usually have a 'dominant' and a 'backup' Grid style. The backup style is the style used when under pressure, when the usual/dominant style does not work.

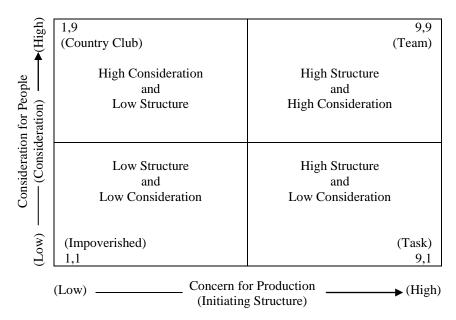
Along with the five major Grid styles, Blake and McCanse (1991) identified two other styles incorporating multiple aspects of the grid:

- Paternalist/Maternalist style of leadership oscillates between the whipcracking 9,1- and the people pleasing 1,9+. This reflects a 'benevolent dictator' type of person who acts graciously but does so for the sake of goal achievement, or who wants to be liked by others but who can crack the whip when there is a fear of failure. They treat people as if they were dissociated from the task.
- Opportunism is a style adopted by a leader who uses any combination of the five grid styles for personal gain. Opportunistic managers perform for selfish rather than organizational gain, and effort is expended only for personal advantage (Blake & McCanse, 1991: 30).

The Leadership Grid has provided a practical model of leadership for consulting and for organizational development (Northouse, 1997: 39). The Grid is founded on two major leadership behaviours: (i) task, and (ii) relationship — reflecting the study findings from both the Ohio State University and the University of Michigan.

Hersey and Blanchard (1988) suggested that the Leadership Grid provided popular terminology for five points within the four quadrants of the Ohio State studies. While the Ohio State framework attempts to include behavioural concepts (items) as well as attitudinal items, Hersey and Blanchard pointed to one distinction between the two frameworks: the Grid model tends to represent attitudinal aspects that measure the values and feelings of a leader (comparable to the 'concern for' aspect in the Ohio State model). Figure 2.3 amalgamates the two frameworks for illustrative purposes.

Figure 2.3 Merging of Ohio State and Managerial Grid theories of leadership



Source: Hersey & Blanchard, 1988, p. 101

The style approaches to leadership studies provide descriptive (and not prescriptive) perspectives for assessing components of leadership behaviour in task- and relationship-oriented contexts. Northouse (1997) emphasizes the valuable contribution of the style approach to the understanding of leadership behaviour, through establishing the conceptual idea of task- and relationship-

oriented categorization of all leadership styles. Bryman (1992) and Yukl (1994) caution, however, that research on style theories does not adequately show the connection between leader style and performance outcomes. Yukl contends that "the results from this massive research effort have been mostly contradictory and inconclusive" (1994: 75). Nevertheless, style leadership studies provide heuristic value, insofar as they provide a broad conceptual map that is useful in helping to outline or explain particular leadership behaviours.

Later studies (outlined below in subsections 2A: 8.6 to 2A: 8.15.6) proved that leadership involves more than the style of the person. Situational needs, cultural variations, and the influence of subordinates are examples of changing contingencies that leaders have to continually take account of. These findings established the notion of contingency as a core aspect of leadership.

2A: 8.6 Situational/Contingency Approaches to Leadership

As behaviour researchers often failed to identify consistency in the relationship between leader behaviour and follower responses, situational models — among other approaches to understanding leadership — began to be investigated. Situational models assume that appropriate leader behaviour depends on situational variables. Riggs (2001*b*) declares, "In essence, leadership is situational" (2001*b*: 9). Hersey and Blanchard (1988) suggested that situational approaches examine the interplay among what they call the three main components of the leadership process — the leader, the follower, and the situation — in order to find causal relationships that will lead to predictability of behaviour. They add that common to all situational approaches is the requirement for leaders to behave in a flexible manner, and to have the ability to diagnose and apply the leadership style appropriate to any particular situations (1988: 106).

2A: 8.6.1 'Situational'/'Contingency' Taxonomic Anomalies

While reviewing the literature for the current work, a taxonomic anomaly became apparent, particularly where different sources used varying or contradictory nomenclature when classifying theoretical approaches to leadership in textbooks. This was particularly evident for the terms 'situational' and 'contingent'. For some authors these terms seemed to be interchangeable, for example, Goffee and Jones (2000) suggest that "Recent leadership thinking is dominated by contingency theory, which says that leadership is dependent on a particular situation" (2000: 65). Bass (1990) sees situational theory as the opposite to trait theories, as "situational theorists suggested that leadership is all a matter of situational demands, that is, situational factors determine who will emerge as leader.... The emergence of a great leader is a result of time, place, and circumstance" (1990: 38). While apparently using situational and contingent as synonymous, Bass refers to effectiveness of leaders being "contingent on the demands imposed by the situation", when he discusses Fiedler's contingency theory of task-oriented and relations-oriented leaders (Bass, 1990: 46). Discussing Fiedler's path–goal theory as a contingency theory, Bass illustrates the path-goal argument in the context of a 'situation' being favourable where a task is structured, clear, and easy to resolve, and where emphasis is placed on "the need to place the person in the situation" which is deemed favourable or not (Bass, 1990: 47).

Naylor (1999) does not use the term 'situational' to categorize any approach to leadership studies. Instead, Naylor uses the term 'contingency theory' to compare leadership effectiveness across a wide range of work 'situations' (1999: 531). Under the 'contingency' classification, Naylor refers to Fiedler's 'contingency' theory to describe Fiedler's matching of leadership styles with favourable 'situations' (Naylor, 1999: 532). Griffin, on the contrary, classifies Fiedler's least-preferred co-worker (LPC) theory, outlined in Section 2A: 8.8 below, as the first true 'situational' theory of leadership (1999: 525). Hannagan (1998), similar to Griffin but contrasting with Naylor, classifies Fiedler's theories as situational, while Hersey and Blanchard (1988) refer to Fiedler's 'contingency' model' as one of the many 'situational' models of leadership (1988: 106).

Northouse (1997) equates situational leadership with the leadership theory developed by Hersey and Blanchard (1969*a*), i.e. that different situations

demand different kinds of leadership, requiring individual leaders to adapt styles to the requirements of different situations. Bass (1990) summarized the situationalist viewpoint as that which holds that "the emergence of a great leader is a result of time, place, and circumstance" (1990: 38). Contrasting with Hannagan (1998) and Griffin (1999), who categorized Fiedler's theories as 'situational', Northouse sees Fiedler's theories as "the most widely recognized" of the 'contingency' theories. Despite this, Northouse adds that leadership performance has to be examined in the 'situations' in which they lead, as contingency theory was concerned with matching leadership styles and situations:

It [contingency theory] is called 'contingency' because it suggests that a leader's effectiveness depends on how well the leader's style fits the context. To understand the performance of leaders, it is essential to understand the situations in which they lead. Effective leadership is contingent on matching a leader's style to the right setting (Northouse,1997: 74).

After equating situational leadership exclusively with Hersey and Blanchard's model of situational leadership, Northouse (1997) ambiguously refers to the path–goal theory of leadership as "one of the... situational/contingency theories of leadership" (1997: 95). Notwithstanding this, when he discusses the path–goal theory (Section 2A:8.9 below) at length, it is not included in either of his textual critiques on situational or contingency theories of leadership.

While Griffin (1999: 527) treats the path–goal theory as 'situational', Naylor (1999: 534) treats the path–goal theory as one of the 'contingency' theories. Furthermore, Northouse (1997: 88) distinguishes the path–goal theory from both situational and contingency models of leadership:

In contrast to the situational approach, which suggests that a leader must adapt to the development level of subordinates, and unlike contingency theory, which emphasizes the match between the leader's style and specific situational variables, the path–goal theory emphasizes the relationship between the leader's style and the characteristics of the subordinates and the work setting (1997: 88).

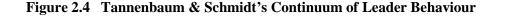
Naylor views the approach of Vroom–Yetton (subsection 2A:8.10 below) as a contingency approach; Griffin (1999: 529) classifies Vroom–Yetton as

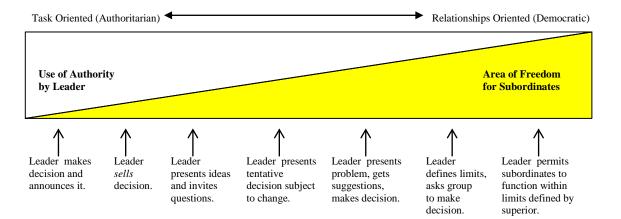
situational; while Hannagan (1998: 52) classifies the Vroom–Yetton approach under a separate 'participatory leadership' heading. Furthermore, Hersey & Blanchard (1988: 106) classify what they call the 'contingency' models of both Fiedler and Vroom–Yetton as 'situational' models.

While this study draws attention to examples of the varying and even contradictory labelling of leadership theories, the taxonomy adopted here will use the terms 'situational' and 'contingent' as interchangeable terms, except where otherwise explicitly distinguished.

2A: 8.7 Tannenbaum & Schmidt Continuum of Leadership Behaviour

Naylor commented on how the merits of either/or dichotomies began to be viewed as inadequate when describing the complexities of real managers (1999: 530). In an attempt to address the variable effect of leader–follower–context (termed 'leader–follower–situation' by Hersey and Blanchard), Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1958/1973) drew up their *continuum*, illustrating different degrees of boss and employee involvement, across a range or continuum of choices between democratic or relationship-oriented behaviours and authoritarian or task-oriented behaviours. Tannenbaum and Schmidt suggested that directing and participating are two halves of a continuum, with varying gradations between them.





Source: R. Tannenbaum and W. H. Schmidt, 1958, p. 96

Figure 2.4 illustrates Tannenbaum and Schmidt's model of variable mixes of leader and employee inputs, suggesting how leaders might adjust their styles according to the characteristics of subordinates and according to the exigencies of changing situational demands. In suggesting that leaders might vary their styles, Tannenbaum and Schmidt viewed leadership as something that could be learned from experience. The continuum identifies seven leadership behaviours that range between the extremes of boss-centred and subordinate-centred leadership — depending on the particular combination of leader, follower, and situation. Each point on the continuum is influenced by characteristics of the leader (including value system, confidence in subordinates, and personal inclinations), employees (including their need for independence, readiness to assume responsibility, interest, experience, and expectations), and the situation (including time pressures, the actual problem, and type of organization).

Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1958) challenged the older assumptions that leaders concerned with task were authoritarian, and that leaders concerned with relationships were democratic. The authoritarian style of leader behaviour was often based on their occupational position and on the view that people were innately lazy and unreliable — as in Theory X. The democratic style assumed that the power of leaders was granted to them by their subordinates and that people can be self-directed and organizationally creative when properly motivated — as in Theory Y. This resulted in all policies being determined by the leader if he or she was authoritarian; while policies were open to discussion where the leader was democratic

Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1958) challenged the belief that either directive (autocratic) or participative (democratic) leadership was superior. They contended, for example, that a directive leader was better when time was scarce or when circumstances were difficult, such as in a crisis situation. Alternatively, participative leadership was more appropriate where experienced subordinates could exercise good decision-making skills. In their continuum, they depicted a wide variety of styles of leader behaviour between the two extremes, as in Figure 2.4 above. They named one of the two extremes the 'leader power and influence', and the other extreme the 'nonleader power and influence'. Sometimes the continuum is extended beyond the democratic leader to include a laissez-faire style. Lewin, Lippitt and White (1960) identified this laissez-faire

as a third form of leadership style, wherein no one attempts to influence anyone else, and any leadership is informal and emergent leadership.

2A: 8.8 Fiedler's Contingency Theory of Leadership

Fred Fiedler, because of his work on leadership effectiveness, was dubbed "the father of the contingency theory of leadership" (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 108). Fiedler (1967) went beyond the behaviourist approaches to a contingency model, proposing that a leader's behavioural style is quite *fixed*, reflecting the leader's personality. He identified two leadership styles as being quite universal: (i) task oriented (analogous to job-centred and initiating-structure behaviour) and (ii) relationship oriented (comparable with employee-centred and consideration behaviour). Either of these leadership styles would be appropriate, depending on the requirements of a particular job or the 'favourableness of the situation' (1967: 13; 1985: 20-22). Fiedler divided situation favourableness into three general categories that determine if a given situation is favourable or not for leader effectiveness: (i) leader–member relations, (ii) task structure, and (iii) position power:

- Leader-member relations (LMR) is the most important factor for leader effectiveness, and refers to the nature of the personal relationship between the leader and the work group. When the relationship is strong — based on mutual acceptance, confidence, support and loyalty, and when both sides like each other — the leader can be more effective.
- **Task structure** (**TS**) is the degree to which the group's task is well defined. Highly structured routines and unambiguous procedures are more favourable for a leader, facilitating the enforcement of desired levels of performance, while the leader can devote less time to supervisory activities. Unstructured and complex operations are less favourable for a leader, requiring him or her to adopt a consultative style and a blend of guiding/directing and democratic styles, while employees need to exercise problem-solving approaches for their ongoing nonroutine duties.
- **Position power** (**PP**) is the power and authority that the leader's position provides. Where a leader has power to assign work and to reward or punish employees, position power tends to be strong. It is weaker where the leader needs further sanction. Managers lower down a hierarchy will have diluted

position power. Fiedler, however, believed that position power was not as important as either leader–member relations or task structure (Fiedler, 1967: 13; 1985: 20-22).

According to this model, eight possible combinations of the three situational variables were possible (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 108). As leadership situation varied from high to low on these variables, one of the eight combinations (situations) resulted. Fiedler suggested that the most favourable situation for leaders to influence their group was one in which they had good leader–member relations, hold high position power, and are directing a high task structure; for example, a popular army general reviewing troops. In contrast, a most unfavourable situation for leaders is where they are disliked, have little position power, and face an unstructured task; for example, an unpopular person who tries to direct a community task force of volunteers (Fiedler, 1967; Fiedler & Bons, 1976; Fiedler & Chemers, 1984; Fiedler & Chemers, 1985).

Fiedler (1971) believed that managers have difficulty in altering the style that helped them achieve their success. He suggested that managers generally are not flexible and that attempting to change personal leadership styles to suit a situation was futile, requiring instead that effective group performance be achieved by matching a particular manager to a particular situation — such as an authoritarian leader for a job requiring directive leadership — or by changing the situation to match the manager. More recent studies (e.g. Peters & Austin, 1985: 274-85) challenged his assumptions about the inflexibility of leader behaviour as unrealistic.

Figure 2.5 illustrates the relationship between varying types of work situations and the appropriate leader's style, according to Fiedler.

Situation Control	High Situation Control			Moderate Si	tuation C	Low Situation Control		
Leader–member relations (LMR)	Good		Good	Poor		Poor		
Task structure (TS)	Hig	gh	Low	Low	High		Low	
Leader position power (PP)	Strong	Weak	Strong	Weak	Strong Weak		Strong	Weak
Situations	1	2	3	4	5 6		7	8
Predictions	TASK MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR LEADER is best fit to situation 1, 2 & 3			MOT BEHA LEA is best fit	TIONSHI IVATED AVIOUR ADER to situat 5 & 6	TASK MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR LEADER is best fit to situation 7 & 8		
FORMULA: LMR+TS+PP equals Situation Control								

Figure 2.5 Fiedler's Contingency Model

Adapted from Fiedler & Chemers (1974)

In order to determine what type of leader a person is, Fiedler measured leadership style by means of a questionnaire called the **least-preferred co-worker** (LPC) scale. Griffin (1999) describes Fiedler's LPC theory (1967) as the first true situational theory of leadership (1999: 525).

Fiedler's model employs a scale to measure leadership style to indicate the degree to which a person described favourably or unfavourably his or her least preferred co-worker. The latter is an employee with whom the person could *work* least well (but who may or may not be the employee least *liked* by that person). A bipolar eight-point scale containing from sixteen to twenty-two items were used, as in Figure 2.6.

Figure 2.6 Least Preferred Co-worker (LPC) measure

- 1. Think of the person with whom you can work *least* well. This person may be someone you work with now or someone you knew in the past. This person does not have to be the person you like least well, but should be the person with whom you had the most difficulty in getting a job done.
- 2. Describe this person as he or she appears to you by completing the following scale. Place an 'X' in one of the eight spaces according to how well the adjective fits the person. Look at the words at both ends of the line before placing your 'X'.
- 3. There are no right or wrong answers. Work rapidly; your first answer is likely to be the best. Do not omit any items and mark each item only once.

Pleasant	:8	:7	: 6	:5	:	:3	:2	: <u></u> : 1	Unpleasant
Friendly	:	:	:6	:5	:	:3	:2	:: 1	Unfriendly
Rejecting	:1	:	:	:	:	:	:	::	Accepting
Helpful	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	::	Frustrating
Unenthusiastic								::	Enthusiastic
	1	-	5	•	5	0	,	0	
Tense	1	-	5	•	5	0	,	: <u> </u>	Relaxed
Distant	:1	2	3	4	5	6	: 7	:: :	Close
Cold	:1	:2	:3	:4	: 5	:6	: 7	:: 8	Warm
Co-operative	:8	:7	:6	: 5	:	: <u> </u>	:2	: <u></u> : 1	Uncooperative
Supportive	:8	:7	: 6	:5	:4	:3	:2	:: 1	Hostile
Boring	:1	:2	:3	:	:5	:6	:	::	Interesting
Quarrelsome	:1	:2	:3	:	:5	:6	:	: <u></u> :	Harmonious
Self-assured	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	::	Hesitant
Efficient	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	::	Inefficient
	0	,	0	5	-	5	2	1 ::	
Gloomy	1	2	5	-	5	0	'	0	Cheerful
Open	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	:: 1	Guarded

Source: Fiedler, 1967, p. 41, with numeric-scale clarification from Laurie J. Mullins, 1996, p. 280

In the LPC measure, traits such as supportive to hostile, or agreeable to disagreeable, were used. A high total score reflects a relationship orientation, while a low score reflects a task-orientated leader. The LPC theory holds that managers who describe their least preferred co-worker or LPC in favourable terms are managers with greater concern for human relationships. These

relationship-oriented leaders are relatively permissive and considerate towards employees.

Fiedler (1971) suggested that task-motivated leaders have low LPC scores; they focus on details; and will be tough and autocratic on any uncommitted subordinates in order to effect a task. Their self-esteem comes from completing tasks. They are only considerate when tasks are going well. Productivity holds the higher value for these leaders (Fiedler, 1971). Relation-motivated leaders, have high LPC scores, get bored with details and focus instead on pleasing others, getting loyalty, and being accepted. Their self-esteem comes from interpersonal relationships.

In summary, Fiedler's contingency theory is an important theory as it provided a new perspective on leadership studies over previous studies. For example, Blake & Mouton (1964), Hersey & Blanchard (1969), Likert (1977), and Vroom & Yetton (1974) were somewhat evangelical regarding the need to educate and improve leaders. Blake and Mouton advocated one best style — 9,9 on their Grid (Figure 2.2 above). Likert advocated a democratic style. Vroom and Yetton advocated addressing the situational context. Unlike these, Fiedler (1978) suggested that because a leader's LPC was quite fixed, that leaders should be chosen to suit the purpose, depending on whether a high or low LPC was required for leadership purposes. This also means that leaders need to know their own LPC score before choosing a particular situation to lead. Alternatively, it is the situation that should be changed, where possible, if the leader could not be changed.

According to the LPC theory, the most and least favourable situations call for task-oriented leadership, whereas moderately favourable situations suggest the need for relationship-oriented leadership. The LPC hypothesis has, however, been criticized for lack of supporting research, that Fiedler's findings are subject to alternative interpretations, and that the LPC measure lacks validity (Griffin, 1999: 526-7). Hersey and Blanchard (1988) suggested that Fiedler was confining leadership to the two basic leadership behaviour styles (task-oriented and relationship-oriented) plotted on a single continuum — contrasting with most evidence indicating that leader behaviour must be plotted on two separate axes (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 109). Ivancevich & Matteson (1999) stated that Fiedler "pointed the way and made others uncomfortably aware of the

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complexities of the leadership process" (1999). Many approaches after Fiedler adopted the contingency perspective.

2A: 8.9 Path–Goal Theory of Leadership

The path–goal theory had its roots in the work of Georgopolous, Mahoney, & Jones (1957) and was developed by Martin Evans (1970), House (1971), and House & Mitchell (1974). The theory is an extension of the expectancy theory of employee motivation, that is, that motivation depends both on how much something is wanted and how likely it is to be achieved (Evans, 1970; House & Mitchell, 1974). House (1971) developed the path–goal theory of leadership to explain how the (Ohio State model of) consideration or initiating-structure behaviours of leaders influence the motivation and satisfaction of individuals, particularly their perceptions of work goals and personal goals (1971: 321-39). Hemphill (1949) and his associates at Ohio State Leadership Studies collated and examined a list of *c*. 1,800 statements about leaders, from which 150 statements were agreed on to form the Leader Behaviour Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) (Hemphill, 1950; Hemphill & Coons, 1957). From studies based on LBDQ respondents, two factors came to the fore in describing leadership: consideration and initiation of structure.

Consideration

This factor indicates the extent of a leader's manifested concern for the welfare of his organizational colleagues. The considerate leader acknowledges work well done, emphasizes the importance of job satisfaction, is very approachable, develops self-esteem among subordinates by treating them as equals, endeavours to put subordinates at ease, implements their suggestions, and involves subordinates in decision making. Such a leader is oriented towards developing trust and positive relationships (Atwater, 1988; Bass, 1990). The inconsiderate leader publicly criticises subordinates, disregards their feelings, threatens their security, and refuses to explain his or her actions.

Initiation of Structure

Initiation of structure indicates the extent to which a leader initiates and defines organizational activities. It includes leadership behaviour such as deciding on implementation details and standards, and adopting clear but somewhat formal patterns of communication and work patterns. Such a leader is oriented directly to the task, and does not consult subordinates. On the other hand, a leader who has a low initiating structure is viewed as hesitant in initiating group action, and typically makes suggestions only when requested and then allows subordinates to determine work methods (Bass, 1990: 512).

* * *

House, who did much of his leadership research at Ohio State University, saw contradictions in the Ohio State model, such as, where initiating structure, consideration, or certain combinations of these two variables were not very effective. He wanted to investigate situations where either initiating structure or consideration was most appropriate (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 110). House and Mitchell (1974) explained the path–goal theory as follows:

According to this theory, leaders are effective because of their impact on subordinates' motivation, ability to perform effectively, and satisfactions. The theory is called path–goal because its major concern is how the leader influences the subordinates' perceptions of their work goals, personal goals and paths to goal attainment. The theory suggests that a leader's behaviour is motivating or satisfying to the degree that the behaviour increases subordinate goal attainment and clarifies the paths to these goals (House & Mitchell, 1974: 81).

The path–goal theory of leadership suggests that the primary functions of a leader are to make valued or desired rewards available in the workplace and to clarify for the subordinates the kinds of behaviour that will lead to goal accomplishment and valued rewards. This means that a leader should clarify the paths to goal attainment. However, an employee may resent a leader explaining tasks that are already clear.

The path–goal theory identifies four kinds of leader behaviour among which a leader can switch:

• **Directive leadership** informs subordinates what is expected of them. The leader provides employees with specific guidance, rules, procedures and schedules that are followed to achieve preset goals. This leadership style is similar to the initiating structure (as in the Ohio State studies).

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• **Supportive leadership** is linked to consideration in that it is concerned about the welfare of employees, and creates a friendly work environment. Leaders adopting such behaviour are approachable and friendly, and treat work colleagues as equals.

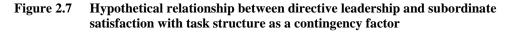
• **Participative leadership** means that subordinates are consulted, their suggestions solicited, and their contribution to decision making is facilitated.

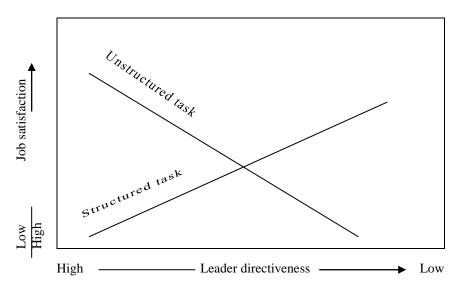
• **Achievement-oriented leadership** sets challenging targets, expects high performance from subordinates, encourages and displays confidence in subordinates, and pursues excellence (Bass, 1990: 628).

The effect of leader behaviour on individual motivation and satisfaction also depends upon the leadership situation, nature of the group tasks and work environment. Employee characteristics such as needs, ability to perform tasks, and personality traits are also important. Employee expectations and valences are based upon the 'performance expectancy' theory in which the motivation of employees is explained through their consideration of the final outcome (Bryson, 1990: 274). House and Mitchell (1974) suggested that the expectancy model tells us that "people are satisfied with their job if they think it leads to things that are highly valued, and they work hard if they believe that effort leads to things that are highly valued" (1974: 81). They add that leadership is related to this model because "subordinates are motivated by leader behaviour to the extent that this behaviour influences expectancies" (1974: 81). That is, "The exchange involved in path-goal theory is seen when subordinates perceive high productivity to be an easy 'path' to attain personal goals and, as a consequence, they are productive" (Bass, 1990: 627). The perceived likelihood is referred to as the worker's effort-performance expectancy. If the employee considers that desirable outcomes are likely to result from successful task completion, the level of motivation will be much higher when completing the task than if undesirable outcomes are foreseen. The desirability of each outcome is called its 'valence' (Bryson, 1999: 174).

Individual satisfaction or dissatisfaction is aligned to the intrinsic benefits and costs experienced by employees in performing the tasks. Intrinsic benefits are evident when the work is meaningful, pleasant and interesting. Intrinsic costs refer to psychological stress arising out of boring, tedious, frustrating or dangerous work (Bryson, 1999: 174).

The leader's behaviour will affect the individual's job satisfaction level and their motivation. It will also affect the individual's satisfaction with the leader. Figure 2.7 illustrates how leader behaviour influences expectancies





Source: House & Mitchell, 1974, p. 86

The contingency variable in this figure is task structure. House and Mitchell proposed that, where followers perform highly structured tasks, the most effective leader behaviour style is one that is high on supportive (relationship) behaviour but low on instrumental (task) behaviour. This assumes that highly structured tasks, such as assembly-line routines, are inherently less satisfying and a source of frustration and stress for employees. Leader relationships in these circumstances should help to counteract the likely frustration and associated stress of such highly structured tasks. It is also assumed that where employees' tasks are highly structured, the required activities are clear to them and thus directions from leaders are less important (House & Mitchell, 1974).

According to path–goal theory, directive leadership will increase individual effort and satisfaction when task demands are ambiguous and clarification does not come from elsewhere. In such a situation, leader directives compensate for lack of structure. Where task situations are clear, directive leadership has the opposite effect and is viewed as a hindrance by people. By showing consideration and displaying other supportive actions the leader will compensate for many unpleasant conditions, increasing both individual effort and satisfaction. However, in situations where the task is interesting and enjoyable, supportive leadership will have little or no effect on individual effort or satisfaction (Bryson, 1999: 175).

Leaders who set challenging goals and show confidence in their people attaining the goals will increase individual effort–performance expectancy in situations where individuals undertake ambiguous and non-repetitive tasks. This achievement-oriented style of leadership causes people to have more confidence in their ability to achieve challenging goals. In situations where individuals have repetitive, highly structured tasks, achievement-oriented leadership will have little or no effect on their expectancies or effort (Bryson, 1999: 175).

House (1971) proposed, where followers are performing relatively unstructured tasks, that a leadership style high on task behaviour and low on relationship behaviour will be most effective. Leader task behaviour provides the necessary direction and role structuring in such situations. House contended that unstructured tasks are assumed to be more challenging, more intrinsically satisfying, and less frustrating or stressful. Under these conditions, leadership relationship behaviour is seen as less important (House, 1971).

Path–goal theory has also explored the role of several leader–follower features, including task structure and social psychological aspects such as group cohesion (House & Dressler, 1974; Schriesheim, 1980; Schriesheim & Schriesheim, 1980).

Bryson (1999) sees organizational performance strongly linked to motivational issues. She adds that individuals' goals and sources of information differ according to their level within the organizational hierarchy, and that these may or may not be congruent with the objectives of the information service or of its parent organization. The leader's task is thus viewed by many (e.g. Bryson, 1999; R. C. Davis, 1942) as the motivating of all individuals and the integrating of each individual's goals to achieve organizational objectives. Studies by Stinson and Johnson (1975), however, suggested that the relationship between leader behaviour and task structure is more complex than House proposed.

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Mathieu (2001) also cautions that theoretical path–goal prescriptions for particular combinations of leader and follower characteristics, in order to optimize effectiveness, are too complex to implement in practice. As well as the difficulty of assessing, modelling, and understanding the 'combination rules', Mathieu points to the additional complications of varying homogeneity and heterogeneity among followers (2001: 447).

In summary, directive leadership aims to clarify and assist paths for a subordinate's goals, particularly where a task is complex and unclear. The follower's disposition for being either self-reinforcing and autonomous on the one hand, or, on the other hand, needing affection will make a difference in the need for directive or supportive leadership. Where subordinates have to deal with straightforward but boring or dangerous tasks, a supportive and considerate leader rather than a directive leader is seen as most appropriate. Interestingly, Bass points out that "Too much motivation among subordinates, evidenced by a state of high anxiety, may call for calming support from the leader rather than any talk about contingent (uncertain) rewards that will increase such anxiety" (1990: 628). Yukl (1981), too, points out that supportive confidence-building may be required rather than drive from a leader in order to reduce anxiety.

2A:8.10 Vroom–Yetton–Jago Contingency/Participatory Theory

Vroom, Yetton, and Jago based their narrower view of situational leadership theory around the amount of decision-making that subordinates participate in. The model was first proposed by Vroom and Yetton in 1973 and revised and expanded by Vroom and Jago in 1988. The Vroom–Yetton–Jago (VYJ) model suggests that leaders should adopt the specific decision-making style most suited for the particular situation based on the available time, on the relative expertise of members, and on the centrality of members accepting the outcome (Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2001: 440). The VYJ model is narrower than other situational theories insofar as it focuses on one part of the leadership process, that is, the amount of decision-making participation that, ideally, should be granted to employees. The basic premises of the VYJ model hold that decision effectiveness depends on the *quality of the decision* and on employee *acceptance of the decision*. The quality of the decision is the objective effect of the decision on performance. Decision acceptance is the extent to which

employees accept and are committed to the decision. To maximize decision effectiveness, the VYJ model suggests that leaders adopt one of five decision-making styles, depending on the situation. The following table outlines these five main leadership decision styles. The styles — two autocratic styles, two consultative styles, and one group style — depend on the degree of participation by employees in decision-making processes. The following table charts an outline of the VYJ 'Direction–Participation Continuum', illustrating differing varying decision-making styles of leaders.

Decision s	tyle	Process	Decision			
Autocratic/ Directive	A1	Leader uses available information	Leader makes decision			
	A2	Leader seeks information from subordinates	Leader makes decision			
Consultative	C1	Leader exchanges ideas with employees <i>individually</i> .	Leader makes decision, which may or may not be influenced by opinions of employees.			
	C2	Leader exchanges ideas with employees <i>as a group</i> .	Leader makes decision, which may or may not be influenced by opinions of employees.			
Group participation	G1	Leader exchanges ideas with subordinates <i>individually</i> .	Leader evaluates individual contributions and implements objective best solution.			
	G2	Leader exchanges ideas with employees <i>as a group</i> .	Leader acts as co-ordinator for group agreement, which is then implemented.			
Delegative	D1	Leader delegates problem to subordinate, while providing relevant information.	Leader supports solution reached by the subordinate.			

Table 2.3 Five decision-making styles defined by Vroom, Yetton, and Jago

Source: Amalgamation of Vroom & Yetton, 1973, p. 13, and Vroom & Jago 1988, p. 745

The Vroom-Yetton-Jago model outlines decision styles, which range from the purely autocratic (AI) at one end to total participation style (G) at the opposite end. The model also suggests that leaders can choose between different styles depending on the particular decision-making circumstances (Vroom & Yetton, 1973; Vroom & Jago, 1988). This contrasts with the views of Tannenbaum and Schmidt, who held that leaders consistently follow their own particular styles.

In addition to the decision-style table, VYJ drew up a complex time-driven decision tree for implementing the VYJ model. The complexities of the tree, however, require detailed attention by leaders to interpret its permutations. Computer software is available now for inputting the variables.

The VYJ contingency model was originally based on a model commonly used by researchers outlining a contingency approach to leadership, as illustrated in Figure 2.8:

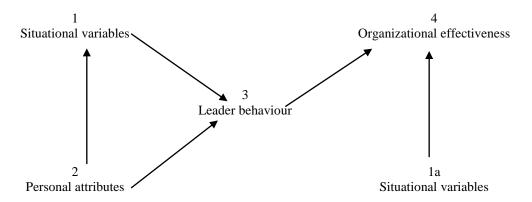


Figure 2.8 Schematic representation of variables used in leadership research

This model is based on the assumption that situational variables interact with personal attributes or characteristics of a leader to result in leader behaviour that affects organizational effectiveness. The resultant organizational/situational change, in turn, influences the next leadership input. Figure 2.8 assumes that situational variables '1' (such as employees, time, and organizational demands) interacting with personal attributes '2' of the leader (such as experience and/or communications skills) will result in leader behaviour '3' (such as a directive style of leader) to influence organizational effectiveness '4' which is also influenced by other situational variables '1a' outside the control of the leader (Vroom & Yetton, 1973). Figure 2.8 draws not only on the situational approach to leadership, but also on some aspects of the trait approach discussed in Section 2A:8.1. The VYJ approach is also described as contingent (situational) because the leader's possible behaviours are contingent on the interaction between his or her enquiry and assessment of a situation for developing a response to the enquiry.

Source: Vroom and Yetton (1973)

Contrasting with Fiedler's views above, Vroom, Yetton, and Jago suggested that leaders have the ability to adapt their styles to fit the situation. Such adapting is regarded as an essential aspect of 'situational' theories of leadership, for example, Northouse (1997) stated, "Situational leadership stresses that leadership is composed of both a directive and a supportive dimension, and each has to be applied appropriately in a given situation" (1997: 53). Finally, Vroom, Yetton, and Jago claimed that their model had practical importance for organizational leadership studies as, based on their research, they believed that people have the capacity to be developed into more effective leaders (Vroom & Yetton, 1973, Vroom & Jago 1988).

In summary, Hersey and Blanchard (1988) asserted that the Vroom–Yetton approach was 'important', and found that it was "widely respected among researchers in leadership behaviour" (1988: 116). Wexley and Latham (1981) remarked that the model required learning in order for it to be useful in everyday situations, but Field (1982) argued that managers trained in using the model are more likely to choose the most appropriate decision-making style. Bass (1990) also affirmed the model's utility in differing decision processes in differing situations, resulting in increased effectiveness of decisions.

2A:8.11 Hersey and Blanchard's Situational Leadership Theory

Situational leadership focuses on leadership *in situations*. This implies that different kinds of leadership are required in varying situations. This, therefore, means that leaders must alter their directive/supportive styles to suit whatever particular situation arises (Northouse, 1997: 53). An effective leader adapts his or her particular style, influenced by the competence and situational needs of employees. Hersey and Blanchard's (1969*a*) situational leadership theory suggests that leadership behaviour should be matched to the maturity of subordinates, in two ways:

- **Psychological maturity** Employees' self-confidence and ability and readiness to accept responsibility
- Job maturity Employees' relevant skills and technical knowledge.

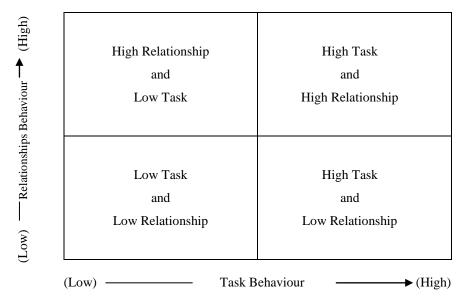
They identified two categories of leadership behaviour corresponding to the *initiating structure* and *consideration behaviour* of the Ohio State leadership studies, which they termed *task behaviour* and *relationship behaviour*, respectively (See Figure 2.7).

• **Task behaviour** — the extent to which leaders are likely to organize and define the roles of members of their group (followers); to explain what activities each is to do and when, where, and how tasks are to be accomplished; characterized by endeavouring to establish well-defined patterns of organization, channels of communication, and ways of getting jobs accomplished.

• **Relationship behaviour** — the extent to which leaders are likely to maintain personal relationships between themselves and members of their group (followers) by opening up channels of communication, providing socio-emotional support, 'psychological strokes' and facilitating behaviours.

(Hersey & Blanchard: 1988: 116-17)

Figure 2.9 Hersey and Blanchard's four basic leader behaviour styles

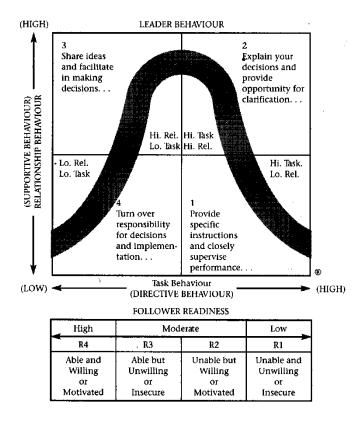


Source: Hersey and Blanchard, 1988, p. 117

The maturity of the person is measured only in relation to the performance of a *particular* task. Maturity is defined by Hersey and Blanchard as: "the capacity to set high but attainable goals (achievement motivation), willingness to take responsibility, and education and/or experience" (1977: 161). An individual may be quite mature in relation to one task, but very immature in relation to another aspect. Relevant to the library context of this study, Bryson (1999) provides an illustrative example of the hypothetical case of an assistant librarian who may be very responsible in helping customers to find information, but who may be very casual in administering the acquisition of serials and journals (1999: 175-6).

In Figure 2.9, four simplified leader behaviour quadrants (high task & low relationship; high task & high relationship; high relationship & low task; low relationship & low task) depict Hersey and Blanchard's suggested different styles of leadership. They suggested that, from the viewpoint of others, the *leadership style* of an individual is the behaviour pattern, which that person exhibits when attempting to influence the activities of others (1988: 116). Hersey and Blanchard contended that the perception by others of this may be very different from the leader's perception of his or her own leadership behaviour. They defined the latter as *self-perception* rather than style, and suggested that leadership style involves some combination of task behaviour and relationship behaviour (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 116).

Figure 2.10 Selecting Appropriate Leadership Styles



Source: Hersey, 1984, p. 63

Hersey and Blanchard believed that as employee maturity increases, leadership should be more relationship-motivated than task-motivated. For four varying situations of employee maturity, illustrated in Figure 2.10, Hersey and Blanchard suggest four leadership responses:

- Delegating to employees for low task and low relationship
- *Participating* with or supporting employees for low task, high relationship
- **Selling** ideas to or coaching employees for high task, high relationship
- *Directing* employees what to do for high task, low relationship.

Hersey and Blanchard (1977) suggested that the first task for a leader, in any situation, is to *diagnose* the nature of the situation — through questions such as, What are the employees being asked to do?, How complex is the task?, Are the employees adequately skilled for task completion?, and Do the employees want to complete a job when they take on that job? Having identified the appropriate development level, the second leadership task is for leaders to *adapt* their style

to the prescribed leadership style in the situational leadership II model, as outlined in Figure 2.10. Hersey and Blanchard emphasized that it is important for leaders to be flexible in their leadership behaviour, as employees move back and forth along the development continuum. Hersey and Blanchard's thesis contrasts with trait approaches and Fiedler's contingency approaches, both of which suggest fixed leadership styles, as their situational theory of leadership suggests that leaders should be continually flexible, to best serve continually changing contexts (1977: 58).

Contrasting with other more complicated leadership models of assessment, the situational approach is straightforward and has been adopted for corporate training (Northouse, 1997: 58). The Hersey and Blanchard situational approach, unlike the many descriptive theories of leadership, is prescriptive, for example, suggesting that a leader should adopt a supportive style in a situation where competent individuals have little confidence. Graeff (1983) and Yukl (1989a) suggested that a strength of the situational leadership approach is its emphasis Northouse argues that the fluid nature of situational on leader flexibility. leadership makes it ideal for applying to employees as they progress or regress on various tasks. As situational leadership underlies adapting to followers, it is also seen as ideal for use with followers whose commitment and competence is seen to change over the course of a project. It is also seen as applicable to virtually all types of organizations, and at all levels, as for most types of tasks (Northouse, 1997: 62). Bass summarized that the "popular but underresearched and controversial" Hersey-Blanchard model focuses on follower's psychological maturity and job experience as core contingencies affecting the need for a leader to be task oriented or relations oriented (Bass, 1990: 510). While Graeff (1983) believed the curvilinear model (Figure 2.10) had no theoretical or logical justification, and Aldag and Brief (1981) argued that the model contained internal measurement inconsistencies because of conceptual contradictions and ambiguities, Bass summarized that the popularity of the model was based on its intuitive appeal.

* * *

2A: 8.12 The Leader–Member Exchange (LMX) Model

In recent years, other situational approaches have been developed from adaptations of the major situational models/theories including the leadermember exchange model and the life cycle model. The leader-member exchange model suggests that leaders have varying relationships with different employees (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975; Graen & Cashman, 1975; Dienesch & Liden, 1986; Graen & Scandura, 1987). The model suggests that leaders cultivate special working relationships with a few 'in-group' employees. Other employees constitute the 'out-group'. 'In-group' employees receive more time and attention from the leader and generally are better performers (Phillips & Bedeian, 1994). Sparrowe and Liden (1997) noted that strong ties are similar to the type of relationship between a supervisor and employees advocated by the LMX approach. High-LMX relationships, characterized by trust and mutual reciprocation, have been shown to relate to follower satisfaction, performance, and turnover (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995).

See also Section 2A:8.15.3 below for LMX in the context of transformational and transactional leadership.

2A: 8.13 Life Cycle Model

The life cycle model is another situational theory, which suggests that appropriate leader behaviour depends on the maturity of followers. Hersey & Blanchard (1977), Blake & Mouton (1964) and many others argued that the effectiveness of leader behaviours — such as initiating structure or consideration — depends on characteristics of followers such as maturity. Yukl & Falbe (1990) and Yukl & Tracey (1992) provide evidence for upward influence processes used by followers on leaders. Westley and Mintzberg (1989) suggest that:

There are important instances when the 'followers' stimulate the leader, as opposed to the other way around. In most cases, however, it would appear that leader and follower participate in creating the vision. The specific content — the original idea or perception — may come from the leader..., but the form which it takes, the special excitement which marks, is co-created (Westley & Mintzberg, 1989: 21).

In the context of life cycle theory, maturity of followers includes motivation, competence, and experience. This theory suggests that as followers grow in maturity, their leader should gradually move from a high level to a low level of task orientation. Employee-oriented behaviour should simultaneously start low, moderately increase, and decline again. Yukl (1994) believes that the life cycle theory is an under-researched area of leadership, even though it is well known among practising managers (Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2001: 131).

2A: 8.14 Contingency Theories of Leadership

An examination of recent leadership literature shows that prevailing leadership thinking is dominated by *contingency* theory (Goffee & Jones, 2000: 65). The contingency theory holds that leadership has to continually adapt in order to respond to ongoing changing contexts. As organizational contingencies are continually changing, this implies that leadership also has to continually change, since leadership has to respond to new and unique sets of circumstances on a daily basis. This means that any new theory of leadership should be dynamic, therefore making any (fixed) model of leadership intangible for practical organizational implementation.

2A: 8.15 Transformational Leadership

Recent literature underlies transformational leadership as one of the most topical approaches in leadership studied since the early 1980s. Transformational leadership is widely accepted as part of 'the New Leadership' paradigm (Bryman, 1992). As implied in its name, transformational leadership is a process that is meant to transform individuals. It assesses followers' motives, endeavours to satisfy their needs, and respects their dignity as whole human beings.

Downton (1973) coined the term 'transformational leadership', which was adopted and developed by the political sociologist James MacGregor Burns in his classic work, *Leadership* (1978). Burns (1978) developed the notion of transformational leadership as an antidote to the calculative and tactical approach to, what he termed, 'transactional' leadership. He viewed

transactional leadership as manipulative, using continual bargaining that effectively modifies employee contracts. Instead, he saw leaders as visionaries who challenged people to accept and achieve high standards in everything they did. According to Burns, charisma or the power of one's persona to motivate others to follow them was a requisite for transformational leadership (1978). Pawar and Eastman (1997) concur with Burns's view of transformational leadership as leadership that goes beyond ordinary expectations by transmitting a sense of mission, stimulating learning experiences and inspiring new ways of thinking (Pawar & Eastman, 1997).

Bass (1985*a*, 1985*b*) developed the work of Burns, as he too explored some contrasts between transactional and transformational leadership. Bass believes that *transactional* leaders determine what employees need to do to achieve personal and organizational objectives. Bass contrasted this with *transformational* leaders, who motivate followers to achieve more than they would have expected by raising motivation and the importance of the value of individuals' tasks within an organization. He suggests that transformational leaders transcend transactional leadership by using the power of their own vision and energy in order to inspire their subordinates (Bass, 1985*b*). Bass (1999) summarizes the distinction thus:

Whereas transformational leaders uplift the morale, motivation, and morals of their followers, transactional leaders cater to their followers' self-interests. The transformational leader emphasizes what you can do for your country; the transactional leader, on what your country can do for you (1990: 9).

According to Bass (1990, 1997), transformational leadership is a process that includes

- charismatic leadership (sharing complete faith in a leader)
- inspirational motivation/leadership (communicating high performance expectations)
- intellectual stimulation (enabling others to think about old problems in new ways)
- individualized consideration (giving personal attention actively to all individuals).

These factors reflect the clinical evidence of Zaleznik (1977/1992), whose surveyed leaders:

- Attracted strong feelings of identity as well as very strong feelings about themselves as leaders (charisma)
- Clarified their purpose and mission as well as generating enthusiasm (inspiration)
- Empathized strongly with individuals (individualized consideration),
- Demonstrated greater interest in ideas than in processes (intellectual stimulation).

Zaleznik's findings were corroborated by interview data from Posner and Kouzes (1988), who found that transformational leaders challenge processes, inspire vision, enable others to act, provide direction, and enthuse ardent commitment. Bass (1990) found that:

the [charismatic] leader must be a person of strong convictions, determined, self-confident, and emotionally expressive and his or her followers must want to identify with the leader as a person, whether they are or are not in a crisis. Whether the charismatic leader is self-aggrandizing or prosocial, he or she generates extraordinary performance in the followers (1990: 220).

Bass (1999) emphasizes that the transformational leader has to align the development of followers' self-development with the interests of the group, organization, or society (1999: 13). Bass suggests that inspirational leadership relies on the sharing of common goals between leaders and followers, rather than depending on a personal identification process. Such leadership depends on the management of meaning, as the leader builds followers' expectations by envisioning a desired future and articulating how to achieve it, intellectually stirring followers out of their conceptual ruts (Bass, 1990). Bass (1990, 1999), therefore, viewed intellectual stimulation, charismatic leadership, and inspirational leadership as integral components of transformational leadership.

2A: 8.15.1 Current Topicality of Transformational Leadership

Avolio (1999*a*) contends that transformational leadership is challenging the traditional leader-centric approach, helping to replace it with more autonomous team approaches for organizational effectiveness. Bass (1999) argues that changes in the marketplace and workforce in the last quarter of the twentieth century have resulted in the need for leaders to become more transformational

and less transactional, if they are to remain effective. Bass also contends that, since the 1970s, lifelong employment and related benefits have proved inadequate as incentives for a much more widespread population of educated professionals, who see themselves as colleagues rather than as subordinates to their employers. He suggests that job satisfaction among followers increasingly relies on autonomy and on challenging work, which transformational leadership fosters and which transactional leadership alone cannot provide. For today's more cynical workforce, transcending individual self-interest for organizational benefit requires the alignment of individuals' interests and values with those of the organization (Bass, 1999: 10). Williams (1994) illustrated how transformational leaders display more citizenship behaviours such as conscientiousness, altruism, courtesy, sportsmanship, and civic virtues, as well as imbuing their subordinates with these same values. Vandenberghe (1999) argues that while transactional leadership might be sufficient for technical, routine or predictable outcomes, transformational leadership is required for the management of uncertainty (1999: 30).

Vandenberghe (1999) believes that leaders who exercise idealized influence (charisma) can best align the organization's mission and the individual's self-concept. He recommends that researchers determine which transformational component is most effective for employees' sense of identity and self-esteem (Vandenberghe, 1999: 27). Bass (1999) believes that transformational leaders — using idealized influence (charisma), inspiration, intellectual stimulation, or individualized consideration — motivate their followers beyond immediate self-interest. This elevates followers' levels of maturity and ideals, along with their concerns for achievement, for self-actualization, and the well-being of others, the organization, and of society (Bass, 1999: 11). Bass elaborates on these motivational agents:

• **Idealized influence** and inspirational leadership are displayed when the leader envisions a desirable future, articulates how it can be reached, sets an example to be followed, sets high standards of performance, and shows determination and confidence.

• **Intellectual stimulation** is displayed when the leader helps followers to become more innovative and creative.

• Individualized consideration is displayed when leaders pay attention to the developmental needs of followers, and support and coach the development of their followers. The leaders delegate assignments as opportunities for growth (1999: 11).

The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) is a method widely used for measuring transactional and transformational leadership (Vandenberghe, 1999: 27). Findings from the MLQ indicate that every leader displays a frequency of both transactional and transformational factors, but that every leader shows a profile that is either predominantly transformational or predominantly transactional (Bass, 1999: 11). Avolio and Bass (1991) found that leaders who are more transformational are more satisfying to their followers, and also more effective than leaders who are mainly transactional. Bass (1985*a*) reported, from an MLQ survey of over 1,500 leaders and general managers, that the subordinates who described their leaders as transformational also reported that the organizations run by those leaders tended to be highly effective. From a human resources point of view, these findings have fundamental significance for selecting future leaders. The same leaders were also found to contribute more to their organizations than the leaders described as transactional (Bass, 1985a).

Interestingly, earlier studies by Litwin and Stringer (1966) showed that transformational-like leadership increased productivity, and at lower costs than authoritarian or democratic leadership did in similar businesses. Singer (1985) demonstrated that subordinates preferred working with transformational rather than transactional leaders. From research findings of his own and of other investigators, Bass (1998) reports that transformational leadership enhances commitment, involvement, loyalty, and performance of followers, and that it helps to reduce stress among followers while transactional leadership can increase stress. Shamir, House, and Arthur (1993) argue that transformational leadership acts on the self-esteem and self-concept of followers. While Burns (1978) viewed transformational and transactional leadership at opposite ends of a continuum, Bass — who acknowledged that *transactional* leadership can be reasonably satisfying and effective (Bass 1985*a*) — suggested that transformational leadership adds substantially to the impact of transactional leadership (Bass, 1999: 12).

2A: 8.15.2 Transformational Leadership and the Transcending of Self-interest

Burns (1978) described the transforming leader as one who moves followers up and beyond Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs to transcend their own selfinterests. Maslow (1954/1970) argued that the effective manager is aware that each staff member moves from one level of need to another as their assignment develops — through safety, psychological, social, esteem, and growth needs. Bass advocates leadership that ultimately encourages the transcending not only of basic self-interest but also transcending self-actualization (1999: 12). Consistent with Burns (1978) and Bass (1999), Handy (1994) advocates the transcending of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, beyond individuals' self-oriented concerns to a stage beyond self-realization, to a stage of *idealization*, which he describes as "the pursuit of an ideal or a cause that is more than oneself" (Handy, 1994: 275). Avolio and Bass (1991) coined the term idealized influence — rather than using the term 'charisma' — to describe the phenomenon of influencing ideas. They suggest that leaders and followers can, by practising high levels of morality, dedicate themselves to selfless and ideal causes, and that such causes can be powerfully motivating.

2A: 8.15.3 Concepts Related to the Transformational– Transactional Paradigm

Bass (1999) suggests that the transformational-transactional leadership paradigm is conceptually independent from leadership concepts such as:

- Directive versus participative leadership
- Leader–Member Exchange (LMX), and
- Consideration, as a factor measured by the Leader Behaviour Description Questionnaire.

While drawing attention to distinctions between these concepts and the concept of transformational–transactional leadership, Bass acknowledged that empirical (Directive/Participative; LMX; and Consideration) correlations could be found between them:

Alternating between Directive and Participative Leadership

Bass (1999) found that transformational leaders could alternate between being directive/participative or authoritarian/democratic. He illustrates this with the

example of Nelson Mandela's style of alternating between a transformational directive style (e.g. urging followers to forget the past) and a transformational participative style (e.g. when he engages with inter-racial consultations). Not only do transformational leaders alternate in this way, but the same leaders can also alternate between transformational and transactional behaviours (Bass, 1999: 13).

Leader–Member Exchange (LMX)

According to Graen and Scandura (1987), Leader–Member Exchange (LMX) focuses on the perceived quality of the dyadic relationship between subordinates and their immediate supervisors. Yukl (1989*b*) attempted to view LMX as transactional because of its reliance on exchange of rewards. Tejeda and Scandura (1994) suggest there is an overlap of both transformational leadership and leader–member exchange. More recent research, by Graen and Uhl-Bien (1991), has reframed LMX as a transactional–transformational leadership process. These writers argue that LMX is a progression of stages providing for the development of trust, loyalty, and respect. Graen and Uhl-Bien conclude that LMX is initially transactional but, with time, it becomes transformational leadership (1991). LMX was discussed in a broader context in 2A:8.12 above.

Consideration — as measured by the Leader Behaviour Description Questionnaire

Bass (1999) states that consideration, as measured by the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ), focuses on friendliness, approachability, and participative decision-making. In contrast, Bass and Avolio (1994) categorized *individualized consideration* — as measured by the Leader Behaviour Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) — as leadership that focused on "knowing your followers' needs and raising them to more mature levels . . . [and using] delegation to provide opportunities for each follower to self-actualize and to attain higher standards or moral development (Bass & Avolio, 1994). Based on earlier research by Seltzer and Bass (1990), Bass (1999) suggests that while LBDQ consideration might substitute for trans*actional* leadership it could not for trans*formational* leadership and the above three concepts or measures, Bass (1999) concludes that transformational leadership must be distinguished from the three paradigms above.

2A: 8.15.4 Effects of Personal Development on Transformational/ Transactional Leadership

Moral and Personal Development

Kuhnert and Lewis (1987) assert that mature moral development is required of transformational leaders. Consistent with this, Bass (1999) cautions against what he calls the *pseudo-transformational* or immature, self-aggrandizing charismatic persona, of the 'false Messiah'. Bass, however, adds that much more research is needed on the ethical and moral elements that distinguish the genuinely transformational leader from the pseudo-transformational leader (1999: 15).

Avolio (1994) suggests that transformational tendencies might be predicted in individuals, based on leadership experiences while still attending school and on the moral standards of the parents of those individuals. Gibbons (1986) found that parents generally had supported transformational leaders in earlier (successful or unsuccessful) efforts to practise leadership. Avolio and Bass (1994) found that the influence of school and work experience on young adults was significant. Vandenberghe (1999) deduced from these arguments, from Gibbons (1986) and Avolio & Bass (1994), that transformational leaders have distinct personality attributes from those of transactional leaders (1999: 28). Atwater & Yammarino (1993), Dubinsky, Yammarino, & Jolson (1995), and Ross & Offermann (1997) reported specific personality types that are attributable to transformational leaders. Ross and Offermann (1997), for example, found that the personality type of many transformational leaders exhibited patterns of high levels of pragmatism, nurturance, feminine attributes, and self-confidence, while they showed low levels of criticalness and aggressiveness. Some of the personality attributes correlated with transformational leadership are traits generally associated with female roles in society, such as 'less aggressive and more nurturant' leadership (Ross & Offermann, 1997: 1084). Interestingly, Bass, Avolio, & Atwater (1996) report that female managers tend to be more transformational than male managers. Vandenberghe (1999), however, cautions that much of this research is in its infancy. He points out that while research on personality types of transformational leaders has identified specific traits, it was carried out without parallel research on identifying traits common to transactional leaders. Research is also required on systematically distinguishing the personality attributes of transformational and transactional leaders, and how

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such differences might explain the differing performance of followers and of units of responsibility (Vandenberghe, 1999: 28).

Training and Education

Bass (1999) contends that it is possible to train a transactional leader to become more transformational as a leader. He does, however, admit that difficulties might lie in individual willingness and ability to be more transformational. Bass and Avolio (1990*b*, 1998) claim that follow-up programmes to prior 'comprehensive' training programmes show modest improvements in transformational factors which participants planned to improve on. Bass claims that "Training to increase transformational leader behaviours begins with an examination of the implicit theories of ideal leadership that trainees carry around in their heads" (1999: 15).

Vandenberghe (1999), however, questions Bass's (1999) confidence in the ability of training aimed at converting leaders from transactional to transformational leaders. He proposes that "more controlled and elaborated designs" be used in order to confirm that transformational leadership could be learned and that it should result in significant improvements in unit performance (Vandenberghe, 1999: 29). One such study was conducted by Barling, Weber & Kelloway (1996) with a field experiment to determine the attitudinal and financial outcomes of a transformational leadership training session within the banking industry. From a study of a pre-test/post-test control group, they reported that subordinates rated managers higher if those managers had received training. The branches of these same managers also showed better financial outcomes (Barling, Weber, & Kelloway, 1996).

Vandenberghe proposes additional '(quasi-)experimental' studies to examine the hypothesis that transformational leadership can be learned and that associated work units would consequently show increased productivity. He also proposes that comparative research should examine if training in transformational leadership might show greater results than training in transactional leadership. Longitudinal studies are also required to address the stability of such training and for measuring the effect of varying post-training time lags on unit productivity (Vandenberghe, 1999: 29).

2A: 8.15.5 Measurement of Transformational Leadership and Transactional Leadership

Bass (1999) observes that survey research using the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire has provided much of the empirical data on transformational and transactional leadership. He questions, however, the reliability of the findings in their totality, as it cannot be claimed that there is one universal model to gauge the full range of leadership models (1999: 18). Yet, it is Kelvin's admonition (originated by Camille Cavour) that "if you can't measure it, you don't know what you are talking about" which propels the ongoing academic efforts to build confirmation of theories, paradigms, principles and understandings. In a similar context, Handy (1994), however, cautions about the validity of measurement instruments when he recounts (what he terms) the McNamara Fallacy, which originally measured success by counting bodies in the Vietnam conflict:

The first step is to measure whatever can be easily measured. This is OK as far as it goes. The second step is to disregard that which can't be easily measured or to give it an arbitrary quantitative value. This is artificial and misleading. The third step is to presume that what can't be measured easily really isn't important. This is blindness. The fourth step is to say that what can't be easily measured really doesn't exist. This is suicide (Handy, 1994: 221).

On the difficulty of measuring leadership, Bass (1999) asserts: "Leadership is as much emotional and subjective as rational and objective in effect" (1999: 18). Bass also refers to the need for researchers to appreciate what non-quantitative scholars in various academic disciplines contribute to the study of transformational leadership and charisma. One of the difficult-to-measure areas in transformational leadership is that of *charisma*. For example, while some charismatic traits might be shared by a charismatic supervisor of one's own and that of a distant and internationally famous leader, Shamir (1995) believes that other traits are different for local and distant *charismatic* leaders. More critical distinctions are, therefore, required.

Bass (1999) perceived that *charismatic* leadership had many different meanings in the media and the public mind, such as "celebrated, flamboyant, exciting, rabble-rousing, magnetic, and awe-inspiring" (1999: 19). He said that it had also become associated with dictatorship and pseudo-transformational leaders, such as Mussolini and Hitler. House (1995) and Conger & Kanungo (1987) also used the term *charisma* as an all-inclusive term for transformational leadership including *inspiration*, *intellectual stimulation*, and *individualized consideration*. It was because of this apparent range of different meanings for *charisma* that Bass and Avolio (1990*a*) substituted the term 'idealized influence' for 'charisma'.

The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire associated charisma with *inspirational* motivation that, without necessarily being charismatic, might successfully influence people, through the use of words, slogans, metaphors and symbols (cf. Bass, 1985*a*, 1985*b*). Separate bodies of literature for charismatic and inspirational leadership exist, and Bass (1990) distinguishes *charismatic*, *charisma-like*, and *inspirational* leadership (Bass, 1990: 184-221).

Notwithstanding the widely understood requirement for precision in research, and Handy's caution (1994: 221) that phenomena exist that are difficult to measure, Bass (1990) suggests that, pragmatically, we may revert to encompassing charisma and inspirational leadership for quantitative study purposes. Concurring with this view, Howell and Avolio (1993) used a single factor to include charisma and inspirational leadership to facilitate their quantitative studies of transactional and transformational leadership (1993). Also using the charisma and idealized-influence combination, Avolio, Bass, & Jung (1999) suggest three factors — as constructs for a model of transformational leadership:

- individualized consideration and contingent reward,
- intellectual stimulation, and
- inspirational-idealized influence (charisma) (Avolio, Bass, & Jung, 1999: 454).

Podsakoff et al. (1990) suggested six distinguishable factors of transformational leadership:

- individualized consideration
- intellectual stimulation
- identifying and articulating a vision
- providing a model and setting the example
- fostering acceptance of group goals, and
- setting high performance expectations.

Bass (1999: 20) reports that the following three conceptually distinguishable factors emerge in most studies of transformational leadership:

- charisma-inspiration
- intellectual stimulation, and
- individualized consideration.

As the transformational factors are largely intercorrelated, Bass adds that a single transformational factor may be used in more general research.

The empirical studies of Waldman, Bass & Yammarino (1990) support Bass's (1985) theoretical assumption that, while transformational leadership does not substitute for transactional leadership, transformational leadership adds to the effectiveness of transactional leadership. Bass (1999) summarizes that "The best leaders are both transformational and transactional" (1999: 21). As an illustration of this, House, Spangler, and Woycke (1991) suggest F. D. Roosevelt as an example of a transactional president who, they contend, was also one of America's most transformational presidents.

Levels of Leadership

Yammarino and Bass (1991), based on MLQ data, believe that leadership studies can be linked across different levels of leadership contexts, such as the three levels described by Nicholls (1990) as:

- micro-leadership, or leadership of a small group
- macro-leadership or leadership of a large organization, and
- meta-leadership or leadership of movements and societies.

Examples of studies of these different levels of leadership have been conducted on micro-level leadership by Hater and Bass (1988); on leadership of the macrolevel by Yokochi (1989); and on meta-level leadership by Bass, Avolio, and Goodheim (1987). Bass (1999) suggests, however, while *applied* research on transformational leadership has been abundant, that there is a dearth of theoretical research showing how transformational leadership works.

2A: 8.15.6 Why Does Transformational Leadership Work?

Podsakoff et al. (1990) address the scarcity of research on transformational leadership effectiveness by presenting empirical data showing that *trust*, for example, is an important factor for successful transformational leadership. Howell and Frost (1988) found that only charismatic leadership could drive high productivity in adverse circumstances. Studies by House and Shamir (1993) and Shamir et al. (1993) suggest that transactional leaders seek pragmatic paths to goals, whereas transformational leaders instil in followers greater collective identity in their self-concept; a belief in the consistency between their self-concept and their actions on behalf of the leader and organization; higher levels of self-esteem and sense of self-worth; and, a sense of greater worth in their work and lives. Bass (1999) elaborates on this:

By engaging follower self-concepts and arousing nonconscious motives of followers, the transformational leaders selectively arouse follower nonconscious achievement, affiliation, power motives (and other motives). These are nonconscious stable motives that have strong and enduring behavioural consequences. Such motive arousal results in increased engagement of the self, self-monitoring, and self-evaluation. The motive arousal engages the self-worth component of motivation and increases motivation on the parts of followers.

Ultimately this leads to increased commitment to the mission since motive arousal results in increased self-engagement. Since the experience of selfworth and self-efficacy are contingent on goal attainment, it would be highly dissonant for the individual to resist commitment to the vision and mission of the leader. Self-interests are sacrificed because of: leader-inspired moral commitment to the group; leader-inspired identification with the group; leaderinspired calculation of the greater benefits to be gained from the group's success; and leader-inspired sense of obligations to serve the group ahead of oneself and a sense of loyalty to the group to defend its well-being and survival (Bass, 1999: 23).

Bass suggests that further empirical research is needed in these areas where followers are transformed by leaders from self-interest to concern for the group. He adds that new methods of measurement are also needed. One computer-assisted method used by Sosik, Avolio, & Kahai (1996) found that transactional leaders were observed to contribute a greater *quantity* of brainstorming

suggestions while the transformational leaders generated greater *quality* in their reports. Bass (1999), however, believes that we still await sufficient research to show how transformational leadership moves followers from compliance to identification with the leader and then to internalization of organizational values and beliefs.

Vandenberghe (1999) points to Bass's (1999) identification of trust and individuals' self-concept as two potential mediators of effective transformational leadership. Vandenberghe also points out, however, that Bass does not address *psychological empowerment*, a construct that is likely to be a powerful mediating variable of transformational leadership (1999: 30-31). Thomas & Velthouse (1990) and Spreitzer (1995) define psychological empowerment as a psychological state subsuming four interrelated cognitions:

- *meaning* the perceived fit between the individual's values and beliefs, and the requirements of a work role
- *competence* self-efficacy related to one's job
- *self-determination* the felt autonomy in initiating actions at work
- *impact* the ability of an individual to influence the strategic, administrative, or operating outcomes at work (summarized by Vandenberghe, 1999: 31).

Vandenberghe (1999) concludes that for progress to be made in the study of transformational leadership, the construction of further and precise hypotheses and the rigorous testing of these are needed.

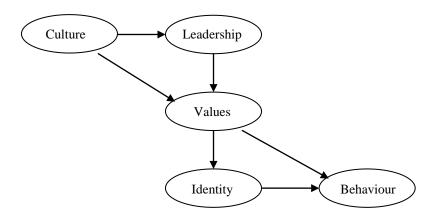
2A:9 Intervening Mechanisms in Leadership

Yukl (1992) observed that most definitions of leadership assume that leaders influence the tasks and the social behaviours of followers. Lord and Brown (2001) declare, however, that leadership literature in general has largely ignored the intervening mechanisms by which leaders influence followers (2001: 133). Lord and Maher (1991) contend that the literature has focused instead on the relationship between a leader's behaviour or traits and followers' satisfaction, behaviour, and performance.

Lord and Brown (2001) attempt to address what they consider to be a dearth of research on understanding the intervening mechanisms by which leaders

influence followers, by focusing on two intervening concepts that appear to link a leader to successful follower outcomes. The two mechanisms they identify and focus on are (i) values, and (ii) self-concepts (or self-identities) of subordinates — focusing on how leaders affect subordinate motivation and behaviour. The terms self-concept and self-identity are used by researchers interchangeably. Lord and Brown (2001) use the term self-concepts to describe "the broad amalgam of knowledge, experience, self-views, possible selves, and self-relevant goals that individuals see as self-relevant or self-descriptive" (Lord & Brown, 2001: 134). Banaji and Prentice (1994) categorize self-identities as subsets of the self-concept — involving self-categorizations, for example, personal and social identities. Personal identities are concerned with self-categorization, based on intrapersonal similarities with and differences from others. Social identities are concerned with social categorizations based on group membership, such as nationality or gender (Banaji & Prentice, 1994, in Lord & Brown, 2001: 134).

An earlier work-study by Lord, Brown, & Freiberg (1999) emphasizes that leaders can effect many processes and outcomes by influencing followers' self-concept. Later, Lord and Brown (2001) assert that values and self-identities help to embed leadership actions in a widening cultural framework. Roe and Ester (1999) believe that values have general rather than a person- or object-specific nature. Lord and Brown view self-identities as, inter alia, agents of context-specific processing structures that help to regulate behaviour. In this way, they viewed values and self-concepts as key mediational processes that link exogenous processes, such as culture and leadership, with personal processes of subordinates, leading to influencing the behaviour of subordinates — as outlined in Figure 2.11.



Source: Lord & Brown, 2001, p. 135

Lord and Brown believe that their framework has both practical as well as theoretical implications. They believe that leaders, because of their central position in an organization, have a direct impact on the salient values that are activated in any organizational environment. Banaji and Prentice (1994) found that an individual's self-concept has a dramatic impact on their psychological Markus and Wurf (1987) had previously shown that this was processes. particularly the case in relation to self-regulation. More recently, Lord, Brown, & Freiberg (1999) and Shamir, Zakay, Breinin, & Popper (1998) have demonstrated that leaders can influence subordinates' self-concepts. Lord and Brown (2001) conclude that it is logical to see values and self-concepts as mediating the effects of leadership activities on the personal regulatory processes of subordinates. While House (1971) found that leadership and motivational interventions could be focused at the task level, Cropanzano, James, & Citera (1993) and Lord, Brown, & Freiberg (1999) established that the duration and scope of a leader's influence is greater where leadership is focused on more general processes such as values and self-identities.

In summary, Lord and Brown (2001) confirm that "Several practical issues... need further research. For instance, the linkage between leadership activities and values needs to be investigated" (2001: 150), as well as the linkages between the activities of self-sacrificing leaders and the activation of selftranscendence values in followers which was proposed by Yorges, Weiss and Strickland (1999). As leadership studies prior to the 1980s focused on transactional relationships between leaders and followers, it is only in the last quarter century that transformational leadership has been studied. This new paradigm focuses on motivating followers to transcend their self-interests for the benefit of their group, their organization or of society at large (Bass, 1985a; Burns, 1978). Transformational leadership is generally accepted as a complement to transactional leadership (Waldman, Bass, & Yammarino, 1988). Based on the recent growth in research in the area of transformational leadership, it is likely that many areas not yet researched on this topic will be studied theoretically and practically in the early decades of the twenty-first Bass (1997) suggests that "The [transactional-transformational] century. paradigm is sufficiently broad to provide a basis for measurement and understanding that is as universal as the concept of leadership itself", and he confirms that "Numerous investigations (field studies, case histories, management games, interviews, and laboratory studies) point to the robustness of the effects of transformational and charismatic leadership" (1997: 130).

Research, for example Lord, Brown, & Freiberg (1999) referred to above, bears witness to the intervening mechanisms of the Pygmalion and Galatean effects in leadership. These phenomena, named after the ancient Cyprian king and sculptor, Pygmalion, whose love for his beautifully carved ivory statue resulted in Aphrodite turning the statue into a real woman, Galatea. This effect is reflected in how people tend to embody a leader's expectations of them. Bass (1990) summarizes thus: "What managers expect of their subordinates strongly influences the subordinates' performance and progress" (1990: 212). Livingstone (1969) also found that subordinates, in turn, tend to do what they believe is expected of them. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) were the first to measure this effect, in the context of varying expectations by teachers about Confirming Livingstone's findings, Eden (1988) reported that their pupils. leaders who have confidence in their followers typically set difficult goals and arouse their followers' expectations for achievement. The Pygmalion effect, as an intervening leadership mechanism, confirms the onus on leaders to effect successful organizational outcomes.

2A: 10 E-Leadership and Recent Reciprocal Developments in Leadership and Advanced Information Technology

Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge (2000) use the term e-leadership to incorporate the recently emerging advanced information technology (AIT) context — including Internet, e-mail, and other computer systems — when examining leadership:

E-leadership is defined as a social influence process mediated by AIT to produce a change in attitudes, feelings, thinking, behaviour, and/or performance with individuals, groups, and/or organizations. E-leadership can occur at any hierarchical level in any organization and can involve one-to-one and one-to-many interactions within and across large units and organizations (Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge, 2000: 617).

According to Internet Economy Indicators, the Internet economy made a deeper impact on the American economy in the last six years of the twentieth century than the entire Industrial revolution, which began in the eighteenth century (Barua & Whinston, 2000). In 1999, the American Department of Commerce reported that 35% of the economic growth in the U.S. resulted from the information technology sector, and the prediction for the year 2006 was that half of the U.S. workforce would be employed by industries that are either major producers or intensive users of information technology (Henry et al., 1999). DeSanctis and Poole (1994) define the term advanced information technology (AIT) to describe the tools, techniques, and knowledge that enable multiparty participation in organizational and inter-organizational activities through sophisticated collection, processing, management, retrieval, transmission, and display of data and knowledge. AIT includes e-mail systems and the variety of computer software systems that enable leaders to scan, plan, disseminate and manage information. DeSanctis and Poole suggest that the effects of AIT emerge from their interaction with organizational structures, of which leadership is one part.

Recent and rapidly changing customer demands are shown to require an increase in the availability of temporary project teams, many of which are virtually configured with individuals spread across organizations and cultures (Lipnack & Stamps, 1997; O'Mahoney & Barley, 1999). Leaders of virtual teams are now using electronic media to engage in tele-leadership (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 1999), as advanced information technology facilitates asynchronous,

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synchronous, one-to-one, and one-to-many communication for virtual teams (Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge, 2000). Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge believe that one of the main leadership challenges today is how to optimally integrate human systems with information technology systems, for the fullest leverage of AIT (2001). In the absence of such attention, AIT systems can be prone to creating what McDermott (1999) referred to as 'information junkyards'. Rojeski (2000), for example, comments on the impossibility for public leaders to digest or to use today's inexhaustible supply of information which "can confound and freeze leaders as much as empower them" (2000: 5).

DeSanctis and Poole (1994) describe advanced information technology in two ways: *structural features* (the actual design characteristics that govern how information is managed) and the *spirit* of those features (the intent or purpose underlying the structures). When considering the spirit of an advanced information technology, the focus is on concerns such as goals or values promoted by the technology (DeSanctis & Poole, 1994: 127). Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge (2000) equate the spirit of an advanced information technology with the leader's intent, or the goals and values promoted by the leader. They also observe that when members of an organization are involved with appropriating existing information-technology structures those members can reaffirm current structures, modify them, or initiate new structures (2001: 620).

Trist (1993) reported that organizational effectiveness is determined by its sociotechnical systems approach, that is, by how well the social and technical systems are designed to align with each other and the external environment. Kahai, Sosik, & Avolio (1997) suggest that the style of a group's leader is likely to channel group thinking and thus serve as a source of structures for subsequent appropriations. Zaccaro and Klimoski (2001) regard shared mental models, members' expertise, perceptions of others and of the group, group diversity, and identification with the group as likely to structure group thinking, interaction, and ultimately group process and structures. These various inputs have relevance to the emergent structures from advanced information technology (Lea & Spears, 1992; Mennecke & Valacich, 1998; Watson, Kumar, & Michaelsen, 1993; Weisband, Schneider, & Connolly, 1995).

2A: 10.1 Leadership and Adaptation to New Technology

Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge (2000) assert that, similar to the characterization of technology, an organization's leadership system can be characterized by its spirit or intent. The spirit of participative leadership, for example, aims to increase member involvement in organizational decision-making, by fostering openness and collaboration among colleagues. Consistency between an organization's leadership spirit and its advanced information-technology spirit is central to predicting how successful or unsuccessful the appropriation of new technology will be in an organization (Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge, 2000: 623).

Vandenbosch and Ginzberg (1997) studied the effect of organizations adopting internal e-mail systems, where the organizational intention was to facilitate collaboration among office workers. They reported that groups that did not collaborate before the introduction of the new collaborative information technology also failed to collaborate after the new technology was installed. They reported that

these [electronic collaborative] systems more often reinforce existing structures and practices than they introduce new ones. The notion of information technology as the spearhead for change in organizations is, in most cases, just not applicable (Vandenbosch & Ginzberg, 1997: 7).

Consistent with this, Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge report that autocratic leadership can repel attempts at collaboration by colleagues using groupware systems designed for collaboration. They also report that a leader who creates an ingroup and out-group among colleagues can block advanced information technology systems from successfully creating collaboration, which in turn allows low levels of trust to prevail. Kahai et al. (1997) also report that, where a leader is more participative than directive, employees are more supportive of each other using a groupware system designed to enhance collaborative interaction.

2A: 10.2 Technology's Effect on Leadership

How an organization's social system can appropriate advanced information technology and adapt to it over time was examined above. The effects of technology explicitly on leadership itself will be addressed now. Avolio, Kahai, &

Dodge suggest that technology's effect on e-leadership is influenced by the organization's technology structure and its technology spirit, insofar as a leadership system may be enabled, undermined, or disabled by the introduction of advanced information technology (2000: 624). Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge suggest that the introduction of AIT can effectively challenge pre-existing closed and autocratic organizational systems. In this way, leaders upholding the model of followers as passive, dependent and non-confrontational can now be challenged by AIT and its access to a broader array of information, including information on alternative leadership approaches. Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge add that increased access to new information and knowledge development can transform what was previously seen as either acceptable or not acceptable by followers and by leaders. This can facilitate the evolution of a new leadership system that adopts AIT as part of the organization's new leadership (Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge, 2000: 625). Zaccaro and Klimoski (2001) place an emphasis on the importance of examining leadership processes within the contexts of those varying processes. The context for e-leadership is even more critical, as technology is transforming the way leaders scan, interpret, and disseminate information (Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge, 2000). Doge, Webb, & Christ (1999) observe, however, that research in the area of the effect of advanced information technology on leadership is currently at the early stages (1999: 31). Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge (2000) suggest, for example, that systematic examination of how advanced information technology transforms traditional roles of leadership at individual, dyadic, group and organizational/systems levels needs to be carried out (2001: 658). Hambrick & Finkelstein (1987), Jacobs & Jacques (1987), Hunt & Osborn (1982) and Katz & Kahn (1978) have studied leader discretion, or the ability of leaders and followers to decide on behavioural choices. Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge (2000) report that the study of the discretionary span and scope of leaders and followers has recently had to factor in the integral aspect of advanced information technology. They also confirm that more and more strategic thinking, visions, goals, and messages are mediated through information technology.

Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge (2000) contend that a new fundamental question for leadership studies is: "given broader access to information, how can the leadership of an organization best lead its followers?" (2000: 660). They ask if the 'sense-making' function, traditionally driven by leaders, will be affected in the new context, where employees at lower levels can access information as rapidly

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as their leaders. Increasingly, followers may have access to information not yet available to their leaders — information that contradicts or undermines a strategic leadership directive. This can lead to a loss of credibility in leadership and to a lack of commitment to alignment around strategic goals (Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge, 2000: 659). On a more positive note, Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge opine that it is now possible to develop high quality relationships between leaders and followers at a more rapid pace, as leaders can now practise more frequent virtual contacts with employees.

Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge (2000) assert that advanced information technology is transforming the way we conceive of leadership as a social influence process, and it is also changing the way we need to conceptualize models of leadership. Consequently, they argue, e-leadership will transform each leadership model and the way leadership is measured and developed in organizations, "even though many aspects of leadership will also remain the same" (2001: 660). Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge conclude that the question is not whether to study e-leadership, but where to start studying e-leadership.

While the literature on the topic of e-leadership is, as yet, relatively small, it is likely that this area will become the focus of much study over the coming decades, reflecting the exponential growth in communications and information technology, particularly over the last decade.

2A:11 Quest for the Best Style of Leadership

While Blake & Mouton (1964), McGregor (1960), and others have argued that there is one best style of leadership in all situations, for optimal (task *and* people) organizational outcomes, research over the last twenty-five years contends that there is no one best leadership style (e.g., Bennis, 1997; Yukl, 1994; House, 1995; Robbins, 1983, Tannenbaum & Schmidt,1973; Fiedler, 1978; Bass, 1999)

Schaeffer (2002) asserted that the defining characteristics of leadership "change according to the needs and vagaries of the individual, the organization, the industry, the industry, and the world at large. In other words, leadership is not a

state, it's a journey". He also observed, "There aren't always sharp dividing lines between one style of leadership and another" (Schaeffer, 2002: 43). His views reflect Hersey and Blanchard (1988), who concluded that effective leaders have the capacity to adapt their style to fit the changing situational requirements. They also suggest that *all* theories of leadership have not been conclusively validated by scientific research (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 101). Regarding any organizational behaviour, Robbins (1983) observed that "simple and universal principles are avoided because there exist no simple and universal truths or principles that consistently explain organizational behaviour" (1983: 11-12). Behavioural science, however, is not invalidated just because research does not conclusively validate it, for example, Robbins suggested, "there is a difference between finding 'insufficient evidence' for a theory and labelling it 'invalid'" (1983: 136). Miner (1980) suggested that the lack of solid scientific evidence supporting any leadership theory might exist because leadership 'theories' are sets of empirical generalizations not yet developed into scientifically testable theories. Miner did, however, argue that this limitation did not make the generalizations 'wrong', but merely that they were not supported to quasi-scientifically rigorous standards (1980)

Brosnahan (1999) believes that it is important to create flexible, organic organizations to nurture leadership from within. These arguments from a number of researchers undermine the notion of a 'one best way' approach to leadership. Schreiber and Shannon (2001) also believe that leadership is organic:

It is a discovery process. Each new dilemma we encounter informs us about what we need to learn next.... There are models and theories to guide each person's development, but ultimately each of us must learn to lead by analyzing a situation, developing a plan, and getting into action. We learn from the results of our attempt to exert influence. Experience is the best teacher. It is from our magnificent failures that we learn the most valuable lessons (2001: 38).

Hersey and Blanchard (1988) suggested that so-called 'theories' of leadership might more correctly be referred to as "descriptions of concepts, procedures, actions, and outcomes that exist". They also believed that there was no 'one best way' of leadership because leadership is basically situational, or contingent on the situation in which it is utilized: "Effective leaders not only have the diagnostic ability to determine the most appropriate leadership style, but they

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also have the ability to correctly apply that style" (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 102). Owens (1981) suggested that contingency theory meant "that the effective manager has, and knows how to use, many leadership styles as each is appropriate to a particular situation (1981: 81). Stogdill (1974), after forty years of researching leadership, concluded: "The most effective leaders appear to exhibit a degree of versatility and flexibility that enables them to adapt their behaviour to the changing and contradictory demands made on them" (1974: 7). The overall findings since the 1980s, particularly since the paradigm shift to the concept of transformational leadership, generally assumes that leadership contexts are continually dependent on so many changing variables and interactions that the issue of one best style of leadership is treated as virtually an anachronistic enquiry in the context of leadership studies.

2A: 12 Obstacles to Reaching Leadership Positions

McCall and Lombardo (1983) examined executives who reached top positions and those whose upward progression stalled before reaching top leadership positions. While successful and unsuccessful candidates are a patchwork of strengths and weaknesses, McCall and Lombardo reported that those who were not chosen for leadership had at least one of the following 'fatal flaws':

- Insensitive to others: abrasive, intimidating, bullying style
- Cold, aloof, arrogant
- Betrayal of trust
- Overly ambitious: thinking of next job, playing politics
- Specific organization-related performance problems
- Overmanaging unable to delegate or build a team
- Unable to staff effectively
- Unable to think strategically
- Unable to adapt to boss with different style
- Overdependent on advocate or mentor.

McCall and Lombardo reported that the most frequent cause of leadership candidates not being chosen was insensitivity to others, while the 'unforgivable sin' was betrayal of trust, such as not following through on promises or doubledealing (1983). Another reason reported by employees for not wanting to become leaders is referred to by Hall et al. (1996), wherein employees are selfmotivated towards achieving personal 'psychological success' through work rather than by what is seen as successful in the minds of others, such as aiming for hierarchical promotion. Confirming this, Dowell (1998) states that there is evidence in the 1990s that workers are deciding to choose what they want to do as they express attitudes such as "If I can't get to the top or make a big financial killing, I might as well do what I really want to do" (1998: 167).

2A:13 Leadership Vs. Management

Adding to the complexity of leadership studies, particularly since the mid twentieth century, is the widespread view that leadership and management are distinct (e.g. Zaleznik, 1977/1992; Osborn, Hunt, & Jauch, 1980; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Peters & Austin, 1985; Bennis, 1989; Hickman, 1990; Bryman, 1992; Gertzog, 1992; Bechtel, 1993; Lee, 1994; Cino, 1995). Bennis (1989) remarked that "The manager does things right; the leader does the right thing" (1989: 42). This might imply a superior status for leadership over management. Hersey and Blanchard (1988) suggested that leadership is a broader concept than management, insofar as they viewed management as a particular kind of leadership that concentrates on the achievement of organizational goals. While they believe management emphasizes organizational aspects, they saw leadership addressing or influencing behaviour of individuals or groups (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988: 5). Birdsall (1990) observed that, despite the varying perspectives on leadership in the literature, a distinction between leadership and management is common throughout the literature on both topics. Hurlbert (1998) went so far as declaring that "a leader may not want to be, nor should be, a manager" (1998: 99).

Kotter (1990*a*), for example, suggests that the main function of management is the provision of organizational order and consistency, in contrast with the primary function of leadership, which he suggests is to produce change and movement. In essence, management is about seeking order and stability, while leadership seeks adaptive and constructive change, as outlined in Table 2.4:

Leadership
'Produces change and movement'
• Vision building and strategizing
• Aligning people and communicating
• Motivating and inspiring

 Table 2.4
 Kotter: Contrasts between Management and Leadership

Adapted from Kotter, 1990a: 3-8

Management is associated with many specific functions, such as efficiency (Bone, 1981), outputs (Tees, 1984), 'fire fighting' (Mackey & Mackey, 1992), and with the bottom line of profit and loss (Mader, 1996). An early view of management was succinctly described by Parker-Follett (1941) as 'getting things done by other people'. This older 'operational' view of management evolved from a rather controlling and administrative view to the more recent view of management which typically adopts a manager–organization relationship, described by Pearce and Robinson (1989) as "the process of optimizing human, material, and financial contributions for the achievement of organizational goals" (1989).

Roland Smith (1993), using the terms management/manager as a synonym for leadership/leader in the sense used in this study, asserted that management should be based on 'innovation, marketing, and risk', suggesting that people should be continually shaken from their employment comfort zones by frequent structural changes in organizations. He sees management, not so much as administering an organization, but, more as planning, developing, and changing it. Here he uses the term 'administering' in the sense of managing as used in this study. Hannagan (1998) said: "Managers are the people responsible for helping organizations to achieve their objectives and for creating and implementing their plans. He suggested, "The challenge for modern managers is to deal with tension between operating the present systems, structures and processes and the need to change in order to survive" (Hannagan, 1998: 5).

Leaders are also described as people who: plan to avoid crisis management (McClure, 1980); are perceived by others to be a leader (Hersey, 1984; Gertzog,

1992); have a desire to lead (Kotter 1988); have high energy levels (Meyer 1989); have 'Leadership qualities', (Leadership Qualities of Executive Chiefs, 1990), "turn challenging opportunities into remarkable success" (diMattia, 1990: 22), contribute their own talents rather than depending on the skills of others (Kiely, 1993), are vision-oriented (Taylor, 1995), and they manage vision rather than their jobs (Hale, 1994).

Bass (1990) believed that leaders facilitate interpersonal interactions and positive working relations, as well as promoting task structuring and completion. Mann (1965) observed that leaders plan, organize, and evaluate work accomplished. Zaleznik (1977/1992) contended that some managers do not lead, and some leaders do not manage. Mintzberg (1975) understood managers' roles to include: interpersonal roles, information roles, decisional roles, and negotiating roles.

Bass (1990) suggested that little attention was paid to the human aspect of an organization's makeup in the mid-twentieth century (1990). Davis (1951) prescribed the same duties for business leaders *and* managers, that is, to plan, organize, and control organizational activities. Wofford (1967) presented findings of an empirical factored survey, showing managers' functions as setting objectives, planning, organizing, administering, leading, and controlling. This provided evidence, at least a generation ago, that leadership was regarded as one aspect of overall managerial functions, for example that employees needed to be led for successful organizational productivity. In this way, the needs of individuals and organizations were manifestly seen to overlap. Adair (1973), similarly, viewed the roles as planning, initiating, controlling, supporting, informing, and evaluating as overlapping roles of both leader and manager.

The behavioural and social components of leadership were studied as early as the 1920s. Bernard (1928), for example, emphasized that there was a need for more behavioural, intuitive, and emotional aspects in organizational leadership. Gross (1961) included the creating of loyalty and the enthusing of employees to action as functions of leadership. Bales (1958) and Bales & Slater (1955) saw members who emerge as leaders performing two essential functions: (i) dealing with productivity and (ii) providing socioemotional support. Selznick (1957) saw the addressing of internal conflict as a leader's function, while Kessing &

Kessing (1956) saw consultation, deliberation, and negotiation as part of organizational leadership.

More recently, Bennis (1989) defines the differences between leaders and managers as "the differences between those who master the context and those who surrender to it" (1989: 45). Other key differences listed by Bennis are:

	The Manager	The leader
•	The manager administers —	the leader innovates
•	The manager is a copy —	the leader is an original
•	The manager focuses on systems & structure —	the leader focuses on people
•	The manager maintains —	the leader develops
•	The manager focuses on control —	the leader inspires trust
•	The manager has a short-range view —	the leader has a long-range perspective
•	The manager asks how and when —	the leader asks what and why
•	The manager imitates —	the leader originates
•	The manager accepts the status quo —	the leader challenges the status quo
•	The manager is the classic good soldier —	the leader is his [or her] own person
•	The manager does things right —	the leader does the right thing

Table 2.5 Bennis's Manager vs. Leader Distinctions

Source: Bennis, 1989, p. 45

Brosnahan (1999) considers these contrasts by Bennis as somewhat simplistic and extreme. Both Brosnahan and Bennis agree, however, that management concerns safe processes while leadership is about inspiration, innovation and people. Brosnahan also cautions against believing that leadership is good and management bad, adding that leadership and management are complementary and necessary functions for organizational success (1999: 12).

Glenn (n.d.) quotes another writer, Miller, from an Internet discussion group, on some distinctions between a leader and a manager:

The distinction . . . can be summarized by the word purpose. Leaders create energy by instilling purpose. Managers control and direct energy. Leaders define success in terms of the accomplishment of a business achievement, the success of a product or service. Managers define success according to measures that are derived from the process of business independent of the content of the business. Leaders appeal to the higher values, the long-term potential of the individual to feel part of, a contributor to, achievements of mankind. The manager appeals to the immediate needs for income, status, and security. Leadership brings out the creativity of the individual and inspires courage. Management without leadership produces conformity (Miller, in Glen, n.d.).

A half century ago, Benne and Sheats (1948) drew up a list of task roles for 'managers' that might likely be categorized for 'leaders' if it were drafted in the last decade: initiator of activity, information seeker, information giver, opinion giver, elaborator, co-ordinator, summarizer, feasibility tester, evaluator, diagnostician, encouraging gatekeeping (e.g., limiting monopolistic talkers and steering agendas on course), standard setting, articulating group feelings, consensus taking, harmonizing, reducing tension (including the use of humour), and even following at times.

A decade later, Stogdill (1959) reported that a leader's functions include the maintaining of group structure and goal direction as well as reconciling conflicting external and internal demands. Schutz (1961*b*) suggested that leader functions include: (i) establishing and recognizing a hierarchy of group goals and values, (ii) recognizing and integrating the various cognitive styles of a group, (iii) maximizing the use of group members' competences, and (iv) assisting group members to resolve problems arising from external sources and problems from interpersonal needs.

Kotter (1990*b*/2001) advocates the appointment of executives who have both management and leadership skills, and the ability to 'use each to balance the other'. He views management as 'coping with complexity', while leadership is 'coping with change'. While admitting that both managers and leaders can aim for the same results, he suggests that they differ dramatically in their respective approaches. Managers will manage complexity by planning, organizing, budgeting, staffing, resolving problems and controlling. Leaders will set a direction and align followers by active communication to participate in shared visions and strategies. They do this by motivating and appealing to "basic but often untapped human needs, values and emotions" (Kotter, 1990*b*). Burke (1996*a*, 1996*b*) found that antagonism, strain, and absenteeism occur where the

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leader fails in goal-setting, a function described by Hollander (1978) as critically important. Hollander also saw the leader as the provider of direction and definer of reality (communicating appropriate information on progress and redirection).

According to Bryson, "Leadership differs from management in that management directs both human and non-human resources towards a goal, whereas leadership is concerned with creating a vision that people can aspire to" (1999: 169). Naylor suggested, while leadership and management are both concerned with effecting results through other people, that leadership and management could be distinguished, insofar as:

Management, for example, is concerned with questions of choosing goals, solving problems, interpreting control signals and spotting developments in the environment. Leadership provides inspiration, risk-taking, creativity and change. The power available to managers arises from their position as managers while, for leaders, it arises from within themselves (1999: 523).

Brosnahan (1999) saw leadership qualities as independent of output. Osborn, Hunt, & Jauch (1980) considered leadership to be concerned with discretionary activities and processes that are outside the duties of a manager. They viewed managers as executives who are mandated by rules, regulations, and procedures.

Zaleznik (1977/1992) contended that leaders and managers differ in how they relate to their roles and their subordinates. He saw leaders, unlike managers, as tending to be charismatic, attracting strong feelings of others who want to be identified with leaders. He believed leaders, not managers, generate excitement at work. Managers tend to see themselves playing a role, while leaders behave as themselves. For Zaleznik, leaders tend to be more transformational than managers. He also viewed managers tolerating the mundane, while arguing that "Leaders sometimes react to mundane work as to an affliction" (1992: 129).

Brosnahan (1999) argues that it is essential to allocate time for the leadership role, and that too many chief executives become immersed in routine management responsibilities, thus undermining their application to their 'more important' leadership role. He adds that steering an organization through major reform requires a significant leadership effort, while allowing routine bureaucratic processes to be fulfilled. Brosnahan believes that it is 'only a superhuman' who could fulfil both roles in a large organization, and that the chief executive should be granted time for leadership, that is, to focus on the strategic role of leading change (1999: 19).

2A: 13.1 Leadership and Management Functions Overlapping

Bass (1990) suggested a clear overlap between managerial and leadership functions in the interpersonal activities, which involve both managing and leading. Bass observed that the centrality of human relationships is evident at lower levels of supervision, but not so well established at the organizational top (1990: 385). Three decades ago, Richards and Inskeep (1974) reported that senior managers recommended that the best continuing education for their middle managers should be in the field of improving human relations skills — rating improvement in quantitative and technical skills of secondary importance.

John W. Gardner (1986b) observed:

Every time I encounter an utterly first-class manager, he turns out to have quite a lot of leader in him... even the most visionary leader will be faced on occasion with decisions that every manager faces (Gardner, 1986b: 7).

Gardner made the distinction between the leader-manager and the routinemanager. For him, leader-managers, unlike routine-managers, think of the long term, view wider contexts, and influence people outside their units. They also emphasize vision, promote motivation, and handle conflict. Gardner summarized the leader-manager's roles as:

- envisioning the group's goals
- affirming values for the organization
- motivating colleagues
- managing
- achieving a workable unity among colleagues
- explaining what requires to be done
- serving as a symbol
- representing the group
- renewing the group (Gardner, 1986*b*).

Grove (1996) challenged the distinction between leadership and management, asserting that effective management must include these leadership qualities. Mahoney, Jerdee, & Carroll (1965) saw some functions overlapping as they saw managers as those who plan, investigate, co-ordinate, evaluate, supervise, staff, negotiate, and represent their organizations. This reflected Fayol (1916), half a century earlier, who said that managers are expected to plan, organize, command, co-ordinate, and control.

Northouse (1997), while declaring that "leadership is also different from management", views leadership as a process that is similar to management in many ways, since both management and leadership involve working with and influencing people (1997: 8). Yukl (1989*a*) contended that there was considerable amount of overlap of the functions of managers and leaders, arguing, for example, that when managers are involved in influencing others to meet goals they are involved with leadership, while leaders involved in planning, organizing, and staffing are involved in management.

Numerous investigations, for example by MacKenzie (1969) and Stewart (1967), illustrated a quite limitless diversity of managerial and leadership activities. Bass (1990) refers to this diversity and how it reveals how inadequate any simple approach to capturing what is involved with the processes of management and leadership. Finally, writing in a library context, Corrall (2002) asserted that management and leadership are not mutually exclusive, but that management must be guided by leadership "in today's volatile and unpredictable environment" (2002: 116). She, for example, suggests that leadership and management overlap in the areas of: coaching; developing others; networking; acting as a role model; and, creating a climate (Corrall, 2002: 115).

2A:14 Leadership Vs. Headship

Holloman (1968, 1986) conceived headship as something imposed on a group, and distinct from leadership which he saw as a state conferred by the group. Gibb (1969) made the following distinctions between leadership and headship:

 Headship is maintained through an organized system and not by fellow group members' spontaneous recognition of the individual's contribution to group progress.

- The group goal is chosen by head persons in line with their interests and is not internally determined by the group itself.
- In headship, there is little or no sense of shared feeling or joint action in pursuit of the given goal.
- In headship, there is a wide social gap between the group members and the head, who strives to maintain this social distance as an aid in the coercion of the group.
- The leader's authority is spontaneously accorded by fellow group members and particularly by followers. The authority of the head derives from some extra-group power, which he or she has over the members of the group, who cannot meaningfully be called followers. They accept domination for fear of punishment, rather than follow in anticipation of rewards (Gibb, 1969: 213).

Kochan, Schmidt, & de Cotiis (1975) viewed managers and executives as both leaders and heads. Bass (1990) suggested that a *head* relies on his or her status, based on the power of the position occupied, while a *leader*, lacking such status, can still influence commitment to goals and even to their arbitrary paths because of the high esteem granted to them by the group. In any group, however, status and esteem can vary between individuals, as no individual holds the monopoly on all leadership of the group (Bass, 1990: 19). Hosmer (1982) asserted that executives must both manage and lead. Bass (1990) found that leaders manage and managers lead, but with much variation in both and with a degree of overlap. Finally, the concept of headship is comparable with Fiedler's 'position power', discussed in Section 2A:8.8 above.

2A: 15 Can Leadership be Learned?

The literature on the possibility of teaching leadership ranges between arguments at polar opposites. On one extreme, many (e.g., H. S. White, 1987; Caulkin, 1993) strongly defend the view that while somebody can be chosen to manage an organization, a person who is not inherently a leader cannot be selected to become a leader. Others (e.g., Avolio, 1999*b*, Drucker, 1996; Kouzes & Posner, 1987; Bennis, 1985) hold the opposite view, and believe that leadership can be learned.

Avolio (1999*b*) contends that over a decade of research on the topic shows that "leadership skills can be developed and mastered" (1999*b*: 18). He believes that the following techniques help people to become leaders: visualizing obstacles; setting goals and finding someone to answer for those goals; eliciting and incorporating feedback from colleagues; reflecting on one's own best and worst moments; training gradually; broadening one's model of leadership to be inclusive of a full range of styles; and living by high ethical standards (Avolio, 1999*b*).

For Bennis (1985), "Leadership seems to be the marshalling of skills possessed by a majority but used by a minority. But it is something that can be learned by everyone, taught to everyone, denied to no one" (1985: 27). Kouzes and Posner (1987) argue that "by viewing leadership as a nonlearnable set of character traits, a self-fulfilling prophecy has been created that dooms societies to having only a few good leaders. If you assume that leadership is learnable, you will be surprised to discover how many good leaders there really are" (1987: 314). Brosnahan (1999), acknowledging the considerable debate on whether leadership can be taught or not, believes that a consensus prevails suggesting that individuals cannot be taught leadership in a classroom context. Rather than the traditional specialization into narrow career choices early in life, Brosnahan suggests that there is a growing recognition that depth of life experiences and subsequent reflection are the best schools of leadership. Experiences such as assuming responsibilities early in life, coping with personal tragedy and crisis, and exposure to a wide range of perspectives and values are, according to Brosnahan, increasingly recognized as contributing to developing leadership qualities in individuals (1999: 14). Riggs (2001b), likewise, suggests that "Leadership evolves from life and job experiences" (2001b: 9). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) believe that "leadership starts with some innate tendencies", but they agree with Sheldon, Bennis, Kouzes, Posner and others that leadership skills can be developed (2001: 43).

Some writers qualify a number of aspects of leadership that might be learned. Donnelly and Kezsbom (1994), for example, suggest that competencies such as managerial, analytical, integrative, and collaborative competencies could be learned. Karp and Murdock (1998) are sceptical of the view that leadership can be learned. They suggest that "leadership, like good intuition, is an acquired ability but not one that can be purposefully taught". Defending this point, they add that the practice of leadership is in effect "an unrelenting unpredictable series of steps and missteps through a constantly changing landscape of people, politics, and economies of scale" (Karp & Murdock, 1998: 256).

Manz (1992) and Deiss (1999) argue that external sources are not the only training for leadership. Deiss asserts that leaders must also cultivate "self-understanding and growth through the process of self-leadership", since, "to lead others one has first to lead oneself". Just as Manz sees leadership as a 'process of influencing others', he sees self-leadership as a process of 'influencing ourselves'. Deiss believes that leadership is a continuous learning process, which includes learning about one's own characteristics and behaviours and then influencing those for self-development and becoming a self-leader. This, in turn, teaches one to influence others (Deiss, 1999). Conger (1992) mirrors these arguments, exhorting leaders to partake in personal growth programmes, "based, generally, on the assumption that leaders are individuals who are deeply in touch with their personal dreams and talents and who will act to fulfil them" (1992: 360).

Northouse (1997) suggests that when people make statements, such as, "She is a natural leader" or "He is a born leader", they believe in a trait approach to leadership. As outlined above in Section 2A:8.1, this view holds that innate qualities predispose some individuals to becoming leaders. Bryman (1992) reports that some of the personal qualities used to identify leaders include: particular physical factors (e.g. height), personality (e.g. extroversion), and ability characteristics (e.g. speech fluency). Jago (1982) suggested that the trait viewpoint conceptualized leadership as a property, or set of properties, possessed in varying degrees by different people. The trait view, therefore, implied that leadership was restricted to people with some special talents. Gorman (2001) suggests that participatory management, for example, is not a question of structures but was "based on openness and goodwill in dealing with colleagues and staff", adding that, "these cannot be learned from books on management but arise from the qualities of people themselves" (2001: 8).

Contrasting with the trait view of leadership, the *process* viewpoint suggests that leadership is a phenomenon that resides in a context — rather than in an individual — and thus something that could be learned by individuals (Jago, 1982). Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991), who believe that leaders differ from

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nonleaders on six traits — drive, the desire to lead, honesty and integrity, selfconfidence, cognitive ability, and knowledge of the business — postulate that individuals can be born with these traits, or they can learn them, or both. Kouzes and Posner (1993) believe that "Leadership is a set of skills and practices that can be learned regardless of whether or not one is in a formal management position" (1993: 156). This concurs with Hannagan (1998), who suggests, if leadership is seen as a process and as a series of actions which can be identified, that leadership can be learned to some extent (1998: 38).

In summary, the arguments from literature are inconclusive. Opposing views are presented above, contending on one side that leadership is an innate potential of an individual and on the other that it can be taught to any manager. Intermediate arguments are also presented, such as, that leadership is not something that can be formally taught but is a phenomenon that is developed through trial and error, or that leadership is a potential that can be developed "but it does have to be there in the first place" (Adair, 1989). In the absence of scientific rigour, certitude in the argument is absent. The following related topic briefly looks at the literature addressing the cultivating or nurturing of new leaders.

2A:16 Cultivating New Leaders

While Bryson (1999) suggests that not everyone is a leader, she believes that the skills of leadership can be cultivated. She sees leaders as people who are able to use their technical, human-relations, or conceptual skills to influence other people's tasks or behaviours (1999: 169). Bryson believes that these skills are best developed in a corporate climate that fosters encouragement, co-operation, admiration, trust and loyalty, and where there are role models to provide examples of effective leadership (1999: 169). Illustrating how leadership skills might be learned, Chatman (1992) suggests that mentoring is an effective way of teaching leaders, for example, to learn how to articulate vision. Burrus-Ballard (1990) believes that mentoring is an effective way to teach leaders how to manage conflict and disagreements. Riggs (2001*b*) too believes in the value of mentors and training institutes as cultivators of new leaders, as suggested above when he expresses that: "Role models, mentors, difficult experiences,

and leadership training institutes are a few examples of leadership development" (2001*b*: 9).

Kouzes and Posner (1993) published a 'leadership practices inventory' (LPI) as an evaluation method for monitoring development of leadership practices and capabilities of individuals. The LPI provides for staff evaluation of their own leaders that is, in turn, compared to leaders' self-ratings. The LPI model of exemplary leadership aims to provide organizations with a measure of individual's leadership practices including:

- experimenting and risk-taking
- envisioning the future and enlisting the support of others
- enabling others to act by fostering collaboration and by strengthening others
- acting as role models; planning small wins; and
- providing emotional support by acknowledging contributions and accomplishments (Kouzes & Posner, 1993).

The literature also reports, however, on negative organizational environments that are seen as counterproductive to potential leadership development (e.g., Yukl, 1981). Brosnahan (1999) suggests that leadership potential can be discouraged where safe and mediocre performance is rewarded, and where talented and innovative individuals who take risks are discouraged or even sometimes punished. Brosnahan recommends that good leaders should be identified, acclaimed, and awarded. He advocates too that servant leaders, who by definition will not promote their leadership role in order to be acclaimed, must be acclaimed and emulated (Brosnahan, 1999: 15). Geier (1967) found three traits (in the following order of importance) that discouraged followers from competing for leadership roles, that is, where others perceived them to be:

- uninformed
- not sufficiently motivated
- extremely rigid (Geier, 1967).

While mentoring is generally recommended as a nurturer of new leadership, it is sometimes criticized for being uneven or, at worst, negative. Roma Harris (1993) cautioned that mentoring might cultivate inequity among employees, among those who receive and those who do not receive mentoring.

(See also subsections 2C:13.1 and 2C:13.2 for discussion on leadership development programmes for librarians.)

* * *

Part A of Chapter 2 aims to present a representative review of the very expansive literature on the general topic of organizational leadership. Before examining literature specifically on leadership in public librarianship in Part C of the chapter, the following division, Part B, aims to present a synoptic review of the significant trends in recent public sector leadership policies and practices.

Part B LEADERSHIP IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

2B:1 Public Leadership

As public library services are managed within the remit of public sector governance, literature will be summarily reviewed on the subject of leadership in the broader public sector, in Section 2B, before the literature on leadership in the public library service will be reviewed in Section 2C. Kellerman and Webster (2001) observe that the term 'public leadership' has varying connotations. One reason for this, they suggest, is the blurring of the lines between public, private, and nonprofit sectors in recent years. They also argue that the recent focus of attention on the concepts of 'leader' and 'leadership' has been popularized to the point of being diminished (2001: 485). At the dawn of the new century, writers remark on society's apparently increasingly cynicism, alienation, and fear, and wonder how effective leadership in the public realm can be in this new context (e.g., Kellerman & Webster, 2001: 486). John (2001) and Trowbridge (1985) suggested that the answer to the question of what constitutes leadership is particularly important in public governance, an area increasingly faced with frequent turnover in upper management — due to the financial and personal sacrifices that senior managers in the public service make.

For the purposes of this study, the word 'public' in public leadership refers to individuals and organizations charged with the governance of *res publica* or public matters, and with the administration of public policy. Patterson (2000) draws attention to recent changing contexts in which political leaders find themselves, such as, people's widespread disenchantment with public leaders, the democratization of power, and ignorance of key political issues (2000: A27). Osborne (1996) suggests, "The concept of leadership has changed in our pluralistic, decentralized society where traditional institutions and roles are constantly questioned" (1996: 21). Elshtain (1996) believes that "our collective decline of confidence flows, in part, from a general crisis of authority" (1996: 25).

Because of the relatively short history of academic studies on organizational leadership generally, the literature on *public* leadership is now being constructed

on recently laid, and yet unsettled, foundations of organizational leadership studies. Kellerman and Webster argue that

social scientists have failed to create a critical mass of scholarly work on public sector leadership. And the real world, the world in which public leadership is actually exercised (or not), is characterized by changes so dramatic in speed and scope that leaders often have trouble leaving their mark (2001: 487).

Recent literature on organizational management shows a growing body of research into leadership studies in general, and public leadership in particular. The lack of earlier works on public leadership might reflect an older view that leadership and public governance could somehow be mutually exclusive. Hersey and Blanchard (1988) suggested that a perceived shortage of effective leadership was not confined to business, and postulated that there was also an apparent lack of able administrators in the public sector, as well as in business (1988: 85). Boston et al. (1996) observed, "the quality of public management depends crucially on the calibre of people recruited to serve in leadership positions" (1996: 98). Bacon (1999) refers to restrictions political leaders may impose on the selecting and grooming of potential leadership candidates in the public sector. He (1999) suggests,

In both the private and public sectors there is a widespread recognition that leadership is a key ingredient in the recipe for creating effective, responsive, and value creating organizations.... The public sector has also developed an awareness of the critical importance of leadership... to meet the needs of the 21st century (Bacon, 1999: 2).

In an Irish context, Quinlivan (2002) suggests that local authorities are operating on a leadership tension between their executive and elected officials. He views this as a positive tension, paralleling it with the 'edge of chaos' concept developed by Waldrop (1992) and Adam & Noble (1999), wherein order and disorder co-exist to maintain the life of complex systems. Waldrop explains the edge of chaos as "the constantly shifting battle zone between stagnation and anarchy, the one place where a complex system can be spontaneous, adaptive, and alive" (1992: 12). Goodman (1999), in a survey of public leaders, found that both character and competence are seen as central to leadership, and their surveyed leaders selected the following six (from a total list of twenty) attributes among the most important for leadership:

- ability to inspire
- excellent people skills
- personal direction
- understanding of authority and power
- synergy with followers
- ethical orientation (Goodman, 1999: 2-3).

The following section will examine how leadership in the public sector is not a constant.

2B:2 Change in the Public Management Sector

In the context of examining new change process in the public service, Aylward et al. (2001) emphasize that change in any organization relies fundamentally on the quality of top managers, "who must be judged not just on their management skills and knowledge but equally on their leadership ability". The same authors assert that Kotter's (1990*b*/2001) declaration that "most U.S. corporations are over managed and under led" could be made in the context of public sector organizations (Aylward et al., 2001: 57). In the Irish public sector context, Quinlivan (2002) asserts:

Leadership is of pivotal importance.... [because] the wider, inclusive and more complex nature of local governance places an even greater emphasis on leadership in the implementation process (2002: 75).

Aylward et al. (2001) reflect Osborne and Gaebler (1992), who emphasized that leadership is the most essential element in successfully implementing change. Aylward et al. point to difficulties for leaders aiming to implement change, reporting that many top public servants strive to deal with three broad areas: (i) demands of elected officials, (ii) the continual demands of ongoing operational matters, and (iii) the endless interruptions of crises and urgent challenges which form part of organizational life through times of turbulent change. They argue that these circumstances do not adequately provide sufficient time for engaging with, promoting, and communicating change. To address this, Aylward et al. argue the case for top public servants extricating themselves from operational matters, as excessive attention to detail is at the cost of strategic vision and organizational management. They suggest that public service managers must become leaders and spend much more time communicating with staff, articulating new visions and agenda, and being exemplars of leadership that obviously values people, teamwork and performance management (2001: 64). Aylward et al. conclude that, for public service leadership, "top managers must break out of the cultural frameworks they have inherited and create new leadership roles that others in their departments can look to for direction and inspiration" (2001: 68). Brosnahan (1999), too, asserts that a major challenge exists in the public sector environment to nourish leadership and to create organizations that are innovative and proactively responsive. An analysis of leadership in the public sector reveals some overlapping with and some distinctions from leadership in the private sector. A representative review of these is presented next.

2B:3 Public Sector Leadership Compared with Private Sector Leadership

Brosnahan (1999) compared leadership characteristics and values required by the private sector leader with those required by the public sector leader. Like Kotter (1988: 19), Brosnahan identified a great deal of commonality in the core leadership roles and characteristics, such as emotional and spiritual qualities — "like caring, empathy, respect, compassion and even loving" — and the creating of work places in which people look forward to going to work and feel personally fulfilled. Brosnahan expands on this by reporting various leaders who spoke about qualities such as inner strength, higher truth, integrity, trust; ability to relate; to establish rich, caring, and honest relationships; and having a passionate interest in the human condition (1999: 6). Bacon (1999) refers to the five core attributes required for the U. S. Office of Personnel Management's top-level federal civil service, the Senior Executive Service:

- Leading change
- Leading people
- Being results driven
- Possessing business acumen
- Building coalitions and communications skills (in Bacon, 1999: 3).

Bacon believes that these amount to the attributes that future public sector leaders will require. Worthy of note is the centrality of 'softer' attributes — identified in a PriceWaterhouseCoopers Endowment for the Business of Government survey of U. S. federal government Senior Executive Service personnel — including qualities such as flexibility, vision, and customer orientation, contrasting with a lower importance attached to 'hard' attributes such as IT expertise. Bacon contends that developing public sector leaders with these attributes will largely require 'on the job' development rather than formal university or classroom programmes (1999: 3).

The chairman of Resource, the Council for Museums, Archives and libraries in Britain, Matthew Evans (2002), insists that leadership 'soft' attributes are essential in the public sector, especially in cultural agencies such as libraries: "Trust is vital to creativity and innovation: a lubricant for efficiency", and he adds that, "the rigid rules of accountability are corroding trust" (2002: 62). He believes that a new public sector framework based on trust would benefit both government and its constituent institutions, as government would save on "wasteful and distracting bureaucracy" while libraries and such institutions "would feel they were trusted to get on with what they are good at, without constantly looking over their shoulders. As a result, they would be more likely to exceed the terms of their contract." Evans clarifies that "trust is not faith. It is not signing a blank cheque", and that in order to be trusted, public sector institutions must be open, have "first-class corporate governance", and must eschew "large, unwieldy boards and arcane decision-making procedures, which often confuse outsiders" (2002: 62). He also insists that "a framework based on trust should be just as demanding as a framework based on accountability", and as trust can also be abused, libraries and cultural institutions "need to be open to peer review of their activities" (2002: 63). (See also Section 2.B:5 for Evans's overview of this framework.)

Brosnahan (1999) suggested that public sector leaders tend to care deeply about their communities, evidenced by their choice of public service career (1999: 13). He views the role of private sector leaders as generally more straightforward, within narrower confines, and addressing a more easily identified cohort of stakeholders, unlike the lot of public sector leaders

who are dealing with an ever changing mission, an often hazy vision imposed from above and a multitude of stakeholders, including the public at large. Leadership roles between political leaders and chief executives are often confused: the political leader being the one perceived to have the vision, but the chief executive responsible for interpreting this and ensuring the delivery of outcomes. Public sector CEOs... are operating in the public gaze and are far more likely to be admonished publicly for minor errors than praised for major accomplishments (Brosnahan, 1999: 13).

Brosnahan concludes that such an environment is not conducive to encouraging leadership. He believes that "such an unattractive scenario" can encourage bureaucracy and hierarchy among public executives. Compounding this, public sector salary scales are largely inferior to those in the private sector, while the public sector leadership role is often more complex and often with more widespread impact on communities. Brosnahan believes that the broader intangible rewards of being involved with the public sector are not always sufficient to counter the higher salaries offered in the private sector (1999: 18, 19). Bacon (1999) states that the single greatest barrier to future recruitment and retention of the best skilled public sector personnel is, arguably, the increasing gap between private sector compensation and public sector compensation.

Competition is seen as one way in which both sectors are moving closer. Brosnahan asserts that competition — formerly the preserve of the private sector — is part of public sector organizations throughout the world today (1999: 13). Brosnahan also reports, in America's private sector, that a general view prevails that their leaders are superior performers to leaders in the public sector. He believes that the latter are often seen to be politicians rather than executives. He also suggests that too little attention is paid within the public sector to succession planning or to nurturing young leaders. While society demands leadership, Brosnahan contends, however, that society is not prepared to invest in fostering leadership training in the public sector either at political or executive levels (1999: 14).

2B:4 Reforming Public Governance

In the mid-1990s, the National Economic and Social Council (NESC) outlined that, in many countries, the public sector role was being influenced by changing macro environments, such as:

- new demands created by social change
- transformed thinking about the nature of effective management in the public sector, based on private sector and market principles
- heightened consumer awareness of quality of service issues (NESC, 1996: 251).

The report outlines some of the directions in which change is occurring:

- change from an emphasis on internal procedures to a concern for outcomes
- change from an emphasis on hierarchical decision-making to an approach stressing delegation and personal responsibility
- change from a focus on the quantity of service provided to one also concentrating on quality
- change from a culture that values stability and uniformity to one that cherishes innovation and diversity (NESC, 1996: 252).

A later NESC report, in December 1999, observes that demand for public services is not only changing but also increasing — along with the rising public expectations of standards of public service provision (NESC, 1999: 546). Brosnahan (1999), concurring with some of the NESC findings, asserts that an "impoverished private sector management model", based on a "traditional hierarchical leadership role", has tended to be duplicated by the public sector (1999: 16). He believes this model is fundamentally flawed, as he declares, "Hierarchy smothers leadership" (1999: 18).

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1999*a*) reported that both internal and external pressures for reform of public governance included:

- the overextending of public sector services (leading to mounting fiscal pressures)
- global influences
- increasingly informed public opinion
- increasing citizens' expectations (OECD, 1999a: 3-5).

The OECD also suggested that the private sector has been forced to become more client-oriented to remain viable and competitive, and that this has resulted in the raising of citizens' expectations while reducing their tolerance for substandard services. A better informed citizenry now expect services appropriate for their particular needs rather than generic standards (OECD, 1999*a*: 5).

Metcalfe and Richards (1990) anticipated the reservations expressed by NESC (1996) and Brosnahan (1999) above, emphasizing that the public sector cannot simply adopt private-sector practices: "It is all too common for critics of the performance of public companies to jump to the unwarranted conclusion that there are ready-made private sector solutions available" (1990: ix). From these arguments, it is apparent that Metcalfe & Richards (1990), NESC (1996, 1999), and Brosnahan imply that distinct approaches need to be made to reform public bodies. Pinder (1993) contends that "There is a need to develop new sorts of management, which is capable of meshing the requirements of democratic accountability with those of swift response and efficient service delivery, and capable of meeting a range of social objectives without abandoning a concern with value for money" (1993: 412).

The OECD PUMA (Public Management Service & Public Management Committee) (1999*b*) programme recently examined the strategies of public service reform in nine countries and found that, regardless of top-down or bottom-up approaches, it was important to cascade ownership of commitment to change throughout all organizational levels (OECD, 1999*b*). Aylward et al. (2001) suggest that changes in the Irish public sector are primarily those resulting from directives or enforced measures, such as the Strategic Management Initiative.

The Strategic Management Initiative (SMI), launched by the Irish Government in February 1994, focused on three key areas: (i) the contribution which public bodies can make to national development, (ii) the provision of an excellent service to the public, and (iii) the effective use of resources (NESC, 1996: 255). The Co-ordinating Group of Secretaries was established to monitor and recommend managerial and legislative changes to support individual Secretaries and their efforts at increased efficiency and effectiveness. The group's second report, in October 1995, provided the basis for the government

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programme, *Delivering Better Government*, launched in May 1996. This programme aimed primarily at promoting excellent service on behalf of the Government and for the public as customers and clients, partly by establishing new management structures and human resource management in the public service (*Delivering Better Government*, 1996). The Public Service Management Act, 1997, also grew from the process of the Strategic Management Initiative.

Better Local Government (BLG), another government paper published later in 1996, extended the SMI beyond the Irish Civil Service to the local government sector. BLG is central to recent and current local government strategies aimed at re-examining and reforming structures and processes. Affirming these sentiments, the National Economic and Social Council (1999) reported that Irish government policies since the early 1990s encourage the public sector to depart from traditional hierarchical and tightly-knit central control (i) towards strategic goal-setting, (ii) towards more effective management systems, and (iii) to more devolution and decentralization of responsibility and accountability.

Boyle (1999) draws attention to the growth of local and central government regulatory reform in many OECD countries since the early 1990s. This reform aims to reduce unnecessary regulations and to improve necessary regulations. It is also concerned with assessing the costs and benefits of regulations and their impacts. In Ireland, another report, *Reducing red tape: an action programme of regulatory reform in Ireland*, called for regulatory reform which would require the reallocation of public service resources for more effective outcomes (Department of the Taoiseach, 1999).

Another phase of the SMI was launched by the Taoiseach, in July 1999, to give greater impetus to the original SMI, and to address the slow implementation of some of the original SMI initiatives such as performance management and regulatory reform (NESC, 1999: 548). In this context, Aylward et al. (2001) observe that much progress was made during the 1990s in the Irish public sector, especially with regard to systems and legislative change, but that "the key domains of activity — culture, strategy, structure, power distribution and control systems — have remained largely unchanged" (2001: 63). They acknowledge that the change programme does not have a clearly defined beginning, middle and end, as "It is a long-term initiative designed to enable the public service to continuously adapt and effectively respond to and anticipate the

changes, demands and expectations of the environment in which it operates" (Aylward et al., 2001: 63). As the purpose of public sector reform is fundamentally to improve public sector service, this will be examined in the following section.

2B:5 Improving Capabilities of the Public Sector

The National Economic and Social Council (1999) considers (i) human resource management, (ii) financial management, and (iii) information technology to be key levers for enhancing public service capacities.

Human resource management

NESC (1999) articulates that "People are the public service's most valuable resource. Human resources account for around 65 to 70 per cent of the annual running costs of Government Departments and agencies". The report goes on to emphasize the importance of having employees with "competencies in areas such as evaluation, strategic management and policy analysis" (NESC, 1999: 561). Humphreys and Worth-Butler (1999) point to strategic challenges which, they believe, need to be addressed within the Irish public service for more effective management of its human resources. They draw on strategic objectives — from Delivering Better Government (1996), Better Local Government (1996), and from best practices of administration in Australia, Britain, Canada, Finland, and New Zealand — to draw up a three-pronged conceptual framework for strategic human resource management: (i) strategic planning, (ii) proactive human resource management to tap the talents of public sector employees, and (iii) active enabling of personnel, partly by extending wider ownership of human resource management (Humphreys & Worth-Butler, 1999: 50-2).

Financial Resource Management

Proposals for changes in financial management practices in the Irish public sector are contained in *Financial Resource Management in a Reformed Public Service* (SMI Working Group on Financial Management, 1999). Drawing on international developments, some of the proposed changes recommend the implementation of multi-annual budgeting and accrual-accounting, allowing for

the carrying over of unused funds or the pre-spending of the following year's budgets. Such flexibility, if implemented in the Irish public sector should enhance institutional capability by permitting discretion in shifting funds between areas of expenditure and between fiscal years (NESC, 1999: 562). Campos and Pradhan (1995) suggest that such flexibility in expenditure is more likely to occur through granting genuine discretion to individual subunits of the public service, albeit subject to central control frameworks.

Information Technology Management

Information technology (IT) has a central role in enhancing public service provision (Information Society Commission, 1999). A number of reports by agencies and individuals illustrate the wide variety of concrete examples of recent developments in IT-based public service provision (e.g. Humphreys, Fleming, & O'Donnell, 1999). The National Economic and Social Council (1999) suggests:

There is no doubt that information technology can support the development of new relationships envisaged as part of structural change in the public service. Increasing devolution and decentralization, changing intergovernmental relationships, and changing relationships with suppliers and public service users can all be facilitated by the wise use of information technology. Information technology can also more generally enhance the capacity for better management in the public service, particularly in areas such as needs assessment, planning and evaluation (NESC, 1999: 564).

The OECD (1999*a*) acknowledges how new technologies give citizens immediate access to information sources and services available in other jurisdictions, permitting quick comparisons, which in turn lead to pressures on local governance (1999*a*: 2-5). The OECD also suggests that, as well as availability of resources, leadership capacity and leadership practices determine the range and speed of public sector reform (1999*a*: 18).

New Paradigms for Reforming Public Governance

NESC (1999) cautions that, with new initiatives, new rigidities might replace older restrictions; therefore, ongoing monitoring and periodic review of strategies are required. Notwithstanding this caveat, Brosnahan (1999) proclaims that, throughout OECD countries, public sector reform is enabling a new mode of leader to emerge — the emotional and spiritual leader. In New Zealand, for example, public service chief executives are given far-reaching responsibilities and are not politically appointed. Brosnahan (1999) claims that such increased freedom and autonomy facilitates the flourishing of leadership (Brosnahan, 1999: 16).

Matthew Evans (2002) argues that over the last half century a new and significant economy based on creativity and culture has grown. He argues, because of the importance of this development, that publicly-funded cultural organizations such as libraries need to be reinvigorated through a framework different from that used in governing traditional economic forces. Evans believes that a new framework is needed firstly because of the difficulty in measuring, describing, valuing, and mobilizing that part of the economy founded on ideas and imagination. Secondly, this framework should aim to liberate the "creativity and initiative" of libraries and other cultural institutions, since "these institutions have become more needed, vital and respected, because they play a more central role in the economic and social life of the nation" (Evans, 2002: 56-7). Evans adds that, "despite this contribution, many people in the sector feel under-valued and under pressure. They are not ready to take the opportunity the economy of the imagination offers because they feel cowed by the risks, even if they recognize the challenges". Evans also adds that part of the problem in moving public cultural institutions into the mainstream of public life is because the relationship of government with the institutions "is too heavy-handed and there is too much micro-management". Furthermore, Evans believes that "we need to break free from the smothering embrace of this culture of accountability to find a new basis for the relationship between central government and cultural institutions", such as libraries. He suggests that the new framework has to be a framework based on trust, which finds a new balance between accountability and the "urgent need to promote initiative, innovation, risk taking, diversity and creativity" (2002: 57).

2.B: 6 Leadership in the Public Sector: A Summary

Brosnahan (1999) makes the following recommendations for encouraging leadership in the public sector:

When selecting chief executives in any part of the public sector or its various offshoots, it must be ensured that leadership skills are an essential component of the evaluation. It is not enough to have superb technical competence: one can readily measure technical skills, but there is some unease about how one identifies leadership. In seeking a values-based leader, one needs to look for competencies well beyond those traditionally sought. There is a need to move away from what has essentially been an impoverished model of leadership, to recognize that a leader has very human, almost spiritual qualities. There is a need to identify those special personal traits that enable leaders to deal with people in a special way and to provide them with vision and purpose. Organizations need to undertake evaluation of emotional intelligence characteristics such as those identified by Daniel Goleman to ensure that such characteristics are identified and developed in managers and potential managers (1999: 18).

The OECD (1999*a*) reported that, during public sector reforms towards the end of the twentieth century, the success of leadership in the public sector was seen to require many elements, including: commitment of followers, continual support, motivation, and consultative and participative structures providing both top-down and bottom-up approaches to maintain commitment and to learn from all concerned. It added that communication skills were needed at all stages of the process to motivate stakeholders, and that this requires openness and the humility to seek help from internal and external sources (OECD, 1999*a*: 27).

* * *

In Chapter 2, Part A, the significant literature on organizational leadership was reviewed. In Part B, significant literature themes on public sector leadership were summarily reviewed, providing a link between parts A and C. The final part of this Chapter, Part C, assesses the literature on leadership in a public library context, a relatively small but growing theme in the literature.

2C:1 Leadership in Librarianship: Introduction

Within the limited body of literature on leadership in librarianship, many scholars and practitioners emphasize the centrality of leadership to librarianship. Knott (1997) suggests, "the practice of librarianship is fundamentally a process of leadership" (1997: 30). Susan Goldberg Kent (1996), City Librarian at the Los Angeles Public Library, contends that one of the requisites for public libraries to 'survive and prosper' is 'solid and sound leadership' (1996: 213). She believes that the "public library needs reasoned, outspoken, and well-articulated leadership if it is to flourish in a digital future". Kent, however, believes that true leadership is difficult "in an institutional culture that abhors change, which is not an uncommon situation in many public libraries today" (1996: 213).

In an early examination of the characteristics of eight men and ten women library leaders, between 1836 and 1944, Danton (1953) found the following eighteen leadership characteristics among those librarians:

- breadth of knowledge
- specialization in subject fields
- strong initiative
- a high degree of intelligence
- devotion to the spirit of librarianship
- originality
- a vision, sometimes formalized, sometimes not
- a sense of humour
- a gift for organization
- a belief in policies of conciliation and compromise
- a liberal and open mind
- a fine sense of proportion
- tolerance
- belief in the library as an instrument of popular education
- emphasis on the book as a social force
- vision combined with energy, enthusiasm, and practical effectiveness
- knowledge of business methods and administrative experience

- uncanny flair for judging people
- commitment to the profession and activity in it
- never intimidated; perfectly fearless for good causes
- ability to see things in a big way and in true proportion
- giving of time and strength
- commitment to staff and colleague development (Danton, 1953).

This list shows that, across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, effective library leadership was seen to include many aspects of good management.

Research by Lomer and Rogers (1983) on the administration of public libraries in England and Wales, shortly after Britain's reorganization of local government in the mid-1970s, included some tangential findings on library leaders and the centrality of their contribution to the success of public library services: "Officers from outside the library and staff within the library agreed that the leadership of the chief librarian was the most important factor in the way the library operated and was developed.... In practical terms, the chief librarian is always the most important influence on the way the library is run and it is his professional approach which has most effect on the service" (1983: 125, 127).

Crismond and Leisner (1988) suggested a list of 'the top ten public library leaders' in America, based on a random survey among attendees at an American Library Association's midwinter meeting. Crismond and Leisner clarified that nobody qualified for that list merely because of excelling in just *one* aspect of leadership. They contended — from the initial random surveys and from subsequent telephone interviews with nine of those top ten leaders — that each leader "demonstrated a broad vision over time, combining commitment, determination, intelligence, and decision-making abilities to see that dreams come true" as well as courage and risk taking, openness to others, and political aptitude (1988: 123).

Spitzberg (1986) observed that the meaning of leadership may depend on the kinds of institutions or services in which it is practised. Bryson (1999) contends that leadership effectiveness in information services, for example, can be measured by the extent to which the work units and the information service can achieve their objectives. She perceives that effective leadership skills are

needed to reconcile the goals of management and of individuals with those of the information service and its parent organization (Bryson, 1999: 170). The public library service — the context of this study — is, however, much broader than just an information service (see for example, Chapter 1, Section 1.4).

Notwithstanding the above arguments underlining the centrality of leadership to librarianship, the dearth of research in the field of library leadership will be examined in the following section.

2C:2 Need for Further Research on Leadership in Librarianship

Literature on *executive* leadership in the public library sector is relatively scarce. As reported in Chapter 1, subsections 1:1 & 1:2, for example, Riggs (1999), while researching in 1980 on the topic of library leadership, could not find even one book on the topic listed in *Books in Print*. Perusing issues of *Library Literature* from 1975 to 1981, he found a total of only five entries containing the words 'leadership' or 'leaders'. Riggs (1999) expressed astonishment, in particular, at the dearth of writing on leadership by senior practitioners in the field of librarianship — at least until "recently years" (1999: 6). Gertzog (1989) too reported that 'leadership' was not used as a subject heading in *Library Literature*, the major index in America to literature of librarianship.

Hurt (1991) asserted that the "interesting problem of what constitutes leadership in the [library] profession" is "without doubt... a problem in serious need of work" (1991: 90). Even towards the late 1990s, Karp and Murdock (1998) reported data-search problems for the topic of leadership in librarianship. They found that "a search for library literature about leadership must tediously pick through thousands of citations under the subject headings of 'administration', 'librarianship', 'organizational behaviour', 'personnel', and specific types of administration (for example, 'TQM'). They contrasted this with other fields, where "leadership *is* a subject heading in the major indexes for other professions, such as accounting and nursing" (Karp & Murdock, 1998: 251).

Karp and Murdock (1998), while highlighting a dearth of sources in printed indexes, suggest that recent online indexes, such as *ProQuest ERIC*, are beginning to indicate a number of recent articles on the topic of leadership in

librarianship. Work for the current study also found the *EBSCOhost* database useful for accessing electronic journals. While Riggs (1999) reports that a perusal of recent literature on leadership in libraries reveals a number of articles and a handful of monographs, he clarifies that these are primarily in the *academic* library context — with very few articles on leadership in the *public* library profession. Nevertheless, within this small but growing body of publications, Winston and Neely (2001) confirm that, "The literature of library and information science reflects an increased emphasis on leadership" (2001: 16).

Before continuing to review literature on the topic of library leadership, the role of its context — i.e., the public library service — will be discussed briefly.

2C:3 The Role of the Public Library

Crismond and Leisner (1988) viewed the public library as "an institution that spreads knowledge, gathers ideas, and makes materials readily available to all" (1998: 122). The customer-focus or community-focus aspect of the public library service is widely accepted as central to the functions of public library leadership. Evans (2002), for example, argues that libraries, along with museums and art galleries, "play an absolutely critical role in social regeneration", and as "cultural institutions create economic value" (2002: 58). Resource (The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries in Britain) also makes the case that these institutions "provide people with answers, interpretations and experiences which enrich, make sense of and change their lives" (in Evans, 2002: 59).

As a public library leader, Kent (1996) asserts that public libraries assist the transformation of society (1996: 214). Durrance and Van Fleet (1992) found that public library leaders report that strategic and other planning processes help them to examine community needs and to respond more effectively to them. These librarians also report that meeting community needs — such as, providing resources for job seekers, older adults, newly literate adults, immigrants, the home- or institution-bound, and community leaders — is more difficult to respond to in today's more heterogeneous communities (Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 33-4).

The role of catalyst for democracy is another perceived function of the library service. The director of the Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh, Robert Croneberger, for example, argues that librarians "need to make people understand that the key element in a democracy is an informed citizenry, and that this is the task of libraries" (in Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 34). The revised *IFLA/UNESCO* Public Library Manifesto states:

Constructive participation [in(?)] and the development of democracy depend upon satisfactory education as well as on free and unlimited access to knowledge, thought, culture and information. The public library, the local gateway to knowledge, provides a basic condition for lifelong learning, independent decision making and cultural development of the individual and social groups (IFLA/UNESCO, 1994: 1).

The European Commission (1997) promotes a similar philosophy, and describes the ideal public library as:

- an active partner in safeguarding democracy, providing uninhibited access to all published materials
- a supporter of education and learning at many levels, delivering the raw materials of knowledge
- a local IT (information technology) centre, providing access to hardware, software and networks, giving citizens an opportunity to deal with a new and completely pervasive technology
- a cultural institution
 (European Commission, 1997: ix).

Durrance and Van Fleet (1992) observed that major changes in communities, due to altered demographics and altered norms of society, require new and different library responses. The library leaders whom they interviewed reported that the older view of the library merely as a place supplying *materials* (such as literacy or large-print items) has changed to a place providing *services*, such as literacy activities and programmes as well as more sophisticated information provision and services. Support for the career advancement of citizens, for local economic development projects, and for immigrant language and social requirements are all library functions very much in evidence (Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 34). Some public libraries also provide homework help centres within their branch libraries (Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 33). From the many reports by statutory and nonstatutory organizations (including: an Chomhairle

Leabharlanna, 1999; the Department of the Environment and Local Government, 1998; the European Commission, 1997; the Library Association of Ireland, 1999; PubliCA, 1998; IFLA/UNESCO, 1994), the role of a public library service can be summarized as:

- a catalyst of democracy
- a resource for local economic, educational and cultural development
- an information resource
- an important and non-exclusive contributor to the ongoing enrichment of individuals and communities
- a democratically available space and safe environment for people of all ages and from all social backgrounds
- a means of democratic access to information society resources.

* * *

If the role of the public library service is accepted as critical to the enhancement of individuals and communities, it implies that the leadership qualities or traits of those charged with directing these institutions should also be of critical importance for delivering optimum vision and direction for optimum library service provision. The following section reviews literature findings that explore many personal and professional traits reported as typical of and/or desired for effective library leaders. These characteristics will be reviewed under a number of generalized taxonomies that are representative of findings in the literature on library leadership.

2C:4 Library Leaders: Ideal Traits and Behaviours

Based on interviews of nine of the top ten highest-profiled American librarians, Crismond and Leisner (1988) listed six traits/behaviours as the "most important in making a library leader":

- vision
- a commitment to public libraries
- courage and risk taking
- openness to others
- political savvy
- professional involvement (Crismond & Leisner, 1998: 122).

Schreiber and Shannon (2001) present the following "six critical leadership traits" for library leaders:

- self-awareness
- embracing change
- customer focus
- stands to take in the future [i.e., vision]
- collaborative spirit
- bias for courageous action (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 44-53).

Because library leaders have a large and diverse constituency, Morris (1981) believed that library leaders must have:

- a tolerance for chaos
- patience for protracted closure on many strategies; high collaborative and integrative skills
- measured restraint in exercising power
- a sturdy ego and hearty self-confidence
- the ability to bury these attributes when necessary to bring problems to closure (Morris, 1981).

Barbara I. Dewey (1998) suggests that "certain personal traits provide strength and depth to a librarian's professional abilities. Traits in this category mentioned by employers include creativity, sense of humour, energy, outgoing nature, selfmotivation, evidence of initiative, and resourcefulness. Librarians who can communicate clearly and integrate their portfolio of professional expertise and their own unique personality are often leaders in major as well as more focused activities occurring throughout their career" (Dewey, 1998: 92).

While classic taxonomy of leadership studies often make a distinction between *trait* and *behaviourist* theories, Part C of this chapter, dealing with public library leadership, uses the terms *trait* and *behaviour* in their broader and overlapping senses. To facilitate discussion on the different qualities of a library leader, where a library leader *behaves*, for example, in a democratic manner, he is deemed also to have the *trait* of being a democratic leader. The word *quality* is also used interchangeably with the terms *trait* and *behaviour* in this final part of Chapter 2.

The following list of thirteen suggested desired/required qualities for public library leadership draw from the above lists and from other sources in the literature of librarianship, and will be discussed in more detail below:

- 1. Vision
- 2. A commitment to public libraries and a sense of mission towards customers and society
- 3. Courage and risk taking
- 4. Openness towards and empowerment of colleagues
- 5. People-centred leadership
- 6. Trust
- 7. Personal principles/values
- 8. Political skills
- 9. Professional involvement/networking
- 10. Marketing skills
- 11. Embracing change and creativity
- 12. Realism
- 13. Self-awareness

The taxonomy of leadership qualities/traits/behaviours cannot be rigorous, as leadership is not a rigorous scientific phenomenon (cf. Section 2A:2 above). The thirteen trait groups selected for this study aim to be cumulatively inclusive to represent the breadth and classification of desired library leadership qualities discussed in the literature — even if the taxonomies are of necessity somewhat arbitrary, reflecting the fluidity of describing overall individual human characteristics as well as those within the study of leadership traits. Many elements within the loose classification scheme might, therefore, be appropriately discussed in different categories; for example, the quality of trust could also be discussed under the categories dealing with people-centred leadership, or openness to others, or the section dealing with principles and values.

The following thirteen sample taxonomies, therefore, allow for the ordered discussion of traits among leaders in public librarianship, selected from and variously advocated in the relatively small but growing literature in the field. The contributions from the literature are informed by works from disinterested

academic writers as well as from inputs from practitioners in the field of librarianship.

2C: 4.1 Trait 1: Vision

Scholtes (1999) contends that the pivotal factor in a leader's job is "giving vision, meaning, direction and focus to the organization" (1999: S704). Consistent with this, Kent (1996) asserts: "Public libraries need leaders who can passionately and forcefully articulate a vision for the future, coupled with a cogent assessment of the critical factors that... public libraries must now confront if they are to have a successful future" (1996: 214). Riggs (1998) asserts, "For effective library leadership to exist, there must be a vision. For leadership to succeed, it needs form and function, process and purpose, and that all begins with a clearly articulated vision of the future of the library" (1998: 57). Crismond and Leisner (1988) argued that a leader must have a vision of where the library service is going, which he or she must share through long-range planning with all stakeholders. This vision, which "is slightly ahead of" the common view, should spark the imagination of others and mobilize them in order to translate the vision into a reality (Crismond & Leisner, 1988: 122).

Schreiber and Shannon (2001) exhort library leaders "to identify customer expectations, current and potential competitors, professional innovations, core capabilities, national and international trends, funding changes, and other factors — to create a map of their current environment" as well as taking "a look back... to identify core values and lessons learned from the past", in order to build a strategic planning context, without which planning would be "done in a vacuum". From these exercises, they suggest that a library can evaluate its "current response to its environment and values with an analysis of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats, to determine strategic directions" (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 48). Part of these library leadership activities might include the clarification of a library's market niche in relation to competitors and potential partners. Himmel and Wilson (1998) describe this market niche as services to responses or "what a library does for, or offers to, the public in an effort to meet a set of well-defined community needs" (1998).

Schreiber and Shannon suggest, "Particularly in a time of multiple transitions, leaders must create a shared vision with their followers. A clear sense of 'where the organization is going' is a beacon leading the way" into the unknown. They add, "The more compelling and widely held the vision, the more drawing power it has. It must create the critical tension needed to stimulate action. In the eyes of staff, the destination must be worth the effort of the journey" (2001: 49). Schreiber and Shannon also suggest that people should:

take time out to imagine the possibilities, without limitations of time and money. There is plenty of time to do reality checks later; this is the time to dream. We want people to imagine the best they could be as an organization; then write what they see in concrete, compelling, credible, confronting, and easily communicated language. . . The other steps of strategic planning follow. Strategic directions are defined, goals are prioritized, activities are initiated, and the whole organization moves the vision toward reality (2001: 49).

Karp and Murdock (1998), likewise, suggest, "Leadership is complete when a clear vision becomes the driving force for an individual's actions" (1998: 256). The role of vision is expanded below in Section 2C:5, 'The Role of Vision and Planning in Library Leadership'.

2C: 4.2 *Trait 2:* A Commitment to Public Libraries and a Sense of Mission Towards Customers and Society

A review of the literature on librarianship suggests that library leaders are motivated by the societal value of their work (e.g., Sheldon, 1992; Cino, 1995). Wedgeworth (1989) similarly found that library leaders endeavour to 'make a difference' rather than just be the 'head of something', and Bechtel (1993) suggested that librarians tend to serve the professional needs of others rather than their own work-related needs. Crismond and Leisner (1988) reported that the high-profiled library leaders whom they interviewed articulated a deep commitment to the public library service (1988). These leaders also reported their strong belief in a mission of making library services available to all (Crismond & Leisner, 1988: 122).

Berry (2002) asserts that what distinguishes true leaders among librarians "is that not only do they have strong convictions, they pursue them on the job" and

"they hold passionately strong beliefs about libraries and library service. They are driven by their professional concern that no one should be denied information because of his or her point of view, age, or the nature of the information" (Berry, 2002: 8). Illustrating such a commitment, the director of the Seattle Public Library, Liz Stroup, for example, stated: "Client-centred service is my passion.... I want every client treated as if she were my mother" (in Sheldon, 1991: 20).

Veaner (1990) suggests that leadership in libraries is enhanced by those who are caring towards fellow human beings and who are flexible, open, decisive, and loyal to their institutions. Riggs (2001b) believes that passion for one's work is a quality of library leaders. He contends, "If one desires to be a library leader, then one must expect to work long hours", and "enthusiasm for work is often infectious and found among all leaders in a given library" (2001b: 13). Sheldon (1991) suggests that librarians, along with other not-for-profit professionals, share 'an advantage' over leaders of commercial organizations — whose bottom line is commercial profit — insofar as "library leaders have a deep and intense belief that what they are doing is not only satisfying, but deeply significant" (1991: 11). Emphasizing the centrality of service in the public library context, Needham (2001) argues that "Technology-related organizations — especially non-profit, for-cause organizations — have a responsibility to move ahead in a way that is simultaneously humble and visionary". To be humble, libraries "must understand that they do not have all of the solutions" but must acquire solutions "which grow in the warmth and light of open communication between the organization and its membership" (Needham, 2001: 142).

One British librarian, Jacquie Campbell (2001) suggests that "the most important attribute any Chief — or for that matter, any librarian — can have is a passion for what they do" (2001: 80). As a library practitioner, she adds that it is important that leaders "in our profession burn with passion for what they do" and also that "it is so important that they are able to communicate that passion to others" (Campbell, 2001: 80). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) contend that a strategic library leader continually asks, "Why are we doing this?", adding that enlightened leaders "keep their focus on customers — as a way to ensure customer satisfaction *and* individual and organizational relevance. If one accurately anticipates and intelligently responds to customer needs, the organization can be positioned to take advantage of major trends" (2001: 47).

Schreiber and Shannon thus highlight the importance of having an intimate knowledge of customer expectations, and they caution where this is absent that much planning effort is founded on guesswork, instead of using "accurate and frequent communication with customers and colleagues in the field" as a foundation for the planning of library restructuring and capital projects (2001: 48).

B. I. Dewey (1998) asserts, "Librarians seeking public services careers must be able to demonstrate and articulate a strong philosophical commitment to service provision" (1998: 90). She adds, "Providing leadership in translating the philosophy to concrete action is a central characteristic for the successful practitioner, whether or not the librarian is the head of a department or a front-line professional. Dewey pithily concludes, "A fundamental dedication to service should be inherent in the successful public services librarian" (1998: 90). This coincides with Olsson (1996), who suggests that good library leadership is characterized by strong "efforts directed towards *strategy* and towards *personal commitment* [his emphases]. These are also the two parts of a leader's obligations that can not, and should not, be delegated. Everything else, specific knowledge, skills, budget issues etc. can be handled by others" (1995: 30).

Building on the arguments supporting the requirement for service commitment, the following subsection makes the case for courage as a requirement to more effectively serve librarians' commitment and mission towards customers.

2C: 4.3 Trait 3: Courage and Risk-taking

Crismond and Leisner (1988) contend that the library leader needs to take risks in order to expand and improve services. Risks associated with cutting edge developments also require leaders to be courageous and resilient to overcome obstacles (Crismond & Leisner, 1988: 122). Acknowledging that failures can accompany risk taking, Schreiber and Shannon (2001) declare, "The library leaders we most respect are those who have been bold enough to have some failures, and who are willing to share the lessons they have learned" (2001: 38). While encouraging librarians to be courageous, they advise new library leaders to show "a respect for what is already in place", but not to the extent that undue caution might restrict progress (2001: 41). They define courage as "choosing to act in the face of fear" and believe that leaders must act "with passion and courage, and encourage others to take risks" (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 50, 51). This coincides with Cluff (1989), who suggested that good leaders encourage an environment were staff are encouraged to take risks.

Mason (1989), however, claims that calculated risk taking is "out of character for many librarians", arguing that "Librarians are, as a class, conservative people who are inclined to minimize or eliminate risk whenever possible" (1989, 169-70). While Riggs (2001b) also believes "Due to scarce resources, libraries are not known for their risk taking", he advocates that "Errors from experimentation must be encouraged and embraced by library leaders" (2001b: 10). He also declares that "Leadership roles in libraries are not for the faint-hearted", since "Leaders, be they department heads or head librarians, must have the courage to call the shots", and "Doing the right things can cause discomfort". Riggs continues, "To know when to stand valiantly alone and let time and circumstance justify his/her stand is essential to the library leader" (2001b: 12). Tessman (1990) reported the views of one mentor at a Snowbird Leadership Institute course, in the U.S., who cautioned potential library leaders that "Leadership doesn't mean you feel comfortable ... [but] the excitement of trying something overwhelms the fear" (in Tessman, 1990: 16). Also acknowledging adversity in positions of leadership, Alire (2001) suggests that emerging leaders should learn to overcome adverse experiences and "to turn negatives into positives" (2001: 102). She also contends that "People learn more from their bad experiences than their good experiences", and that learning to overcome adversity helps to develop leaders' personal strengths (Alire, 2001: 102).

Getz (1993) includes political leaders who have responsibility for public library services among those who need to act courageously. He cites the example of Mayor Holland Mangum of Seminole, Florida, who had to face "a storm of over 3000 people objecting to [a 33%] tax increase and the cost of the library" at a town meeting (Getz, 1993: 143). His courage followed that of his city librarian, Patricia Bartell, who argued, "the city administration has to be progressive enough to take the heat". She challenged the city for strategic support: "I told the city they either had to take us over, or we'd go under. I kept going back until the city said Yes". Mangum added, "The way I look at it, no matter what I do, about 25% of the people will object. My philosophy is to do the right thing, and most people will come around after a while". He challenged the protesters

directly, explaining, "contrary to popular opinion, you *do* have to pay for services". Fighting his case, he asserted, "A first-rate library is an asset to the community. It enhances the quality of life and attracts families, business, and industry" (in Getz, 1993: 143). Their combined courage won many objectors over to agree with the increased taxes, resulting in a "top-of-the-line library" of which their citizens are now proud (Getz, 1993: 143).

Riggs (2001*b*) regards innovation as essential to risk taking. He suggests that innovation follows creativity, and that library leaders should provide new and different approaches to library services from innovative strategies. Reflecting Mason (1989) above, however, Riggs is sceptical of the existence of innovation and entrepreneurship among librarians, whom he typically associates with the practice of adhering to established policies: "The entrepreneurial spirit is a rare attribute among library leaders" (Riggs, 2001*b*: 11). Riggs also believes that "the library world tends to view innovators initially with suspicion and, if the new product/service is successful, subsequently heaps praise and commendation on the innovator" (2001*b*: 11). Lubans (2002) advocates an environment which is proactive in supporting those who experiment, make mistakes, and learn; adding that "suppressed ideas at a library staff meeting undercuts the learning from mistakes on the way to an improved process" (2002: 36).

Alire (2001) asserts that leaders must have the courage to be decisive, and that followers usually expect leaders to make the tough decisions (2001: 103). Schreiber and Shannon extol the virtues of 'exuberant risk taking', wherein unbounded creativity and inventiveness is encouraged and supported. They believe this is facilitated by leaders "eliminating fault-finding, [and] using mistakes and missteps as learning opportunities" as well as tangibly rewarding risk taking (2001: 52). They also suggest that leaders "know that most decisions are made with inadequate information — that the best you can do is take calculated risks. Rewarding staff when they take reasonable risks is a powerful tool in creating an organization with a bias for action. One can encourage initiative by creating 'action teams' to solve problems, implement programmes, or redesign work processes". They add, however, "It is important to make sure the teams know their parameters and have progress checks, so they can be supported and their recommendations implemented" (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 53).

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Overall, the literature supports proactively courageous leadership behaviour. Consistent with such behaviour, the literature also affirms evidence for morally courageous and deliberately considerate commitment to an empathic approach among library leaders towards followers. Aspects of empathic leadership styles, as discussed in the literature, will be discussed in the following subsection.

2C: 4.4 *Trait 4:* Openness towards and Empowerment of Colleagues

"The more power you give away, the more powerful you become", Lubans asserts (2002). Lubans contends that a good leader inspires followers by encouraging them "to feel they have the power to express themselves" and to experience 'freedom' by allowing them to put their personal stamp on their contributions, without the leader having to surrender his or her power (2002: 37). Crismond and Leisner suggest that top library leaders show openness to the contribution of others when they develop listening skills and when they genuinely appreciate and empower staff. They also believe that openness to others increases mutual empathy and networking, and the appreciation of and having confidence in others (Crismond & Leisner, 1988: 122).

In England and Wales, the Audit Commission (2002) recommends that library leaders involve their local council colleagues as well as their library colleagues: "To ensure that staff are committed to changes, senior officers need to show clear leadership and commitment, and must listen to the views of staff..." (2002: 38). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) exhort leaders to involve followers at every opportunity, and they query why "so many managers believe they must do it alone", as "Too many believe it is a sign of weakness to ask for help, pride themselves on their independence, or arrogantly believe only they can do it 'right'". They also believe, "All of us like to be asked for advice and suggestions. Being asked demonstrates a leader's faith in employees' opinions". Schreiber and Shannon also believe that good leaders surround themselves "with good people, then use them well, ask for their advice", and they argue that part of the 'collaborative spirit' means that leaders "commit themselves to support the success of others" (2001: 50).

Berry (1998) suggests how leaders might empower juniors, especially front-line staff, to move outside unnecessary limitations:

In terms of working with others, particularly those they outrank, leaders empower. They reinforce the leadership efforts of others and nourish that characteristic drive to change the rules or go beyond the boundaries, hierarchy, and structure.

In a good public library, a leader/director assigns the most dynamic staffers to the front-line service posts and then liberates or empowers them to adjust the service and governing policies to help the library user accomplish his or her ends. In well-run libraries of all types, front-line staff are allowed, actually required, to make policy on the spot, case-by-case, regardless of their status or their rank in the enterprise. This liberation pleases those who use the library and identifies potential leaders at all staff levels (Berry, 1998: 6)

Schreiber and Shannon (2001) exhort leaders to involve "individuals in decisions that directly impact their lives", as it "opens the door to their sense of professionalism, accountability, and commitment to succeed" (2001: 38). Increased productivity by employees from increased involvement was proved as early as 1936 after experiments on increasing staff involvement with management decisions at Western Electric's Hawthorne factory in Chicago. These findings by Roethlisberger and Dickson (1936), on what became known as 'the Hawthorne Effect', showed that the implementation of shared decision making — as fundamental as deciding on increasing/decreasing the amount of work-area lighting — resulted in increased productivity at each implementation of staff involvement. Schreiber and Shannon assert that the process of involvement "is one of the most powerful tools a leader can use to build, change, or turn around an organization" (2001: 39). They add that "Large group facilitation is a challenging business, but 'getting everyone in the room' can have a profound effect on motivating change and gaining commitment to organizational goals" while the leader continually ensures that vision is guiding decisions (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 50).

Participative leadership is also seen as another aspect of openness. Solomon (1976) found greater effectiveness among library directors who practised consultative and participative methods of leadership; these directors had higher ratings in their departments than those in libraries where directors were manipulative. Interestingly, the evaluations of the various departments were

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judged by peers in other departments within the libraries investigated (Solomon, 1976).

Berry (1998) believes, however, that openness is a rare practice in library leadership. He sees conservatism and excessive control as typical attributes associated with library management, and contends that library leaders must challenge these widespread restraints: "This quality of liberation is anathema to librarianship. Yet the quality of being liberated is essential to successful library leadership" (1998). While some observers report excessive caution on the side of some librarians, evidence for quite radical, generously spirited, and open leadership styles are also observed and reported in the literature. Sheldon, for examples reports how the director of the Seattle Public Library, Liz Stroup, who described herself as a coach, asserts: "I want every member of our staff to be empowered to break any rule if it makes sense" (Sheldon, 1991: 20).

As well as being open to library colleagues, arguments are made that library leaders should also be open to adopt input from library users (Berry, 1998; Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992; Needham, 2001). Berry (1998) asserts that leaders who liberate themselves beyond boundaries will empower not only staff but also library users (1998: 6). This reflects Durrance and Van Fleet (1992) who report how the director of the Princeton Public Library, Jackie Thresher, invited input from the public to her building planning programme:

Fifteen years ago I would have engaged in this process with no input from the public. But these past ten years or so with the planning process approach, I realize that if we are going to have a new building or do major work on our existing facility, we need to do a community analysis and study the reactions of the community (Thresher, in Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 33).

Needham (2001) cautions that an organization that loses touch with its audience can become arrogant, resulting in the ignoring of required developments to serve the "changing realities in the library world or in the wider environment of information technology. . . . Organizations that are slow to recognize these changes, or that assume their current solutions have an indefinite shelf life, risk being left behind". Needham also suggests, "Being ignored is an almost karmic penalty for organizations that ignore their clients" (2001: 142).

In summary, within the literature of library management, the quality of openness has not traditionally been associated with library leaders (Berry, 1998). Addressing this negative practice, practitioners and academics advocate a radical reversal of this tradition, through genuine openness to staff, listening to staff, and involving and empowering staff (Audit Commission, 2002; Lubans, 2002; Needham, 2001; Schreiber & Shannon, 2001; Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992; Crismond & Leisner, 1988; Solomon, 1976). Openness to customer input for library planning is also advocated in the literature (Berry, 1998; Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992; Needham, 2001). The topic of proactive openness towards others is developed in the following trait, people-centred leadership.

2C: 4.5 Trait 5: People-centred Leadership

Bennis (1999*b*) declares that "in tomorrow's world exemplary leaders will be distinguished by their mastery of the softer side: people skills, taste, judgement, and, above all, character" (1999*b*: 19). Riggs (2001*b*) believes that "The more successful leaders are humanists", and that they "truly care for their colleagues" and assist their development. He adds that "Followers will 'walk the extra mile' for the leaders they have confidence in and respect" (2001*b*: 13).

The director of the County of Los Angeles Public Library, Sandra Reuben, exhorts librarian leaders to focus on library staff rather than on library buildings: "We have focused on buildings too long. We should be past the time when the buildings are the centre of what we do. If we were less building centred, maybe we could spend more on service" (in Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 118). Her counterpart in the City of Los Angeles, Susan Goldberg Kent (1996), shares these sentiments: "More important than the physical space, the technology, or the collection of information and knowledge are the people who work in and manage public libraries" (1996: 214). On respect for professionalism among library staff, Gorman (1991) argues, "There are no longer many librarians who will put up . . . with being treated in any way other than as a professional colleague", and he exhorts library leaders to respect those "legitimate aspirations to professionalism and autonomy" (1991: 8). Gorman also argues that job distinction — between professional, para-professional, and clerical staff - does not imply that one class of worker "is better or more valuable than another" (1991: 8). Collaboration is seen as the bridge between hierarchical levels. Schreiber and Shannon (2001), for example, believe that what is often "necessary for collaborative relationships and the potential to exert influence is letting go of the constraints of traditional management practice and reaching out to others with a good idea and an offer of sharing the rewards and the load" (2001: 51).

Covey (1990) exhorts leaders to empower their followers through 'creative co-operation' by addressing their unsatisfied needs:

Satisfied needs do not motivate. It's only the unsatisfied need that motivates. Next to physical survival, the greatest need of a human being is psychological survival — to be understood, to be affirmed, to be validated, to be appreciated. When you listen with empathy to another person, you give that person psychological air. And after that vital need is met, you can then focus on influencing or problem solving. This need for psychological air impacts communication in every area of life (Covey, 1990: 241).

This is consistent with O'Toole (1995) who suggests, "All moral and effective leaders... illuminate their followers' better sides, revealing what is good in them and thus ultimately giving them hope.... In the end, the leader's vision becomes *their* vision because it is built on the foundation of their needs and aspirations" (1995: 10). Parallel with this, he believes that "the leadership of change does not depend on circumstances: it depends on the attitudes, values, and actions of leaders (1995: 11). O'Toole makes an apologia for moral and people-centred leadership:

In complex, democratic settings, effective leadership will entail the factors and dimensions of vision, trust, listening, authenticity, integrity, hope, and especially, addressing the true needs of followers. Without these factors, the likelihood of overcoming the ever-present resistance to change is all but nil. If this is correct, what is required to guide effective change is not contingency theory but, rather, a new philosophy of leadership that is always and at all times focused on enlisting the hearts and minds of followers through inclusion and participation. Such a philosophy must be rooted in the most fundamental of moral principles: respect for people. In this realm of morality, there are no contingencies (O'Toole, 1995: 11).

These arguments for proactively respecting followers as whole people, by showing consideration for their many psychological needs for acknowledgement, respect, and appreciation — rather than just workers to be directed — have

been addressed by many other writers advocating 'new' management techniques (e.g., Mintzberg, 1999; Rucci et al., 1998; Ghoshal & Bartlett, 1998; Pfeffer, 1998; Tichy and Cohen, 1997; Kanter, 1996; Senge, 1996; Drucker, 1992; Deming, 1990). In these writings, a core element of people-centred leadership is trust in the leader–follower relationship. This will be discussed in the following subsection.

2C:4.6 Trait 6: Trust

Bennis (1999*a*) viewed trust, or "the emotional glue that can bond people to an organization", as a complex factor with ingredients which "are a combination of competence, constancy, caring, fairness, candour and authenticity. Most of all the latter". He added that this combination is achieved when leaders "balance successfully the tripod of forces working on and in most of us: ambition, competence, and integrity" (Bennis, 1999*a*: 78). This reflects O'Toole (1995), who suggests, "In essence, the leadership challenge is to provide the 'glue' to cohere independent units in a world characterized by forces of entropy and fragmentation. Only one element has been identified as powerful enough to overcome those centripetal forces, and that is trust". He adds, "such trust emanates from leadership based on shared purpose, shared vision, and especially, shared values" (1995: xiii).

Lubans (2002) asserts: "The more trust between management and staff, the better the service product in the library" (2002: 36). He observed that genuine awareness, concern, and supportiveness for people nurtures followers' trust in a leader — a necessary ingredient for 'creative freedom' — and this trust can result in followers placing themselves in the hands of the leader, who feel their leader is working on their behalf (Lubans, 2002: 37). Riggs (2001*b*), who views trust as a reciprocal relationship, suggests, "An obvious responsibility of a leader is to create a climate of trust" which is built on "respect, openness, and good listening practices" (2001*b*: 13). Evans (2002) argues that "We need to sweep away the climate of excess accountability", substituting this with "a new framework of trust, in which improvements in performance are rewarded with greater freedom from central control" (2002: 63). This reflects Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter (1990), who suggest that trust in leadership is a requisite for individuals to willingly identify with their organizations and to

internalize organizational values, and for the emergence of transcendental organizational citizenship behaviour (Podsakoff, et al., 1990).

The literature on library leadership also reports on benefits resulting from trust between library leaders and the communities they serve. For example, Ken Dowlin, director of the San Francisco Public Library which serves very diverse communities, believes that support for the public library service grows from librarians gaining trust from the many community sectors through learning about and addressing the varied needs of library users (Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 35).

In summary, trust and its centrality to effective leadership is a recurring theme in the literature on leadership. A leader who establishes a culture of trust contributes to a culture of authenticity, releasing greater organizational creativity, which in turn leads to improved quality of productivity (Lubans, 2002; Evans, 2002). The theme of trust will be further discussed in the next subsection on personal values. As trust and personal principles are core elements of transformational leadership, the following subsection will include a review of transformational leadership as a quality of the leader who is guided by values and principles.

2C:4.7 Trait 7: Positive Personal Principles/Values

Cichy and Schmidgall (1996) suggest that a significant differentiating factor between a manager and a leader is the leader's strong personal value or belief system. Riggs (1998, 2001*b*) describes values as:

abstract ideas that influence thinking, planning, action, and, finally, vision in the library. Values are known for providing the context within which library issues are identified, and alternative actions are assessed (Riggs, 1998: 58),

or as:

the principles or standards that help libraries determine what is worthwhile or desirable (Riggs, 2001b: 13).

Riggs extends the role of vision beyond the leader to the library organization, suggesting that a library's vision and culture is founded on its values.

He contends that it is a function of the leader "to refresh the library's values", declaring that jaded values impede organizational directions (2001*b*: 13). Kaufman (1993) and Covey & Gulledge (1992) believe that a leader's value system, as well as motivating the leader, imbues his or her followers with values and organizational integrity. Consistent with this, Riggs (1998) argues that followers are eager for direction from library leaders: "Library staff are hungry for new direction, new values, inspiration, and articulation on what the future holds" (1998: 55). According to Alire (2001), such direction-giving for followers is best provided by leaders guided by principles:

Integrity should be one of the first personal, guiding leadership principles.... There is never room to compromise one's integrity. When followers see leaders with integrity, they become even more respectful and trusting of them and their leadership abilities (Alire, 2001: 102).

Schreiber and Shannon (2001) similarly exhort leaders to hold themselves and others accountable to a higher standard by "Being honourable, ethical, and consistently reliable"; which helps leaders to engender "a collaborative spirit", resulting in the sharing of rewards and burdens (2001: 51). These leadership characteristics are consistent with those of transformational leaders (subsections 2A:8.15 to 2A:8.15.2 above).

Bass and Steidlmeier (1999) contend that the inspirational exhortations of authentic transformational leaders largely focus on the positive aspects of their followers, contributing to harmony, charity, and benevolence. Stites-Doe, Pillai, & Meindl (1994), after investigating the influence of transformational leadership on organizational culture, found that leaders who are considerate to individuals do invest more time in activities that promote the spread of desired organizational cultures. Riggs (2001b) summarizes: "Leading by example is an excellent way to inspire and motivate followers" (2001b: 14). Riggs also suggests that followers actively enjoy working for inspirational leaders, as they are motivated to engage in even more but better work. Complementing the view that followers enjoy working for leaders who inspire by principle, Lubans (2002) observes that such leaders show that they share in the joy of their followers, suggesting that "Perhaps that is the one most transformational quality of a great leader — expressing joy in what she does" (2002: 37). Consistent with this, Olsson (1995) asserts that "creating trust and finding joy" are central to eliciting personal commitment from workers (1995: 33).

For a fuller review of literature on transformational leadership, see subsections 2A:8.15 to 2A:8.15.2 above.

In summary, a leader's value system is seen as central to the value system of an organization. This is a core argument in the literature on recent management practices (e.g., Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999; Stites-Doe, Pillai, & Meindl, 1994; Kaufman, 1993; Covey & Gulledge, 1992). The preceding traits of library leaders are qualities that are largely focused internally, mainly towards day-today stakeholders (colleagues and customers). The following three subsections will discuss leadership traits that are primarily focused externally, requiring the canvassing of external stakeholders, for example, for the proactive canvassing of political support. These externally focused traits will be reviewed in the following subsections, which look at political skills, professional networking, and marketing skills.

2C: 4.8 Trait 8: Political Skills

D. E. Williams (1998) believes that "good librarians fail as directors because they fail to understand that their technical skills are necessary for success in a leadership position but not sufficient to ensure success", as he declares, to be successful, the library leader must learn to exercise political skills (1998: 44). He contends that a library's capacity to influence policy and to garner resources might often depend more on "attending football games,... social events,... [and] meetings" than on "the generation of lengthy policy documents or lengthy discussions of library problems or programmes" (1998: 51). This endorses the findings of Lau and Pavett (1980) who reported that long-term success requires ongoing political expertise.

Crismond and Leisner (1988) contend that library leaders need political expertise to elicit greater support from elected officials for library projects. Library directors also need to assert these skills for optimum support for library development (Crismond & Leisner, 1988: 122). Dewey (1998) asserts, "Political savvy becomes an important skill for positive outreach efforts". She contends that successful political skills, such as an understanding of changing nuances and interrelationships, help to break down barriers and perceptions in the larger environment. The resulting positive perceptions increase support from

interested constituents for developing and building library services (Dewey, 1998: 91).

Raven (2001) quotes Martin Molloy, Director of Libraries at Derbyshire, who cautions fellow library leaders to "never underestimate the [wider] organization. This is where librarians fall down, because they ignore the wishes of the politicians", resulting in library budgets becoming an easier target for politicians when overall financial cutbacks are required (Raven, 2001: 76). The English–Welsh Audit Commission (2002) confirm these findings: "many councils are not involving elected members sufficiently in BVRs [better value reviews] or other plans" and exhorts library leaders to involve elected members and listen to their concerns "so that they feel ownership of the results" (2002: 38). The commission points out that where elected members are committed "they have reversed long-term cuts in book funds highlighted by BVRs" (Audit Commission, 2002: 38).

The connotation of 'political' in the sense under discussion refers to politics in the open and inclusive sense. In the narrow, partisan and divisive context of political activities, D. E. Williams asserts, "Library leaders must be scrupulously apolitical" (1998: 48).

Alire (2001) believes that "political savvy is very important to library organizations" and that emerging leaders learn it best by observing those leaders who are best at it. She adds, "Political savvy can range from deciding which battles the leader wants to fight (given all the political ramifications) to determining what coalitions must be built to achieve specific results" (Alire, 2001: 103). Teather (1982) found that political networks of influence are often more influential than one's own position or competence. Consistent with this, Wilcox and Ebbs (1992) suggested that, to be effective politically, the library director must learn to develop strategic alliances with departmental heads working for the library's parent body as well as becoming a full partner in the parent-body's management team.

Walker (2002) advocates the style of Dr Kevin Starr, California's State Librarian, who proactively practises high visibility through public lectures and by cultivating strong political relationships with his state politicians: "Starr has worked hard to turn his visibility and political connection at the state capitol into real benefits for

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California's libraries" (2002: 4). He cites Taormina, a colleague of Starr, who points to the tangible benefits resulting from Starr's successful political lobbying by which he "accomplished many new and innovative programmes through... grants, has seen the successful passing of the nation's largest library bond bill, and increased the State Library's budget by more than half". Taormina also asserts that their library's "wide range of research and library support is due to Dr Starr's leadership and vision" (in Walker, 2002: 4). These arguments coincide with the view of D. G. Birdsall (1995) and D. E. Williams (1998) who contend that for greater influence any group whose leader is not integrally involved in its parent-body's policy-making process will be disadvantaged, with resulting budgets often allocated to other sectors of that authority. Campbell (2001) argues, "The job of a chief librarian involves a huge amount of persuasion", requiring communicating with many stakeholders and for the library leader to become politically minded, "Because as a senior manager, your job will be to defend, promote, protect and sell your service" (2001: 80). As a practising library leader, Campbell is convinced of the necessity for librarians to "inspire our politicians", arguing, "Quite simply, these people hold our future in their hands. It is vital that they understand what we do, and the value of the services we provide, and the part we play in society" (2001: 81). Campbell clarifies two key reasons for librarians lobbying politicians: one, to establish a strong voice among competing constituencies ("leisure, sport, the arts, heritage, parks"); and the other reason, because "We always have and always will need to persuade those who hold the purse strings" (2001: 81).

This representative review of literature on political acumen in librarianship confirms that successful library leaders need to be active politically in order to influence library stakeholders more effectively, particularly for larger budget allocations. Fiscal aspects of political leadership are discussed below in Section 2C:15. The following subsection discusses how political influence can be extended through professional networking.

2C: 4.9 Trait 9: Professional Networking

Dewey (1998) suggests, "Librarians must be in touch with the broader library and information science community in order to bring back and synthesize innovative programmes and services. Librarians can no longer continue to reinvent the wheel in developing innovations. We must draw on one another's accomplishments in order to move forward quickly enough to adequately service a demanding and sophisticated user community" (Dewey, 1998: 94-5). Crismond and Leisner (1988) reported that public library leaders view their activity in professional associations as a means of contributing to the development of their professional associations' efficacy in nurturing and strengthening new ideas - more than just using those associations to raise their own personal visibility. They also suggested that speaking in national forums inspires other librarians to expand their professional insights for developing services (Crismond & Leisner, 1988: 123). Clarifying what active participation in the library profession might encompass, Dewey (1998) advocates "librarians with a commitment to active participation in the library profession as evidenced by a combination of activities, including research abilities through publications and presentations, potential for contributing to librarianship through professional organizations, and/or evidence of scholarly or professional achievement" (1998: 94). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) advocate the use of professional networking to proactively share different customerinformed findings, whether positive or negative, throughout the profession (2001: 48).

Active involvement in a library association is widely viewed as beneficial to promoting and garnering external support for the provision of library services. Former President of the Library Association of Ireland (LAI), Pat McMahon, for example, reminded fellow members that the LAI's "first stated objective was to promote the welfare of libraries in Ireland" (Library Association of Ireland, 2001: 2). The LAI engages in a consultative and lobbying role with the government on an ongoing basis, through which it influences government policies and the drafting of government policy/reports on library services in Ireland, such as the Branching Out policy, which was initiated in 1999 as an eight-year government programme for public libraries in Ireland, with a capital investment target of €70m (Department of the Environment and Local Government, 1998). National associations also share development with professional associations in Europe (for example through EBLIDA, the European Bureau of Library, Information and Documentation Associations) and in other continents (especially through IFLA, the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions). These national and international bodies provide forums for networking and the sharing of expertise. Librarians also use these institutions to influence the policies of

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transnational bodies, such as the European Community, IFLA and UNESCO, ultimately benefiting their own libraries services.

In summary, the literature supports the active involvement, of library leaders, in professional library associations in order to spread positive and useful ideas between librarians and their libraries, through mutually beneficial and shared inputs by librarians, for the purpose of continually improving services. Professional networks also provide forums for politically influencing government and other official bodies with responsibility for library development (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001; Dewey, 1998; Crismond & Leisner, 1988).

While professional networking can draw on the resources of fellow professionals and official bodies, whether in their own countries or internationally, the promulgation among library users and potential users of the broader range of library services is also seen as an important function of the library leader. This trait requires marketing skills, which will be reviewed next.

2C: 4.10 Trait 10: Marketing Skills

Kent (1996) claims: "The public libraries that have been the most successful in transforming themselves are those institutions that have had strong and visible leadership" (1996: 214). Durrance and Van Fleet (1992) found that most library leaders whom they interviewed reported their increasing use of a variety of marketing techniques. These leaders viewed marketing as the logical outgrowth of planning and as a catalyst for being more user oriented through reaching more sectors of their communities. The director of Baltimore County Public Library (USA), Charlie Robinson, suggests that marketing in a library context, rather than marketing merchandise, means "finding out what users want rather than what the library wants to give them" (in Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 35). Interestingly, however, the former director of Boston Public Library, Arthur Curley, cautioned that marketing of library services must also allow for "the unexpressed needs of society" and for a library to have "a mission that wouldn't emerge articulated in any public opinion poll" (in Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: This implies that narrowly focusing on marketing any of the more 117). established and more specified library services might not allow for open-ended, evolving, and less defined needs among potential users.

While membership of and visits to public libraries are voluntary, statistics show that public libraries in Ireland, Britain, and the United States (among many other countries) are typically the most visited of all public institutions/events - for example, with annual figures greater than total attendances at football matches in those countries (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1:4). Total visits to libraries also far outstrip visits to art galleries and other cultural institutions (Department of the Environment and Local Government, 1998: 42). Notwithstanding this, many members of the public do not frequent public libraries. Research by Irish Marketing Surveys in 1999, for An Chomhairle Leabharlanna, reports that 32 per cent of the general public use public libraries; Morgan et al., (1997), in a report produced for the Department of Education and Science, by the Educational Research Centre at St Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin, put the usage figure at 38 per cent; while yet another survey for Combat Poverty and the Arts Council put the usage figure as high as 60 per cent (Comhairle Leabharlanna, 2002; Morgan et al., 1997). A more recent report, published by An Chomhairle Leabharlanna in March 2004, clarified the difference in these figures: 36 per cent of those surveyed during December 2003 said they had recently used their public library, while over two-thirds of Ireland's adult population are or have been members of a public library (Comhairle Leabharlanna, 2004b). While book borrowing is only one of a number of reasons why people use libraries, an Irish Marketing Survey (1999) showed that an average of only 3.4 books are borrowed per capita annually in Ireland (Comhairle Leabharlanna, 2002).

Country	€spent on materials	Books borrowed
Denmark	9.1	14.8
Britain & N. Ireland	3.2	8.7
Ireland	2.1	3.4
Germany	1.1	4.1
Spain	0.6	0.6

Table 2.6 Annual per capita books borrowed and €per capita expenditure on materials

Source: Adapted from Library Economics in Europe: Millennium Study (2000)

While the overall percentage expenditure by governments on public library services is quite small, for example, averaging at 2.5% of total local authority expenditure in Ireland in 2002 (Comhairle Leabharlanna, 2003: 1-2), it could be

argued that marketing any particular library service might put excessive pressure on limited resources (staff and services), thus encouraging a deliberately conservative approach to marketing by many library leaders. The absence of marketing results in many members of the public not being aware of, and not taking advantage of, library services. Walker (2002), for example, declares, "The general public by-and-large does not understand the library profession, does not appreciate the role of librarians, and does not realize the importance of libraries and other information centres within society".

Confirming the need to market public library services in Britain, the Audit Commission (2002) reports that "there still remains a large number of non-users who could be attracted to using libraries — though this is likely to require some radical changes". Suggesting increased marketing through better quality service and buildings and drawing on research undertaken by the Marketing and Opinion Research International (MORI, 2002), the same Audit Commission reports:

People say they want libraries to be modern and welcoming. Raising awareness of what is available, having up-to-date stock, additional facilities, providing more information and extending opening hours may have some effect on increasing usage, and should increase satisfaction among users (Audit Commission, 2002: 14).

Campbell (2001) reminds library leaders that "it would be dangerous to assume that everyone loves us [libraries]", and she suggests that librarians have to battle against views of some people who believe "that libraries have 'had their day'" (2001: 80). Ireland's *Branching Out* (1998) report, while admitting that "libraries have a reasonable approach to the local promotion of activities and events", argues that "there is little promotion of the core services of libraries and no national promotion of the library service" (Department of the Environment and Local Government, 1998: 35). The report's project team recommends that "significant improvements in how libraries are promoted and marketed are necessary", but it acknowledges that "an essential prerequisite to any marketing strategy is that a service exists that is worth marketing" (Department of the Environment and Local Government, 1998: 80). The *Branching Out* project team also suggested that, as most library users are local residents/workers, libraries should be marketed locally, meaning that the needs of local users must be gauged through professional research.

In summary, public library leaders with high leadership visibility are reported to be the most successful in developing their library services (Kent, 1996). An important element of marketing includes the ongoing discovery of library users' requirements, rather than providing services based on what librarians think their users might require (Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992). Writers (e.g., Walker, 2002) also report that the general public is not sufficiently aware of what libraries have to offer. Part of this is due to negative marketing from a poorer image of libraries when they are housed in unattractive buildings (MORI, 2002). The absence of the deliberate promotion of library services at a local or national level is also reported in the literature (e.g., Department of the Environment and Local Government, 1998).

* * *

These three leadership skills — political proficiency, networking, and marketing — share a common purpose for a common outcome. Where successful, these three skills should promote the public library service in the minds of a wider range of stakeholders, whether they are users or benefactors, and including those in political power, in professional organizations (to create wider momentum) and in the news media. While these skills are largely externally oriented, the optimum motivation of (internal) library staff requires other leadership qualities, values and skills. A representative review of these follows.

2C: 4.11 *Trait 11:* Embracing Change and Creativity

Riggs (2001*b*) believes that the library leader must create work environments to challenge the mental capacities of their internal colleagues through creative endeavours, while the library leader must demonstrate creative skills to direct the library into unfamiliar future situations. Part of this challenge should aim to stretch the minds of professional staff to create more fulfilling organizational environments (Riggs, 2001*b*: 11). This reflects Cluff (1989), who suggested that good leaders give themselves a head start in developing creativity by recruiting and valuing creative people.

Addressing a conference of library leaders, Donnelly (1996) argued, "you don't have the luxury to be wise with hindsight. Your job is to plan forward in hope but also in doubt. As the rules are changing and disappearing it is still your job to make things happen and take decisions, often at an accelerating pace" (1996: 14). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) believe that "Leaders must convince others that change is normal and... must guide them through the chaos"; they add that "Managing change may be the single most important leadership skill to learn", and that "The most critical task of the leader is to help employees see the quickening pace and volume of changes as normal" (2001: 46). Schreiber and Shannon refer to a stage in a transition cycle which they call 'the pit', "a time of emotional turmoil during change when employees get disheartened and lack the will to proceed" and when they appear 'resistant' and when leaders tend to become impatient, but when "forums for honest discussion of concerns and fears" are most needed to restore confidence (2001: 46). Schreiber and Shannon also believe that it is important for leaders to distinguish between longterm 'pit dwellers' and those who find themselves temporarily in 'the pit'. Interestingly, Schreiber and Shannon suggest, "To keep up with the pace of changes, leaders must build a critical mass of support to implement each change, not wait until everyone has bought into them. Consensus is often confused with unanimity, and waiting for unanimity can paralyze movement toward goals", adding that democracy is "not a viable way to lead" (2001: 46, 47). Schreiber and Shannon also believe that resistance to change is often overcome by openly discussing three questions with staff: "Why are we doing this? What will it look like when we get there? How will it affect me?" (2001: 47). Dewey (1998) suggests that a library will fail if innovative leadership gualities are "not found in a significant number of staff from throughout the organization", but adds that "Individuals have unique skills and abilities that will contribute to the leadership imperative, and, thus, each librarian does not have to have the full range" of leadership qualities (1998: 96).

Jack Welch, when CEO of General Electric (in the USA), declared that "bureaucracies need quantum change, not incremental change", which could be achieved by creatively destroying and remaking an organization around new visions (in Tichy, 1996: 243). Champion (1998) cautions, however, that change should not be pursued simply to make an organization different to what it was previously, as he emphasizes that leadership "should be measured against a standard of making things better, not merely different" (1998: 154). Consistent

with Champion's argument, much of the literature cautions against rash leadership divorced from reality checks or from truer images of one's own leadership and one's own organization. These issues will be addressed next.

2C: 4.12 Trait 12: Realism

Schreiber and Shannon (2001) define pragmatic leadership as "the ability to formulate how to organize people and resources in realistic ways", and they exhort leaders, "Amidst all the innovation, be practical" (2001: 42). They suggest, "People are more likely to commit their energies to projects that are the 'right' thing to do, and within the resources and abilities of those tasked to do them". They also suggest that a "well-crafted vision statement should inspire, but also be concrete enough to be seen in practice", adding that, "A task force should have lofty goals *and* a project plan with measurements at key intervals". For achievable results, Schreiber & Shannon contend that "A leader's ability to clearly define and broadly communicate a practical plan is as fundamental as knowing where they are going. It is critical for employees to believe that they have a decent chance of success" (2001: 42).

Olsson (1996) contends that library leaders "have to help librarians not to be afraid of reality" (1996: 33). He believes that "it is especially important to combat the learned helplessness that many librarians present. Librarians seem to have cultivated a sad position of masochism: the surrounding world does not appreciate enough the librarian's skills and value", and instead of taking the risk to expose their virtues to public scrutiny "they tend to stick anxiously with each other instead, nourishing the collective myth of a competence higher than others understand", and he argues that this remains as "a myth until tested against reality". Olsson therefore believes that, "it is indeed about time to open the library doors and windows, let the air in and the staff out. The library leader is the only one who through strategic skills and personal commitment can make that happen" (Olsson, 1996: 33).

Haughtiness or arrogance, often associated with headship (Bass, 1990: 18), can, for example, blind management to the real needs of library users (General Consumer Council for Northern Ireland, 1995). *Public Libraries: Turning Over a New Leaf* (1995) listed opposing perceptions held by librarians and potential

library users, based on a survey of 360 library non-users and 171 librarians. This demonstrated that many librarians were not accurately aware of the real or top requirements of would-be library customers. Among the surveyed librarians, their top four proposals, for improving the service and attracting new customers, suggested a greater focus on:

- local information
- provision of new services based on electronic media
- reading machines for people who cannot see
- educational films not normally distributed commercially

while the top four suggestions of the surveyed non-users were:

- refreshment facilities/café (54%)
- more evening opening (31%)
- wider range of books (28%)
- consumer advice (28%)

(General Consumer Council for Northern Ireland, 1995, vol. 2: 36).

Interestingly, the top priority of the non-users did not feature at all in the librarians' list of top ten proposed measures, while the provision of evening opening hours featured sixth in order of priority for the librarians (General Consumer Council for Northern Ireland, 1995). Such ungrounded assumptions by leaders might be reduced or avoided where librarians would engage more actively and frequently with customers and non-users. Illustrating this point, Campbell (2001) challenges library leaders to occasionally attend to the direct face-to-face service to library customers — such as spending a day at enquiry desks, issue counters, in a branch or mobile library, or storytelling to children (2001: 83). The General Consumer Council for Northern Ireland (1995) also challenges librarians to a professional reality check, by declaring: "Library staff tend to overestimate the level of awareness that there actually is in the community about the library service" (1995, vol. 2: 2). Olsson (1996) asserts that it is leaders who "have to help librarians not be afraid of reality" (1996: 33).

In summary, the above examples from the literature are generally quite critical of librarians' real understanding of the top requirements of their customers and non-customers. The following section suggests a talent that should complement the quality of realism, that is, increased awareness of oneself, which in turn should contribute to more enlightened leadership.

2C: 4.13 Trait 13: Self-awareness

Olsson (1995) declares, "The more the leader knows himself, the better he knows others" (1995: 32). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) suggest that "self-awareness is an important component of leadership development" as leadership is different for everyone since "leadership is a personal journey" (2001: 38). Theodore Friend III, past president of Swarthmore College (Pennsylvania), described leadership as "heading into the wind with such knowledge of oneself and such collaborative energy as to move others to wish to follow" (in Bennis, 1985: 44). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) caution that "Unless the [library] administrator has consciously encouraged staff to do so, they [staff] are reluctant to share negative information about the administrator's performance, to tell the emperor he or she has no clothes" (2001: 44). Schreiber and Shannon add that staff tend to presume that their leaders do not want to hear direct feedback, whether negative or positive. They encourage leaders:

to ask for performance evaluation, and support the development of a strong appraisal system. If leaders are not getting feedback, they need to figure out how to get it, and make sure they are doing their part by providing information to others to help them to be successful. Leading from any position means supporting 360° feedback — up, down, and across the chain of command — and supporting the success of every employee, including the boss (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 45).

Williams (2001) believes that "When 360-degree processes work, they are an excellent source of candid information for the library leader, and they provide a very meaningful way to have an open dialogue about personal and professional development" (2001: 164). Tucker and Bryant (1991) suggest that 360-degree feedback:

helps to avoid surprises. The most devastating kind of surprise is to learn, after believing that one is doing well, that one's job performance is regarded by most of one's colleagues as poor (1991: 265)

They caution that where the leader is offered the views of others but "is not a good listener, he or she can be terribly surprised". If such leaders are not helping their institutions to improve, "they must either improve their performance or find something else in life to do" (Tucker & Bryant, 1991: 265). Goleman (1998) encourages senior executives to seek potential leaders among those

who have good self-awareness, who typically are comfortable with constructive criticism from an inner self-confidence (1998: 96).

Williams (2001) suggests, "Self-awareness as an essential leadership trait also includes the greater willingness to accept responsibility for one's own development, based on the notions of self-motivation and a belief that development is a continuous process" (2001: 164). Not all librarians, apparently, are agreeable to expand their awareness of themselves if it depends on being open to critical review from others, for example, Dewey (1998) cautions that "there exists a discomfort or even dislike among some librarians regarding evaluation and assessment activities" — despite an essential part of any commitment to service being "a willingness to critically evaluate individual, departmental, and library-wide service" (1998: 90). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) advocate that followers should be 'constructively confrontive' in order to participate more fully in organizational leadership (2001: 37). In this way, they believe that leaders can "set the tone for self-awareness in the organization" through regularly scheduled two-way constructive assessments (2001: 45).

Realism and self-awareness, the final two traits in this taxonomic listing of desired traits for library leaders, are closely linked. They are complementary and mutually reinforcing, as on the one hand self-awareness leads to greater realism, while on the other hand the more realistic a leader is the more aware he or she is of self and of others. Arguments from literature were discussed above suggesting that library leaders endeavouring to increase self-awareness must encourage honest 360-degree feedback from staff without negatively reacting to constructive criticism (Tucker & Bryant, 1991; Schreiber & Shannon, 2001; Williams, 2001). This means overcoming what Dewey (1998) believes is an uncomfortable and disliked stance adopted by many library leaders towards self-assessment.

2C: 4.14 Traits of Library Leaders: Summary

While the above selection and nomenclature of library leadership qualities is not definitive, it aims to be representative of many of those discussed in the literature. The list does not suggest any particular order of importance, reflecting the literature in this area, which does not present recommended or

desired leadership traits in any order of priority. This reflects a more fundamental observation in the literature: no blueprint for any leader, within or outside the profession of librarianship, has ever been or is likely to be drawn up. This coincides with many arguments discussed above, such as those supporting a contingency/situational theory of leadership, which holds that all leadership is contingent on the ever-changing situations in which leadership is practised (See subsection 2A:8.6).

Many writers see leadership as an organic phenomenon and as an art (e.g., Heifetz & Linsky, 2002; Scholtes, 1998). Bleedorn (1988) saw leadership as an evolving concept. Gibb (1968) saw leadership as ever-changing and too diverse to be defined within scientific rigour. From these premises, it should be reasonably concluded that no list of traits could, therefore, achieve any rigorous or discrete categorizations. The many and varied aspects of a leader's personality can straddle any suggested categorizations, for example in the above list of thirteen traits, the following overlapping could be made:

- Trust (no. 6) could form part of people-centred leadership (no. 5) or personal principles/values transformational leadership (no. 7)
- Courage and risk taking (no. 3) could overlap with many aspects of embracing change and creativity (no. 11)
- Realism (no. 12) and self-awareness (no. 13) have many overlapping aspects but are not the same
- Political skills (no. 8), professional networking (no. 9), and marketing skills (no. 10) can usefully overlap each other in practical effectiveness
- Vision (no. 1) could benefit from an input from all the other listed traits
- Transformational leadership (no. 7) could include all the other twelve categorizations.

Personal traits are not fixed within individuals as they can change through influence, continued education, training, experience, as well as fluctuating within individuals, such as changing personal circumstances, or the impact of mentors and other colleagues. As quoted above (subsection 2A:8.15.3), Bass, for example, suggested that the same leader can sometimes be transformational and at other times transactional (1999: 13). Leadership is claimed by many

to be a learnable phenomenon (e.g., Bass, 1999; Drucker, 1996; Kouzes & Posner, 1987; Bennis, 1985), allowing for fundamental change in personal qualities and characteristic behaviours. Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1958) suggested that leaders deliberately alter their behaviour depending on their followers and changing circumstances. Vroom & Yetton (1973) and Vroom & Jago (1988) suggested that leaders generally move between different styles of leadership depending on circumstances, implying that dominant leadership traits do not always take primacy in leadership situations. Overall, while the literature suggests desired qualities for leadership, the literature does not claim to be scientifically rigorous or to be free from subjective analysis. No trait categorization is firmly grounded, in isolation, but is integrally linked to continually changing internal and external organizational situations. Nevertheless, as Northouse (1997) observed, in modern theories of leadership, a leader's traits are integral to his or her effective leadership, and many qualities/practices — such as people skills, integrity, determination, and intelligence — recur as focal points in the study of leadership (1997: 14).

2C:5 The Role of Vision and Planning in Library Leadership

Nanus (1992) describes vision as "a realistic, credible, attractive future for an organization" (1992: 8). Riggs (2001*b*) considers vision to be a cornerstone of leadership and suggests that in the absence of compelling achievable vision there is little leadership (2001*b*: 11). Flood et al. (2001) argue that the transformational leader is well suited to organizations that depend on intellectual capital and knowledge employees (2001: 50). Bryson (1999) suggests that leaders in information services are responsible for creating visions and values, for developing shared meaning between management and their people, and for providing inspiration to achieve the objectives of the information service and of its parent organization (1999: 170).

Communicating/Selling the Vision

One American librarian, Ed Holley, emphasizes the importance of being singleminded about leadership vision: "be sure of what your priorities are, that everybody understands what those priorities are, and that you are able to articulate that to all the constituencies you are dealing with . . ." (in Sheldon, 1991: 11). Sheldon (1991) refers to "the gift of enabling others to understand vividly what is meaningful about what we [library leaders] do", adding that "this ability to conceptualize is central to a leader's ability to command the attention needed to realize the vision" (1991: 15-16). She exhorts the use of metaphor to illustrate ideas — such as the example of public librarian Bob Rohlf (Hennepin County, Minnesota) who, at a budget meeting with his library authority, presented a simple visual metaphor comprising three separate stacks of books: (i) one high stack representing the annual ratio of books borrowed, (ii) a second high stack represented the ratio of the total books purchased during the same year. Acknowledging the effect of Rohlf's metaphor, the budget administrator granted him the increases he requested (in Sheldon, 1991: 16).

Riggs (2001*b*) suggests that "A leader is expected to have well-developed written and oral communication skills" and that these skills are central to articulating library vision (2001*b*: 13). Sheldon affirms the importance of both 'visionary' skills and communication skills, and that "One is most certainly useless without the other" (1991: 17). Sheldon contends that library leaders should not confine themselves to institutional vision alone but also should have a global view. This requires an ability to form coalitions to implement visions. In this context, Sheldon cautions that libraries should not aim to be the exclusive providers of solutions and should, where appropriate, be content to contribute to the efforts of other agencies (e.g. literacy schemes), including supporting ideas or ventures initiated outside the library. Another American librarian, Joe Shubert, believes that the number of problem areas which libraries should address *alone* are few, and he cautions against a mindset shared by many planners wherein they believe that the library service alone should solve them (in Sheldon, 1991: 18).

Schreiber and Shannon (2001) contend that leaders managing change should "communicate constantly with staff", and that "In the chaos of change, opportunities for communication must be deliberate and frequent". They assert that "communication goes in all directions — up, down, and across the organization" and that leaders must also "figure out how to manage rumours" since "the grapevine is quicker than official memos" (2001: 47).

Vision Implementing through Planning

Riggs (2001*b*) argues that the mere 'managing' of change is inadequate, and he stresses that, instead, "We must anticipate, plan, and lead change" (2001*b*: 10). He contends that planned goals and objectives for a library require strategies to delineate their implementation courses of action, if they are not to remain as mere documents. These plans must be living, and accompanied by repeated evaluation of their current status (Riggs, 2001*b*: 12). Gorman (1991) believed that "Libraries are notorious for their inattention to planning" and he surmised: "Perhaps there is something about our experience and training that leads us to be reactive rather than to create the future that we want to inhabit" (1991: 8). While cautioning against business-style (seller-buyer) planning for libraries, Gorman recommends that librarians engage in strategic planning, which should be continually monitored and periodically revised.

2C:6 Social Architecture

Bennis and Nanus (1985) describe social architecture as

a shared interpretation of organizational events so that members know how they are expected to behave... [and it] also generates a commitment to the primary organizational values and philosophy... [and] serves as a control mechanism, sanctioning or proscribing particular kinds of behaviour (1985: 112).

Bennis and Nanus believe that this social architecture can "facilitate or subvert the best-laid plans" (1985: 112). Sheldon (1991) believes that the key to changing the social architecture lies in Bennis and Nanus's concept of "shared interpretation", through which commitment can be concentrated or diluted to any particular organizational style or behaviour, depending on the leader's clarity of expression or intensity of expression. Sheldon suggests that a leader who communicates successfully:

- places emphasis on values simply stated and develops one or two understandable themes — themes that then become the dominant message of the organization
- has a talent for listening
- has an understanding that the value of power is in sharing it (1991: 22).

Bennis and Nanus (1985) assert that transformation must begin at the top. Consistent with this, Sheldon (1991) contends that a leader who wishes to change an organization's social architecture must repeatedly articulate the new values, in a style that is clear and consistent (1991: 31) for it to become transformational. Riggs (2001*b*) calls for more transformational leaders in the library profession, arguing that transformational leadership continually and radically reviews the larger context and raison d'être of the library.

A transformational leader or any leader who is effective will be continually aware of his followers' views on the organization. As well as being sensitive to unarticulated cues, such leaders will practise good listening skills.

2C:7 Listening Skills

Sheldon (1991) reported that many of the library leaders whom he interviewed extol the skills of proactive listening. She refers to management research showing that about 80 per cent of work time is spent talking to others, and this increases at higher hierarchical levels, illustrating the significance of good listening skills for leaders. John W. Gardner (1986) argues that electronic communication is not enough: "Nothing can substitute for a live leader listening attentively and responding informally.... Wise leaders are continuously finding ways to say to their constituent, 'I hear you'" (1986: 23-4). Riggs (2001*b*) advocates that library leaders "listen to — and act on — the multiple sounds around them". He believes that library leaders, to successfully effect change, must "unlearn those activities that brought them success in the past", in order to engage in new learning, which is assisted by talking and listening to different people (Riggs, 2001*b*: 10).

Exercising proactive listening skills is not a hallmark of dictatorial leaders. Instead, good listening skills are associated with the transformational leader, with the servant leader (Greenleaf, 1977, 1996), and with the leader who acknowledges that the professional effectiveness of a leader is not independent of organizational forces, but is subject to or vulnerable to external and internal organizational threats. That vulnerability will be addressed next.

2C:8 The Leader as a Vulnerable Person

Elliot Shelkrot, director of the Free Library of Philadelphia, who emphasizes the centrality of effective listening and interpersonal skills for gaining staff commitment, suggests that "Vulnerability is the key to good communication" and he admits to always having had a "certain lack of self-confidence — particularly when starting a new job" (in Sheldon, 1991: 25). Sheldon argues that Shelkrot is liked by people for his vulnerability and they tend to feel that they want to assist him. Sheldon continues:

This goes against the popular belief that leaders should always appear brave, strong, and invincible. Granted, we don't want them to be wimps, but it is extremely important for leaders to share their fears, along with their dreams of the future. Generally, this is done most effectively on a one-to-one basis or in small groups but a really eloquent speaker can do it with a cast of thousands (Sheldon, 1991: 25).

Interestingly, Sheldon also found that many library leaders feel inadequate for making inspiring public speeches sprinkled with witticisms or for thinking fast on their feet. Contrasting with this, Bennis (1989) saw leaders as "people who are able to express themselves fully... they know who they are, what their strengths and weaknesses are, and how to fully display their strengths and compensate for their weaknesses. They also know what they want, why they want it and how to communicate what they want to others, in order to gain their co-operation and support" (Bennis, 1989: 13).

Schreiber and Shannon (2001) claim that a leader's "Acknowledgement of strengths and weaknesses, and asking for help with them, can be a powerful way to engage all staff in supporting each other's success", and he adds that if a leader admits to not performing 'perfectly' that "staff may be willing to help one to be a better leader, and the organization can commit itself to the improvement of every staff member, including the senior administrators" (2001: 44). Schreiber and Shannon share this view, contending that a leader who shares his frailties and humanities "can be very powerful in building support for his own success" (2001: 45).

Karp and Murdock (1998) articulate the predicament of the leader's fate as "an unrelentingly unpredictable series of steps and missteps through a constantly changing landscape of people, politics, and economies of scale", which, haplessly, "builds and destroys confidence and self-esteem, often as a result of the same decision" (1998: 256). Lubans (2002) too sees a leader's fate as risky and vulnerable. He cites his study of Simone Young, an Australian musical director and conductor who, to engender full-hearted followership, "bares her soul, speaking from the heart and mind with clarity and conviction", and he suggests that through her openness and honesty she places herself in a vulnerable position among her followers (2002: 35). Young, however, believes that anything less than adopting this vulnerable approach would not elicit emotional honesty from her followers, a quality she sees essential to realizing her leadership intentions (in Lubans, 2002: 35). Olsson (1996) asserts, "The good leader has an absolute recognition of his dependence on his staff and vice versa" (1995: 32). Consistent with this is De Pree's (1989) exhortation for leaders to abandon themselves to the strengths of followers, which in turn should dissipate any resistance to change — since the followers, along with the leader, are the source of innovation.

In a public library context, Anderson and Burkhart (1995) caution that "Library leadership can be an uncomfortable role because the leader must make public ideas, plans and projects and take responsibility for them" (1995: 545), and such public responsibility can repeatedly put the library leader in a vulnerable position.

One aspect of a leader's vulnerability is a sense of uncertainty amidst the everchanging and unpredictable nature of organizational environments. This sense of uncertainty will be discussed in the following section.

2C:9 Ambiguity and Confusion as an Aspect of Leadership

Brockmeyer-Klebaum (1995) refers to "constant ambiguity in an ever-changing environment" coinciding with the proliferation of information technology and changing organizational structures, which require new professionals to take on leadership responsibilities with skills never previously required (1995: 18). This reflects the sense of ambiguity at leadership level reported by Bennis, when he quotes one Fortune 500 CEO who contends, "If you're not confused, you don't know what's going on" (in Bennis, 1999*b*: 21) — as quoted in Chapter 1 above. Confirming this, Goffee and Jones assert that "the beleaguered executive

looking for a model to help him is hopelessly lost" as the endless variety of organizational contingencies is contributing to executives feeling confused when seeking a model to help their leadership effectiveness, in a context where "there are endless varieties of leadership" (2000: 65).

One American librarian, Penny Abell, refers to the 'infinite possibilities' in librarianship (in Sheldon, 1991: 11). Another American librarian, Nettie Taylor, stated, "I'm comfortable with ambiguity", arguing that ambiguity is better than stubbornly sticking to an inflexible plan which might lead to unsatisfactory results (in Sheldon, 1991: 14). Riggs (2001*b*) also argues that libraries will continue to undergo rapid change, which will require librarians to "lead change and to live positively with more ambiguity" (Riggs, 2001*b*: 5). Veaner (1990) suggests that library leaders, who have a facility to tolerate and deal with uncertainty, enhance their leadership effectiveness. Consistent with this, Williams (1998) argues that the environments in which library leaders now operate require "a high level of tolerance for ambiguity and change" (1998: 52).

2C:10 Leadership at All Levels of Librarianship

Knott (1997) argues that leadership ability is not the preserve of senior staff "issuing ex-cathedra pronouncements", but "for the entire library community" (1997: 30). Riggs (2001*b*) emphasizes: "Like managers, there are leaders throughout the library. The head librarian is not the only leader in the library" (2001*b*: 6). Professor Sara Fine, a psychologist teaching at the University of Pittsburgh's library school, extols the virtues of shared leadership:

Perhaps the only measure of successful leadership is the realization by the group that the leadership function has been transferred to the group itself, and that it is the group that has responsibility for its own direction and its own success (Penland & Fine, 1974: 18).

Riggs (2001b) asserts,

One of the most common myths existing is that only one person in an organization can be the leader. This misperception is damaging to the advancement of an organization. In a given library, there are or should be several leaders. The head librarian is the one person normally perceived to be a leader; however, department heads should also be leaders. The department head should be cultivated and supported as a leader (Riggs, 2001b: 8).

David Whyte (1996), business consultant and poet, advocates 'fire in the voice' of those sharing organizational leadership, since he finds too few boardroom members willing to speak up about their own points of view, especially to challenge a powerful head or clique. Coinciding with this, Lubans exhorts those sharing leadership to courageously move above the widespread leadership timidity within organizations, which he claims exists in libraries "when something needing action can't get past the tail-chasing, complaining phase" (Lubans, 2002: 37). Heil, Parker, & Tate (1995) assert that "In tomorrow's organization, there will be no non-leaders. To label a person (or even think of them) as such will be to limit unnecessarily their ability to contribute" (1995: 7). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) assert, "The speed of change requires action-oriented initiative from all staff members, not just those at the top of the organization" (2001: 36). Chaleff (1995) too declared that all individuals in an organization should practise leadership. Consistent with these arguments, Newman (1998) observes that "Leadership has traditionally been associated with the 'elites' who manage organizations In recent years, however, academic libraries have been flattening their organizational structures" (1998: 108). This coincides with official policies of public library authorities over the last decade, such as the Strategic Management Initiative, which advocates flattening of hierarchical structures throughout Ireland's public service.

This section ends with one critical review of the growing advocacy for a policy of 'leadership for all'. Champion (1998), for example, asks the challenging question: "If everyone in the library is giving every other one in the library the courage to lead, who follows?" (1998: 148). Despite the growing rhetoric for leadership for all, Champion's challenge to what might be an unreal aspiration remains as a cautionary rejoinder to the recent fashion in the literature advocating leadership for all. Champion's thesis needs to be further addressed in the literature.

2C:11 Followership in the Public Library Service

Riggs (1999) asserts: "Followership is a critical component of leadership", and that "Followers will determine, to a large extent, the success of the library's realization of its vision and mission. Followers and leaders must work together in questioning the status quo, revisiting the library's assumptions, and clarifying/

refreshing the library's values" (Riggs, 1999: 7). Gertzog refers to the distinction between 'emergent' and 'titular' leadership:

'Titular' leadership is used to refer to the person holding a title that is believed to confer authority and responsibility, for instance 'director' or 'head librarian'. Emergent leadership is perceived rather than conferred by appointment. Followers voluntarily accord influence to emergent leaders. It is granted to titular leaders by virtue of their positions. Emergent and titular leadership can exist separately, yet they often coincide (Gertzog, 1990: 46).

Crismond and Leisner (1988) asserted that library leaders need a responsive staff to achieve progress, but that the leaders need to motivate staff before staff can follow with confidence (1988: 123). Gardner (1988) also argued that leaders need to understand followers and their needs. The current study findings focus quite extensively on followers, and this will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

2C: 12 Performance Measurement

Durrance and Van Fleet (1992) report the concerns of many library leaders about the difficulty of transmitting the value of libraries to communities and the inadequacy of relying on circulation statistics to measure this contribution. They articulate a fundamental challenge for library leaders to develop measurement tools that illustrate the effectiveness of public libraries towards meeting the range of needs of their many community sectors. The director of Cleveland Public Library, Marilyn Gell Mason, for example, asserted:

It is crucial for us to figure out ways to explain to people in the community what we do, so that we aren't so dependent on circulation statistics. Libraries and librarians provide very important services, but it is hard to explain them to people given the way we measure them (Mason, in Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 34).

Unlike public libraries, information services operating within profit-making organizations find tangible evidence of performance in whatever they contribute to: corporate competitiveness, overall profit growth, sales increase, and increased return on investment. According to Bryson (1999), measurements of leadership capabilities of these profit-making information services can use the information service's ability to:

- provide an increased level of services to meet customer needs
- *improve and extend information systems to match the growth in the corporate demand for information, and*
- maintain the competitiveness of the organization through either doing more with less, obtaining strategic information or applying innovative uses to existing technology (Bryson, 1999: 171).

In non-profit-making organizations, Bryson (1999) suggests that leadership is often measured on comparative measures such as benchmarking or on subjective evaluations. Comparative measures are often related to budget expenditures such as cost per unit of output or on market share ratio such as percentage of senior citizens (customers) who utilize the services of a public library (Bryson, 1999: 171). This does not measure what Riggs (1999) referred to as "important leadership attributes, for example, infusing new values in the library, [and] changing the culture of the library" (Riggs, 1999: 432).

Durrance and Van Fleet (1992) suggest that *Performance Measures for Public Libraries* (De Prospo et al., 1973) and other strategic planning models developed outside public libraries have assisted the implementation of many of the most important changes in public libraries (1992: 33). These writers also suggest that the newer emphasis on planning has begun to effect changes that will be just as revolutionary, albeit not as obvious, as recent technological changes on progressing public library service effectiveness. The president of the (American) Public Library Association in 1990, June Garcia, argued:

The move away from public library standards toward library output has had a major impact on practice. Looking at output means looking at users. The old standards didn't demand the same kind of focus on the user because they focused on input. We can now put our energies more on reaching out to the community (Garcia, in Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 33).

While Longenecker and Gioia (1992) commented that, "At the executive level it is ... reported that there is virtually no regular performance feedback" (1992), Mohrman and Mohrman (1995) report how executive performance is increasingly measured by executive accomplishments (1995). Williams (2001) also reports, "one of the current debates in the performance appraisal literature is related to the question of measuring executive behaviours or outcomes" (2001: 147). This coincides with Smither (1998) who suggested that, while

behaviour is often taken as the measure of performance, outcomes or resultsbased criteria provide the critical component of performance appraisal systems (1998: 10-11).

2C:13 Developing New Library Leaders

Crismond and Leisner (1998) assert that library directors have a responsibility to encourage more junior leaders on their staffs to participate in activities outside the library. This should raise their profiles, facilitating the extension of their contributions beyond the actual library service, such as, through professional associations. They suggest, for example, that guest lecturing to library-school students can raise the profiles of those librarians, as well as providing them with an opportunity to be seen as role models to encourage students to fulfil their leadership potential in turn (Crismond & Leisner, 1998: 123). Sheldon (1991) interviewed Kathleen Heim, Graduate Dean at Louisiana State University, who recommended that leaders "identify people who are going to be good", adding, "I can identify the ones that are going to be leaders themselves. I get them involved in projects, their energy feeds off mine, mine off theirs, and we get a lot more done than anyone can expect" (Heim, in Sheldon, 1991: 19). Riggs (2001b) believes that the first requisite for developing leaders is to clearly distinguish management from leadership. He argues that the ideal place to begin developing leaders is in the library workplace, wherein the chief librarian must nurture and recognize potential new leaders. Riggs also believes that these efforts should be augmented by library networks providing programmes to prepare librarians for leadership. Neely and Winston (1999a) report that "Networking professionally and socially has long been associated with advancement in the corporate, private, public and higher education sectors" (1999a: 9).

As well as informal methods of nurturing leadership potential, including special projects and profile-raising activities outside one's library, as mentioned above, the following sections looks at some more formalized methods of leadership development.

2C:13.1 Library Leadership Development Programmes

Since the early 1990s, a number of ongoing leadership development programmes have been developed, particularly in the United States. The North American residential courses include:

- Snowbird Library Leadership Institute, Utah
- Senior Fellows Program at the Long Island University's Palmer School of Library and Information Science
- University of California at Los Angeles Senior Fellows Program
- Association of College and Research Libraries / Harvard Graduate School of Leadership Institute
- Association of Research Libraries Leadership and Career Development Program
- Northern Exposure to Leadership programme in British Columbia, Canada
- National Library of Medicine / Association of Academic Health Science Libraries Leadership Fellows Program
- Council of Library and Information Resources / EDUCAUSE / Emory University Frye Leadership Institute
- Ohio's Library Leadership 2000 Institute
- the American Library Association's Emerging Leaders Institute (Summers & Summers, 1991; Miller, 1992; Carterette, 1994; Long, 1995; Neely & Winston, 1999a, 1999b; Winston & Neely, 2001; Li, 2001; Riggs, 2001b; Corrall, 2002).

For librarians in New Zealand and Australia, the Aurora Leadership Institute was founded in 1995 to conduct workshops and courses on leadership (Corrall, 2002: 116; Li, 2001: 176; Shiells, 1996: 23-7; Tuffield, 1996: 28-32). Sundholm (1996) refers to the large demand for places at Norwegian 'leadership management' programmes organized by the National Office for Research and Special Libraries in Norway (Sundholm, 1996: 129).

Courses are typically "aimed at new managers rather than seasoned professionals" (Corrall, 2002: 116). These courses aim to combine experiential and theoretical learning for participants (Association of Research Libraries Office of Leadership and Management Services, n.d.: 1). According to Summers and Summers (1991), for example, a key concept of the Snowbird Leadership Institute is that "a leader depends as much as anything else upon knowing and being comfortable with who you are and having confidence in yourself" (1991:

38). Brockmeyer-Klebaum (1995), as a co-ordinator of one of these leadership programmes, suggests that senior library staff "may lack vision and confidence" and (paraphrasing Bennis, 1982: 42) she contends that, "We [library leaders] lack not in our ability to contribute, not in our ability to do things right, but sometimes in our instinct to do the right thing" (Brockmeyer-Klebaum, 1995: 18). While the literature reports only a handful of library leadership institutes (Karp & Murdock, 1998: 254), Stoffle, Renaud, & Veldof (1996) argue that all librarians should attend leadership training courses.

2C: 13.2 Sceptical Views of Library Leadership Development Programmes

Perhaps insufficient time has elapsed to study the fuller effect of formal leadership programmes for librarians. After conducting a study of the first eight years of the Snowbird Leadership Institute, Winston and Neely (2001) conclude:

While it is difficult to identify a direct relationship between participation in the Snowbird Leadership Institute and career progression and greater participation in leadership activities, it is clear that the respondents report an increased level of activity in a number of different categories of leadership activity (2001: 30).

Furthermore, they also reported that the influence of the Snowbird Institute on subsequent rates of appointments of participants was difficult to determine, and forty per cent of participants reported that they were still in the same position since attending the programme. Riggs (2001*b*) cautiously notes, despite the 'right intentions' of these programmes, that "upon examining the contents of these programmes, there is much more emphasis on managerial aspects than on leadership" (2001*b*: 15).

John N. Berry (2002), editor of *Library Journal*, is defiantly sceptical of these programmes: "Currently the library field is afflicted with yet another rash of initiatives devised to discover, identify, educate, and/or train leaders. When self-anointed leaders design such efforts, they usually mean 'we need more librarians like us'.... My suspicions deepen when any group refers to itself as 'the leadership'" (2002: 8).

Berry (2002) is scathing of the activities and exercises of the directors of such programmes claiming to develop leaders:

They have all the earmarks of elites aborning or being strengthened. When they set up 'retreats' in the desert of Arizona, or climb to a leadership 'institute' on some mountainside in Utah, or gather for a 'leadership weekend' at some prestigious campus, I watch the results and wonder where the 'leaders' they found went afterwards. I notice that too often what is taught at these gatherings frequently mistakes management and/or administration for leadership. That is probably the most common mistake in leadership education, and it leaves me questioning if it is really possible to 'educate' or 'train' people to be leaders (2002: 8).

Berry's views reflect some of the arguments expressed in Part A of this chapter (subsection 2A:8.1), which hold that leadership is a quality that requires innate characteristics that cannot be learned by attending a formal teaching course (H. S. White, 1987; Caulkin, 1993; Karp & Murdock, 1998). In that section, we also saw that some writers believe that leadership could be thought to anyone (Drucker, 1996; Kouzes and Posner, 1987; Bennis, 1985). We also saw that other writers (e.g., Brosnahan, 1999; Riggs, 2001b) believe in a middle ground view, which holds that while people cannot learn leadership in a formal teaching programme they can learn leadership through life's experiences, particularly through dealing with difficulties. Some of these writers (e.g., Donnelly & Kezsbom, 1994) believe that particular leadership competencies can be taught, such as managerial and collaborative skills. Most of the writers who believe that leadership can be learned from life, however, insist that innate leadership tendencies need to be part of the potential leader's personality in the first place (e.g., Shreiber & Shannon, 2001). In summary, the arguments from literature vary from one extreme to the other on whether leadership can be taught or not.

2C:14 Library Leadership and Technological Change

Glogoff (2001) observes that "library administrators must understand technology more than ever before, to continue positioning libraries as critical resources for their institutions and communities" in order to deal with the "profound transformation" in the digital information environment. He sees this transformation as a significant threat to the librarian as knowledge mediator (2001: 60). Needham (2001) suggests, "libraries are at an intersection of great danger and even greater opportunity" due to "the rise of networked systems and the ubiquity of the World Wide Web". He believes that this has "forced librarians to question their most basic assumptions about their roles, even their professional survival, in the coming years and decades" (2001: 133).

Glogoff emphasizes that library leaders must recognize that their information technology (IT) staff "play important roles in assuring the library's place in knowledge communities" as it is the library's "IT unit is responsible for delivering its products and services to its users. IT units understand infrastructure requirements and the crucial role the network plays in facilitating relationships among people within their organization, as well as externally". He also argues, "Library administrators who have not yet acknowledged this role must begin doing so immediately by involving the IT staff in strategic planning and front line activities" (2001: 70-1). Highlighting the distinction between IT per se and the strategic importance of IT, University of Michigan CIO José-Marie Griffiths emphasizes, "It's not about technology. It's about what we do with technology" (in Glogoff, 2001: 69).

Library leaders might well consider the view of the inventor of the World Wide Web, Tim Berners-Lee, who claims that the World Wide Web is becoming the platform for all accessible information, whether stored locally or remotely. This should force library administrators to review the traditional emphasis on building stocks of physical holdings and, instead of focusing on traditional storage, adapt their vision to coincide with the vision of Berners-Lee that "where information was physically stored would be made invisible to the user" (Berners-Lee, 1999: 117). Expanding on this view, Glogoff states that it is incumbent on library leaders "to move our thinking from ownership and size of collections to access to information anytime/anyplace" (2001: 72).

The widespread embracing of IT by librarians today contrasts starkly with some earlier views expressed in the literature, such as that of Mason (1971), a generation ago, when he expounded: "after talking at length with some of the finest computer experts in the library world and probing the thinking behind more than forty computerized library operations, it became clear that the application of computers to library processes is a disaster" (1971: 184). Many librarians today would, however, agree with his view that "the computer has involved librarians in greater and more prolonged agonies than anything in recent history" (1971: 188). Remarkably, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Glogoff argues that it is "still popular among some librarians to view technology as a threat

rather than an asset" (2001: 75). For public libraries to maintain their status among the public during the coming decades, Glogoff contends that library leaders need to alter the corporate culture of libraries by adopting ongoing technical innovation in library infrastructures, so that librarians will lead rather than be led by technology (2001: 76).

2C:15 Fiscal Leadership in Public Libraries

Hickey (2001) reports that "Much of the literature of library finances deals with issues of management, not leadership", even though financial leadership is "crucial to success" (2001: 81, 83). The importance of financial leadership was also highlighted by H. S. White (1989, 1990, 2000) when, writing in the context of librarianship, he emphasized that "the most direct source of authority and power is money" (1989: 92). While Daubert (1993) and others focused on allocating budgets and other fiscal procedures in libraries, they spoke only tangentially of wider fiscal leadership issues such as expanding resources or influencing political resources for finance. White (1989, 1990, 2000), although not emphasizing the term 'leadership', stressed the larger picture by exhorting librarians to maximize their effectiveness in obtaining resources, contending that resources are earned rather than just given, and that librarians must continually convince administrators of the necessity of sharing in the provision of desired public goals, which would be curtailed if budgets were cut. White (2000) asserts:

The key is communicating up the chain of command, not only what you have done . . . but what you can accomplish on their behalf with adequate resources. As . . . Drucker noted long ago, the essence of effective management communication is exception reporting — what went badly, what didn't happen at all, and why it's bad for management (2000: 70-71).

White also exhorts librarians to highlight their success stories while at the same time to avoid glossing over their difficulties: "Does your senior management know what you do? Do they know what service cutbacks will result if they deny your requests for staff increases or cut your budget? Or do your reports pretend that everything is just fine?" (2000: 68). Hickey too believes that "credibility is built on more than balancing the bottom line, important though that is, but on honestly conveying the realities of our situations" (2001: 83). Butler et al. (1995)

argue that library leaders must build on integrity and quality of service along with flair in order to achieve fiscal success, adding that librarians must also "create, not merely consume, revenues" (1995: 160).

Hickey (2001) believes that skilful librarians will take advantage of political needs, such as the desire for authorities to be associated with service improvements, but to do that, "library leaders must convince the administration ... of their [librarians'] credibility, honesty, insight and vision", which is founded on first "demonstrating responsible stewardship of the resources already owned" (2001: 83). Howe (1993) suggests that library authorities "are most likely to commit new resources to units that not only stand high in institutional priorities but also have a demonstrated capacity for making hard decisions and using resources wisely" (1993: 48). Hickey believes that hiding the true costs of information provision — including telecommunications lines, anti-virus management, firewalls, and digital network management — "can be tempting but usually backfires in the long run", and "Silently reallocating funds to cover the shortfall only decimates other resources and avoids the hard decisions in which the entire community should participate" (2001: 84). He argues that library leaders must "loudly and clearly communicate true costs", and with "skilful use of statistics, cost studies and analytical models demonstrate accountability and therefore credibility" (2001: 84).

Wiemers (1994) contends that library leaders "should aim at gaining credibility ..., not money. Not that money is unimportant but, in the long run, we need credibility more" (1994: 120). "Recognizing the many conflicting, worthwhile goals" of local authorities, Hickey asks, "how can the library manager get the library placed high on the list of its institution's priorities?", and he argues that:

In such a political environment, people skills are critical. If library managers have achieved credibility, established personal ties with decision-makers, and become known as team players, they will garner their share of the rewards (Hickey, 2001: 85).

Hickey acknowledges that while "The library community excels at building partnerships and networking within itself; successful fund-raising requires transferring these skills to a broader arena", such as building strong relationships with senior local authority personnel. He suggests that librarians should develop "superb negotiation and cheerleading skills — i.e. leadership — [to] prevail over the nay-sayers" (2001: 89). In summary, Howe cautions that librarians ignore the "politics of the budgetary process" at their own peril, since, "in the final analysis", such political and fiscal leadership "determines who will prosper and who will not" (1993: 49).

See Chapter 5, subsection 5:9.5 for more views on the future of library services.

2C:16 The Future of Public Libraries

Britain's Framework for the Future (2003) document underscores that "Libraries have a huge opportunity to play an even more central role in future" (2003: 16). Kent (1996) asserts: "Public libraries are always going to be about people — the connection of people to resources, the connection of people to technology, the connection of people to people". She emphasizes, however, that the wholehearted support of "staff, users, elected officials, trustees, the general public" will be essential for the successful and effective future of library services (Kent, 1996: 214). Fayad (1997) argues that "one of the most important leadership issues" for librarians is the provision of networked information technology for all citizens, through "co-operative efforts and alliances outside the library community"... "with educators, social service agents, health workers, government employees" who, she suggests, share with librarians similar values and goals. She also claims that librarians' "level of co-operation in providing service is unique", and believes that librarians need to keep "leading the way in the provision of information services" (Fayad, 1997: 6).

2C:17 Concluding Comments

This chapter began by referring to the theoretical, practical, and methodological challenges to the fledgling field of leadership studies. The many and varied descriptions of organizational leadership are a recurring topic in the discussion of the literature. Attempts at defining the broad concept of leadership were discussed. Bass (1990), referring to the rich variety of possibilities, concluded that the definition of leadership should depend on the purposes to be served by the definition:

The search for the one and only proper and true definition of leadership seems to be fruitless, since the appropriate choice of definition should depend on the methodological and substantive aspects of leadership in which one is interested (1990: 18).

Cowley (1931) and Gibb (1969) pointed out that leadership should be distinguished from headship, which is a characteristic of office, unlike leadership which is a characteristic of the individual (Gibb, 1969*a*). While Pfeffer (1977) acknowledged that many definitions of leadership are ambiguous, Bass (1990) argued that there was sufficient similarity among the numerous definitions to permit a loose classification schema.

Kellerman and Webster (2001) suggest, "the body of work on public leadership in particular is rather meagre, at least as generated by contemporary academicians". They add, "meagre" does not imply that the work is nonexistent or without merit, as evidenced by recent literature published since the mid-1990s (Kellerman & Webster, 2001: 508).

The absence of a mature and comprehensive corpus of public leadership studies, on which an overall framework might be constructed, hampers or even precludes the proper mapping or contextualizing of recent studies on public leadership. Kellerman and Webster conclude that academics are currently "reluctant to impose too much order on a field that remains, perhaps inevitably, disparate and far-flung", reminding us that "Leadership work is not neat" (2001: 508). Paucity of order is, therefore, an intrinsic part of leadership studies. Some consistencies, however, can provide reference points for a potential or embryonic larger order. Some of these elements of order might, for example, refer to the importance of leadership from the bottom upwards or to national leadership.

While some leadership studies are based on theory and others on practice, studies linking the two, especially in the area of public leadership, are the exception rather than the rule. Kellerman and Webster contend, "Leadership Studies would clearly benefit from scholars and indeed practitioners who choose to dedicate themselves more deliberately to tying theory and practice more closely together" (2001: 508).

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Within librarianship, however, Riggs (2001*b*) suggests that leadership and management are often confused, and he makes the following distinction:

Library managers tend to work within defined bounds of known quantities, using well-established techniques to accomplish predetermined ends; the manager tends to stress means and neglect ends. On the other hand, the library leader's task is to hold, before all persons connected with the library, some vision of what its mission is and how it can be reached effectively (2001b: 6).

The final comment in this chapter on leadership in the public library sector is from Riggs (1999), who effectively sums up the importance of examining leadership in librarianship for practical reasons: "There is no more powerful engine driving a library toward excellence and success than its leadership!" (1999: 8).

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A leader is best when people barely know that he exists. Lao-Tzu (b. 604 B.C.)

Leadership is as much emotional and subjective as rational and objective in effect. Bass, 1999: 18

3:0 Introduction

According to Easterby-Smith et al. (1991), 'research design' is more than the methods by which data are collected and analysed. It is the overall configuration of a piece of research: what kind of evidence is gathered from where, and how such evidence is interpreted in order to provide good answers to the basic research question (1991: 21). In the current study, the answers provided to the chosen research question are those of thirty top-level leaders in public libraries in Ireland, Britain, and the United States. In choosing a research design, Buchanan (1980) suggests that the researcher must be prepared to use his own judgement continually — as this is one of the most important outcomes from the use of research projects (Buchanan, 1980: 45-8). Furthermore, Easterby-Smith et al. advise that it is unwise to conduct research without an awareness of the contextual philosophical and political issues. They argue that it is possible to give advice about research methods but this, however, can rarely be definitive (1991: 2). Some of the philosophical issues involved in choosing a qualitative approach are discussed below.

A number of authors point to the philosophical requirements in relation to research design. Easterby-Smith et al. suggest that a knowledge of philosophy can help the researcher to recognize which design will work and which will not (1991: 21). Morgan and Smircich (1980) observe that the appropriateness of a

research approach "derives from the nature of the social phenomena to be explored" (1980: 491). Burrell and Morgan (1979) state that all organization theorists approach their work with a 'frame of reference' consisting of a series of assumptions, whether they are explicitly stated or not (1979: x). According to Miles and Huberman (1994), these assumptions come from theory and experience and often from the general objectives of the study envisioned (1994: 18).

3:1 Qualitative Evaluation Methods

Two major theoretical perspectives have dominated the social sciences. One, positivism, traces its origins to the social theorists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and especially to Comte and Durkeim. The positivist seeks the facts or causes of social phenomena with little regard for the subjective states of individuals. Positivistic views hold that the social world exists externally, and that its properties should be measured through objective methods "not inferred subjectively through sensation, reflection or intuition" (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 22). The second theoretical perspective, which, following the lead of Deutscher, is described as phenomenological, stems most prominently from the work of Max Weber. The phenomenologist is concerned with understanding human behaviour from the actor's own frame of reference. The phenomenologist examines how the world is experienced. For him or her, the important reality is what people imagine it to be (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975: 2). The phenomenologists focus on how we put together the phenomena we experience in order to make sense of the world and, in so doing, develop a world view or weltanschauung. Accordingly, there is no separate (or objective) reality for people. There is only what people know from their experience and what meaning they apportion to that. The subjective experience incorporates the objective world as well as the person's reality (Patton, 1990: 69).

Since positivists and phenomenologists approach problems in different ways and seek different answers, their research will typically demand different methodologies. The positivist searches for 'facts' and 'causes', through methods such as survey questionnaires, inventories, and demographic analysis, which typically produce quantitative data and which allow him or her to statistically prove or disprove relationships between variables. The

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phenomenologist, on the other hand, seeks understanding through such qualitative methods as participant observation, open-ended interviewing, and personal documents. These methods yield descriptive data which enable the phenomenologist to "see the world as subjects see it" (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975: 2).

Qualitative methods in management owe their origins most directly to the ethnographic and field-study traditions of anthropology and sociology. More generally, the philosophical and theoretical perspectives that undergird qualitative methods include phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and naturalistic behaviourism, ethnomethodology and ecological psychology. An integrating theme running through these perspectives is the notion that the study of human beings is fundamentally different from other scientific inquiries, such as agricultural and natural sciences (Patton, 1990: 20).

As mentioned above, qualitative methods have their philosophical origins in phenomenology or subjectivism (Burrell & Morgan, 1979: 22). A phenomenologist views human behaviour as a product of how people interpret their world. The task of the phenomenologist, and of qualitative methodologists, is to capture this *process* of interpretation (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975: 14). Van Maanen (1983) defines qualitative methods as an "array of interpretative techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world" (1983: 9).

Mason (2002) comments that qualitative interviewing is founded on interactive talk, and she adds that "some of the enthusiasm for the [qualitative interviewing] method which has emerged in recent years is undoubtedly a reaction against the asking of questions in less interactive ways, from example through postal questionnaires and structured questionnaire surveys" (2001: 236). This reflects Fontana and Frey (1998) who suggest, "as long as many researchers continue to treat respondents as unimportant, faceless individuals whose only contribution is to fill one more boxed response, the answers we, as researchers will get will be commensurable with the questions we ask and with the way we ask them.... The question must be asked person-to-person if we want it to be answered fully (Fontana & Frey, 1998: 73). Qualitative methodologies refer to research procedures, which produce descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour. According to Bogdan and Taylor

(1975), this approach directs itself at settings and the individuals within those settings holistically; that is, the subject of the study, be it an organization or an individual, is not reduced to an isolated variable or to a hypothesis, but is viewed instead as part of a whole (1975: 4). Bogdan and Taylor also argue that the methods by which we study people affect how we view them. They add that when we reduce people to statistical aggregates we lose sight of the subjective nature of human behaviour. Qualitative methods allow us to know people personally and to see them as they are developing their own definitions of the world. We experience what they experience in their daily struggles with their society (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). The MORI Social Research Institute (2002) asserts, "the strengths of qualitative research are that it allows issues to be explored in detail and enables researchers to test the strength of people's opinion, and the reasons why" (MORI, 2002: 1).

Mathieu (2001) cautions that "the relatively neat and tractable data streams of traditional empirical leadership designs" are limited in their scope for incorporating the broad phenomena which leadership studies encompass. He points to "several notable qualitative studies [such as Bryman et al. (1988) and Gioia & Chittipeddi (1991)] that have provided unique insights into the leadership phenomenon" (2001: 459). Mathieu also contends that:

... most qualitative researchers readily acknowledge that they are investigating the confluence of a number of influences in a particular time, place, and manner. ... whereas large-sample, empirically oriented leadership researchers typically try to focus on relatively few columns and rows of a data box while minimizing the influence of other facets, qualitative researchers take a different track. They articulate a particular cell of the larger set of matrices and seek to bring to life in its entirety. Whereas the generalizability of any particular cell is of course limited, the insights afforded by such a detail investigation better serve to reveal the richness of leader effectiveness (Mathieu, 2001: 459-60).

The philosophical roots of qualitative methods emphasize the importance of understanding the *meanings* of human behaviour and the social-cultural context of social interaction. The phenomenologist, therefore, views human behaviour — what people say and do — as a product of how people interpret their world. The effective comprehension of behaviour requires empathic understanding or an ability to reproduce in one's own mind the feelings, motives, and thoughts

behind the actions of others. In order to grasp the meanings of a person's behaviour, "the phenomenologist attempts to see things from that person's point of view" (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975: 14).

According to Marshall and Rossman (1989), those who conduct qualitative research face a challenge: There are no explicit, guaranteed recipes to follow for bringing together a coherent, convincing, winning research study. Proponents of qualitative research designs do best by emphasizing the promise of quality, depth, and richness in the research findings (1989: 19). Geertz (1973) recommends that researchers, who are convinced that a qualitative approach is best for the question or problem at hand, must make a case that 'Thick Description' and detailed analysis will yield valuable explanations of processes (1973: 5). Guba and Lincoln (1981) concluded that qualitative methods are preferable to quantitative methods when the phenomena to be studied are complex human and organizational interactions and, therefore, not easily translatable into numbers. When researchers use such methods as interviewing, observation, use of non-verbal cues and unobtrusive measures they use tacit as well as propositional knowledge to ascribe meaning to the verbal and non-verbal behaviour that is uncovered (Guba & Lincoln, 1981: 88).

Talja (1999) declares that in library and information science (LIS), qualitative methods are viewed "as a welcome alternative to survey-dominated user studies conducted from the information systems' or institutional point of view" (1999: 460). Westbrook (1994) observed that scholars in the field of LIS are increasingly adopting the use of qualitative research methods, traditionally used in the social sciences. Since the mid-twentieth century, much focus had been given to theories and techniques associated with qualitative research methods (Westbrook, 1994). According to Westbrook, "In virtually every area of LIS research ... the concatenation of factors that finally lead a user to interaction with some part of an information system is increasingly complex" and, therefore, a qualitative approach, which "seeks out all aspects of that complexity on the grounds that they are essential to understanding the behaviour of which they are part" (1994: 241).

Qualitative data have been described by quantitative researchers as 'soft', 'unscientific' and 'non-reproducible'; while to the qualitative researcher neither the data nor the method are neither 'soft' or 'unscientific', but are 'rich'. Fineman

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and Mangham (1983) suggest that, in their experience, many research studies have been saved by the 'soft' qualitative parts, rather than by the 'hard' quantitative parts. While qualitative data can be both 'rich' and 'deep', quantitative data that are obtained at a distance from everyday activities may have ceased to 'live' (Fineman & Mangham, 1983: 297). Wells (1976) identified the crucial aspect of qualitative data as the richness of the information generated: "Compared to words, numbers are sort of round and smooth. They don't have little fish-hooks of meaning standing out all over them" (1976: 13-6). In support of a qualitative approach, some researchers (Geertz, 1973; Fineman & Mangham, 1983; Van Maanen, 1983) make reference to the thick description, rich insight and full, rich, earthy, holistic and real data which arise from qualitative studies.

Disadvantages associated with the qualitative method include its labour intensive nature; possible difficulties with analysis and interpretation of the data; and, in the past, policy makers gave low credibility to studies based on a qualitative approach (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 104). This credibility problem, however, appears to be changing as management research moves into the post-positivist era (McCracken, 1988: 14). According to Filstead (1970):

... the qualitative perspective in no way suggests that the researcher lacks the ability to be scientific while collecting the data. On the contrary, it merely specifies that it is crucial for validity — and, consequently, for reliability — to try to picture the empirical social world as it actually exists to those under investigation, rather than as the researcher imagines it to be (1970: 4).

Bennett (1991) suggests, when choosing a research methodology, it is important to know if the research is concerned with exploring what might be, or verifying what is, and to choose methods appropriate to this. There are other points that should be borne in mind when choosing an appropriate research method. These include:

Answering the research questions: The method chosen must allow the research questions to be answered. It is clearly important to know and thoroughly understand what questions researchers are seeking to answer. A clear statement of the research questions will enable both the level of research and level of rigour to be more adequately determined. It will also enable a check to be made on the understanding of the nature of the research problem involved.

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Current state of knowledge: If little is currently known about the nature of the variables involved in the research problem then it is likely that more qualitative, exploratory research methods will be needed. If, on the other hand, a review of the literature shows that a good deal is already known, it is then possible to isolate the key variables involved. This would then determine the extent to which a hypothesis or hypotheses could be established and made available for testing. This in turn would lead to a choice of method in order for hypothesis testing to be carried out. Even where the variables are known in advance, however, their very nature may prevent the use of experimental research methods.

The nature of the variables involved: The choice of method will also be governed by the extent to which the variables involved can be manipulated and measured in a controlled way. In the physical sciences it is often possible to make the subject of the research do what you want it to do. In the social sciences this is not always the case (Bennett, 1991: 89).

Bryman (1988) suggested:

The most fundamental characteristic of qualitative research is its express commitment to viewing events, actions, norms, values, etc. from the perspective of the people being studied. . . . The strategy of taking the subject's perspective is often expressed in terms of seeing through the eyes of the people you are studying. Such an approach clearly involves a preparedness to empathize (though not necessarily to sympathize) with those being studied, but it also entails a capacity to penetrate the frames of meaning with which they operate (Bryman, 1988: 61).

In summary, the purpose of qualitative research, and in particular the qualitative interview, is not to discover how many, and what kinds of, people share a certain characteristic. How many and what kinds of people hold these categories and assumptions are not the compelling issues. Qualitative research is much more intensive than extensive in its objectives (McCracken, 1988: 17). The qualitative researcher uses a lens that brings a narrow strip of the field of vision into very precise focus. The quantitative researcher uses a lens that permits a much less precise vision of a much broader strip (McCracken, 1988: 16). In qualitative research, the investigator serves as a kind of 'instrument' in the collection and analysis of data (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Cassell, 1977). This metaphor has

proven to be a useful one because it emphasizes that the investigator cannot fulfil qualitative research objectives without using a broad range of his own experience, imagination, and intellect in ways that are various and unpredictable (Miles, 1979: 597). Qualitative data are normally relatively messy, unorganized data. Qualitative research demands techniques of observation that allow the investigator to sort and 'winnow' the data, searching out patterns of association and assumption. This process of detection is hard to mechanize (McCracken, 1988: 19).

Following the advice outlined above by Bennett (1991) and McCracken (1998), the in-depth interview technique was found to be an appropriate methodology to answer the research questions in the current study, as interviews, semistructured or unstructured, are appropriate methods when: (i) it is necessary to understand the constructs that the interviewee uses as a basis for his opinions and beliefs about a particular matter or situation; (ii) the step-by-step logic of a situation is not clear; (iii) the interviewee may be reluctant to be truthful about issues except in the context of one-to-one confidentially (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 74). Details of the interview technique used in this study are discussed below.

3:2 The Long Interview

According to McCracken (1988), the long interview is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armoury. For certain descriptive and analytic purposes no instrument of inquiry is more revealing. The method permits others to enter into the mental world of the individual interviewee in order that they might begin to understand the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world. It can also permit others into the 'lifeworld' of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experience. The long interview gives the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do (McCracken, 1988: 9). A semi-structured research instrument was used in the current study. Lincoln and Guba (1985) clarified that the

structured interview is the mode of choice when the interviewer knows what he or she does not know and can therefore frame appropriate questions to find it out, while the unstructured interview is the mode of choice when the interviewer does not know what he or she doesn't know and must therefore rely on the respondent to tell him or her (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 269).

The depth interview is a highly unusual speech event, one that makes for a most peculiar social relationship. There is no question that certain aspects of this event and relationship must be crafted very exactly to serve the interests of good qualitative inquiry (McCracken, 1988: 12). According to Burgess (1982), the depth interview is a conversation in which the researcher encourages the informants to relate, in their own terms, experiences and attitudes that are relevant to the research problem. It provides "the opportunity for the researcher to probe deeply, to uncover new clues, open up new dimensions of a problem and to secure vivid, accurate inclusive accounts that are based on personal experience" (Burgess, 1982: 107). Glaser and Strauss (1967) pointed to several strengths in interviewing, for example, "it permits the respondent to move back and forth in time ... " (1967: 273). It allows for probing and clarification of what has been heard. William Whyte (1979) reported that informants "generally find it a rewarding experience to be interviewed by a skilled and sympathetic person... [and] useful in helping them to gain perspective on and understanding of their ideas and experiences (1979: 60).

Easterby-Smith et al. suggest that one of the main reasons for conducting qualitative interviews is to understand "how individuals construct the meaning and significance of their situations... from... the complex personal framework of beliefs and values, which they have developed over their lives in order to help explain and predict events in their world" (1991: 73). Researchers must, therefore, be able to conduct interviews so that the opportunity is present for these insights to be gained. Failure to achieve this could result in a superficial exchange of information, which might have been better and achieved more cost effectively by using a semi-structured questionnaire (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 73).

The first step of the detailed, qualitative interview begins with an exhaustive **review of the literature**. According to McCracken, a good literature review has many obvious virtues. It enables the investigator to define problems and assess data, and it provides the concepts on which subjects' precepts depend. A thorough review of the literature allows the data of an investigator's research

project to take issue with the theory of the investigator's field and it is a way to manufacture distance (McCracken, 1988: 29-31).

Literature reviews are not simple exercises in idea collection; they are a form of qualitative analysis. They are also critical undertakings in which the investigator exercises a constant scepticism. Reviews search out the conscious and unconscious assumptions of various authors. They determine how these assumptions force the definition of problems and findings. The good literature review is a critical process that makes the investigator the master, not the captive, of previous scholarship (McCracken, 1988: 29-31).

Another purpose of the literature review is to aid in the construction of the **interview questionnaire**. The literature review establishes the areas in which the interview will explore and it aids in specifying categories and relationships that might organize the data. A review helps to determine what the inquirer should ask about and what he or she should listen for. By the end of the literature review, the investigator should have a list of topics from which questions must be prepared (McCracken, 1988: 31). This list of topics allows for the creation of the interview guide.

3:3 The Interview Guide

An interview guide is a list of questions or issues to be explored in the course of an interview. An interview guide is prepared to ensure that essentially the same type of information is obtained from a number of people by covering the same material. The interview guide provides topics or subject areas about which the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject. Perhaps the most fundamental use for the interview guide is to serve as a basic checklist during the interview to make sure that all relevant topics are covered. The interviewer is thus required to adapt both the wording and sequence of questions to specific respondents in the context of each actual interview *as it occurs*. The interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style — but with the focus on a particular predetermined subject (Patton, 1990: 111). Perhaps the primary advantage of an interview guide is that it can help to make sure that the

interviewer has carefully decided how best to use the limited time available in an interview situation. The interview guide helps to make interviewing different people more systematic and comprehensive by delimiting the issues to be discussed in the interview (Patton, 1990: 111). Durrance and Van Fleet (1992) cautioned, however: "As the 'soft' side of research, the methodology requires a greater focus on the construct of the instrument and its administration in the actual survey" (1992: 124).

The current study reflects research methods used for the 1995 Northern Ireland public library report, *Turning Over a New Leaf*, where "Data was obtained by way of depth interviews ...; Depth interviews were conducted with senior library personnel" (General Consumer Council for Northern Ireland, 1995: 105). The questions, which formed the interview guide for the current study, are listed in the Appendix. The author's construction of the interview guide was informed (i) primarily from themes which were dominant in the literature review, (ii) secondarily by his professional experience in public librarianship, and (iii) finally from personal observations and reports of leadership as practised by his public library colleagues.

Jones (1985) also recommends the preparation of an interview guide that can be used as a loose structure for the questions to be used in the 'live' interviews. She advised that, although researchers are to some extent tied to their framework, they should not be "tied up by them" (1985: 75). Based on the literature review in this study (Chapter 2), an interview guide was crafted by the author to provide an appropriate structure for questioning, including issues considered in the literature to be the most pertinent (cf. Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 73; Patton, 1990: 111). The label 'qualitative interview' has been used to describe a broad range of different types of interviews, from those that are *non-directive* or *open*, to those where the interviewer takes a prepared list of questions and is determined to ask the specified questions.

3:4 The Interview Pool

Durrance and Van Fleet (1992) suggest that, "Qualitative survey techniques are not dependent upon large numbers of respondents to insure validity" (1992: 124). This view reflects Mintzberg (1979) who observed that a key difficulty in qualitative research utilizing the interview technique is to determine the precise number of interviewees (1979: 584). The approach adopted in selecting the number of interview participants for this study was based on a strategy called 'theoretical sampling', where the actual number of cases studied is relatively unimportant (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 69). McCracken, for instance, endorses the use of small samples, and states that "for many research projects, eight respondents will be perfectly sufficient" (1988: 17). According to Seidman (1998), there are two criteria for 'enough'. The first is sufficiency: Are there sufficient numbers to reflect the range of participants and sites that make up the population so that others outside the sample might have a chance to connect to the experiences of those in the sample? The other criterion is saturation of information, when the interviewer begins to hear the same information reported and he is no longer learning anything new (Seidman, 1998: 45). Douglas (1985) suggested from his studies that if he had to pick a number it would be twentyfive participants. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), what is important is the potential of each case in aiding the researcher to develop insights into the area being studied (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 56). The selection of the respondents must be made accordingly. Mason (1996) suggests that qualitative samples are usually small for practical reasons concerning costs, especially in terms of time and money, and for generating and analysing qualitative data (Mason, 1996: 96).

Recently published interview studies in the field of Management show the number of interviewees tends to be between fifteen and twenty-five. This number may be due to a combination of the time and resources available for the investigation and of the 'law' of diminishing returns in research (Kvale, 1996: 102). Seidman (1998) suggests that because hypotheses are not being tested, the issue is not to ascertain if the researcher can generalize the finding of an interview study to a broader population. Instead, the researcher's task is to present the experience of the people he interviews in compelling enough detail and in sufficient depth that those who read the study can connect to that experience, learn how it is constituted, and deepen their understanding of the

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issues it reflects (Seidman, 1998: 41). Mason (1996) suggests that the interviewer is likely to be making certain kinds of epistemological assumptions about the interaction between himself as a researcher and those who are being interviewed, which suggest that semi-structured interviewing is appropriate (1996: 40). He also suggests that the interviewer may wish to conceptualize his role as active and reflexive in the process of data generation, rather than as a neutral collector, and to analyse his role within this process (Mason, 1996: 41).

3:5 The Sample

The key research question in this study focuses on senior-level public library leaders in Ireland, Britain, and the east coast of the United States. Thirty toplevel public librarians were selected for inclusion in this study. Reflecting Sheldon (1992), "the selection of these individuals was intended to be representative but by no means inclusive.... other library leaders would have been equally appropriate" (1992: 393). Initially, the idea of investigating the perceptions of all Irish city/county librarians was considered. In order to broaden the scope of the study, however, it was subsequently decided to include an investigation of library leaders outside the country. A decision was then taken to keep the same original total target number (thirty), now in a broader context, by choosing fifty per cent from outside Ireland, matching the new target number of Irish county/city librarians to be interviewed. The rationale for choosing leaders in Ireland, Britain and the United States was threefold: (i) their institutions have a long-established and historical culture of providing public libraries funded by public money, (ii) they, along with their peer institutions in other countries, constitute an under-researched group, and (iii) because of their relative convenience of access for the author. While the author visited other countries in continental Europe during the course of this study, it was decided not to dilute the focus on the study of library leaders working in the three selected nationalities. The choice of the fifteen Irish librarians was influenced by factors such as (i) their relatively high profile nationally, as reflected by their career experience, seniority, positive networking profile, and organizational role, (ii) geographic convenience to cross-county research itineraries undertaken by the author, and (iii) availability and co-operation of the library leaders.

Twenty-seven interviews were arranged using e-mail, the remaining three from initial face-to-face meetings. Requests for interviews with each of the selected Irish and American librarians received immediate positive responses. Another two Irish librarians who had agreed to be interviewed were subsequently not interviewed, due to the author's itineraries not coinciding with their availability. These were replaced by librarians from two other authorities, to make up the total of fifteen interviewed in Ireland. Interestingly, two American interviewees who had not been contacted in advance of the author travelling to the United States, readily agreed when personally asked.

A criterion of qualifying as a research interviewee was that the librarian had to be the top leader, or at least the equivalent of a deputy leader, serving in a public library service. The formal designations of the American librarians interviewed for this study included: director; deputy librarian; deputy city librarian; executive director; or, president. The Irish librarians were designated either county librarian or city librarian. The British librarians bore more varied titles, such as: assistant manager; head of libraries and archives; principal officer, libraries and museums; library and information services manager; head of cultural services; support services librarian; head of libraries, museums and arts; director of educational resources; and, principal librarian.

The Internet was used to target three American librarians, in States that the author was visiting. As stated above, two other American librarians agreed to be interviewed without prior arrangement, when the author met them in person. British librarians were selected using The Libraries Directory: A Guide to the Libraries and Archives or the United Kingdom and Ireland: 1998-2000 (Walker, 2001), to coincide with the author's visits to London and Glasgow. Fourteen Irish librarians were targeted using the 'Public library authority address list' page of An Chomhairle Leabharlanna's web site (www.librarycouncil.ie, October 2002). The author used e-mail addresses and/or telephone numbers listed in these web and printed sources to make the initial requests for research interviews with twenty-seven of the participating librarians. Three interviews were arranged face-to-face, including one Irish librarian who was met at a Library Association of Ireland seminar where he agreed to be interviewed at a later date. Subsequent e-mailing was required to co-ordinate the time and location of twenty-eight interviews arranged in advance of appointments. Arranging appointments with the Irish and American interviewees was guite

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straightforward, but access to many of the British librarians was not easy. Seven out of ten London librarians e-mailed responses saying they were "not available" during the author's visit to London. Three of those who were not available had asked for the research questionnaire to be e-mailed to them first. Two chief librarians in the London area were able to meet the author and one of those who were not available recommended that his deputy be contacted instead. When planning the trip to London, the author endeavoured to arrange interviews with the more centrally located of the thirty-three London boroughs. Notwithstanding the choice of London boroughs in a relatively compact geographic area, repeated e-mail requests needed to be made to elicit even negative responses from some of the borough libraries.

Overall, arranging ten interviews with British librarians was not so straightforward. While the interviewees themselves were helpful to the author, for example, some sent maps and instructions on locating their premises, the initial layers of bureaucracy required repeated e-mailed requests/reminders to successfully arrange interviews through secretaries or other colleagues of the targeted British interviewees. The overall difficulties of access to British librarians contrasted starkly with the ease of access to Irish and American interviewees.

The thirty interviews were conducted within a sixteen-month time span, from March 2002 to July 2003, all in the countries where the participating library leaders worked. The maximum number of interviews conducted in any single day was three, which occurred on four separate days; two interviews per day were conducted on five different dates; and one interview per day on the remaining ten dates. That meant that all thirty interviews were recorded across a total of nineteen separate dates. After the target number of fifteen Irish librarians was matched by fifteen non-Irish librarians, the thirty taped interviews were transcribed on a word processor for subsequent analysis. Salient quotations from these texts are presented in Chapter 4, and these are analysed in Chapter 5.

Tables 3.1 to 3.3, in the following pages, present lists of the Irish, British, and American interviewees, respectively, in chronological sequence of their interviews within those tables. A total of twenty males and ten females agreed to be interviewed — coincidentally, a ratio of two to one. One of these male

appointees, however, had to cancel at short notice due to a family medical emergency and was replaced by a female deputy, thus changing the final gender ratio to nineteen males and eleven females. By nationality, the thirty participants comprised: eleven males and four females from Ireland; six males and four females from Britain; and, two males and three females from the United States.

Interview Date	Title of Post and Name of Public Library	Staff (FTE)
2002/10/10	County Librarian, South County Dublin Libraries	101
2002/10/11	City Librarian, Dublin City Libraries	355
2002/10/26	County Librarian, Donegal County Library	46
2002/11/04	County Librarian, Fingal County Library	152
2002/11/09	County Librarian, Clare County Library	55
2003/01/22	County Librarian, Tipperary Joint Library	44
2003/01/22	County Librarian, Kilkenny County Library	30
2003/01/22	County Librarian, Carlow County Library	15
2003/02/14	City Librarian, Limerick City Library	14
2003/02/14	County Librarian, Galway County Library	40
2003/03/10	County Librarian, Wicklow County Library	30
2003/03/14	County Librarian, Waterford County Library	21
2003/05/09	County Librarian, Laois County Library	24
2003/05/09	County Librarian, Meath County Library	27
2003/05/09	County Librarian, Cavan County Library	20

Table 3.1List of fifteen Irish public library leader interviewees, in chronological order
of interview; including title of post, name of library, and staff complement

Tables on the following page list the fifteen non-Irish participants.

	interview; including title of post, name of parent body, and staff complement		
Interview Date	Title of Post & Name of Library Parent Body	Staff (FTE)	
2002/04/12	Head of Libraries & Archives Service, London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham	125	
2002/04/12	Support Services Librarian, London Borough of Southwark	200	
2002/04/12	Head of Libraries, Museums & Arts, London Borough of Wandsworth	270	
2002/08/12	Library & Information Services Manager, East Ayrshire Libraries	160	
2002/08/12	Principal Officer, Libraries & Museums, West Dunbartonshire Council	70	
2002/08/13	Head of Cultural Services, East Renfrewshire Council	60	
2002/08/13	Head of Libraries & Archives, Glasgow City Council	450	
2002/08/14	Assistant Manager, Lifelong Learning, East Dunbartonshire Council	60	
2002/08/14	Principal Librarian, Renfrewshire Council	115	
2002/08/14	Director of Educational Resources, South Lanarkshire Council	205	

Table 3.2List of ten British public library leader interviewees, in chronological order of
interview; including title of post, name of parent body, and staff complement

Table 3.3List of five American public library leader interviewees, in chronological order
of interview; including title of post, name of library, and staff complement

Interview Date	Title of Post	Name of Public Library	Staff (FTE)
2002/03/27	Director	Middletown Public Library (Pennsylvania)	8
2002/03/28	Deputy Librarian	Dauphin County Library System (Pennsylvania)	105
2002/03/28	Executive Director	Dauphin County Library System (Pennsylvania)	105
2002/04/02	Deputy City Librarian	Free Library of Philadelphia	809
2003/07/26	President	Boston Public Libraries	600

3:6 Gaining Access

For the purpose of arranging research interviews, the author made *direct* approaches to seventeen Irish librarians, before interviews with fifteen of them could be successful arranged to suit both interviewer and interviewee. Of the ten British interviewees, only one direct contact was made to the target librarian, as his library was the only one to display his personal e-mail in the *Libraries Directory*. Initial contact with the remaining nine British librarians was made indirectly by contacting their institutional e-mail addresses. In cases where the *Directory* listed neither an institutional or personal e-mail address, the author telephoned those target libraries, requesting the e-mail address of the chief librarian or of his/her secretary. Except for two American interviews that were arranged face-to-face, the initial contact with each of the remaining three American librarians was made directly to their e-mail addresses as advertised on the Internet.

To add institutional legitimization, all e-mails were made using corporate e-mail, which automatically displayed Cork City Library's institutional signature. The first e-mail in each case immediately indicated the purpose of the contact by entering 'Research interview for doctoral study' in the subject field of the e-mail. Follow-up e-mails were made. Sometimes this meant persevering where no responses were initially forthcoming. The body text of the initial e-mails clarified the purpose of the interview: to gather research data, through a list of set interview questions, on various aspects of leadership in public librarianship, based on the experiences of the targeted library leader. An assurance of confidentiality for their views was also included in the first contact sent to each institution. The initial contact also suggested that the typical interview time would be about one hour.

3:7 Arranging Dates

In reporting their survey of élite personnel, Grøholt and Higley (1970) underline the problems of timetabling a series of interviews. Élite personnel are prone to last-minute changes in schedules; it is therefore important to build some 'slack' into a programme of interviewing. Interviews with senior executives typically have to be arranged some time in advance, since the respondents can often be away on official duties. This is even more important in the case where the interviewer has to travel long distances to conduct an interview or a series of interviews in a given area. It is recommended that contact should be made three to four weeks in advance of the time the researcher wishes to conduct the interview (Grøholt & Higley, 1970). The author generally made initial contacts up to six weeks in advance of each of his itineraries, especially when this was needed to allow time for scheduling other interviewees. Within ten days of each interview, the author contacted each interviewee to confirm that their schedules had not changed and that the interview would go ahead at the time agreed. This concurred with Wengraf's (2001) suggestion that the interviewer needs to contact the informant seven to ten days before the interview to confirm arrangements. Usually interviews followed the agreed arrangements. In two cases, however, substitute interviewees were provided. The first substitute was suggested when an American city librarian had to fly abroad at short notice due to a family medical emergency; his deputy e-mailed offering to be interviewed instead. The second substitution was not communicated in advance. In that case, when the author called to interview one Scottish librarian, he was met by another top-management librarian, who said he was requested at short notice to stand in for the chief librarian. Overall, the thirty schedules for the interviews were honoured in the time slots that were arranged in advance.

3:8 Interview Arrangements: Timing, Location and Length

According to Hart (1991), unless the interview can be completed with *certainty*, it is unwise to arrange appointments shortly before lunch or at the end of the working day. Her research experience indicated that respondents' impatience could be problematic, particularly if the respondent is late for the interview appointment (Hart, 1991: 192). She also suggests that, generally, arriving 'just on time' is unsatisfactory where the interviewee's time is restricted. In many instances, the interviewee is not called until the interviewer has arrived, at which point the secretary or receptionist has to locate the respondent, who might often be in a meeting or making an important telephone call. Ten or fifteen minutes can often elapse before the respondent is free, which could cause problems when he or she has stipulated an hour for the interview. Arriving about a quarter of an hour early compensates for this and allows extra time for gleaning valuable information at the reception (Hart, 1991: 193).

Hart also suggests that the location of the interview is not without importance and suggests that most interviewees will suggest a quiet office as an interview venue (1991: 193). Wengraf (2001), mirroring Hart, advised, "You want a setting as free from interruption and as comfortable and non-distracting as possible. You want to avoid interruptions by phones, by noise from outside, by other people" (2001: 191). For this study, all ten British, all five American librarians, and eleven of the fifteen Irish interviews were conducted in private offices in the host libraries, with telephones switched off. Three Irish librarians were interviewed in off-site premises for convenience of meeting.

Most interviews for this study approximated one hour; the shortest was thirty minutes and the longest ninety minutes. There was quite a variety in the quantity and style of articulation of the interviewees. The confidential nature of the process elicited very open opinions from the majority of the respondents. Only a minority of librarians provided sparse, economic replies, despite the use of prompting phrases and gestures from the author for elaboration. The most articulate librarians spoke at length with the minimum intervention from the author. Mason (2002) and Chamberlayne et al. (2000) acknowledge such variety in fluency of interviewees in qualitative studies.

3:9 Interview Procedure

According to McCracken (1988), the opening of the interview is particularly important, because in the opening few minutes of the interview it must be demonstrated that the interviewer is a benign, accepting, curious (but not inquisitive) individual who is prepared and eager to listen with interest (1988: 38). In a research setting, it is up to the interviewer to create, in a short time, a contact that allows the interaction to go beyond merely a polite conversation or exchange of ideas. The interviewer must establish an atmosphere in which the subject feels safe enough to talk freely about his or her experiences and feelings (Kvale, 1996: 125). Opening the questioning with informal and straightforwardly informational questions facilitates such an atmosphere. A few minutes of idle chatter at this stage is welcome, as it gives the respondent a chance to have a grasp of the interviewer before they allow themselves to talk freely, exposing their experiences and feelings to a stranger (Kvale, 1996: 128). For this study, some easy chatter before the opening stage of each interview was engaged in,

to give the respondent a chance to feel comfortable with the interviewer. This is an important time to reassure the respondent because it is in these opening stages that he sets his defences (McCracken, 1988: 38).

Once the preliminaries are completed, the interviewer must deploy the grandtour questions, and the 'floating' and 'planned' prompts (McCracken, 1988: 38). He must take care to see that data are collected for all the categories and relationships that have been identified as important. In addition to these categories and relationships, the respondent must also be prepared to identify and cultivate data on emergent categories and relationships that have not been anticipated. McCracken also notes that the interviewer encounters salient data in the midst of a very crowded and complicated speech event. There is virtually no opportunity for unhurried identification or reflection. What the investigator does not capture in the moment will be lost forever. This is a challenging occasion because mistakes are both easy to make and impossible to rectify (McCracken, 1988: 38). Wengraf (2001) suggests, "The most frequent and typical unit of a semi-structured interview takes the form of an open question and then a comparatively lengthy response which the interviewer holds back from interrupting (2001: 160). What is required of the investigator within this structure is to listen with great care; the interviewer must listen for many variables, including impression management, topic avoidance, minor misunderstanding, deliberate distortion, and outright incomprehension, taking, in each case, the necessary remedy to deal with the problem (Briggs, 1986).

3:10 The Degree of Structure

Jones (1985) highlights a number of issues that researchers will need to consider in order for interviews to be successful. The first is the problem that all researchers must resolve — how much structure to put in the interview. She makes the point that:

... there is no such thing as presuppositionless research. In preparing for interviews researchers will have, and should have, some broad questions in mind, and the more interviews they do and the more patterns they see in the data, the more likely they are to use this grounded understanding to want to explore in certain directions rather than others (Jones, 1985: 47).

The degree of structure for this study was achieved by adherence to the interview guide. Although there were some deviations from the sequence in order to follow interesting lines of inquiry and to facilitate an unbroken discussion, the author ensured that all the issues mentioned in the interview guide were addressed. This required the author to be perceptive and sensitive to events, so that lines of inquiry could be changed and adapted during the interview. Finally, on the subject of structure, Jones advises that the researcher should be warned against assuming that a 'non-directive' interview, where the interviewee talks freely without interruption or intervention, is the way to achieve a clear picture of the interviewee's perspective. This is more likely to produce no clear picture in the mind of the interviewee of what questions or issues the interviewer is interested in, and in the mind of the interviewer of what questions the interviewee is answering. Too many assumptions of this kind lead to poor data, which are difficult to interpret. Researchers are therefore likely to be more successful if they are clear at the outset about the exact areas of their interest (Jones, 1985: 75).

3:11 Tape-recording Interviews

According to Patton (1990), a tape recorder is part of the indispensable equipment of evaluators using qualitative methods. Tape recorders do not tune out of conversations, change what has been said because of interpretation, or record more slowly than what is being said (Patton, 1990: 137). In addition to increasing the accuracy of data collection, the use of a tape recorder permits the interviewer to be more attentive to the interviewee. The interviewer who is trying to concurrently write down everything that is said will have a difficult time responding appropriately to interviewee needs and cues — and the pace of the interview can become decidedly non-conversational, as the interactive nature of in-depth interview. The use of a tape recorder does *not* mean that the interviewer can become less attentive to what is being said (Patton, 1990: 137).

Similarly, Lofland (1971) outlines the benefits of tape-recording the interview:

One's full attention must be focused on the interview. One must be thinking about probing for further explication or clarification of what he is now saying; formulating probes; linking up current talk with what he has already said; thinking ahead to putting in a new question that has now arisen and was not taken account of in the standing guide (plus making a note at that moment so one will not forget the question); and attending to the interviewee in a manner that communicates to him that you are indeed listening. All of this is hard enough simply in itself. Add to that the problem of writing it down — even if one takes shorthand in an expert fashion — and one can see that the process of note-taking in the interview decreases one's interviewing capacity. Therefore, if conceivably possible, tape record; then one can interview (Lofland, 1971: 89).

McCracken too is in favour of interviews being recorded on tape. He suggests that interviewers who attempt to make their own record of the interview by taking notes may create an unnecessary and dangerous distraction. A verbatim transcript of the interview testimony *must,* in McCracken's view, be created (1988: 41).

All thirty interviews for the current study were recorded on tape. This saved the interviewer from the burden of intensive writing at the time of the interview, facilitating concentration on the interactive interview process. Martin pointed to the advantages of tape-recording, which ensures complete transcriptions for analysis, in contrast with note-taking, which involves a good deal of on-the-spot selection, and which undermines the reliability of the data collected (Martin, 1985: 13-23). For this study, the author did a test recording and playback of a few seconds immediately before commencing the questioning, to ensure that the recorder and clip-on microphone were working.

3:12 The Interviewer–Respondent Relationship

According to McCracken, the best manner in which to conduct an in-depth interview is to strike a balance between formality and informality for each of the participants. A certain formality in dress, demeanour, and speech is useful because it helps the respondent cast the investigator in the role of a 'scientist', someone who can end up asking very personal questions, not out of personal but professional curiosity. This formality also helps to reassure the respondent that the investigator can be trusted to maintain the confidentiality that has been promised by the interviewer. A degree of balanced informality is useful because it reassures the respondent that, for all of his professional training, the investigator is not a cold, distant creature unacquainted with or indifferent to the complexities and difficulties of the respondent's lifeworld. Naturally, the formality–informality balance should be adjusted according to the particular demands of special contexts (McCracken, 1988: 26).

In this study, the above guidelines were followed in order to strike a balance between formality and informality. Respondents generally spoke more formally at the beginning of the interview. As the interview progressed respondents spoke more informally of their personal experiences, ambitions and achievements. As Stebbins (1972) noted, the qualitative interview gives the respondent the opportunity to engage in an unusual form of sociality. Suddenly, they find themselves in the presence of the perfect conversational partner, someone who is prepared to forsake his own 'turns' in the conversation and listen eagerly to anything the respondent has to say (Stebbins, 1972). This characteristic of the qualitative interview leads to other benefits, including the opportunity for interviewees to make themselves the centre of another's attention and to state a case that is otherwise unheard (Ablon, 1977). Together, these advantages suggest that there are, for most respondents, perceived benefits to compensate for the risks of the qualitative interview (McCracken, 1988: 28).

3:13 Maintaining Control of the Interview

Time is precious in a research interview. Long-winded responses, irrelevant remarks, and becoming sidetracked in the interview will reduce the amount of time available for focusing on the particular issues to be addressed. This means that the interviewer must maintain control of the interview. Control is maintained by the interviewer by (i) knowing what it is that he or she wants to find out, (ii) asking the right questions to get the information needed, and (iii) giving appropriate verbal and non-verbal feedback (Patton, 1990: 130).

Knowing what information is required means having the ability to recognize and distinguish appropriate from inappropriate responses. It is not enough just to ask the right questions. The interviewer must listen carefully to make sure that the responses are providing answers to the questions that are asked. The first responsibility, therefore, in maintaining control of the interview, is knowing what kind of data one is looking for and directing the interview in order to collect that data (Patton, 1990: 131). For this study, control of the interview was maintained relatively easily as the author adhered to the prepared interview guide and focused the respondent on data that was relevant to the questions.

Giving appropriate feedback to the interviewee is essential for pacing an interview and for maintaining control of the interview process. Head nodding, appropriate eye contact, note-taking, 'uh-huhs', and silent probes (remaining quiet when a person stops talking) are all signals to direct the progress of an interview. Equally important, it is sometimes necessary to stop an unfocused respondent from straying off the point. The first step in stopping the long-winded respondent is to cease giving the usual cues mentioned above that encourage talking — by ceasing head nodding, or by interjecting a new question as soon as the respondent pauses for breath (Patton, 1990: 132). On a few occasions, in this study, the author had to provide the cues mentioned above to stop the overtalkative or unfocused interviewee and to ensure that all the topics on the interview guide were covered. All thirty participants in the study were very forthcoming with data and were enthusiastic about taking part in the research.

3:14 Interviewer Bias

According to Jones (1985), an interview is a complicated, shifting, social *process* occurring between two individual humans, which can never be exactly replicated. We cannot get at some 'objective truth' that would exist if only the effects of interpersonal interaction could be removed (1985: 48). Yet the matter is not straightforward. Are we not concerned in some ways with avoiding the bias of imposing our own definitions to the extent that we do not see those of our respondents? The answer has to do with the way in which we understand and use the concept of bias — not as something to be avoided at all costs — but as something to be used, creatively, contingently and self-consciously. We use our 'bias' as human beings in creative and contingent ways in order to develop

particular relationships with particular people, and in order that they can tell us about their worlds and so that we can understand their worlds in turn. In doing this, we use ourselves as research instruments to empathize with other human beings. No other research instrument can do this (Jones, 1985: 48).

Jones (1985) suggests that if we, as researchers, want to obtain good data it would be better for the persons we are interviewing to trust us enough to believe that we will not use the data against them. She also suggests that we must ensure the interviewees that we will not regard their opinions as foolish. Jones further suggests that researchers must be aware that interviewees do not produce a well-rehearsed script that tells very little about what actually concerns and moves them; or that they should not use the opportunity to manipulate us to suit certain personal ends of which we are unaware. Thus, the stress in much of what is said about interviewing is on the need to assure respondents of confidentiality, on using and developing social skills (verbal and non-verbal) to convince others that we want to hear what they have to say, to take it seriously, and that we are actually hearing them (Jones, 1985: 51).

For the purposes of the current study, the author adhered to the interview guide, which was drawn up after a review of the literature. This interview guide helped to reduce interview bias. The author also endeavoured to develop a style that combines an informal conversational approach with the formal interview guide, with a view to reducing possible interview bias to a minimum.

3:15 The Period After the Interview and Transcribing the Interview

The period after the interview is critical to the rigour and validity of qualitative methods. This is a time for guaranteeing the quality of the data. Immediately after tape-recording each interview, a random check must be done on the recording, to verify that the interview was successfully recorded (Patton, 1990: 139). The period after the interview is a critical time of reflection and elaboration: "It is a time of quality control to guarantee that the data obtained will be useful, reliable and valid" (Patton, 1990: 140).

Since the raw data of interviews are quotations, the most desirable kind of data to obtain would be a full transcription of interviews. Although transcribing is time consuming, transcripts can be enormously useful in data analysis, or later, in replications or independent analyses of the data (Patton, 1990: 138). In this study, all interviews were transcribed verbatim immediately or shortly after each interview by the author.

3:16 Organizing Qualitative Data for Analysis

The analysis of qualitative data is a creative process; there are no formulas, as might be the case in statistically driven research. It is a process demanding intellectual rigour and a great deal of hard, thoughtful work (Patton, 1990: 146). Many researchers after collecting qualitative data spend a great deal of time turning it into numbers or otherwise attempting to quantify it. They recognize that numbers have a seductive air and, sometimes, thinking politically of the acceptability of their findings, they gear their data to quantitative statements. Others argue that doing this spoils the richness of the data, often so painstakingly collected, and fails to give the holistic view that is so important in qualitative research (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 105).

According to Piore (1979), the analysis of qualitative data is perhaps the most demanding and least examined aspect of the qualitative research process. The exact manner in which the investigator will travel the path from data to observations, conclusions, and scholarly assertion cannot and should not be Different problems will require different strategies. fully specified. Many solutions will be ad hoc (Piore, 1979: 595). The object of analysis is to determine the categories, relationships, and assumptions that inform the respondent's view of the world in general and the topic in particular. The investigator comes to this undertaking with a sense of what the literature says ought to be there, a sense of how the topic at issue is constituted in the investigator's own experience, and "a glancing sense of what took place in the interview itself" (Piore, 1979: 595). The investigator must be prepared to honour these guidelines, but must also be prepared to ignore these if unanticipated ideas or data are presented. If the full powers of discovery inherent in the qualitative interview are to be fully exploited, the investigator must be prepared

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to glimpse and systematically reconstruct a view of the world that bears no relation to his own view or to the one evident in the literature (McCracken, 1988: 42).

According to Easterby-Smith et al. (1991), there are two basic methods of analysing qualitative data. The first method is known as content analysis, whereby the researcher 'goes by numbers' and 'frequency'. The second method is known as 'grounded theory', whereby the researcher goes by feel and intuition, aiming to produce common or contradictory themes and patterns from the data which can be used as a basis for interpretation. This second approach tends to be more co-ordinated and much less disjointed, and requires researchers to stay close to the data and any observations made have to be placed carefully in context. Classically, the data used in this type of research are kept out 'on the table' and available for scrutiny (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 105).

3:17 Grounded Theory

Glaser and Strauss (1967) perceived an undue emphasis by researchers on verification of theory and not enough on discovery. They developed the grounded theory approach in which researchers would seek to generate theory on the basis of observations made in the course of conducting research (1967: viii). The grounded theory methodology approach begins with qualitative data (e.g., a transcript) and then engages in a "process of sifting and categorizing in an attempt to develop hypotheses grounded on the data" (Beard & Easingwood, Easterby-Smith et al. consider the grounded theory approach 1989: 3). particularly good for dealing with transcripts. This approach recognizes that the large amounts of non-standard data produced by qualitative studies make data analysis problematic (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 108). Jones (1987) comments that grounded theory works because, "rather than forcing data within logico-deductively derived assumptions and categories, research should be used to generate grounded theory, which 'fits' and 'works' because it is derived from the concepts and categories used by social actors themselves to interpret and organize their worlds" (1987: 25).

Glaser and Strauss argue that grounded theory should be developed in such a way as to "facilitate its application in daily situations by sociologists and laymen" (1967: 327). First, it should:

... closely fit the substantive area in which it would be used. Second, it must be readily understandable by laymen concerned with this area. Third, it must be sufficiently general to be applicable to the multitude of diverse daily situations within the substantive area, not to just a specific type of situation. Fourth, it must allow the user partial control over the structure and process of daily situations as they change through time (1967: 237).

A model of data analysis, developed by Easterby-Smith et al. and based on the grounded theory method, was chosen for the analysis of data in this study. The seven main stages of data analysis, according to this model, were used:

1 *Familiarization:* The first step of analysis required re-reading of the interview transcripts. This enabled some first thoughts to emerge and to notice what was of interest. This stage was essentially exploratory, where new questions began to be formed (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 108).

2 *Reflection:* This stage was a process of evaluation and critique as the data were evaluated in the light of the literature review in Chapter 2. Questions that the author asked himself at this stage were: Do the findings support or challenge existing knowledge?; Do they answer previously unanswered questions?; Are they different?; What is different? The stage was distinctive because of the volume and range of hypotheses, explanations or solutions, which were still very much at the stage of instinctive or emotional feelings. These still needed further consideration and to be substantiated, without yet being rigorously tested (cf. Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 109).

3 Conceptualization: According to Easterby-Smith et al. (1991: 109), at this stage there is usually a set of concepts or variables which seem to be important for understanding what information or insights are emerging. However, the researcher will not yet be sure just how reliable or valid these concepts are, or if they really relate in a consistent way to show how the person under investigation views an issue, or if misinterpretation of what has been said arises. At this stage the researcher may perceive more concepts that were previously hidden, and these can be added to the growing list. In the current study, this manifested

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itself when the author revisited the data to search methodically for emerging concepts and highlighted them, where they appeared. As a housekeeping exercise, margin glosses were added and a variety of different coloured pens were used to highlight and categorize the different concepts.

4 *Cataloguing concepts:* Easterby-Smith et al. (1991: 110) suggest that once it is established that the concepts identified do seem to occur in people's explanations, the concepts can then be transferred to cards as a quick reference guide. In this study, as the author established concepts from the interview data, these concepts were recorded on a word-processor, where they were further coded, categorized, expanded and analysed.

5 *Recoding:* At this stage the references to particular concepts are identified, facilitating rapid and accurate review of particular places in the data to further explore the meaning of what was articulated. This procedure was engaged with by the author in order to redefine and recode the concepts more thoroughly. This process, called *laddering*, took place both up and down the databank, resulting in enlarging or collapsing the initial coding (cf. Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 110). Coding is discussed in Section 3:18 below.

6 *Linking:* According to Easterby-Smith et al. (1991: 111), the analytical framework and explanations should have become clear at this stage, with patterns emerging and concepts identified that could fit together. A clearer hypothesis, based on the evidence gathered and organized, should emerge. In this study, this meant linking all the variables, identified as important, into a more holistic theory. This involved linking the empirical data with more general models in the literature review, and required ongoing comparative analysis in the contexts both of the literature and of the evidence collected in practice.

7 *Re-evaluation:* At this stage, Easterby-Smith et al. (1991: 111) observe that, in the light of the comments of others, the researcher may feel that more work is needed in some areas. For example, the analysis may have omitted to take account of some factors or have over-emphasized others. This meant that the author re-evaluated the already highlighted concepts to ensure that relevant data had not been overlooked or omitted.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued that theory about the social world which 'fits and works' is that which is generated inductively from the data. Categories emerge out of the examination of the data by researchers who study it without firm preconceptions, which would prematurely dictate relevances in concepts and hypotheses (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 45). Similarly, Patton (1990) suggests:

The cardinal principle of qualitative analysis is that causal and theoretical statements be clearly emergent from and grounded in field observations. The theory emerges from the data; it is not imposed on the data (1990: 158).

This process of data collection is *controlled* by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal. The initial decisions are not based on a preconceived theoretical framework (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 45).

3:18 The Importance of Coding Data for Analysis

Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasize that another way to convey credibility of the grounded theory approach is to use a codified procedure for analysing data, which allows readers to understand methods used by the analyst to obtain his theory from the data. When no codified procedure is used in qualitative analyses, the transition from data to theory is difficult, if not impossible to grasp. Without this linking process in mind, the reader is likely to feel that the theory is somewhat impressionistic, even if the analyst strongly asserts that he or she has based it on hard study of data gathered during months or years of field or library research (1967: 229).

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) caution that coding should not be seen as a substitute for analysis. The term *coding* encompasses a variety of approaches to and ways of organizing qualitative data (1996: 27). Coding can be considered as a way of relating data to ideas about those data. Because codes are used as links between data locations and the subsequent concepts or ideas, those codes are thus heuristic devices. Coding reflects our analytic ideas, but one should not confuse coding itself with the analytic work of developing conceptual schemes (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996: 27). Similarly, Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that coding constitutes the 'stuff of analysis', allowing a person to "differentiate and combine the data you have retrieved and the reflections you make about

this information" (1994: 56). They argue that coding is a process that enables the researcher to identify meaningful data and to set the stage for interpreting and drawing conclusions. They describe codes as:

... tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes usually are attached to 'chunks' of varying size — words, phrases, sentences or whole paragraphs, connected or unconnected to a specific setting. They can take the form of a straightforward category label or a more complex one (e.g. metaphor) (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 56).

They also suggest how they see codes being used to retrieve and organize data:

The organizing part will entail some system for categorizing the various chunks, so the researcher can quickly find, pull out and cluster the segments relating to a particular research question, hypothesis, construct or theme (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 57).

Lee and Fielding (1996) regarded coding as procedures for the management of data, while they see grounded theory itself as a data management strategy.

In summary, the main goal of coding is to facilitate the retrieval of data segments categorized under the same codes. Coding in the current study was essentially indexing the interview transcripts, reducing the data to taxonomic classes and categories, and in some cases expanding and teasing out the data in order to formulate new questions and levels of interpretation. Segmenting and coding the data enabled the author to think about the data, to break the data apart in analytically relevant ways in order to further scrutinize the data. This coding procedure assisted the author to think creatively when using the data and generated theories and frameworks.

In this study, an example of the coding process was used, for example, when the issue of difficulties experienced by leaders emerged from the data. Each example of a leadership difficulty was marked by a rubric and this served to illustrate the coding process for all of the relevant references which were articulated in the varied replies through the interview data, allowing the easy collating of these samples into categories for analysis. Clearly, such coding of the data effectively reduced the subsequent task of data reduction. Segmenting and coding the data allowed the author to characterize what each stretch of the interview was about in terms of general thematic content. Wide or generic categories, such as 'Communications' facilitated the retrieval of different segments of data that dealt, for example, with networking, formal meetings, use of news media, storytelling, and other segments. The nature of qualitative interview data meant that data relating to one particular topic were not found neatly bundled together at exactly the same spot in each interview, therefore, sifting through vast amounts of data to find preliminary codes was a slow process. These codes, however, provided a useful introduction for more detailed analysis later.

Initially using broader codes or categories allowed a number of sub-categories to be generated and utilized when segmenting the data. Some of the more detailed codes came from the respondents' own words, for example, codes like 'humour' or 'storytelling'. These more detailed sub-categories overlapped with one another and the same sub-category was applied several times in a single interview, and the same segment had more than one code attached to it, e.g., 'negative mentoring' had relevance both for the section on mentoring and for the section on difficulties for leadership. According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996), these overlapping sub-categories are characteristic of code maps of qualitative data. They note that in conversational talk, when we segment the data by attaching codes, topics do run into one another and there may be multiple issues to concern ourselves with simultaneously (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; 37).

When the author had decided which aspects of the data to tag with codes, a decision on what levels of generality or detail to address was required. Weaver and Atkinson (1994) suggest including codes of different degrees of generality so that the data retrieval could be undertaken at different levels (1994: 32). The author followed this suggestion and used codes of varying degrees of generality to provide links between particular segments of data and the categories that were used in order to conceptualize those segments.

Strauss (1987) suggests that the process of coding is about asking oneself questions regarding the data, and those questions help to develop lines of speculation and hypothesis formation. He suggests that in the course of coding, a researcher takes a topic or, according to Strauss, a 'phenomenon' and attempts to identify its dimensions, its consequences, and its relationships with other phenomena. For example, it can be seen that the code 'teaching' in the current study was linked to other phenomena, such as mentoring, role modelling, and nurturing new leaders — as were all other codes that emerged from the interview transcripts. The process used for linking the data, after cataloguing, coding, and recoding the interview transcripts in this study, was part of the seven stages of the grounded theory method outlined above.

3:19 Analysis of Data for this Study

As indicated earlier, the questions developed in the literature review chapter were used to design the interview guide. This guide provided the basis for the discussion of the topics articulated in Chapter 4. Direct quotations from the interviews are presented in Chapter 4. Patton (1990) affirmed that direct quotations are a basic source of raw data in qualitative evaluation. Patton also noted that direct quotations can help to reveal the respondents' levels of emotion, the way in which they have organized their worlds, their thoughts about what is happening, their experiences, and their basic perceptions (1990: 11).

According to Miles, the analysis of qualitative data is perhaps the most demanding and least examined aspect of the qualitative research process (1979: 595). McCracken (1988) observed that the exact manner in which the investigator travels the path from data to observations, conclusions, and scholarly assertion couldn't be fully specified (McCracken, 1988: 41). As outlined above, the analysis of data for this particular research study was based on the grounded theory approach, and on the model of data analysis developed by Easterby-Smith et al. This approach recognizes that the large amounts of non-standard data produced by qualitative studies make data analysis problematic (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991: 108). The challenge is to make sense of massive amounts of data, to reduce the volume of information, to identify significant patterns, and then to construct a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal (Patton, 1990: 371). The problem is that "we have few agreed-on canons for gualitative data analysis, in the sense of shared ground rules for drawing conclusions and verifying their sturdiness" (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 16). As the existing literature contributed to the initial design of this study, the author found it appropriate to revisit the relevant literatures to help focus the analysis and interpretation of data and to examine what was

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learned from the collected data, in order to make a contribution to the literature on leadership in public libraries

The next step was cross-case analysis, which meant grouping together answers from different people to common questions and analysing different perspectives on central issues. As an interview guide approach was used, answers from different respondents were grouped by topics from the guide. The interview guide, therefore, provided a descriptive analytical framework for analysis. Patton (1990) who suggested that there is no typically precise point at which data collection ends and analysis begins. In the course of gathering data, ideas about possible analysis occur; those ideas constitute the beginning of analysis and they are part of the record of field notes (Patton, 1990: 378). When data collection had formally ended, analysis of the data began by organizing analytic interpretations and insights that emerged during data collection. This analysis coincided with organizing the data into topics. Patton (1990) observed that this process of labelling the various kinds of data and establishing a data index is a first step in content analysis — while the content of the data is being classified. Patton further suggested that "a classification system is critical; without classification there is chaos. Simplifying the complexity of reality into some manageable classification scheme is the first step of analysis" (Patton, 1990: 382). In this study, various categories emerged from the classification scheme, enabling coding of the data. These codes were then used to retrieve and organize data and enable the author to locate segments relating to a particular research question. The cataloguing and coding procedures detailed in section 3:19 were particularly useful for obtaining theory from the data. From the data analysis in this study, nine main themes emerged and the findings relating to these themes are presented and analysed in detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively.

In summary, the use of interviews was particularly advantageous in the context of the complex research study, as interviews provide: depth; information from non-verbal behaviour; opportunity to probe; greater sensitivity to misunderstandings; and, more spontaneity in the answers (McCracken, 1988: 65). As a research technique, however, interviewing consumes large amounts of gross and net time — arranging appointments, travelling to and from each interview, actual interview time, transcribing, analysing, and collating overall findings (Miller, 1991: 161). As explicated in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the primary research methodology in this study availed of the many strengths of interviewing, including the use of immediate follow-up questions, which yielded rich sources of data on people's experiences, opinions, aspirations and feelings (cf. May, 1993: 91).

3:20 Concluding Comments

Hernon & Schwartz (1993) assert, "It is important to address the 'so what' question. In so doing, the investigator shows the practical and applied implications and applications of the research. In effect, this serves to indicate that the study is nontrivial and contributes to the literature, knowledge, and possibly the management of systems and organizations" (1993: 115-6). They add that more research should utilize longitudinal data collection, among other methods, to help construct a fuller picture of phenomena under investigation.

The current study is an exploratory study. Hernon & Schwartz suggest that an exploratory study provides further potential areas for exploration. They also affirm that research is at the core of developing a profession or discipline and that:

Such a profession or discipline matures and gains stature through its theory and research, as well as through those who advance its theory and research. That research is unending, cumulative, and enriched from contributions in other disciplines and professions. Those other disciplines and professions also stand to benefit from the research conducted within our field (Hernon & Schwartz, 1993: 116).

These arguments reflect Blados (1992), who suggests, "An acquired body of research is vital to the development of theory and the solution of professional problems; . . . for establishing and developing theories upon which to base practice; and for contributing paradigms, models, and radically new conceptualizations of library and information science phenomena (1992: 1). The current study aims towards such a contribution.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS

There is no template; leadership is broad enough to put your own stamp on it. (Excerpt from interview data)

4:0 Introduction

The main findings from the interviews are presented thematically in this chapter. The thirty interviewees, all public librarians, comprise fifteen Irish city/county librarians, ten British librarians, and five American librarians. While the fifteen Irish librarians occupy the most senior post in their library service, the British and American interviewees occupy either the equivalent of head or deputy head (e.g., President, Director, or Executive Director) in their respective organizations. To respect the confidentiality of individual authorship, views expressed by the leaders interviewed for this study are not identified by name or institution. Instead, extracts from the interviews indicate the nationality of the interviewees, using the two-letter codes: IR, GB, or US, as appropriate. For data analysis, each interviewee was assigned an individual code. The fifteen Irish interviewees are distinguished from each other by codes IR:01 to IR:15, the ten British interviewees are coded GB:01 to GB:10, and the five American interviewees are identified by the codes US:01 to US:05. Full transcripts of the thirty interviews are available from the author.

This empirical study attempts to gather and assess current views on leadership in public librarianship from leaders practising in the field. These findings contribute to filling a gap in an under-researched area, especially outside the United States. While empirical studies on organizational leadership, particularly in the private sector, are increasing in recent years, the current study addresses the dearth (discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1:1.1) of literature on leadership in the public library sector.

4:0.1 Categorization of Main Findings

As described in Chapter 3, Section 3:4, thirty structured questions, based on a review of the relevant research literature, were asked of each of the thirty participating leaders. For analysing the responses, a grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991) approach to categorizing the data was used. From this, nine taxonomic categories of broadly related topics emerged (i) from the responses to the subject matter of the questions, and (ii) from recurrent issues, though not specifically enquired into, which were proffered by the interviewees. Table 4.1 outlines the nine categories used in the current study to discuss the findings. These broad categories were further divided into sub-themes to reflect the findings that emerged.

4:1	4:1.1	Leadership Fundamentals
Overview on Leadership and Leader-Follower Relationships	4:1.2	Leadership and Management
	4:1.3	Leadership and Followership
	4:1.4	Team Leadership: Sharing Authority with Followers
4:2	4:2.1	The Leader as Determinant of Organizational Success
Central Role of the Leader	4:2.1.1	The Leader as Participant in Organizational Success
	4:2.2	The Leader as Determinant of Organizational Culture
	4:2.2.1	The Leader as Participant in Organizational Culture
4:3 Qualities or Traits of Leaders	4:3.1	Vision, the Primary Quality of a Public Library Leader
	4:3.2	Other, Desired Qualities of the Public Library Leader
	4:3.3	Negative Traits/Practices of a Bad Public Library Leader
4:4	4:4.1	How Participants Chose a Career in Librarianship
Career Narratives of Interviewed	4:4.2	Mentoring Received by Participating Library Leaders
	4:4.2.1	The Counter Influence of Negative Mentors on Participants
Library Leaders	4:4.3	Participants' Personal Styles of Leadership
	4:4.4	Significant Career Contributions of Participating Leaders
	4:4.5	Why Participants Continue in Library Careers

Table 4.1 Categorizations of data findings

(Table continued overleaf)

4:5	4:5.1	Organizational Communication: An Overview
Leadership and Communication	4:5.1.1	Leader and Communication with Front-line Staff
	4:5.2	Leaders and Formal Meetings with Staff
	4:5.3	Use of News Media by Leaders
	4:5.3.1	Leaders' Views on Staff Dealing with News Media
	4:5.4	Leaders and Networking
	4:5.5	Leadership and Politics
	4:5.6	Socializing with Internal Colleagues
	4:5.6.1	Leaders Socializing and Internal Hierarchy
	4:5.7	Risk of Leader Isolation and the Curtailing of Feedback
	4:5.8	Information Technology and Leadership
	4:5.9	Storytelling as Part of Leadership Communication
	4:5.10	Figurehead and Spokesperson Roles in Leadership
4:6	4:6.1	The Leader as Teacher/Mentor
The Leader's Role as Teacher, Role Model, and Nurturer of New Leaders	4:6.2	The Leader as Role Model
	4:6.2.1	Role Modelling Modifying Leader's Own Behaviour
	4:6.3	Nurturing New Leaders
	4:6.3	Nurturing New Leaders Trust
Leaders 4:7 People-centred		
Leaders 4:7	4:7.1	Trust
Leaders 4:7 People-centred	4:7.1 4:7.2	Trust Integrity and Leadership
Leaders 4:7 People-centred	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges
Leaders 4:7 People-centred	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3 4:7.4	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff
Leaders 4:7 People-centred Leadership 4:8 Difficulties	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3 4:7.4 4:7.5	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff Humour & Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes
Leaders 4:7 People-centred Leadership 4:8 Difficulties Associated with	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3 4:7.4 4:7.5 4:8.1	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff Humour & Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes Paucity of Leadership in Many Libraries
Leaders 4:7 People-centred Leadership 4:8 Difficulties	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3 4:7.4 4:7.5 4:8.1 4:8.2	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff Humour & Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes Paucity of Leadership in Many Libraries Difficulties for Library Leaders
Leaders 4:7 People-centred Leadership 4:8 Difficulties Associated with	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3 4:7.4 4:7.5 4:8.1 4:8.2 4:8.3	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff Humour & Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes Paucity of Leadership in Many Libraries Difficulties for Library Leaders Gender and Leaders: Difficulties and Related Issues
Leaders 4:7 People-centred Leadership 4:8 Difficulties Associated with Leading 4:9 Leaders'	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3 4:7.4 4:7.5 4:8.1 4:8.2 4:8.3 4:8.3.1	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff Humour & Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes Paucity of Leadership in Many Libraries Difficulties for Library Leaders Gender and Leaders: Difficulties and Related Issues Gender-based Difficulties for Leader—Follower Relationships
Leaders 4:7 People-centred Leadership 4:8 Difficulties Associated with Leading 4:9	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3 4:7.4 4:7.5 4:8.1 4:8.2 4:8.3 4:8.3.1 4:9.1	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff Humour & Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes Paucity of Leadership in Many Libraries Difficulties for Library Leaders Gender and Leaders: Difficulties and Related Issues Gender-based Difficulties for Leader—Follower Relationships Library Leaders' Priorities for Public Library Services
Leaders 4:7 People-centred Leadership 4:8 Difficulties Associated with Leading 4:9 Leaders' Perspectives on Current and Future Library	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3 4:7.4 4:7.5 4:8.1 4:8.2 4:8.3 4:8.3.1 4:9.1 4:9.2	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff Humour & Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes Paucity of Leadership in Many Libraries Difficulties for Library Leaders Gender and Leaders: Difficulties and Related Issues Gender-based Difficulties for Leader—Follower Relationships Library Leaders' Priorities for Public Library Services Social/Community Role of Library Leaders
Leaders 4:7 People-centred Leadership 4:8 Difficulties Associated with Leading 4:9 Leaders' Perspectives on Current and	4:7.1 4:7.2 4:7.3 4:7.4 4:7.5 4:8.1 4:8.2 4:8.3 4:8.3.1 4:9.1 4:9.2 4:9.3	Trust Integrity and Leadership Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff Humour & Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes Paucity of Leadership in Many Libraries Difficulties for Library Leaders Gender and Leaders: Difficulties and Related Issues Gender-based Difficulties for Leader—Follower Relationships Library Leaders' Priorities for Public Library Services Social/Community Role of Library Leaders Constraints on Service

4:1 Overview on Leadership, and Leader–Follower Relationships

The leaders expressed quite a variety of views on the theory of organizational leadership. These theoretical views are discussed under the following headings:

- Leadership fundamentals
- Leadership and management
- Followers/followership as an essential element of leadership
- Team leadership and the devolution of powers from leaders.

4:1.1 Leadership Fundamentals

In the extant research literature, there are some widely accepted views on leadership, such as: leadership is about influencing, or, followership is a necessary corollary of leadership. There is, however, no central definition that suits the variety of approaches to and practices of leadership (Bleedorn, 1988; Stogdill, 1974; Riggs, 1998). Variety of views on the concept of leadership was also expressed by the interviewees, as illustrated by the following sample excerpts:

There are no absolutes in management or leadership (Interviewee GB:03).

Leadership is a skill and a talent (Interviewee GB:09).

Leading is bringing people with you (Interviewee IR:13).

Leadership is motivation (Interviewee IR:03).

A good leader is a good motivator. The most important thing in leadership is to lead by example. Where a leader demonstrates positive traits, staff can be brought on board (Interviewee IR:07).

Leadership is essentially leading the way by personal example, rather than leading by theory or saying this is the way we are going to do things. Leadership is example (Interviewee IR:01). Leadership is more important than dollars. Leadership is more important than facilities. Leadership is even more important than staff training (Interviewee US:02).

Leadership means giving up a part of yourself because other people are depending on you giving direction and leadership within the organization (Interviewee IR:14).

Leadership is about belief in what you are doing, believing in your staff capabilities, not being afraid to take chances, and being prepared to go against the grain if necessary (Interviewee IR:02).

One cannot be a successful leader without implementing a sustainable plan. Leadership governed by strategic planning determines organizational success. Without strategic and sustainable planning, leadership is diluted (Interviewee IR:03).

Things have changed in the last few years. The older style of leadership, like leading from the front all of the time, does not suit the modern world. You have to change with the times... Leadership should be unobtrusive, contrary to the impression created by high-profile leaders (Interviewee IR:08).

Subsequent sections in this chapter will draw on new empirical data from the current study to add to the exploration of organizational leadership, the broader context of this study.

4:1.2 Leadership and Management

Only eight (27%) of the thirty interviewed librarians referred to leadership when discussing the topic of management. One deputy librarian, for example, while being interviewed, frequently enthused about the provision of good fiction but did not engage with the topic of leadership even when asked directly about it on a number of occasions:

I can't say that I actually thought of a leader in terms of the determinant of organizational success, but I suppose it does (Interviewee GB:06).

Six of the eight who compared leadership to management asserted, however, that both practices are distinct, for example:

There is a difference between leadership and management. Leadership is generally about leading people and leading the overall service. Management is concerned with tasks (Interviewee IR:04).

Leadership and management are different. Leadership is far more important than management. For a successful organization, one has to do more than manage; one has to lead, one has to be out front and one has got to bring people with them. Even if some are poor managers they can still make a success if they are good leaders. . . . If one is going to be a leader, one has to believe in things; one can 'manage' without believing in things. One can manage anything. A leader must have the onward focus: a 'Let's do it!' approach. Library leaders are in the field of battle and, like Caesar or Napoleon, they are leaders and they have to bring the people with them. Management is a different job completely. One has got to be a leader to run a library service. One has got to have ideas to bring people with them and to believe in what they do; therefore it is also the leader's job to engender enthusiasm. . . . Motivating skills are very important: one has got to bring staff with them and that is different from management (Interviewee IR:13).

I see management as a day-to-day managing of task-related issues and I see leadership in terms of vision and style and an opportunity for your personality to come across through your style of management and influence. Obviously, leadership and management are closely linked (Interviewee IR:11).

Someone who is appointed a leader can get by with being a good manager and most people who are just managers are sometimes described as leaders by virtue of their positions, but they are not true leaders, they are managers. Sometimes leaders are not particularly good managers as they are too much on the vision side. Some people can combine both (Interviewee US:03).

One Irish leader seemed to be ambivalent about the distinction. The next two quotations are from the same leader and appear to contradict each other:

Anyone can manage, insofar as if you put a structure in place and say here are the rules and this is how we abide by them, whereas leadership is about taking a stand and choosing an approach and moving on and moving forward. Innovation is a key part of leadership. Leadership is not management (Interviewee IR:01).

The same librarian then implied a contradiction to what he already said, arguing that leadership cannot prevail without including aspects of management, such as concern about detail:

On the other hand, however, most people who are leaders also have to be managers — because if you are not a manager things will fall apart very quickly. The worst practice of a public library leader is the lack of attention to detail (Interviewee IR:01).

Finally, the next two extracts illustrate views that do not distinguish leadership from management but rather equate leadership with an aspect of managing staff:

If one has good leadership qualities, it greatly improves one's good management qualities (Interviewee IR:09).

The second of these two interviewees saw leadership as a key element of management:

Leadership is one of the core areas of effective management and the separation of management from leadership is arbitrary (Interviewee GB:09).

Overall, the empirical findings indicated an apparent lack of focus on leadership as a topic for twenty-two (73%) of the respondents, who did not articulate a distinction between leadership and management.

4:1.3 Leadership and Followership

Bennis (2000) suggests that "leaders are made great by their followers, and followers are made great by their leaders" (2000: 111). O'Toole (1995) asserts: "The signs of leadership are among the followers", insofar as they are reaching their potential, are learning, are achieving desired results, are serving, are managing change and managing conflict (1995: 44). Arguments underlining what are effectively symbiotic relationships between library leaders and their followers are at the core of the views expressed by the interviewees of the current study:

People lead only because other people are willing to be led (Interviewee GB:09).

A good leader is only as good as the support staff who recognize his or her leadership. I have a terrific staff and that helps a lot with the success of my leadership, but, the drive has to come from the leader (Interviewee US:01).

Leadership is a very broad responsibility. Successful leadership is partly the achievements of the organization generally, because people just saying, 'I am your leader', does not motivate others to action. People down the line do not change behaviour because you tell them to; they change because they want to. Followers, however, need the support of a leader to engage their enthusiasm. You do not achieve a service by telling people to do things; you achieve it by getting people to want to do it (Interviewee GB:09).

Staff themselves certainly are the foundation of public library service, and a professional staff member of any significance will also exhibit or demonstrate leadership (Interviewee US:02).

Partnership with staff is important. We must be very aware that it is staff who deliver the service and that you need to have them on board and that you are a partnership. Followers must be involved and they must be aware of why they are doing certain things, and we must communicate to followers why there are certain approaches to priorities (Interviewee IR:02).

Leaders will be good leaders if they don't care who else gets the credit. If good leaders are not concerned about gathering personal plaudits they should excel in leadership (Interviewee US:02).

One county librarian, who suggested that followers are influenced by how they interpret their leader's commitment, emphasized the importance of front-line staff:

The service is front-line staff. When people walk into a service, the most important person they meet can be the caretaker, the floorwalker, or the library assistant on the front desk. It is important to realize that these are the people who deliver the service and thus the bread and butter of the service (Interviewee IR:01).

Another librarian pithily expressed the same emphasis on front-line staff:

Our front-line people are our service (Interviewee IR:15).

Finally, another librarian commented that followers too must share in the burden of responsibilities for service and, along with the leader, followers must work for positive relationships with other employees at all levels:

As well as the leader, followers too have a responsibility to the organization. It is not only the leader's relationship with staff that matters: all staff must also cultivate positive working relationships with colleagues at all levels. Followers also need to use their initiative and understand that leaders too can have a bad day (Interviewee GB:09).

This interviewee, however, believed that the propensity of followers to assume and to act on such responsibilities depends largely on the ongoing respect the leader shows for his or her followers. Overall, the respondents repeatedly affirmed followers as an essential element of their leadership.

4:1.4 Team Leadership: Sharing Authority with Followers

During the replies to different questions in the interview guide, the library leaders in this study frequently referred to sharing their power with other experienced colleagues in a team-based approach:

I don't think I get paid for my opinions. I get paid to ensure that I get the maximum contribution from the team, so it is not just I who is providing the library service. I have a team to do that and the service is enhanced because I get them to contribute to the ongoing delivery of service (Interviewee GB:03).

Leadership is more than just one person at the top. Leadership is layered throughout the organization, and a leader of a section can determine the success of that section (Interviewee IR:05).

Organizational culture is not so much determined by the leader as much as by the leadership. I have a very strong emphasis on the team approach to management of the service, and we also have a management team. Everybody has his or her own roles and ultimately you can say that I am the leader of the organization in that respect, but unless leadership applies in other areas of the organization it is not going to work, so I would say leadership is important insofar as the leader has to set the tone and set the style, but it is also important that the leader ensures effective leadership throughout the organization. So, an open approach to leadership must be encouraged at all levels. . . . I take a team-based approach to leadership. It is about devolving authority to the appropriate level and, with that, authority becomes an understanding for your own actions. An autocratic approach does not work in libraries nor in professionally based organizations. If there is a devolved approach it requires people to actively manage and apply leadership to their own teams as well (Interviewee GB:09).

The leader cannot be everything. It is very important that there are different people in the organization that are very good at certain things. It does not mean the leader is not equally good, but sometimes it can be easier for people to come to somebody other than the number one....

A leader must make sure to have everything planned out in a reasonable way and discussed with colleagues because a team is essential for continuity in service provision. That is most important (Interviewee IR:03).

I believe in teamwork and I believe that the staff is the best resource an organization can have (Interviewee IR:07).

The leader and the leader's team are important. If a good leader does not have the team working with him or her, the leadership will fail. Both leader and team complement each other. A good team without a good leader will not succeed. A good leader is essential for any successful organization. Good leadership depends on motivation too and, of course, if you are a good leader you are a good motivator as well. It is a two-pronged operation. A good leader has to work the organization well but needs to have good staff as well (Interviewee IR:09).

I believe that team leadership is what determines organizational success. The single leader attempting to manage people has a more difficult job (Interviewee IR:10).

Sometimes the team approach can be overlooked, however, due to situational circumstances:

I do admit that, due to time pressure, sometimes it is easy to overlook the inclusion of input from departmental heads when drawing up policy. The time has long passed when you can draft the policy and circulate it as the policy for everyone else to implement. That will not work (Interviewee IR:10).

The final quotation does not refer to formal teams, but suggests that, to be effective, a collegial approach has to be founded on genuine devolution of power, particularly to professional library staff:

Collegiality is the most important aspect of organizational culture, for everyone to believe that all the professionally qualified people in the organization have a say in how the organization develops and that their contributions are respected and taken on board. Whether we like it or not, there is a two-tier structure in libraries between professionally qualified people and the rest, but if you make it a necessity that people in positions of authority within the library have to have a professional qualification, they in turn have to be respected for their professionalism and they have to have a say in the running of the organization (Interviewee IR:14).

The leaders' views on involving followers in shared management were espoused by all thirty participants.

4:2 Central Role of the Leader

In this section, the views of the interviewees largely underpin the influence and power of leaders in their organizations. The data findings are examined under the following subheadings:

- The leader as determinant of organizational success
- The leader as participant in organizational success
- The leader as determinant of organizational culture
- The leader as participant in organizational culture

4:2.1 The Leader as Determinant of Organizational Success

Tichy and Cohen (1997) suggest, "Leadership takes precedence over all other factors in determining organizational success" (1997: 6). The opening question of the research instrument in this study asked the thirty library leaders if they agreed with Tichy and Cohen's proposition. Twenty (67%) respondents reported that they agree with the view, some clarifying that they see leadership as shared activity rather than the efforts of only one person. The remaining ten (33%) respondents, who did not agree that leadership was the lynchpin for success, were divided between: five respondents who agreed that leadership was an important element in organizational success, and five who did not believe that leadership takes precedence over other organizational drivers of

success. The following group of replies illustrates half of the twenty positive responses to Tichy and Cohen's proposition.

I agree one hundred per cent that leadership takes precedence over all other factors in determining organizational success (Interviewee US:04).

I agree that leadership takes precedence, but there are different levels of leadership in any one organization (Interviewee IR:05).

Leadership is the key to organizational success, whether it comes from the very top or from departmental heads. Leadership is vital. I see leadership as the key to a successful library service — even if the success of the overall library service also depends on support from the local authority and on the approach of library staff to their work, particularly the approach of departmental heads who in turn influence junior staff (Interviewee IR:06).

I agree that leadership takes precedence in determining organizational success. Without leadership an organization would be without direction, without goals and without proper monitoring (Interviewee IR:08).

We do need our leaders; they are the driving force (Interviewee US:05).

Leadership is the key to driving a service forward (Interviewee GB:04).

I completely agree that leadership takes precedence in determining organizational success (Interviewee IR:13).

Organizational output is a product of the effectiveness of leadership and the input of individuals. Leadership is very important. Leadership is much more concerned with person management than with a corporate plan or strategic plan for the future, and that implies that leadership is harder to implement. A leadership style is indirectly going to reflect staff outlook. Where there is a leader whom staff are not willing to work with, poor organizational output results from reduced staff application to work. ... The leader holds the key to organizational service improvement (Interviewee IR:12). Without leadership, organizational success would be very difficult to achieve (Interviewee IR:15).

It is mainly the leader who determines organizational success. The leader and leadership style are central to organizational development (Interviewee IR:11).

The following are representative of the five who do *not* believe that the leader is the primary determinant of leadership.

No, I don't believe that the leader determines organizational success. I believe in the organizational theory that organizations are designed to accomplish what they accomplish; so, dysfunctional organizations are designed to be dysfunctional, organizations that move slowly generally are designed to go slow, organizations that are progressive and aggressive generally have a structure that permits them to be like that. Leadership is one component of organizational structure. What determines organizational success is a combination of the application of good judgement to adequate resources and staffing with an array of services and products that effectively meet a public need and demand. Of course, if you have, on one extreme, enormously enlightened and effective leadership, it can overwhelm everything else; whereas, on the other extreme, enormous incompetence and lethargy can drag any organization down. I believe in participatory leadership. I dismiss the older theories of leadership that say the leader alone sets the vision and tone, or marshals the resources and makes it happen; that is the old style and that was the General Electric / Jack Welch style. The most successful organizations are organizations where there is continuous interaction between the leadership and the people who actually effect the success of an organization. In those organizations, the vision is a vision that is created by a chief executive knowing what the scales and capacity of the organization are, articulating a vision based on some interaction, discussion, and some participation, and then marshalling some resources along with the whole organization to make those things happen, and to give reward based on the success of the planning efforts of the team. The leader is a big cog and can do things that can permit an organization to move, much more like the director of an orchestra (Interviewee US:03).

No, I would not agree that leadership takes precedence over all other factors for organizational success. Organizational success depends on a range of factors, and leadership would obviously be one of those factors. However, other determinants would include staff and their ability to deliver a quality service to the public, their enthusiasm, and how well motivated they are in the job and some of the motivation comes from themselves. Staff have to be motivated themselves in order to do a good job. Organizational success would also depend on the level of staff training and their personalities dealing with the public and how they innately provide customer service (Interviewee IR:04).

I don't think I agree in the primacy of leadership for organizational success. It doesn't matter how good a leader you are, if you have not got a structure in place and if you haven't got the right information. It is not just about being charismatic (Interviewee GB:01).

In summary, most (two-thirds) of the respondents agree that leaders do determine organizational success. While five of the remainder do not agree with the view, another five believe that they only contribute to organizational success. This view of the latter five will be discussed in the following subsection.

4:2.1.1 The Leader as Participant in Organizational Success

The following views do not concur with Tichy and Cohen's claim in the previous subsection, insofar as the respondent librarians assert that the leader, rather than determining success, plays a *contributory* role along with colleagues for organizational success.

Leadership is a very important issue, but it is one of the many issues, rather than being the main issue, contributing to organizational success (Interviewee GB:02).

Leadership is very important, but whether it takes precedence over all other factors or not I am not sure, because there are so many other factors. With all things being equal, leadership would take precedence. However, other factors are also important, like availability of resources and whether or not there is going to be an embargo on jobs in the public service. You could have a great leader and motivated staff but if the money supply is cut off and staff are not being replaced it is a headache not easily remedied by leadership (Interviewee IR:14).

Leadership is one of the factors but not the most important one (Interviewee GB:05).

What happens in local government is not necessarily dictated by leadership because what happens at the moment is dictated by funding of projects, particularly from central government. You can look at leadership and all the strategic processes involved with it but strategy is thrown out the window if there is an unexpected offer of extra government money and we have to go for it (Interviewee GB:03).

Good teamwork makes a successful organization. The leader is only part of the team (Interviewee IR:07).

In summary, one sixth of the respondents believe that leadership is only one element among others, such as adequate resources, in the creation of a successful library service.

While twenty interviewees expressed that organizational *success* was mostly determined by the leader, approximately the same number, agreed that organizational *culture* was also determined primarily by the leader. This will be examined in the following section.

4:2.2 The Leader as Determinant of Organizational *Culture*

Nineteen (63%) of the thirty interviewees suggested that it is the leader who determined the prevailing culture of an organization. When the findings are analysed by nationality of the respondents, 73% of the Irish interviewees

believed that they have a large influence on organizational culture. This may reflect a feeling of some independence from bureaucratic control of their respective parent body. Strong bureaucratic control appeared to prevail in British libraries, where this figure was only 60%. When examining the responses of the American interviewees, a very democratic approach within their libraries was articulated, resulting in more library staff apparently contributing to determining the culture, so that only 40% of American librarians suggested that it is they, rather than their staff, who determine the culture of the organization.

The following quotation extracts illustrate the views of those who believe that it is the library leader who largely determines organizational culture. For further examination of those interviewees who said they were *not* the chief determinant of organizational culture, see the next subsection, 4:2.2.1. The following replies are presented in three national groups.

Sample responses from the United States:

As I came up through the ranks, the changing focus of the library was always determined by whoever was leading. Staff move according to the person beating the leadership drum (Interviewee US:01).

In this library the culture is determined by the leader, absolutely yes. I believe I have changed the culture of the organizational structure of our library services. We have gone from a structure where many groups acted independently of each other, and not necessarily even for the purpose or the good of the community, but for the purpose or good of an individual group or person, to where we are now a collective community organization that is committed to providing quality service to all ages, all realms of the community. That is much different from what our library system has been in the past. In short, our county library system in the past was noted only for children's service. Hopefully, our library system in the future will be noted as a community organization committed to a wide range of services to meet all the needs of community members, not just a subset (Interviewee US:02). Sample responses from Britain:

The leadership rather than necessarily a single leader determines organizational culture. People in charge of each individual library, and even people in charge of each shift, also determine the culture. For example, I was a library assistant many years ago where the librarian in charge was hostile to the public and the prevailing atmosphere was like warfare; whereas six years later when I went back to that library the only things that had changed was that I was up the management scale and there was another branch librarian in charge of the same staff, the atmosphere was one of total co-operation with the public. That is a stark example of culture being determined from the top down (Interviewee GB:06).

Leadership can strongly influence organizational culture (Interviewee GB:03).

The leader has a big influence on the culture of a library service, but it takes time to filter down. Library staff realize that they are in a hierarchical organization, and the person at the top and the team leaders do influence staff attitudes and practices (Interviewee GB:04).

Yes. The library culture has to be determined by the leader. It may not be a single leader. It may be a team group, but it has to be a fairly small group of people — and it has to be an agreed organizational culture to take forward (Interviewee GB:05).

Organizational culture comes from the top (Interviewee GB:07).

There are other issues, like corporate culture, planning processes of the authority, and regulations, which influence the culture, but, yes, it is the leader who primarily determines organizational culture. This is true even where a leader has a low profile, for example, previously I had a boss who sat in his office and was rarely seen but who still managed to determine the culture of that organization (Interviewee GB:08).

Sample responses from Ireland:

Yes, without a doubt, it is the leader who determines the culture (Interviewee IR:02).

The leader's commitment and interest definitely influences how people work. However, if a leader has a forceful trait and a forceful approach, it is inevitable that the methodologies a leader puts in place are going to excessively influence the service. I am trying to change that, as it is very difficult for my staff to exercise initiative and innovation if I am forceful (Interviewee IR:01).

The culture has to be stage-managed by the leader. If the leader is leading, it is very important that everybody in the organization has a good understanding of what the organization is about, what it is trying to do and, of course, why the organization exists. For example, if I am talking to a member of staff or asking them to do something, they have to understand why I am making a particular request. They should understand what I am asking them because they should know the objective because I, as leader, should already have explained to them the direction in which we are going and that this particular instruction fits in with our shared understanding. It is not just senior management or the chief librarian who wants to get something done; the person being asked must understand why they are being asked. In other words, the leader must make the culture explicit, so that others can and will follow (Interviewee IR:13).

The leader largely determines the organizational culture. It is the leader who sets the cultural tone within the library organization. At the same time, the culture is also influenced by the broader ethos and traditions of public librarianship in general (Interviewee IR:15).

While one might not think it right to view oneself as leader or as indispensable, I am certain that the leader is a huge factor in determining the day-to-day and ongoing culture of a library service. There are other factors which influence how an organization operates, but it is the leader who underpins the particular culture of a library while he or she is in charge (Interviewee IR:08).

I certainly agree that a leader determines the dominant culture of an organization. Overall, I would agree that it is. A leader inculcates a certain ethos into an organization, which should permeate through all staff. Within that culture, I endeavour to bring out the best in staff and to act as a catalyst for their collective reservoir of talent (Interviewee IR:09).

The varying outlooks of different leaders largely determine the cultural emphases of their respective libraries. The outlook and values of a leader permeate procedural matters, which, in turn, influence organizational culture. For good or bad, amongst differing leaders there are many different influences and emphases on different issues. Some library leaders will focus more on local studies, some on outreach activities, while others will prioritize service to schools or to children, for example (Interviewee IR:12).

I strongly agree that it is the leader who has the greatest influence on the culture of any library. The leader is even more effective at directing the library culture when he or she is very visible and actively in contact with all staff in the service. A leader may have less influence on the day-to-day culture of small branches, particularly as it may be impracticable to visit them very often. In a library headquarters, the leader would certainly determine the culture (Interviewee IR:11).

These Irish interviewees, argue that the success of the chief librarian in determining the library's culture is not something that is achieved quickly. Time is needed to challenge cultures that are already embedded:

An organization's culture is determined by the leader more than by any other individual. The person in charge, however, would have to be in place a long time and would also have to have brought in a number of key people. If the leader arrives in an organization quite set in its ways, and where there is no movement of staff, he or she would have an uphill struggle before getting results (Interviewee IR:14). While the leader continually changes an organizational culture, the leader also inherits an established organizational culture when he or she is appointed. It takes time to change the culture that one inherits, as this has to be changed by leading (Interviewee IR:10).

The following subsection presents views from the thirty-seven per cent who did not concur with the above views.

4:2.2.1 The Leader as Participant in Organizational Culture

Quotation extracts, representative of the eleven leaders who do not view the leader as the pivotal agent in determining organizational culture, are presented is this subsection.

I wish the leader could determine organizational culture. Leaders do try to do that. My situation here is based on tenure. I have been based here six and a half years and this organization has a lot of negative baggage in its organizational culture. This institution has a bigger underbelly than many other libraries. If only the leader could change that, and I have certainly tried, but a leader cannot do that alone. A leader can set an alternative pattern, but, reflecting widespread practice, when a leader sets a pattern, one third of the organization will immediately embrace the leader's view, one third of the people will reject it immediately, and there will be one third in the middle who Those people who don't know if they should or should are waiting. not adopt the leader's mission become pivotal in helping to create the new organizational culture. Generally, in large organizations and decentralized ones, like ours with twenty-seven locations, it is difficult to assemble everyone together. Not everyone works in the same place physically so the modelling of behaviour is a little more difficult, as the modelling of behaviour is not necessarily what people see directly but may be something people perceive in other ways (Interviewee US:03).

It is important for executive leadership to focus organizational goals and objectives in order to give direction to staff for fashioning whatever their work is to accomplish those goals. The executive staff look at some overarching goals and from that, throughout the organization, we get staff to give us their objectives, and we work out strategies to get to where they need to get while fitting within those goals. Our entire staff contribute to discussing our annual goals and objectives. We adopt a more democratic approach, that is, it is not just one person, as Director, who sets those goals. The cultural shades are, therefore, determined in a participatory way by the leader in conjunction with staff (Interviewee US:04).

The structure is something that I would have had a big input to. Our overall culture is made up of a range of cultures from different people, particularly senior staff, who bring their special expertise and their organizational abilities, as well as their differing emphases such as on literature promotion or IT. While staff tend to respond to the culture and management style of the organization, everyone at senior level has his or her own way of organizing staff. Without a mixture of cultures the organization would be very stilted and a very unhappy place (Interviewee IR:03).

While the leader can emphasize core directions the wider organizational culture is influenced by ongoing interactions between devolved leadership throughout the organization (Interviewee IR:05).

The culture is influenced a lot by the leader, but ultimately what determines the organizational culture is the interaction between the titular leader and staff at all levels throughout the service (Interviewee IR:07).

The organizational culture is not determined solely by the leader. While the leader has a fairly large role, staff themselves also have an input. While the leader might endeavour to lead by example, not every staff member would follow. It depends on staff interest and where they are going and where they see the service going (Interviewee IR:04).

You do not develop a culture by telling people they are going to change, and you do not do it by yourself (Interviewee GB:09). Deference to bureaucratically strong local authority councils was apparent in replies on different questions put to the British librarians. The following three quotations illustrate this approach, when the leaders were asked about the effectiveness of their influence on the organization's culture.

Because we are part of a wider council, the leader influences rather than determines the library culture. The council culture largely determines the culture of libraries (Interviewee GB:01).

A library's culture is determined by the leader only to a certain extent (Interviewee GB:10).

The third example of this view is the most sceptical of the chief librarian's effectiveness in influencing organizational outcomes in the context of apparently powerful British local authority bureaucracy, which, according to some of the British participants, endeavours to determine many of the everyday routines of public libraries:

No, because here libraries sit within the culture of the Council. The library's structure and the way it works are determined very much by the Educational Resources department. It is the wider bureaucracy that determines our culture. There are specific educational mindsets that we have to accord with to a certain degree, which we then try to influence from a library's point of view. Leadership in the library service is about how we can bend and shape what is already there to suit us, rather than we being quite free to set the agenda. . . . But, we are a very active grouping of staff and are very interested in making changes, but it has been caught up in council issues, and more than anything else frustration is the issue (Interviewee GB:02).

The quotations in this subsection are discussed in Chapter 5, subsection 5:2.2.1.

4:3 Qualities or Traits of Leaders

As the study of leaders (concrete) is an integral part of the study of leadership (abstract), the personalities, styles and other qualities of leaders is axiomatically an integral part of the study leadership. In this section, the views of interviewees on what they consider to be the most desired and the most undesired traits of public library leaders are outlined. They are divided into the following sections:

- Vision, the primary quality of a public library leader
- Other desired qualities of public library leaders
- Negative traits/practices of a bad public library leader

4:3.1 Vision, the Primary Quality of a Public Library Leader

Two-thirds of the participants suggested that vision was an essential trait of public library leaders. In Chapter 2 above, Nanus (1992) describes vision as "a realistic, credible, attractive future for an organization" (1992: 8), and Riggs (1998) simply stated that "'Vision', in essence, is what a library 'wants to become'" (1998: 56). While 'vision' was not specifically referred to in the research instrument of thirty questions, it was interesting that the majority of respondents prioritized vision as an essential trait of a public library leader. The following quotations from the librarians interviewed for this study typify these views:

A leader needs to set the overarching vision and values.... Leadership is articulating vision (Interviewee US:03).

A successful library has to have a good strong leader. That leader has to come with vision and an understanding of what the institution is trying to do and he or she needs to be able to look to that point in the organization to know where to go and to move things along (Interviewee US:04).

In another part of the same interview, the participant briefly outlined that part of her vision would be, for example, to increase usage of the library by people who currently do not use the library, such as many teenagers who do not read and many elderly who do not use computers. This librarian, in a large American city, yearned for these categories to enhance their lifestyles through active use of their free library facilities. That, she said, is what drove her vision.

Other comments on vision included:

Having a vision and a commitment to public librarianship ideals are the primary qualities needed by public library leaders (Interviewee GB:01).

Future planning for the library is about vision and aspiration — that means, putting more thought into leadership and management (Interviewee GB:04).

What public library leaders need most of all is vision, tempered by realism of what might be achieved in today's local government context (Interviewee GB:07).

Having a vision, the ability to communicate that vision, a sense of strategy and how to implement strategy, all are important requisites for effective library leaders (Interviewee GB:08).

The most essential qualities of a public library leader are: having a vision, having the ability to communicate that vision, and having commitment and drive to implement one's vision (Interviewee GB:09).

In this library, we developed a vision around Best Value guidelines. We delivered on that vision by establishing mechanisms for driving a culture of continual change. This included an effective planning process which implemented new structures, such as: delegating much more responsibilities to new posts; focusing on customer needs in the new posts; having effective staff training throughout the whole organization so that staff can develop the skills to effectively do their jobs; and supporting staff in an open management style so that we had a balance of encouraging staff who wanted to move forward and also provided challenges for staff who were reluctant to move forward (Interviewee GB:09).

A leader has to have the vision to see the bigger picture (Interviewee IR:03).

A leader has to have a vision of where the service is going, or where it should be going (Interviewee IR:04).

Our organizational culture should all the time be focused on service, therefore it is essential that the vision of the organization's leadership must be founded on the same focus on service to the public (Interviewee IR:05).

Having clear goals or vision of what you want to achieve . . . is very important within the public library service (Interviewee IR:06).

To improve the library service, recruitment is vital: we have to include people with vision and belief in what they do (Interviewee IR:13).

I see leadership in terms of vision and style (Interviewee IR:11).

The primary requirement for any leader is vision. You have to have the big picture and the context of where you fit — because you can get too worried about buying books and overdues or whatever, while the overall service might be failing. You might not notice flawed strategies unless you step back and re-examine your corporate vision. ... Branching Out has set down some parameters that we are working within, so, building on that would inform my vision (Interviewee IR:12).

My vision for improving the service is by delivering the service in such a way that it is accepted as a vital community resource. To achieve that one must have the resources to keep on extending the service network; one must involve local politicians so that they believe the improvements grew from their efforts; and one must involve other community leaders. In a rural environment one must involve local historians, principals of schools, the community forums, and one then convinces them that the library service of the twenty-first century is a different service to what they might have known earlier, such as a neglected collection of dusty old books. Part of the vision must also engage with year-round cycles of events, as well as using IT as a selling point. One of the best comments you could receive either from a member of the public or a councillor is "How did we exist without this place?" Buildings and IT and staff are a means to deliver the service, but one must first of all have a vision of what the service has to be and, after that, the buildings and other organizational matters follow the vision. The librarian's vision must also have an understanding that a library in the twenty-first century is a vital resource among the community and in the eyes of politicians (Interviewee IR:14).

One Scottish librarian suggested, however, that library leaders tend to lack vision:

The big thing that we need at the moment, but which we are lacking, is vision. We have some people who see very clearly where we need to be in five or ten years time, taking a long view. However, we have some people in the profession that have been doing the same thing for one hundred years and are quite happy to perpetuate that. There is a rift between the two types of leaders now (Interviewee GB:04).

One Irish librarian implied that vision was something that could complement leadership rather than something that was *part of* leadership:

More than anything else, vision and leadership together determine organizational success. Managers or leaders drive their organizations to success when they follow a clear vision, have a good understanding of their jobs, and are not afraid to take courageous decisions (Interviewee IR:02).

Widening the remit of vision to a shared national vision, the same Irish librarian suggested:

There is a role for public library bodies at national level for leading local library services and providing support and vision . . . The Library Association of Ireland should be constituted similar to the association in Finland, for example, which has professionals at a national level providing leadership (Interviewee IR:02).

Overall, it was apparent from the interviews that the participants, as practising leaders, are very aware of the centrality of vision to their own strategic positions as leaders, both for guiding themselves as well as guiding the policies and practices of their respective library services.

4:3.2 Other Desired Qualities of Public Library Leaders

The following are illustrative of the views expressed by the interviewed leaders for this study, on the topic of desired library leadership traits:

For me, the most important aspect of leadership is the exercise of good judgement. The exercise of good judgement is something that everyone in almost every position needs, whether they are on the circulation desk loaning books, or if they are making some high-level decisions about the budget. Judgement is what we are after, and good judgement is an essential leadership attribute (Interviewee US:03).

The same leader, discussed a variety of other leadership attributes:

A leader needs to identify behaviours that are not right, which are bad, and the leader has to say that those behaviours are unacceptable, and also to say that other particular behaviours are expected. A leader has to be a politician. A leader has to be a fundraiser. A leader has to be a public relations expert and a promoter. As library leaders, we need to have a pretty good librarianship skills set, which means that we need to understand everything from the Freedom of Information Act to knowing what cataloguing and data work are all about, to understanding what the technology applications are, to knowing what a rare book is, to understanding how to negotiate with vendors for books. A library leader's focus might also be externally directed, depending on the structure and size of the particular library service, relying on an operating officer inside (Interviewee US:03). A wide variety of traits were suggested generally:

To be willing to take risks and to try new ventures are important for leadership (Interviewee US:01).

In today's world, public library leaders need to be innovative in their use of technology and in maintaining an allegiance or an attachment to existing or former technologies. At some point we are going to cross over and become something different. Until then, leaders need to be able to meld the two together, but first and foremost they need to be innovative in applying technology in pulling everyone forward (Interviewee US:02).

The chief librarian needs to have good verbal skills. They need to have an understanding of the environment in which they are working. They have to have good decision-making skills and to be decisive in implementing those decisions. Those are the top requirements (Interviewee US:04).

Being open to new ideas, being able to lead people in the direction that will be most helpful to a community; and gathering the legislation that is necessary to formulate the ideas to work within the community. We need to keep learning. All leaders need to learn and they need to pass on that learning (Interviewee US:05).

To be able to translate policy issues for staff at all levels, that is, not to assume that because you have discussed things at a strategic level that front-line staff understand the issues, and you have got to make sure that the information is being communicated correctly at all levels and you must verify that. That is, to be able to translate and keep abreast of issues and make sure that the whole organization knows is very important. To unify the organization, it is important to have very good networking skills and to be able to use those skills to keep abreast of wider issues, as many important events happen outside formal meetings and are initiated through personal contacts or networking (Interviewee GB:02).

It varies from one authority to another. You need to have your politicians on board, because if you can't sell your service to your politicians you will not have the money to do anything. Once you have done that, you have got to continually raise the profile of the service within the profession. On a wider front, what is really needed for libraries is that the public have to value them; as the public will not value something that is continually burying its head in the sand. Most libraries provide a very good service, but you need to tell people that. You need people to understand that libraries are providing a quality service (Interviewee GB:03).

Another area we need to work on a lot more is in politics and selfpromotion — and the internal politics, because this is about acquiring and utilizing resources. . . . It is about being able to manipulate the politicians to support your vision and gauge it and resource it, because you can have all the vision in the world, but if you can't have the staff in place you can't deliver it (Interviewee GB:04).

A combination of things: The most important thing that a leader should do is to be aware of what is happening, what the feedback on the ground is, and what is not happening. It is very important to have hands-on involvement, to mix with staff informally, and to have executives on a rota for sharing front-end duties (Interviewee GB:05).

The same London-area librarian emphasizes the need for leader librarians to network with library leaders from other authorities, especially nearby authorities, so that they can contribute and receive ideas for shared organizational benefits. He also suggests that regional library authorities should form groups to strengthen their collective bidding and funding power, their collective influence, and their co-operative projects.

One British librarian emphasized an approach that was more typical of management than of leadership:

Chief librarians have to know about literature; any librarian who tells you that they can run a public library and manage it as if it were a shop is talking nonsense. Any manager who does not know the actual basics of their trade is useless as far as I am concerned. We have got to know Information as a product and as part of our trade. As well as information resources, we have to know the fundamentals of the job and that is where I would start. Then you have got to be able to keep the place open which means that you have to have adequate staffing levels and to manage staff, which is an issue for libraries everywhere. And, of course, you have to be able to manage budgets (Interviewee GB:06).

Unlike the latter contributor, others focused on broader issues more typically associated with leadership than with management:

A leadership course, attended by some of my colleagues, singled out energy as a key characteristic of a leader. It struck me as a very interesting perception. Energy is important because it enables a leader to keep a momentum going over a long period. Having a sense of strategy and how to implement strategy is also essential (Interviewee GB:08).

Qualities required by public library leaders are not that different from leadership qualities generally: an ability to convince staff of the value of the service — without seeming cynical, which can be difficult in this day and age — and to inspire and motivate, or, better still, to encourage staff to be self-motivated (Interviewee GB:10).

Commitment and enthusiasm are primary requirements of public library leaders. Commitment and enthusiasm are not the same. Enthusiasm is beyond commitment; most leaders can be committed but enthusiasm is a more scarce quality. Thirdly, hard work, in the sense of being prepared to get your hands dirty, for example, if one doesn't know how to do something like changing a wheel on a truck or changing something on the computer, and a librarian should not believe that he or she is too big to be concerned about front-line duties. Fourthly, the library leader must be prepared to address detailed matters. If one is concerned about detail one is going to be concerned about a service built on TQM. Many chief librarians focus on public relations or high profile issues, and they might know all about this report and that report but, when it matters, a manager should be prepared to get down to the nitty-gritty and not

protest that it is not their duty. It is important to realize that a senior should be prepared to do unskilled work and that it is not below his or her status (Interviewee IR:01).

Qualities required by library leaders include: vision, a strong belief in that vision, believing that what you are doing really counts for the community, communicating one's belief to one's staff, looking at fresh ways of achieving development objectives, being prepared to think outside the box all the time, and exercising political skill. In terms of having an awareness of the environment: exercising political skill; utilizing your communication skills to build up a profile of the service with management, councillors, community groups, and county development boards; and when the strategy is being written for the local authority making sure that the library is included, that is, ensuring that the chief librarian establishes and maintains a presence (Interviewee IR:02).

Among the gualities library leaders should practise include the utilizing of our educational training, because librarians are seen as people who are highly articulate, and as people who can give advice, and are impromptu dispensers of information, and that forms part of our ongoing PR. Networking is hugely important, because we are a one-stop shop for everything and one has to have the vision to see the bigger picture so that we are using more than lending criteria to measure service outputs. Planning is hugely important, even if some people think it takes up too much time, but planning does save so much time in the long run if you get it right. Encouraging people is hugely important so that people feel ownership. One has a political role as well and one has to push the library service even at the expense of other local authority services, because we are competing with other departments for scarce resources. and culture generally would be seen to be the soft option for cuts. We have to be better than everybody else; so our PR has to be very good to get our message across and using every possible opportunity to do this (Interviewee IR:03).

The ability to get on with people, at all levels, would be one of the main qualities required by any library leader, and this includes relating well with the public, with library staff, and with management staff of the local

Good people skills include good communication skills, authority. including listening well and being a good talker, are required. A leader has to have a vision of where the service is going, or where he or she would like to see it going. The leader has to have commitment, courage and must take risks. There are times for risk taking and there are times when it is not appropriate. It depends on what the issue is. A leader certainly has to have openness to others. Library leaders need political skills because they rely on the support of politicians for resources. Political skills and political correctness are also needed to deal successfully with management and especially senior management. Professional involvement or networking is needed. Librarians also have to have good personal values, marketing skills, and they have to do their own PR for the library service, and particularly at estimates time they have to fight for their resources. Now that they have directors of service they have to do this with them as well as with the finance officer and with I would certainly consider people-centred leadership as managers. important. Library leaders have to think about change and creativity in today's society because society is all about change, so they need to keep changing. A leader must also reach out with trust, but trust is something that establishes itself over time, rather being a quality readily dispensed by any leader (Interviewee IR:04).

Passion for the service is essential for a good head librarian. He or she must also be a professional leader and manager (Interviewee IR:05).

Being a good listener, having clear goals or vision of what you want to achieve, and determination is very important within the public library service. Tenacity in a library context is sometimes like rolling a stone uphill (Interviewee IR:06).

In the field of public librarianship, it is the role of the librarian to determine policy and plot the way ahead for the expansion of service delivery. You have to be realistic about resources, particularly in times of financial constraints. You are dependent on wider areas of the organization, such as those in charge of finance, personnel, and other stakeholders. What really determines success or failure is (i) the librarian's ability to get local authority officers to work with him or her, and (ii) the librarian's realism, or ability to cut the library's cloth to fit its measure. If library leaders are negative about situations, such as staff resources and the ability to develop the services, all that does is negatively translate to senior officers. It is easier to show people what can be achieved by setting something up and showing them its effectiveness through maximizing existing staff resources — and then the proper resources will flow from these achievements. It is a bit like the cart before the horse. For example, the housebound service that we set up last year is now a full service for the housebound. We have a professional librarian full-time on that service, with two staff and a driver. That service has gone from 500 customers after the first three months to 1,500 at present. What I did was, I set the service up first and showed the people what could be done. The newspapers thought it was a great idea, the councillors thought it was a great idea, then it was easier to get resources for the book fund, whereas if you start saying you would like to set up a service, the first thing they are going to ask you is about is the cost, such as the cost of staff, a vehicle, books, and more. Therefore, one should focus on implementing the service first (Interviewee IR:07).

Commitment to the public library ideal is probably the most important quality of a public library leader (Interviewee IR:08).

Believing in the value of library work is important. Believing in the difference the library can make to people and the lives of people is important. Believing in the educational role of the library is so important. Recently, a customer in a rural town came to me to articulate how needed a library is and how it gives people potential by getting a collection of books into the community and into people's hands. A strong belief in what a library can do educationally and socially is very important. Another important quality of the chief librarian is to get out and work on promoting his or her beliefs on the importance of the service, by repeatedly talking to staff, management and politicians (Interviewee IR:13).

The biggest challenge is to persuade management in local authorities of the importance of a library in a community. I would not go to management and merely say, 'Libraries are great'. Instead, for instance,

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I have stood in derelict buildings before the new library was built, and where there were children playing around, children about eight years old, I said to public officials 'You and I might spend eight years here which is a short time'. Those innocent kids, of about seven or eight years of age, running around (where there might be a lot of drug abuse, vandalism et cetera), by the time I leave the county after seven years, they are going to be fifteen or sixteen, and I picture those kids at eighteen and I wonder if these people are going to get the advantage of second- and third-level education or are they going to be deprived of that education. If they are, I wonder what the effects might be. Some of the effects will be that they are going to be involved in vandalism such as defacing walls, cutting down trees and a huge cost to the local authority in replacing windows, doors, and public furniture. A librarian, therefore, needs to be a politician That is just on the financial expenditure on that local authority, too. which is huge when you multiply it by the number of kids in an area. Then there is the social level of the community itself, and how it will develop, so that you will have an educated community, which will rise out of the mire that I am talking about. The social and educational level is important for children who will become adults in a short few years. That is a very difficult message to get across because of tight resources, but it has huge dividends. In other words I am not looking at the short term but at the long term, but, unfortunately budgets are short term, year to year, but if it could be looked at in the long term we are talking about addressing the needs of communities (Interviewee IR:09).

What a library leader needs most of all is conviction, matched by a passion for serving the public (Interviewee IR:10).

A librarian needs good communications skills, must be open to change, must practise diplomacy and must have endurance. All these qualities are required within and beyond the library. A librarian must also be open to partnership with other organizations and other groups (Interviewee IR:11). While another Irish librarian saw the primary quality of a public library leader as having a vision, he saw loyalty as the next most important quality:

Loyalty is an important requirement for librarians, as everyone in the public service is answerable to someone, even the Taoiseach is answerable to the public. We are answerable to the director of services and the manager, and to the staff in the library itself. Librarians owe loyalty to the public and to public representatives, ensuring that their budgets are put to optimum use (Interviewee IR:12).

After vision and loyalty, the same interviewee added:

The librarian has to have personality skills too to be able to communicate the library message to managers and to public representatives. The chief librarian's positive attitude to life is important too. If we go around with a chip on our shoulder, saying we can't do that because we have not got the staff or whatever, a negative image will come across to the staff. Staff tend to hum the same tune as the leader. We have to say that while we may not be able to do X, Y, or Z, we can do A, B, and C (Interviewee IR:12).

While people join the organization because they are interested in libraries and are committed to public service, we, as leaders, have to establish a sense of purpose, based on the reasons for the existence of the library and on how the library can enrich the lives of individuals and communities. The head of the organization has to embody that sense of purpose and have it accepted by members of staff. A leader of the service does not have to do everything — that is the last thing we should be doing, given that we have professionally qualified people to do all those things. So what a leader should do is to inculcate in staff the reasons why we exist and then let staff get on with the job of implementing the library mission (Interviewee IR:14).

The most required qualities of a public library leader are: decisionmaking, direction setting, communication skills, motivating staff, and risk taking (Interviewee IR:15). The wide variety of traits portrayed in the above selected extracts from the thirty participants reflects themes in the literature on leadership traits. This variety illustrates how different leaders espouse or possess different combinations of personal or professional traits.

4:3.3 Negative Traits/Practices of a Bad Public Library Leader

Just as the literature discusses negative leadership traits, the current study confirms negative personal/professional leadership practices among library leaders. In the literature, Maccoby (2000), for example, discusses narcissistic leadership and its mainly negative effects on organizations. Carson, Carson, & Phillips (1997) discuss library administrators who may be any one or a combination of some of the following 'defective personalities': narcissistic, paranoid; sociopathic; obsessive–compulsive; or passive–aggressive. In the current study, one Scottish Librarian said that the worse traits were a lack of commitment to libraries and to their purpose, as well as being dishonest with and having a distrust of staff. Other librarians highlighted what they saw as the worst traits of library leaders:

A leader that controls, a leader that won't allow independent thinking, a leader that won't help others to shape ideas, a leader that won't provide forms and opportunities for people to think beyond or think outside or even think within the realm of what they are doing in order to best do their job (Interviewee US:02).

Bullying, and cynicism (Interviewee GB:01).

The absence of passion for service, or being satisfied with the status quo. Also, not being open and honest with colleagues is bad for an organization (Interviewee IR:05).

The worst trait would be not appreciating staff potential. That is such an important resource and it is underutilized, and in many cases the recognition is not there at all levels below chief librarian level (Interviewee IR:08).

The worst trait is an unprofessional approach to the job, which manifests itself in so many different areas. It spreads down through staff, resulting in a kind of second-rate service, which erodes a whole organization (Interviewee IR:09).

Focusing on best value and good administration is a major flaw, along with a lack of belief in the quality of library service (Interviewee IR:13).

Somebody with fixed ideas and fixed ways of doing things, and resistance to change (Interviewee IR:11).

Not respecting what other people can contribute is one thing. Being a bad listener is a very bad trait. Trying to do everything is a bad thing (Interviewee IR:14).

Bad communication, lack of dynamism, and being authoritarian (Interviewee IR:15).

Fear, fear of the unknown, fear to try things. Living the status quo, which can kill a library (Interviewee US:01).

It is someone who is indecisive. A bad leader means: they are indecisive; they are not straightforward; they don't delegate responsibility well; and they don't let others participate in the process of trying to get the job done (Interviewee US:04).

There can be situations where the leader might not be able to bring very good staff along or to give them direction. The organization will not flourish then (Interviewee IR:09).

Stifling ideas (Interviewee US:05).

Isolation or insularity or not working in partnership; not understanding the role of partnership in achieving any progress (Interviewee GB:04).

Not knowing what is happening; generally not reading; just sitting back; not being able to influence what is happening, not directing and

controlling what is happening; and coming up with initiatives but not having the ability or the time to see them through to fruition (Interviewee GB:05).

Not promoting a culture of customer care and not allowing staff to manage change because you cannot have staff merely lending books any more (Interviewee GB:07).

The worst practice of a public library leader is the lack of attention to detail. Secondly, the poor development and bad design of branch libraries around the country; you would wonder who designed them. I would say that the third worst trait is self-centredness, in other words, an attitude of: 'I am the leader or chief librarian, look at me, I am entitled to attention and I am entitled to the service being done because I am who I am'. Finally, lack of listening is a major fault (Interviewee IR:01).

Lack of commitment; unwillingness to change, seeing change as something to be feared rather than as a challenge, especially now with the service changing so dramatically, pursuing old ways of doing things, such as old ways of managing staff, being very hierarchical and bureaucratic in how they approach decision-making; and not working as a partnership. Lack of awareness also in terms of weakness in commitment to training; that is appalling, as many are negligent when it comes to staff training (Interviewee IR:02).

The worst traits are not valuing the staff you have, not listening to them, or not communicating with staff. In librarianship or anywhere else, one of the worst traits of a leader is... bad communication because if people start hearing things that affect their service from somebody else, or if people feel that they can't go in and talk to you about something or disagree with you about something, the leader is not doing the job properly (Interviewee IR:07).

Bad leaders are people who think they know all the answers. (Interviewee GB:03).

Not keeping staff informed is probably one of the worst attributes of a library leader (Interviewee GB:06).

Having too much power is probably the major fault of a chief librarian. Another negative is presuming that they are the only people that know anything about anything, in other words, that they know everything about everything. Other negatives include a lack of ability to relate to staff at all ages, and inconsistency, which is the opposite to planning, leaves people confused, and leaves the clients confused and disrupts the whole system (Interviewee IR:03).

It is clear from the above examples that, for best practice, library leaders need to avoid a wide variety of negative leadership practices or traits in order to be effective in their roles as chief librarians.

4:4 Career Narratives of Interviewed Library Leaders

Professional career narratives of the thirty participants (concrete) inform their leadership theories (abstract), the subject of this study. To understand the background to the theories proffered by the participants more fully, data analysis in this section focuses on the professional histories of the contributors. The analysis is categorized and presented under the following subheadings.

- How participants chose a career in librarianship
- Mentoring received by participating library leaders
- The counter influence of negative mentors on participants
- Participants' personal styles of leadership
- Significant career contributions of participating leaders
- Why participants continue to work in library careers

4:4.1 How Participants Chose a Career in Librarianship

While about only one in four of the thirty responding librarians were drawn to the career from earlier pre-recruitment attractions to the service, the majority entered the career due to happenstance or coincidental opportunity. An analysis of the percentages is presented below and in subsection 5:4.1. The following quotations illustrate many of the reasons for career choice among the thirty responding library leaders.

I had an offer of three jobs after I graduated but took the librarian job as it was the nearest to my home. I did not have a great insight into what it would involve, but I thought I would give it a chance. I could not say that I had a vocation to librarianship (Interviewee IR:14).

For about twelve months after leaving school, I was working with local farmers and I applied for everything that came up in the newspapers and one of the things that came up was a job in the county council for library assistants. When I got news that I was chosen to go for a medical, I was painting a hay shed for a farmer that day and I said anything was better than that. That is why I am in librarianship, very much by necessity and accident (Interviewee IR:10).

Perfectly by accident: I went to school, ran out of money, had to get a job, got a job in a public library, was intending to go to law school along the way, but became convinced that I did not want to go to law school (Interviewee US:03).

While three (10%) respondents said that their initial career choice resulted from a coincidence of opportunity and personal interest in books/information and/or social factors, only two (7%) respondents said that their initial choice of a library career resulted from a more deliberate choosing of a library career:

It was for the benefit and impact that libraries can have on people's lives, and also for what is in those libraries. A good liberal social conscience! It was the idea behind public libraries that they empower people and the idea of them providing free access to learning and education, allowing people to get the most out of their lives, which is a really crucial issue (Interviewee GB:09).

I had experienced libraries as a child, a teenager, and a student and realized what their unique service could provide. When I decided, after studying music, not to pursue a career as a professional musician, I felt I could return something to society by using my knowledge and skills in librarianship (Interviewee GB:10).

Overall, the above selected quotations illustrate the rather haphazard career choice of most librarians, based on the responses of the thirty participating librarians. This is discussed further in subsection 5:4.1 of the following chapter. Subsection 4:4.5 in this chapter will discuss how the career of librarianship as a 'vocation' is something that the interviewees believe develops over time within the profession, rather than something that was apparent before they entered the career of librarianship.

4:4.2 Mentoring Received by Participating Library Leaders

While none of the thirty interviewees said they had a formal mentor, all but four said they were mentored/influenced informally by colleagues. Sample quotations illustrating these findings follow. These are analysed in the corresponding subsection (5:4.2) in Chapter 5.

I had several mentors, both male and female. I worked in another city library where I had two or three whom I would call my mentors. One was not a librarian. I remember him as if he were sitting here today. He worked in the library and had been a key manager for the Gates record company and his boss recommended that he carry out a management study of that city library. He suggested a review of the management system in the library and made a whole series of recommendations. The director of the library decided to hire this man. When the study was done, he offered him a job with the idea of implementing his study results. He became my boss and mentor and he was remarkable. He was a guy interested in being sure that people learned. He was very approachable. I don't think I ever had a meeting with him where I walked away without having learned something very specifically. Obviously, I brought something to the scene also which he recognized.... Early on in my career, in another city, I benefited from Regional Training Centres and I had a chance to hear some of the foremost people in organizational design management, like Maslow and Drucker, very early in my career (Interviewee US:03).

There were people I admired, but I did not have a mentor as such. In terms of management, I draw on things that I read and reflect on (Interviewee GB:09).

Over the years, I did come into contact with people I admired and I admired aspects of their work, and I try to marry aspects of their own with mine (Interviewee IR:07).

Mirroring of selected qualities of mentors was apparent in the behaviour of some of the interviewees, such as the qualities reflected at the end of the next quotation:

There were two or three people who had a significant influence on me. Not that I necessarily agree with specifics they did or did not do, but I agreed with their general style. The influence they had on me include commitment, enthusiasm, openness, and a willingness to say let's get down and do this, and not worry about whether it was done this way before or not, just saying we have got an issue and let's go and deal with it. The kind of characteristics that I saw in them are the kind of characteristics I see in myself (Interviewee IR:01).

Yet another librarian, who said of her previous mentor, "I remember being awfully impressed by him because of his way of communicating what had to be done", mirrored what she said her own primary leadership strength was, "My strengths are communication, being able to communicate my message to staff" (Interviewee IR:02).

More mirroring of mentor attributes with the espoused traits of interviewees was illustrated by another librarian who stated:

I had three who were very different mentors. One had a great hands-off approach to let staff get on with things. I had another who was a very different kind of man, a great planner who delegated responsibility, and a man I had great respect for. I was also impressed by the enthusiasm of another colleague. You bring those kinds of influences with you (Interviewee IR:03). The latter interviewee also described his own leadership style as one that allowed staff to be their own taskmasters, by letting them off "to their own devices". He also emphasized the need for "sustainable planning" as "hugely important". The third point in his quotation reflected his expressed belief that his enthusiasm was a trait that influenced his staff.

A county librarian who had two male mentors, said that one of them often mixed with staff and "was very open, and that was back in the 1970s when other librarians did not do that" (Interviewee IR:04). She described her second mentoring chief librarian as "an easy person to get on with, always willing to listen, always very approachable". These admired traits reflected her traits as espoused during the course of the research interview. When asked what the most important aspects of organizational culture are, she said, inter alia, "an open two-way communication culture with staff". She considered "peoplecentred leadership as important" and stated that the qualities most required by public library leaders included "the ability to get on with people at all levels" and that a leader should "be a good listener". Interestingly, the qualities offered as the most admired in the informal mentors of the participants were qualities that were espoused and apparently practised by the participants in this study. This issue will also be discussed in subsection 5:5.1 of the next chapter.

4:4.2.1 The Counter Influence of Negative Mentors on Participants

Three cases of negative mentoring were reported in this study. One Irish librarian reported:

I had the opposite to a mentor. I had head librarians whose management style I would not agree with. I recall behaviours that I would not want to do or to replicate (Interviewee IR:07).

He reported that he, therefore, actively avoided their policies, which had negative effects on staff and on service, such as the whimsical and continual transferring of staff from one service point to another. He also facilitated ease of approachability from staff, in contrast with the personal distancing and hierarchical policies practised by his negative mentors. (See fuller quotation below in subsection 4:8.2.4 on Toxic Leadership).

Another librarian gave an example of an individual previous boss who was *both* a positive and a negative mentor:

Even though she was a virago I had huge admiration for her as a librarian, but as a people manager she was a disaster. She was a great influence as a librarian. She felt very passionately about libraries, about public service, and she was very professional about the service, but she had no ability to manage or understand staff as people (Interviewee IR:10).

A Scottish interviewee gave one example of a negative mentor and another of a positive mentor:

A previous boss I had was very negative. The culture of the organization was therefore very negative. It was a culture where you did not stick your head above the parapet because somebody would chop your head off; with the result that nothing very much happened. Another boss, who was a positive mentor, was very consultative, very reasonable and very prepared to let you run with suggestions (Interviewee GB:03).

This quotation also illustrates another example of mirroring, both positive and negative mirroring. The same interviewee emphasized elsewhere that the most important aspects of organizational culture included improved communication so that staff might "raise issues without fear of being punished", and to "respect those staff who hold opinions that you may disagree with". This organizational tone, apparently now cultivated in his library, mirrored the style that he admired in his positive mentor. Equally, that tone contrasted with what he decried in his negative mentor.

4:4.3 Participants' Personal Styles of Leadership

Representative samples of quotations follow, illustrating the varying flavours of pragmatic, situational, and other blends of leadership that are shared by many of the interviewees. All respondents expressed a blend of leadership styles:

I believe every leader has a mixture of styles. My style of leadership can be described as participative and also as leading by example (Interviewee IR:05).

Among these, samples of more distinctive leadership styles, such as servant leadership or autocratic leadership are included. The final quotations give a general overview of many New Management or people-centred styles of leadership. Seven (23%) of these said they endeavour to lead by example, believing that their commitment to a strong work ethic influences staff to follow their example. The role of exemplar, however, sometimes hints at arrogance:

My style is fundamentally based on example. My style has been, to a certain degree, based on an innate arrogance, an arrogance based on the fact that I believe I know my job well enough and I have worked at it hard enough to be able to determine what we do (Interviewee IR:01).

One leader who changed his leadership styles over time justified the autocratic approach:

My style of leadership has shifted over time. When I came here I practised a consultative style but it was not working very well. It was not driving the change forward as it ought to have done. So, I switched to a more autocratic style. Situations are different now and there are different mixes of people, so I am currently re-evaluating my style, to change from a dictatorial approach to considering that I need to reflect on how staff themselves have changed. I have got a few new key members but, by and large, a number of people who were here in 1996, before local government reorganization, are still here but they have changed and grown over that period and I also have to go through some self-reflection. I do need to modify my own style in response to how they have changed as well. I know they are being stretched. Some say that they are doing things they did not think they were capable of, and I now need to give them more space. In the early days they got space and nothing happened. After I became more autocratic, they got much less space. I now need to reassess my style and I need to step back from them somewhat. To sum up, in the early days I used to enquire how staff felt about our strategies; in the middle period I used to tell staff where we are going whether they liked it or not; and now I am becoming more consultative and supportive. So, my leadership style had a threephase approach over time (Interviewee GB:08).

Another interviewee described her style as changing to suit different circumstances, such as sometimes being consultative while other times being directive:

I don't have any one fixed style of leadership. I vary according to the circumstances — the staff, the needs, or the situation. My style is hands on and I try to be co-operative and consultative. At the end of the day one is paid to make decisions and if I need to be authoritative I act accordingly. But, I am more comfortable with a consultative form of leadership. If one has to discipline staff one has to discipline them and there is no point in being consultative about that (Interviewee GB:04).

The following leader also believes in tempering his style to respond to changing circumstances:

I would describe my leadership style as pragmatic, because one needs appropriate styles of leadership for the circumstances one is in. Instinctively, I have taken a very open and a very devolved approach to management. The same applies to the leadership style, but, in terms of individual actions, the pragmatic approach, where you use the appropriate styles for the circumstances, is the right way. That is not to say that you change personality; you must have consistent elements, for example, for effective communication (Interviewee GB:09).

The concept of servant leadership (Greenleaf, 1977; Greenleaf, 1996) contrasts with the self-declared arrogant and autocratic styles in the two previous quotations. Among the thirty interviewed leaders, only one librarian described their style of leadership as servant leadership:

I believe in servant leadership. This is more than just a Christian or value-based activity. It has pragmatic organizational benefits, as staff perform better when I am there as a support for their organizational needs and effectiveness. We are all a team here, so I listen to their ideas and try to be as open as much as I can be. Above all, I am here to serve the needs of my staff for optimum organizational effectiveness (Interviewee US:01).

The concept of leadership effectiveness through the practice of ongoing storytelling formed a major part of the strategies of another of the interviewed librarians. This theme is discussed in Section 4:5.9.

When referring to a leader's style of dealing with external stakeholders, two interviewees said that networking was an integral part of their leadership style. One of these added that tenacity formed part of his style with the same stakeholders:

My job is to acquire resources, after listening to others about whatever ideas they offer. If I have to heckle or to sit outside a door until I get our resources, I will do it. The reason I have been able to overcome obstacles is because I do not take No for an answer. If I think something is right, I go and go and go and keep going, arguing for the case (Interviewee IR:07).

A number of interviewed leaders stated that they work many hours beyond the standard working week. This issue is discussed in section 4:8.2.1 below. The next leader, who is never satisfied to rest on his achievements, believes in proactively and continually keeping pressure on himself. At the same time, he does not believe in passing on those pressures to his staff:

I tend to be demanding of myself. I am never happy to sit still. There is a bit of a Roy Keane in me. When I win one challenge I look to the next one without celebrating too long. I would be aware that I did something and that is good, but then my focus moves to the next objective. My overall approach to leadership is a proactive style. I would always have a number of concurrent projects but, apart from those, I delegate much of the day-to-day management. I buy some books from catalogues but do not go out book buying. I leave it to middle management to select book stock. We have broadened that to include branch librarians in book-buying sessions, provided they are in the company of qualified staff. Where staff are concerned, I believe I bring a quite relaxed atmosphere to the working environment. Staff are free to change their minds and they do. That is regardless of what grade they are or how long they are on the staff. This encourages ownership of their particular areas, as well as allowing them to develop (Interviewee IR:12).

The latter element of providing space for staff to develop was reflected in the styles of other leaders, such as:

I tend to leave people off to their own devices, but that does not mean that I do not occasionally check on them. If people are doing a job, my job is to encourage staff to do their job better, to encourage them to think for themselves and to encourage them to disagree with me (Interviewee IR:03).

The following quotation is from a leader who contends that the "the exercise of good judgement" is his top priority. His leadership style aims to provide an environment that is conducive to staff motivation, which he endeavours to assist through his participative style of leadership, a style that must, however, be occasionally tempered by exigencies:

I believe in maximizing participation. If you looked at all the different models for decision-making, and there are many, the more leadercentred organizations rely on the leader most of the time to make the decisions, whereas the more interactive or participatory organizations try to move in the other direction and try to grant the people closest to the implementation of a decision the greatest role in either making the decision, or accepting their input to the decision.... I try to engage people and I try to figure out when it is I as leader who needs to make the decision. At times, due to circumstances, a lot of participation can be inappropriate, for example, if I receive a call from the Mayor for a quick The leader, therefore, needs to know when to make the decision. decision. Overall, I practise a participative and interactive style of leadership.... I feel strongly about motivation, even if we can't directly motivate individuals, but we can maximize the opportunity for the environment for individuals to thrive in (Interviewee US:03).

All thirty leaders espoused people-centred qualities. Section 4:7 below illustrates this approach. The following quotations are typical of the sentiments

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expressed on people-centred and team leadership, but leaders also pointed out that it is they who determine the overall strategic direction.

I would describe my leadership style as participative (Interviewee IR:07).

I try to be consensual. It is not always possible, but I believe in persuading the troops to come with me rather than ordering them (Interviewee GB:06).

My style is collegiate. I like to sit down with people and talk to them to get their ideas (Interviewee GB:10).

I have very strong views on the direction in which the library should go and I communicate that to staff through a lot of interaction. Maybe I determine organizational direction much more than I should? Ideally, there should be a balance from staff as well, so I admit that I should be more democratic. I do aim to be democratic (Interviewee IR:08).

My style of leadership is about communicating with staff, being with staff, encouraging staff and letting them know what the organization is about. My style of leadership has to be a hands-on style because I am no good at any other style. Leaders need to be physically and visibly in the presence of staff, communicating with them, but I don't mean manipulating then. I really believe in a love of books and a love of people (Interviewee IR:13).

My style of leadership is very teamwork oriented. I can't run an organization without the help of everybody else, for example, the person who meets the public. My sense of leadership is that every member of staff is as important as I am, and that I support them. In terms of leadership, I operate a very open management approach. I am totally approachable, and I endeavour that anybody else in management is totally open as well (Interviewee IR:09).

The wide variety of styles espoused by the participants is discussed in subsection 5:4.3 of Chapter 5.

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4:4.4 Significant Career Contributions by Participating Leaders

The interviewees claimed a wide range of significant personal contributions to organizational developments in their respective libraries. These contributions ranged from behavioural or cultural changes to more tangible changes, such as introducing new services. The variety of contributions are articulated in the following quotations from the participants:

I changed the climate and the tone of the organization, and I made people feel comfortable and made people feel they can contribute, particularly at the most senior level (Interviewee GB:03).

In the three years I have been here, the biggest change is that people are much more open to new ways of doing things, to their own development, and to being more customer focused. It is less about 'This is what we do' and more about 'What do you need us to do?' (Interviewee GB:04).

I would hope that I have convinced at least some people that everyone is a leader and that leadership is not owned by me (Interviewee US:03).

I oversaw rapid cultural and service change over five years, from the service being regarded as a backwater to being regarded as one of the half dozen leading authorities in the country (Interviewee GB:08).

We have raised the profile of our library service over the last six or seven years. We have more than doubled our staff numbers in the last six years. We have introduced services that did not exist in a structured way, such as extending access for all the community, including the homebound who avail of our service specializing in services to the homebound (Interviewee IR:07).

I have been here three and a half years and we have made enormous changes and strides forward in the city. When I started, an industrial dispute was just being forcefully ended by the local authority, which required staff to sign up to new contracts. This meant we had a very alienated staff. The dispute had carried on for about a year so the organization had poor credibility, a poor level of service, and the public never knew when it was open. It was a declining service in every respect. In the past three and a half years we have largely turned that around, which is a very rapid and major achievement (Interviewee GB:09).

I oversaw the transition from a system that was primarily print based to a modern twenty-first century organization. I like to think that I got people more involved in the running of the organization; for example, people are given responsibility for managing projects. I have also promoted a culture of research, such as a two-year project into voice recognition technology (Interviewee IR:05).

I am proud of the ongoing achievements, such as, getting buildings up and being successful with budgets. I would also be proud to think I contribute to staff understanding of why they come into work every day (Interviewee IR:13).

The following quotation illustrates one leader's contribution to a focus on sustainable planning, which he practises alongside an emphasis on networking and on devolution of authority. This extract deals with his library's rapid advance from being a relatively late starter in the automation field to being one of the flagship IT-supported library services in Ireland:

I place a lot of emphasis on sustainable planning. The overall system must work as a co-ordinated whole rather than as individual units. The whole is obviously the sum of all the parts, but the parts all have to be going roughly in the same direction. Planning is absolutely vital. It is important to stop rushing off with new projects. If you look at IT, for example, we spent two years planning what we were going to do. We gained extra staff, we organized the whole system and it was a huge undertaking and we went from a paper-based organization to a sophisticated IT-supported service in a few years. We have a number of our development programmes completed. We are a long way ahead in IT and website and publishing. We have four people in our IT department, which does not depend on the county council's IT department. Those four staff — two executive librarians and two senior library assistants — hold higher diplomas in IT from the Institute of Public Administration. Staff training is part of the planning, so staff are encouraged to study for professional qualifications in IT. We have more IT-qualified people than in the rest of the council. We run our own system. We do not pay any consultants. We have set up a new website for the museum, which is the first museum website in the country. We are also using the website as a cultural one-stop shop, so that the arts, heritage, community information, everything is on the library website, and we are running at about 1,200 hits a day. A lot of those are from outside the country. That is all part of the integrated planning: adopting IT and ensuring that your staff get the opportunity to qualify. We have well qualified people working in IT and that is a huge bonus for us. They bring their expertise to our project-planning discussions (Interviewee IR:03).

The participants were proud of their personal contribution to improving the services with which they were entrusted. Section 5:4.4 in Chapter 5 discussed many of these contributions.

4:4.5 Why Participants Continue in Library Careers

Twenty of the thirty interviewees, when asked why they remain in their careers, responded that they do so because they are adding value to society. Coincidentally, another total of twenty also said they stay in the profession because they *enjoy* their job. The same twelve respondents from the thirty interviewees were represented in both cohorts of twenty. The first group of quotations following, from the empirical data of this study, illustrates the view, widely held by the participants, that they are making a positive contribution to society:

The reason I stayed in librarianship is because I believe libraries make a difference. I have always had a strong public service belief (Interviewee IR:15).

What we are doing really really matters to people (Interviewee IR:02).

I am continually seeking professional satisfaction. I like the social service aspect, and I do believe that public libraries do make a difference to people's lives (Interviewee IR:05).

I worked as a children's librarian for ten years and then was nudged into administration. I have always supported the library's mission, which is to make our wealth of information and services as accessible as we possibly can to the entire community of the greater city area. I felt that I had something to contribute as the library has evolved over the years within this mission. Hence, after thirty-seven years, I'm still here (Interviewee US:04).

Another cohort of twenty respondents said they continue in their careers because they enjoy what they get out of their careers. Illustrative examples of this sense of enjoyment included:

I am as interested and as committed and as tuned into the career now as I ever was, and I am in my twenty-second year as county librarian this month. I love it; I would not be doing anything else. It has its good points and its bad points, its good and bad days. Essentially, I would not do anything else (Interviewee IR:01).

I like the career. I did not have a vocation for librarianship but I grew into the service. I love the service. I feel very passionate about it (Interviewee IR:10).

This is a fascinating profession, allowing lots of opportunities for working with staff, public and materials. No two days will ever be the same (Interviewee GB:05).

It is an exciting time to be in libraries because there are so many developments and opportunities (Interviewee GB:07).

The person in the library is dealing with knowledge all the time, and there would have to be something wrong with you if you were not getting a kick

out of that. I would say that the people within library services everywhere treat it as a vocation; so they are generally more interested than the clerical people in the public sector are. When you are working with people that have that interest it gives you a great buzz. The combination of working with the product 'knowledge' plus an inherent approach and interest from staff makes this a very good job to be in. I would rather not work in a special library or university library, which would not have all types of customers like those we deal with in the public library (Interviewee IR:06).

Librarianship as a career is very exciting now, because there are more changes in libraries in the past five or six years than there has been in the past fifty years. It is dynamic. It is interesting. In common with many people who went through university and who knew they would work in the public service, I am not totally driven by money and that underpins everything (Interviewee GB:03).

Twelve librarians (40%) identified with *both* of the above motivators, that is, they (i) enjoyed the career of librarianship, and (ii) shared a conviction that they were making a valuable contribution to society.

I am extremely lucky to be a librarian. The library service can really make a difference. I can't imagine coming into another job in the county council. I have got a lot out of life and life has been richer for me because I work in a library rather than in other jobs (Interviewee IR:13).

I remain in the career because I find it enjoyable and because there is an opportunity to make a difference in a non-profit organization (Interviewee IR:11).

I like my career; I believe I am playing a little part in improving the world (Interviewee US:03).

I am interested in and like my career. I do feel it is a worthwhile career. The library benefits the people we are serving. We try to get the service to as many people as possible. There is a sense of achievement when we can give people the opportunity to come in and use the library in the way that it is intended (Interviewee IR:04).

Why I remained in the career is because I really get a great buzz out of how we can help people, the amount of assistance that we can give them and in some way show them that great books can change their minds (Interviewee IR:03).

Librarians have an influence on people's lives. I believe that everywhere I have been I improved them. I enjoy the autonomy. I like the job. It is very rewarding to improve the service, including premises, bookstock, et cetera (Interviewee IR:12).

I prefer being involved in service delivery and service policy management rather than pure policies. Libraries do matter, but I don't think they matter as much as they ought to. There is a role for making libraries matter more. The career is so interesting I get a buzz out of it (Interviewee GB:08).

I stay in this career because I love it and because we can really help people to develop themselves. We can also enjoy the little pleasures when people return books and say, "I really liked that", or when you find on the shelf what precisely they are looking for (Interviewee GB:06).

I believe in helping people. This is a very satisfying job and it is seen as a positive service (Interviewee IR:08).

The reason I looked for promotion is to have greater ability to influence the social benefit and that is very rewarding. There is great job satisfaction in developing a service which has an impact on people's lives.... People are now reporting that the library developments are helping them to get jobs and to improve their lives (Interviewee GB:09). Michele de Montaigne's (1580) opinion that "the most honourable vocation is to serve the public and be useful to many" is mirrored in the above quotations illustrating the belief expressed by the interviewed librarians that their work intrinsically makes a positive difference and contribution to society, which in turn gives the librarians great satisfaction, encouraging them to continue working in librarianship.

4:5 Leadership and Communication

This section addresses the very broad area of organizational communication, particularly in relation to the leader's role in and affect on communication. Leaders' views on specific areas of communication will be presented under the following headings:

- Organizational communication: an overview
- Leaders and communication with front-line staff
- Leaders and formal meetings with staff
- Use of news media by leaders
- Leaders' views on staff dealing with news media
- Leaders and networking
- Leaders and politics
- Socializing with internal colleagues
- Leaders socializing and internal hierarchy
- Risk of leader isolation and the curtailing of feedback
- Information technology and leadership
- Storytelling as part of leadership communication.

4:5.1 Organizational Communication: An Overview

All thirty respondents repeatedly emphasized that good communication is a critical ingredient of effective leadership. Subsection 5:5.1 of Chapter 5 analyses the following findings:

You cannot lead without communication (Interviewee US:05).

It is communication that makes an organization work (Interviewee GB:01).

Communication is an issue that never goes away. No matter how good you think you are at communicating, there will always be the case where somebody said that they did not know or that nobody told them (Interviewee GB:03).

Communication is essential. Communication should be exercised regardless of rank. Communication patterns should be set in place to promote more successful communication between all sections throughout an organization (Interviewee IR:05).

Observing and intuiting are important ways of communicating (Interviewee US:03).

We have a four-page staff newsletter printed in colour every two months and that includes news about celebrating success, or staff development or new babies and things like that (Interviewee GB:09).

No leader, however, expressed satisfaction with the amount of communication in his or her organization:

Communication is one of those things that we should be good at but which we quite frequently fall down on (Interviewee GB:02).

Nobody ever says his or her organization is good at communicating, although we all try (Interviewee GB:10).

In every organization poor communication is the major flaw. Communication is never as good as the structure and the plans that are there. Communication depends on human commitment to it and to its implementation (Interviewee IR:08).

Communication is one of the most important aspects of any organization, but it is also one of the most difficult to do properly or even adequately. Communication is of crucial importance but there are libraries where communication is abysmal, disastrous (Interviewee IR:09).

Two-way communication is facilitated but I feel it is something that you can never do enough of and never be good enough at. It is very difficult to get it right. This is one of the great challenges in a county service. Our service points are spread out geographically, so one of the ways we deal with that is to have a staff enclosure on the website, so any information, news, developments, et cetera that staff need are put on the website. We are not as good as we should be and I would be the first to admit it (Interviewee IR:03).

Communication is the biggest continuing problem. There is never enough communication and yet it is enormously difficult, particularly in organizations where the pace of change is speeding up. I will give you an example. The Supreme Court ruled this week on our Children's Internet Pornography Act, which is a big issue in the US. Essentially, they upheld the law, which had been tossed out by the Appeals Court, so they basically said that we have to filter sites. The evolving discussion, on the interpretation of the court ruling, as opposed to the interpretation of the federal agencies that have to administer the law, means that every day there is a different agenda. So, how do you communicate all those changes when you also have to look at organizational efficiency, especially since some of this information is completely unimportant to anybody? What is communicated may not affect their day-to-day work and yet the ongoing exercise of communication consumes time. The continual flow of new information means that I can't concentrate, and at the same time I can't have the organization continually changing their concentration to follow new areas communicated to them. Continually

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responding to new regulations is problematic because it can imply that other areas become less important, so communication is the toughest thing for me (Interviewee US:03).

Not keeping staff informed is probably one of the worst attributes of a library leader. Where information comes as a total surprise it alienates staff. You can give them the information and you can give it to them in all kinds of formats, but you cannot actually guarantee that it will go in. The People's Network* is relevant here as we are starting the process of sending out bulletins to staff to keep them informed of what is going on. What I can't obviously guarantee is that staff read the bulletin, however, if we held that information to ourselves they would be justifiably angry (Interviewee GB:06).

We also put in an effective communication process into the organization, and by practising effective communication, honesty and mutual respect you can both encourage and challenge as necessary. At times we had to challenge staff to engage in frank discussions and to get them to communicate openly; open communication is something that is always an ambition but perfection never happens. If you can give out that air of mutual trust and communication, however, you can have effective discussions and it usually avoids having to instruct people to do things, but sometimes there is a need to instruct people if that is what is necessary.... To state the obvious, communication is absolutely crucial. I think we achieved something right when we got our first complaint that there was too much communication within the organization. The other side of it is that you can never get communication right in all directions. It is difficult to remind people that communication is a two- or three-way process and you always have to work on that. It is just not the downward communication. There is too much emphasis on downward communication. If we are going to involve staff in the organization they need to have effective upward communication and side-to-side communication. Multidirectional communication is absolutely crucial. I don't think any organization gets it right by default; so communication

^{*} Library and Information Commission (1997). *New library: The People's Network.* London: Library & Information Commission.

needs to be constantly worked on to keep it as effective as possible. In terms of direct communication, it has an importance that is often symbolic rather than real, because the frequency with which I as a leader of over 400 staff can go and talk to individuals every day is fictional. What is more important is making sure that people have confidence in communication so that their views are effectively communicated through the process and are acted upon. One of the key things that I always insist on with my staff is that if we say we will do something we make every effort to do it. If issues arise, we get back to people and we explain why we can or can't do it. When communication is left hanging it is a real mess. Therefore, developing commitment to communication throughout the organization is crucial (Interviewee GB:09).

I have worked in places where people do not communicate. In librarianship or anywhere else, one of the worst traits of a leader is no communication, lack of communication, or bad communication, because if people start hearing things that affects their service from somebody else, or if people feel that they can't go in and talk to you about something or disagree with you about something, the leader is not doing the job properly. The word 'communication' crops up in any organization when staff are asked what are the failings in their organization. I believe, nine times out of ten, staff would say there is a lack of communication. I would not put all the blame for that on managers or leaders, because communication is a two-way process; many potential problems are avoided if you improve communication at all levels (Interviewee IR:07).

Communication is absolutely vital. It is generally accepted, however, that the quality and quantity of communications in all organizations are inadequate. It is one of the areas where leaders need to go out and walk the talk and it is about being seen, being open-door available. I don't think you can ever do enough communicating (Interviewee GB:04).

The following quotation ends on a positive note about communication achievements:

If you don't communicate then nothing will happen. The organization will continue from day to day but it will not be able to develop. Staff will not

know what is going on. They will not know what they are supposed to be doing. Communication is one of the fundamentals and that is one of the areas where we have been commended by Audit Scotland. We have been commended on the communication practices we have introduced over the last four years (Interviewee GB:06).

Synoptic quotations on the practice of listening, as a core aspect of effective communication, are presented at the end of subsection 5:5.1 in the following chapter. Another aspect of organizational interaction, namely communication with front-line staff, is discussed next.

4:5.1.1 Leader and Communication with Front-line Staff

Many of the interviewees affirmed how front-line staff are an integral part of the proper functioning of a library service. Reflecting participants' views already quoted in subsection 4:1.3 above, such as "The service is front-line staff" and "Our front-line people are our service", the importance of front-line staff is further underlined in the following sample quotations from participants in this study:

Openness, transparency, and a sharing with all our employees, including front-line staff, of what the direction our organization should be, are especially important. This helps to get everybody on board. From the staff point of view, one never gets it completely right: I would like to see communications improve, and I would like to see more communication from the bottom up, to give us more opportunities for listening to staff and valuing staff (Interviewee GB:10).

The chief should be right there with the front-line staff and talking to them as if he were dealing with a football team. Front-line staff deliver the service, so the leader has got to be with them. Sometimes I go behind the counter with them and issue and return books (Interviewee IR:13).

It is important to stay in touch with front-line staff, as their ideas are valuable for library leaders (Interviewee IR:15).

Communication is very important. I go out and talk on a one-to-one basis with all staff. I have a few words with the cleaner, the attendant, the library assistants behind the desk, and the librarian in charge. I have a few words with them all. I ask them how they are and if they have any problems, and they know that if they have a problem I am accessible to them. My office door is never locked and people can call to me and close the door. I might not agree with what they are saying, but we can discuss any issue and talk it out. That is far healthier than ignoring issues (Interviewee IR:07).

The next three quotations refer to hierarchy as a necessary element in the vertical communication chain. All leaders reported that they would communicate with front staff if time permitted, or if this were practicable, but many believed that indirect communication in a large organization was the most that could be done:

Communication is needed to get your message across to all staff but, because of time constraints, it is not practicable for the leader to communicate adequately with front-line staff. You inform your heads of departments and then you check that they inform people down the line. Everybody is ultimately informed that way (Interviewee IR:06).

I expect my front-line staff to be communicating through their supervisor and through the hierarchical chain. There is a structure for communication, but at the same time, I am happy to communicate with front-line staff on the phone, through e-mail or to go out and see them. The main thing is not to cut out the supervisor or manager because it makes the manager short-changed. It is unfair on the people supervising if front-line staff come straight to me as it makes the supervisors feel devalued (Interviewee GB:03).

On a formal level, I meet the heads of department on a regular basis and I rely on them to act as downward and upward conduits of information between junior staff and me. On an informal basis, I talk with any member of staff, regardless of hierarchy, whenever I meet them, and they too are always free to approach me directly (Interviewee IR:10). Fifteen (50%) of the interviewees remarked on the challenge or impracticability of direct communication between the leader and front-line staff.

While I believe in being open with front-line and all staff, it is not practical for a chief librarian to adequately visit all branches, nor to depend solely on face-to-face communication (Interviewee IR:05).

It is always important that a leader is involved with front-line staff. Communication is a tremendous challenge for an organization of our size with fifty-five locations, as we have layers of administration. Making certain that front-line people are aware of the work we are doing, and that we are also aware of their needs, is difficult (Interviewee US:04).

We also depend on our heads of departments to bring back the messages from front-line staff (Interviewee IR:06).

Where the chief librarian sits in his office and does not meet staff, that is non-communication (Interviewee IR:09).

Communication is vital at all levels. As a county librarian in charge of a relatively small staff, I don't know how direct communications between leader and front-line staff would work on a much larger scale. Would it involve a spot visit here or there, just shaking hands? Would it be superficial? In our case it is much more detailed at all levels (Interviewee IR:08).

The leader of a very large library acknowledged this difficulty, but remarked that efforts should be made for such communication:

A leader should involve himself or herself with front-line staff when it is appropriate (Interviewee US:03).

While not questioned about communications with library 'support' staff, three librarians during the interview process added that they also communicate directly with support staff. One interviewee, for example, said that the leader should meet library van drivers when meeting staff on a social occasion. Another librarian deliberately calls to service points to chat with attendants and front-line staff. The third interviewee said that cleaners should attend meetings where appropriate:

All relevant staff in an area should be involved in improving service, and cleaning staff should be included in meetings, where relevant (Interviewee IR:05).

In summary, the participants were in favour of the chief librarian communicating with front-line staff if possible, but that this was not always practicable, especially where very large numbers of staff were involved. In the latter case, indirect communication was seen as appropriate. Overall, the importance of frontline staff was seen as essential to library service.

4:5.2 Leaders and Formal Staff Meetings with Staff

Twenty-seven of the thirty respondents said they hold formal meetings with staff. Three (10%), all of them Irish, said they do not hold formal meetings with staff. Analysis of the findings on this topic are in Chapter 5, subsection 5:5.2. Some of the comments from the participants on the issue of holding meetings included:

If a leader doesn't have frequent meetings he or she can become isolated (Interviewee IR:03).

At the end of meetings, I make a point of asking if there is anything that I would need to know which might not have been on the agenda. We need to encourage staff to talk (Interviewee IR:14).

While the combined total of fifteen British and American library leaders do hold formal meetings with staff, three of the fifteen Irish librarians said that they hold *no* formal meetings with staff:

No, because we are more intimate, and also because I worked in an authority where there were serious problems and there were always formal meetings being set up by the county librarian and formal meetings were used by people with their own negative agenda and they could be used either to beat up the boss or beat up other staff members, and can be used in ways that they were not meant to (Interviewee IR:02).

Another of these three Irish librarians admitted: "We do not hold formal meetings", but added, "In headquarters, we meet on a daily basis for discussions". These discussions, however, did not qualify as 'formal meetings' for the purposes of this study. The third Irish librarian who did not hold any formal meetings with staff said, "I favour one-to-one communication; it is more informal".

An Irish librarian who held monthly minuted meetings commented:

As we have the mobile library service, the schools library, the homebound service and local archives all in different locations, I hold a meeting once a month with all service-point staff at which everybody can put items on the agenda and we discuss everything. The most important thing is that every meeting is minuted and paper copies of the minutes are distributed to all staff, so that staff are kept informed. Meetings are usually held on the first Tuesday of each month at 2.30 p.m., because all branch staff are on duty in the afternoons. We hold the meeting in the County Hall and we finish by 5.00 p.m. It is very important that representatives of all service points, not just senior staff, are present. About sixteen people attend these meetings, including the branch librarians, all service-point managers, and in their absence they can delegate a member of staff. We sometimes call special meetings if there are some major issues (Interviewee IR:07).

The variety of meetings held by American and British librarians is illustrated in this sample quotation:

We have many different kinds of meetings. I have a group called the Strategic Process Team, which meets twice a week. It comprises the senior managers of the library. We have a larger managers' group which meets quarterly. Almost all the departments have regular meetings in different sorts. We have more meetings. Some record minutes, some don't, they are all different. We hold some facilitation meetings. We have some union contacts, and there are formal records of some of those meetings. We have not stuck to rules about record keeping, but we like to have agendas for meetings (Interviewee US:03).

A British city-based librarian gave the following account of his library's meeting structure. It illustrates the greater emphasis in British public libraries on meetings.

Yes, it is difficult when you have so many meetings, but we have an effective meeting structure throughout the service. I try to make sure that I go to team meetings at least once a year, to meet everybody in the workplace, and also we have larger scale meetings that are like a seminar approach. I don't want to be seen as somebody distant. If you have a form of bureaucracy, which most organizations do, the further up the hierarchy you are, the less human you become, or there is a risk that you become less human. One of the key messages I have for staff is that we are all in this together and it is up to everybody to work together and you don't get that support by sending messages down the line indirectly. It is important that all staff know me and know me by my first name and that they feel comfortable to talk to me any time they want to. There is a practicality element there, insofar as most people do not want to contact me directly, but I want to shorten that chain as far as possible. Being realistic, however, that remains an aim rather than a reality. If I go to their team meetings, when I can, it gives them a chance to question me on their own terms. Also, we do have staff seminars twice a year for all staff and I always go to those. I usually do part of the presentation, but I am also in the audience for lunch and coffee. Regarding the two key meetings, one is with the library information management team, but we also have an extended management team, which brings together all the third tier managers. They are crucial in terms of taking ownership of the corporate issues and unless you have effective middle management level, no matter how much support you have at a senior level, the support becomes diluted unless there is support from the middle management. Middle management are, therefore, actively involved in the decision-making and management process. The management team

meets weekly; the extended management team meets fortnightly (Interviewee GB:09).

The two Irish public libraries, which held weekly meetings, ensured that their IT librarians attended those meetings:

Every Tuesday morning I have a formal meeting with heads of functions, such as head of IT. The meeting may include people from any hierarchical level who have been delegated to manage a project (Interviewee IR:05).

On a weekly basis, I hold informal meetings with the senior librarians who are heads of functions, like personnel, finance, acquisitions and IT. On a monthly basis, I hold formal meetings with branch managers and heads of service and in turn they return and hold monthly meetings with their staff (Interviewee IR:15).

Two British librarians reported that their weekly meetings were on an informal basis, while most other meetings were formal:

At nine o'clock on Friday mornings, the management team has an informal get-together to discuss things to do in the following week. On a monthly basis, there are formal meetings with different levels of staff. Our management team holds a formal monthly meeting with an agenda that is tied into the issues that affect us throughout the year, for example, how we are meeting our new library plan. These meetings can take a whole morning. Ideally, it should be about two hours, but it is a fixed agenda and it is seen very much as a method of seeing how we are doing. The meeting is presented with lots of statistics. We get issue figures. We get sickness statistics and progress on sickness reports. Progress against our annual library plan is reported on, and projects are These are the internal meetings I attend. reported on. There is a sequence of meetings throughout the service, based on managementteam meetings. In other words, the agenda items from the management team are repeated throughout the other meetings, so the agenda is more or less set all the way through. Just days after the monthly management-team meeting, the deputy librarian meets senior library

staff. Then the senior librarians meet with their staff; so the meetings just follow through all the time. That is the formal structure. Right down at branch level, staff meet at various times. At the very small libraries, staff meet on a fairly informal basis (Interviewee GB:05).

In summary, the Irish participants reported that they rely more on informal communication with staff than on formal meetings with staff. Annual plenary meetings, at which all staff are invited to attend were reported by three Irish librarians and one British librarian.

4:5.3 Use of News Media by Leaders

While all fifteen Irish librarians and all five American librarians agreed that chief librarians should have a high profile in the news media, six (60%) of the British interviewees either disagreed with or were dubious about librarians cultivating a media image. Samples of the negative or ambivalent attitude of the majority British librarians on this topic include:

Within councils there are quite strict procedures on who represents the council on external media matters. If there was a press announcement being made, it generally would be made by the director of education in the council or an elected member rather than by myself (Interviewee GB:02).

We are not supposed to go directly to the media, ourselves. That is a directive from the chief executive of the council (Interviewee GB:10)

There are inherent dangers for chief librarians receiving publicity because, in an organization like ours, you could acquire a reputation for being a news hound, and your colleagues in other local authority services and local representatives could be jealous. In a political context, a high profile library leader holds his or her head above the parapet (Interviewee GB:04).

The following quotations are from the forty per cent of British interviewees who were positive about chief librarians having a media role:

Yes, if chief librarians are good on the media, by all means. They are marketing a service (Interviewee GB:03).

As the service should have a high media profile, quite often that means that the librarian has to share the profile. Quite often reporters will want to speak to the person in charge of the service and for us the issues often involves politicians (Interviewee GB:09).

The following quotations illustrate some of the positive Irish responses to media profiling of the chief librarian.

The library service should have a high profile. In the local newspaper, I had full-page articles on me as chief librarian. In those articles, it is important that the word Library is to the fore rather than my name. Mostly, I talk in the article about the service. It is a good thing if the article is informative, thus heightening public opinion of the library. Many librarians are bad at promoting their service. Using the media is a good way to promote libraries. Some librarians do not realize how important full-time application to publicity is. As our library is in the newspapers all the time, people talk about us, and the councillors are aware of that; therefore it is easier for councillors to provide us with greater resources. Some librarians see the value in this but would say that they have not got the staff resources to do this, or they might pay lip service to it, doing it in a very fragmented way — such as the homebound services operated in libraries throughout the country, which lack proper structure. If you are going to do something, you must try to give it the resources to match the *importance you place on that service* (Interviewee IR:07).

Yes, libraries can benefit if librarians have a presence in the media. Anything that raises the profile of libraries should be good (Interviewee IR:05). I have a high profile and this reflects well on the organization. The main thing is to focus on the service, as it is the service that should have the high profile focus (Interviewee IR:03).

In the eyes of the public, the incumbent librarian must be identified as the head of the service, whether that is easy to achieve or not. I think it is easier in a county library than in a city library. In a county you are occasionally asked to officiate at the launching of a local history book or at a small festival, and you end up with your photograph in the local paper. It is advantageous or even necessary to be identified in the community (Interviewee IR:14).

While one Irish librarian was clear that library leaders should have a high profile in the media, he recommended a tempered approach:

Librarians should have a profile, even if my own management style is not high profile. I don't know any county librarian with a high profile. Some are higher than mine, but I do think they should have a defined profile in the media. Our job is not that central to any community. It is important but I don't think we can compete with the commercial world, for example. I don't think it would be to our benefit to be out there having a very high profile on a lot of issues because I don't think the library needs that, but it needs a defined profile (Interviewee IR:08).

The American librarians coincided with a similar positive approach to the presence of librarians in the media:

Yes, chief librarians should be readily identified on the media. People in my position are the human and public face of the organization (Interviewee US:03).

Another American librarian recommended media exposure to challenge negative stereotyping of the library service:

The public library still has vestiges of a stigma attached to it, regarding stereotypes of what libraries are about. Some people also have a stereotype image of staff who work in libraries; some would not be surprised if librarians still wore gloves and wore buns on the back of their heads. We know that the library has changed immensely and we need to get the public to know that, not only that those changes have happened, but, that there are so many services that the public library provides for the general public to use. Whatever way we promulgate our services, such as through staff on the media or programmes or whatever type of outreach, we need to talk to the media (Interviewee US:04).

The above contrasting views are discussed in the corresponding section, 5:5.3, of Chapter 5.

4:5.3.1 Leaders' Views on Staff Dealing with News Media

Reflecting the findings in the previous subsection, the American and Irish respondents articulated one hundred per cent positive support for departmental heads communicating directly through the news media. The contrast with the conservative reaction of the British respondents was, however, acute, as nine (90%) of these presented negative views or official restrictions on departmental heads speaking with the media:

The Council policy is, very clearly, No. The Council press office speaks on behalf of the library (Interviewee GB:01).

No, we do not authorize heads of departments to speak to the news media. We have a policy in the Council whereby we have to take everything through the press office. If a newspaper telephoned me this morning, I would not quite say, 'No comment', because that would say that the head librarian said, 'No comment', but I would encourage them to go to the Council's press office, and then I would brief the press office, who would speak on our behalf (Interviewee GB:05).

No, I would tend not to in this council. The working policy here is that we would put it through council's PR section. If the local person phoned me, I would refer them to the PR section, then I would issue a statement and it would be issued through them, not directly through myself (Interviewee GB:04).

Nobody is allowed to speak to the press without permission from the council (Interviewee GB:06).

The following quotation illustrates how some British librarians might adopt a more liberal approach to staff speaking with the media if the policy of their parent body were altered:

If somebody is good at something I am all for them doing it, but the Council's PR department deals with media matters (Interviewee GB:03).

The one exception to the British majority was expresses as:

I personally encourage staff at all levels to be involved in the media with the support of the marketing staff from the Council because if somebody is doing a children's event in their local library the media don't want to wheel me out and get me in the photo, they want to get the local staff. We have team librarians speaking to the media. It can be any member of staff. We clear it with PR first regarding what they are going to say. It is the appropriate member of staff (Interviewee GB:09).

The positive responses from Irish librarians are illustrated in these sample quotations:

Yes. I believe that local librarians need to have frequent slots on local radio or in the local newspapers. One member of staff has a regular slot on local radio for promoting events in the library (Interviewee IR:10).

Definitely, staff should be allowed to speak with the media. Before they gain experience, some handholding is needed. Even far away from the capital, the media have their own games to play and you cannot be totally relaxed with them. That is an aspect of delegating and letting people get on with things (Interviewee IR:14).

In this library, we have set up our own PR department and it is staffed by a librarian and a senior library assistant. These are full-time posts. This in-house PR department, with a grade V and a grade IV, also produces internal and external library newsletters and brochures and acts as a conduit between the branches and the activities that take place. Our PR staff spend much of their time networking with reporters on the local and national press, and that is mainly what they are there for (Interviewee IR:07).

Yes, I would. People involved with a project at the coalface are usually the best people to speak on that topic (Interviewee IR:05).

American librarians were also supportive of their staff representing their library in the media:

Often, other members of staff deal with the media; I can't do it all. We also have communications staff, so nobody goes to a news interview unprepared. We have full-time communications staff in the library, three people, and we do over 3,000 programmes a year, press releases, Internet, news media of all sorts and we have, in the past, done a weekly package of all the news mentions of the library and sometimes it is a substantial document. We are mentioned all over the place (Interviewee US:03).

It is clear from the above responses that Irish and American participants share a liberal attitude towards themselves and their staff representing library activities on the news media. This contrasts directly with the majority policy in British library authorities.

4:5.4 Leaders and Networking

Many of the interviewees raised the topic of networking, underlining that it is a method of increasing interest in the service, thereby increasing both funding of the service and customer usage of the service. The networking effectiveness of proximity to powerful stakeholders in a library's parent body was emphasized by the following librarian:

Having our offices located in the county hall and having our own designated space there makes my job easier to network or to liaise with people. We are in the county hall with other officers in the council, and I refused to go elsewhere. Location is important. If you are a mile away from the county offices or if you are fifty yards away it does not matter, but, as I am right in the middle among everybody else, I meet the finance officer every day and I meet the manager and director of services, as I don't have to arrange meetings to go and see them. If I want to talk about staff I go straight to the personnel officer. I always adopted this approach. All twenty-one library headquarters staff are in there also. That was a conscious decision of mine that I made years ago, because we are there at the epicentre, and they do take notice, because the old saying 'out of sight, out of mind', is very, very true (Interviewee IR:07).

The same interviewee also spoke of the importance of cultivating relationships with personnel in the government department ultimately responsible for public library services:

I have direct dealings with the top officials in the Department of the Environment & Local Government. They know me. I occasionally sit across the table with them. We sought a meeting with the officials for a new library building and we got the biggest grant and I brought my principal officers from the local authority with me and I said that we are committed to the particular project. It focused the mind that we were committed to this, and we got it through in a very short space of time. I have been lucky that we got a new library up, and doubled the staff. We set up new services and they are all staffed by designated staff (Interviewee IR:07).

This is an example of networking with professional associates:

I sit on the governing council of the American Library Association and it is important to me and my institution that we share with others what our ideas are, those ideas which are professionally important. You hope you get as much back as you give (Interviewee US:03).

This is an elaboration of what networking can include:

I see the role of the leader here as influencing people. I see my role as influencing people in the local authority service for a start: I am talking about county managers, county finance officers, and the director of services. I see my role as acquiring the resources needed to develop the library service and to build up relationships with people in the local authority structure, whether it is for staff resources or financial resources. Networking involves interacting with them on a personal basis. Over the years I have seen people using memos, phone conversations, and letters; it is not the same, you need people to know you. This means staying on late, going to events where elected representatives are going to be, and projecting the library service and letting them see what the benefits are. The public who use us know what benefits we give them. We will not get resources from local authorities if they don't see that it is a benefit to them as well. The benefit is the goodwill that keeps coming back from the public to them whether it is in the newspapers, through PR, or events that are run and that are well attended and feedback goes back to them. As far as I am concerned, if you are not there and people do not know you, it makes the job much more difficult (Interviewee IR:07).

One Irish female librarian, who argued that it was difficult for women to network, outlined the importance of networking:

It is through networking that a lot of business is done in local authorities and that is how decisions are made. Networking for the advantage of the service involves senior grades.... Many decisions are not made inside the council chamber or the offices. They are agreed outside the chamber, as what really matters is often not articulated inside (Interviewee IR:02).

The latter extract is from a fuller quotation presented on the section dealing with difficulties for library leaders, in subsection 4:8.3.

The following quotations typify comments made on circumstances involving female librarians networking with political stakeholders.

Since councillors are male, women should have an advantage with a male–female relationship, but it depends on the personality and the respect the elected representatives have for them (Interviewee IR:03).

Contrasting with the majority views that networking was seen as a positive practice, two (7%) interviewed librarians expressed somewhat ambivalent attitudes to networking among fellow professionals:

Networking is fine but it can become an end in itself (Interviewee IR:01).

I would be very critical of librarians who go and talk at conferences when the don't really know what they are talking about. Instead, they should focus on their local community (Interviewee GB:01).

These views contrasted with the other views, such as those of a Scottish librarian who said, "it is important to have very good networking skills" in order to ensure a sense of cohesion in one's organization. The same interviewee asserted a need for networking outside the library, "to keep abreast of wider issues, as many important events happen outside formal meetings and are initiated through personal contacts or networking". Another Scottish librarian said that it is important to network with politicians for resources, and with fellow librarians to raise people's consciousness of library services. The same librarian believes that successful networking and profiling results in the raising of shared public value on the quality of library services, which he believes are often hidden from their target customers:

Leaders should also network with professional colleagues. Here in the greater London region we do see each other on a regular basis. We are very aware of what is happening in different authorities because they are easy to reach, and we see many different styles of libraries and different styles of leadership within a very small area, as well as different authorities with different political majorities, literally from here to the other side of the river. We are, therefore, aware of what each other is doing. We are aware of what is happening in each other's libraries, so, we beg and borrow, and adapt and change. London has thirty-three authorities that are increasingly moving towards working in groups. There are. perhaps, four or five groups that have been set up, initially through co-operative training, but increasingly it is becoming co-operative working, bidding for funding, co-operative projects, et cetera. I think it will go more and more down that line in a few years time (Interviewee GB:05).

My job is to make sure that we get enough money. Generous budgets do not come by mistake but from networking, making sure that the library is out there in front of people, making sure that when we do something that we claim credit for it. We never announce in advance that we are going to do something. Instead, we do it and then we claim credit for it. Then you are delivering what you say you are going to deliver. This involves planning, networking and public relations. Networking is vitally important (Interviewee IR:03).

The reason that I am involved in professional networking is because I have certain views that I want to get across and I am using every opportunity to get them across. I am trying to get certain views across (Interviewee IR:13).

Views of the participating librarians on the topic of networking are analysed in the corresponding subsection, 5:5.4, of Chapter 5.

4:5.5 Leadership and Politics

Seven (23%) of the interviewed librarians, one British and six Irish, proffered views on the role of politics/politicians. Networking featured strongly as part of the political process.

We work in a political environment. The council members are the board of directors for the local authority. The manager is the manager, but, we are responsible to our councillors (Interviewee IR:01).

A county or city librarian needs political skills and to develop these over time. They are the kind of skills that are learned. I would not say it is natural for librarians, since those who have great political skills will probably not become librarians but something else instead (Interviewee IR:13).

The same librarian also spoke of a different political perspective on library services, in a different national context:

I was a guest at a British conference of public librarians when a politician made a speech about best value and good administration in public libraries. *I* was horrified at the speech but as *I* was a guest *I* could not challenge him (Interviewee IR:13).

Other views on the political aspect of library leadership included:

Exercising political skill is a required quality for any chief librarian. One must be aware of subtle undercurrents and must understand the different agendas of politicians. In this county, because the councillors knew my father, they are sometimes almost fatherly to me, which I can use to my advantage. However, when councillors underestimate female librarians, or if they talk down to us, effective negotiation is hampered (Interviewee IR:02).

Local politicians should be involved with library development so that they feel responsible for establishing them, and they must also be convinced that libraries are a vital element in any community (Interviewee IR:14).

Public librarians must be able to interact successfully with senior public officials and politicians within his or her area (Interviewee IR:09).

It is easier to acquire resources for a project after you first impress councillors and the media with a successful pilot version of that project. Our ongoing media coverage attracts attention and thus more support from councillors (Interviewee IR:07)

In a political context, a high profile library leader holds his or her head above the parapet. If we are doing something that we need to publicize, I would contact an elected member of the council, who would arrange to be publicized. This means that the librarian is receiving coverage for the service, but without receiving personal credit for it. Thus, the personal focus is on the politician and this keeps them happy, and this keeps them off your back (Interviewee GB:04). The utilitarian aspect of cultivating increased involvement by politicians in library events and publicity is seen as advantageous for attracting increased resources for library services. The interviewed librarians were very aware of the importance of cultivating good relationships with politicians, as a necessary activity for improving public library services.

4:5.6 Socializing with Internal Colleagues

Among the thirty responses, an eighty-seven per cent majority expressed support for the practice of library leaders socializing with staff. Eighty per cent of American respondents and an equal percentage of British responses were in favour, while ninety-three per cent of Irish responses were in favour.

The first of the following extracts represented, however, the most negative attitudes towards leader-staff socializing:

I don't encourage socializing between leader and staff because it confuses issues back on the job, possibly engendering an 'I thought you were my friend' reaction to professional directives (Interviewee US:01).

Socializing would not be my style. One might meet the staff socially on occasions but I am not really sure if that fits in with good management style. We cultivate a good relationship at work, rather than socially (Interviewee IR:08).

I would say that it is not only impossible but is unwise to be friends with your employees. It doesn't mean not to be friendly but not to be friends. You can't be friends. Should the library have a social life? Yes. We had a beautiful breakfast this morning for five people retiring, it was a social event. This was at eight o'clock this morning, before start of work at nine o'clock. Sometimes we hold a holiday party and that is important to create some social fabric for the organization, showing the caring and human part of the organization (Interviewee US:03).

This is a difficult one because socializing starts to bring artificiality into things, especially the more you formally celebrate things, like in the US; that does not sit well in western Europe and particularly in British terms. In British terms, a formal or artificial setting always comes with a high embarrassment factor, which actually works against things. But, if you encourage people to meet informally and socially it is a good idea. Because you spend so much time with your colleagues it is worth being friends at the same time. Now, I don't have a hard and fast rule on this but, while I won't do things that are artificial, I will go along and support things that are happening. For example, in this building there is always a Christmas disco for staff to which everybody brings their own drink and there is a raffle and so on. I usually go along because it provides an opportunity to meet staff informally and everybody is happy with that. We often add a social dimension to some of the more formal events. For example, if we are at a formal event in a library, I would quite often take people for a drink afterwards. I don't engage in artificial things, for example, I don't invite staff over for a garden party. Socializing is a good idea but it has to come naturally (Interviewee GB:09).

You have to be a bit wary of socializing with staff, because you could end up socializing to the exclusion of being seen to be their leader. You have to maintain a balance, a distinction (Interviewee GB:05).

As well as expressing negative views on the leader socializing with staff, many other respondents portrayed a mixed response to the issue of socializing with staff:

I would neither encourage nor discourage leader-staff socializing. My work is my work and my home is my home, but I do interact with staff in social settings. I wouldn't want to do anything that makes staff feel uncomfortable. I'd say that the staff that have seen me in social settings know me in a slightly different way, but I don't think it impacts on my ability to lead. I don't think it impacts on their willingness to see me as a leader. I just think they see me in a different setting, and they see a different side of my personality. This has neither a positive nor a negative impact on the job afterwards. I don't think it makes a difference (Interviewee US:02).

Yes, my own personal view on this is that you go along to social occasions but you do not stay all night. If you end up there all night they do not let themselves go, or you might have somebody having a go at you and it is not the appropriate time for it. It is important for people to have their own space as well, but also to acknowledge that they are part of that group (Interviewee GB:02).

It is one of those 'Yes, but...' answers. You might cramp people's style because it is very difficult for them to talk about you if you are there and I accept it as a fact of life that they do talk about you. So, for example, if there is a leaving do, I will come and do the speech and stay for a while. I would turn up at a Christmas party, but I would not necessarily stay very late at that. If we have had author visits or quiz finals I would always go to those. I usually take the staff across the road to the pub after those events, buy a round and then float off. It is about selfawareness. I used to go to things with my previous boss and she was not a very popular woman and nobody wanted to sit with her and the last chair at the table to be taken was always the one next to her, and I would never want to be in that position (Interviewee GB:04).

I wouldn't say it is essential to a good leader. It can oil the wheels. It can depend on the culture. I don't think, for example, it is necessary for a management team to meet socially. Our team works very well and the only chance we get together socially tends to be Christmas and such special occasions. It depends very much on the types of personalities. I would not say it is absolutely essential (Interviewee GB:10).

A tricky one, and I have seen both sides of the coin on this one. But, yes, I would go to any social occasion that is being organized, birthday or any party where possible (Interviewee IR:07).

In principle, the leader should meet staff socially. When the leader meets staff socially, it changes the nature of the occasion. It changes the feel of the occasion (Interviewee GB:08).

On occasions, yes. Staff have layers of socializing and leaders must realize that and must allow staff to socialize without the presence of the leader also (Interviewee IR:05).

Two respondents regard interchanges at tea-breaks or over lunch as an aspect of socializing.

I do, yes. Sometimes I might go down to the city branch library and I would join them for their tea, and it does mean as well that you do not have to call a meeting as you can say, 'By they way, there is something I want to say here...'. I am not sure if I would go drinking with them because in some ways people go drinking after work and some don't, so if there are people who do not go for a drink you are excluding them. The Christmas party is very important. When the library organizes a function there is also informal socializing (Interviewee IR:13).

I have found it easier to meet our headquarters staff socially, for example, over lunchtime. It is not so easy to socialize with staff who are dispersed through the geographic spread of the network of branch libraries (Interviewee IR:10).

Other leaders were very positive towards leader-staff socializing:

Definitely, you have to be there at the Christmas party or any other parties, such as, if a person is getting married, going to the stag party, and if there are table quizzes et cetera, you have to go to those. I find that easy, because I am a reasonably social animal, but even if you did not enjoy it you should make an effort to go (Interviewee IR:14).

Some chiefs have a morbid fear of socializing with staff. I see social occasions as the means of engendering and encouraging a positive work environment. I see them as useful tools (Interviewee IR:09).

Most definitely; leader-staff socializing is very desirable but it does not happen often enough. Where you have a library service with staff geographically spread across the county it is not the easiest (Interviewee IR:03).

In summary, the responses were mixed. The problem of staff viewing a leader as a friend rather than a hierarchical chief was an issue that concerned some respondents. The views are analysed in Chapter 5, subsection 5:5.6.

4:5.6.1 Leaders Socializing and Internal Hierarchy

Twenty-eight (93%) agreed that hierarchy should be irrelevant when attending a social event with staff: "I do not subscribe to all that hierarchical stuff. When we are socializing, hierarchy is irrelevant" (Interviewee GB:04). Two respondents, one American and one Irish, however, disagreed with the practice of leader–follower socializing. Another Irish respondent, while not disagreeing with such socializing, expressed some caution about socializing with all grades:

It is easier to socialize with people nearer your own grade, but if junior levels are part of that mix that should be beneficial also for everyone. Token socializing is beneficial, but going beyond that could lead to unnecessary problems, for example, if you cannot be seen to spread your socializing efforts evenly across different members of staff (Interviewee IR:10).

The following are typical quotations from the majority responses, indicating a widespread willingness not to pull rank when socializing with staff:

If interaction is social it is social, and has nothing to do with leader to peer or leader to subordinate. If you are out socially, hierarchy should not matter (Interviewee US:02)

If you are going to socialize, it has to be with everyone (Interviewee IR:03).

There should be no hierarchy outside of working hours. From working in different places, I am aware that there can be tension between staff and

the boss, and that is the culture. Last Friday night we were out at county council Long Service awards, for people with over twenty-five years service, and five people in the library received them. When I would be out like that I buy a drink for all the staff. This builds rapport and breaks down barriers (Interviewee IR:12).

All levels, you have to have a pint with the van drivers as well (Interviewee IR:14).

I don't think there are any levels which leaders should not socialize with, because general mixing adds to the communication and trust, and quite often you can talk about things informally which people are uncomfortable talking about in a formal setting (Interviewee GB:09).

Everybody; it has to be egalitarian (Interviewee US:03).

When socializing, I would not differentiate by hierarchical levels. I have come across head librarians who got promoted and then said that that changes everything and have said that relationships they had with staff had to change. I don't believe that has to be the case. You are off to a bad start with that kind of attitude (Interviewee IR:07).

Whatever comes naturally, really (Interviewee GB:10).

The front-line staff are the most important in the organization, so I would socialize with all levels (Interviewee IR:01).

If there is a party for someone leaving, then I think I should go, unless they specifically do not want me to go, which has also happened. I would meet with them in that sort of situation, but to me it is like work rather than a social occasion. Without me, staff are usually more free and easy at social events. For me, I have to go and give them all positive strokes, so then it is like working. I would not be there as myself; I'd be there as head of the service, encouraging everybody (Interviewee GB:01). As two respondents said they would not agree with socializing with *any* colleagues in the previous subsection, the same two did not, therefore, agree with socializing with junior colleagues. All the remaining twenty-eight respondents, agreed that if the library leader socialized with any colleagues, he or she should not exclude any hierarchical grades.

4:5.7 Risk of Leader Isolation and the Curtailing of Feedback

This section is based on responses from the thirty interviewees when they were asked, *Does a leader's power, isolationism, and autonomy prevent him/her from receiving direct feedback or positive criticism from staff?* The question was based on Kaplan, Drath, & Kofodimos (1985), who suggested that the power, isolation, and autonomy granted to senior executives does discourage feedback and criticism from others. The following quotations on isolation typify the views of participants in this study:

Yes, leaders can become isolated if they see themselves as having autonomous power (Interviewee GB:09).

Yes to some degree and that is why you need key people. Because you are the chief librarian you do not hear things directly, but if you are a good manager and a good leader you generally have your pathways prepared to you (Interviewee IR:02).

If a leader ever 'shoots the messenger' — who can be any member of staff bringing an idea or report to him or her — that leader is discouraging further opportunities being presented with feedback, especially if it is negative news or something that needs addressing. A leader who discourages feedback in any way will be less informed. Meetings or discussions should encourage all constructive ideas to be presented in an open way. These meetings should also encourage multiple presentation of ideas, while the selection of one idea among others should also not be seen as a negative rejection of other options (Interviewee IR:05).

The smart leader will recognize the extent of their power and be able to determine when that reduces their accessibility to individuals, whether psychologically or physically. The leader has got to be smart enough to figure out a way that participation can be improved, because it is important for the leader to have the power and the skills, as the knowledge is just not good enough. Power and skills must be shared (Interviewee US:04).

Not in my case, because I keep an open-door policy. If a person wants to talk to me, they know they can. I made that clear from the very beginning when I took this position (Interviewee US:05).

It shouldn't. You should do everything you can do to make sure isolation does not happen. It probably happens and I have seen cases where it does. But, I believe the best answer to the question is that it shouldn't. The higher up the person is, even though the person says they have an open-door policy, staff themselves will keep themselves from using that open door and will feel more comfortable sitting in the staff room and talking among their own peers. Yes, the position does prevent some feedback. A person's autonomy can also keep them from actually welcoming or receiving people or guests or staff members easily, preventing them from hearing criticism (Interviewee US:02).

Yes, isolation can happen and some leaders allow it to happen. It does not have to happen. My way of ensuring that does not happen to me is by leaving my office door always open. People do not need an appointment to see me. They can see me any day. I try to get out to the branch libraries, usually on the way to work in the mornings. I go to our two largest branches maybe once a fortnight for an hour, to go in and talk to all staff there, to say Hello, totally informal, and to listen. You pick up more feedback this way than in formal settings. It depends on the leader whether isolation happens or not (Interviewee IR:07).

If the leader is isolated from feedback, the leader is not doing his or her job. The key to effective leadership is being there where you create interaction with staff and receive feedback, whether talking to people formally or by e-mail, or informally by stopping in hallways and chatting, or by stopping and observing — because sometimes people do not tell you something but you stand there and you see that something is not working. Observing and intuiting are important ways of communicating. Your skill set as a leader is to use all of your senses to receive communication from the organization, such as by empathizing and observing and even just being in the presence of others. I go to very many staff-organized programmes while the public are there, and it is often to garner feedback, for example, if somebody says it is always too hot in this room, I can then try to remedy that problem, or they might say that this programme is wonderful. I come to every one of these programmes. It is not only with the public but with staff as well... A leader has to use the eyes of his colleagues as well as his or her own eyes. The organization is so large and I am not exposed to all levels so I need to use other eyes and ears (Interviewee US:03).

The more detached you are, the more you will not hear feedback. A certain amount of distance is necessary however. The more open you are the more positive criticism you are going to hear, otherwise it will just manifest itself in bitching and backbiting. At least, with an open-door policy, carping can be reduced (Interviewee IR:12).

It depends on the leader's communication skills and to a large extent their approachability; so it depends on a leader's personality type (Interviewee IR:15).

Certainly, if you isolate yourself, you can prevent feedback (Interviewee GB:01).

Some respondents suggested that, realistically, a certain degree of isolation is part of the leader's context in an organization:

I don't think you will ever get full openness between a leader and staff, even in our situation with a relatively small staff total, who are not too dispersed. I don't believe you get the full story on any issue. You have to piece it together. It is something you live with, because it is impossible to have full openness between followers and their leader (Interviewee IR:08). It has to. You are not hearing everything (Interviewee IR:11).

Staff will deliberately withhold some feedback, especially if it might be at the expense of themselves or of a colleague (Interviewee IR:10).

In summary, the respondents were divided between those who believed they experienced no isolation from staff, because of their efforts to exercise an 'opendoor' policy and proactively meeting staff, and those who believe that a leader will always be somewhat isolated from staff confidences as staff will not be fully open with their leader.

4:5.8 Information Technology and Leadership

A wide variety of replies were tendered on the effect of automation on leadership. Overall, the respondents did not believe that information technology had a major effect on leadership per se. Instead, many acknowledged that automation had wide-reaching effects on management and administration processes. Practically all replies focused on the organizational effects of information technology, and discussed advantages and disadvantages of, for example, e-mails and their effect on communication. The first quotation below was the most comprehensive, articulating some far-reaching effects of information technology on organizational leadership/management:

Automation certainly has changed leadership from the old style, insofar as much leadership was previously based on accumulated knowledge over years of experience. There is an increase in democracy now as everybody has access to the knowledge within the system and therefore a leader, who would have been distinguished for their knowledge of an area, would have great strength and respect as a result of their knowledge. We are now in a situation where the knowledge of experienced librarians is available to library assistants, and that would reflect the overall organization in that you are now leading a team that has access to all information which they would not have had before. People would have had greater reason to refer things up before, but now you have to respect that the knowledge environment is more democratic (Interviewee IR:11).

Twenty-one (70%) of the thirty respondents referred to e-mail when asked about automation. Twelve among these twenty-one praised the benefits of e-mail for communicating. Negative views on e-mail communication were expressed by three among the twenty-one who spoke about e-mail:

Face-to-face communication is in danger of being replaced by electronic communication because of e-mail. Personal communication should be face-to-face, unless it is a simple routine matter (Interviewee IR:04).

I don't think our communication is anything as good as it might be, despite all the electronics. You fire out e-mails but that is just e-mail; that is not communication... Because e-mails are easy to send, it does not mean that e-mail is any more effective than the older systems. It is faster, and because e-mails are so easy to send there is a tendency for staff to receive dozens of them and staff can become swamped and may not read them. So, in terms of communication, e-mailing is just a waste of time sometimes (Interviewee GB:03).

One of the three who were critical of e-mail did, however, express an appreciation of the wider area of automation:

Information technology is now so essential to providing a good library service. It is now a necessary tool for the library leader. The leader must be vigilant that automation will not unduly depersonalize relationships within the service, or between the library and customers. I regard e-mail as a quite depersonalizing means of communication (Interviewee IR:10).

Those who were positive about e-mail spoke of its "speed and precision", how it "makes communication easy", how it "is used to streamline communication", and four respondents used the term "great" in their assessment of e-mail:

A leader should be directly involved in communication with front-line staff. This is much easier now with e-mail. You can quite easily communicate with large numbers of people, whereas it was much more cumbersome before (Interviewee GB:10).

Everyone has their own e-mail address, getting away from paper to the more dynamic environment, which has the speed and precision factor (Interviewee US:03).

Automation changes the tools you can use: taking communication, for example, we now distribute the staff newsletter electronically. We have a weekly bulletin for communication to staff, or more frequently if necessary. This includes all the information the staff need about events taking place, or changes in procedures. The newsletter goes to everybody, not just those directly concerned (Interviewee GB:09).

Some concerns on information technology included: "electronic communication is frustrating because I get tied to my computer most of the day, and because of the volume of information" (Interviewee GB:02); "Automation is just another series of problems full of promises, and if something doesn't work, you wait for the promised solution" (Interviewee US:03); "It creates more work" (Interviewee US:04); "automation has made people lazy" (Interviewee IR:01); "Line staff tend to know more about what is going on with technology than upper level staff do" (Interviewee US:02); and, "I don't agree that the Internet is the be-all for providing answers, as some people do" (Interviewee US:05).

Finally, a salutary reminder that information technology is only an intermediary in a larger context:

I would not, however, be over-relying on information technology, because it is the relationship you have with people that makes the major difference (Interviewee IR:07).

The responses illustrate views from a generation of leaders at the transitional phase between traditional means of communication and electronic communication, with some showing concerns over the dangers of somewhat impersonal exchanges and incapacity for coping with the accelerating amount of electronic data while others praise the merits of the instantaneous and precise nature of electronic transmission.

4:5.9 Storytelling as Part of Leadership Communication

Fleming (2001) suggests, as change is an integral part of organizations, that "change requires leaders and organizations to embrace paradox and process, ambiguity and opportunity", and that "one of the most powerful ways for leaders to make sense of the ambiguity–opportunity cycle is to tap the power of one of humanity's oldest art forms — storytelling", through which leaders construct new "organizational sense" (2001). One of the interviewed librarians in this study, who espoused the effectiveness of storytelling for more effective leadership, reported that a major part of his leadership style is founded on his practice of storytelling, as an instrument of guiding or leading:

I lead by story. I have a reputation for being a good storyteller. I lead by telling of people's experiences and sharing my own experiences. I allow staff to do what they do best, after I first go through established guidelines with them. An organization should establish that staff are not allowed to write their own rules and guidelines. After they understand the guidelines, I allow them space to develop. That is how I operate and I do that through stories. I share experiences and examples, and that makes the whole leadership process interesting. My stories tend to entertain but they also endeavour to teach a point or demonstrate information or expound on some issue (Interviewee US:02).

Two other interviewees offered views on the effect of disseminating their leadership philosophies through written and conversational contexts:

I occasionally write to all staff about things that I have read and from these I distribute selections that I like, because I cannot see all the staff all the time. Through this ongoing 'narrative', I am trying to create and develop a special ethos in our library service. It is a bit like St Paul's epistles: I write to people and say, 'Dear colleagues, this is something I would like you to know about' and it is through these stories that staff absorb the message and receive guidance (Interviewee IR:13).

A leader would be teaching others, all the time, through conversations concerning the job because you would be giving your views and your views would be taken on board by staff (Interviewee IR:04).

The above views on storytelling concur with Tichy (1997) and Weil (1998) who believe that a useful instrument in leading staff into unfamiliar territory is storytelling, through which the envisioning of new strategies is facilitated. Day (2001) suggests that persuading employees to envision a new future and to accept change is difficult to communicate and to make effective, particularly since "one invariant with regard to implementing change is resistance". Day adds that "the use of appropriate symbolism, metaphor, and storytelling" is important to gain the willingness of followers to accept such change (2001: 395).

4:5.10 Figurehead and Spokesperson Roles in Leadership

The final subsection on communication deals with the role of leader as figurehead and spokesperson. These roles, according to Mintzberg (1973), largely address (i) symbolic duties, and (ii) duties of transmitting information externally. The following quotations from the interview data of the current study acknowledge these roles:

Clearly, a leader needs to have a spokesperson role (Interviewee US:03).

Library leaders need to become involved in marketing and should expand their outward focus to bring people from the community along with them. Even among the most PR-conscious public librarians in Ireland, there is still really nobody who breaks through that barrier (Interviewee IR:08).

Where a community might be apathetic towards librarians, they would be less so if they had a high-profile figurehead as librarian in the eyes of the public (Interviewee US:02).

I do go out into the community to represent the library. I speak to different organizations. I am called to speak before organizations such as the Lions Club or to businesswomen's organizations. I've done that for quite a number of years. Just next Friday, for example, I will speak at a career day in one of the junior high schools to speak to kids who may be influenced to become librarians in the future (Interviewee US:05). When I am present at a staff function, I am there as a figurehead. I attend when they want a figurehead to do a small speech and present a prize. The staff are the ones who would have done all the work. I take my hat off to the fact that they have more of a right to be there than I have because they would have organized the social event (Interviewee GB:04)

The following presents a mixed view of the leader's role as figurehead:

I don't think it matters so much whether the service has a figurehead person to promote the service or not, as long as the service itself is projected in the minds of the public. I don't care what the professional grade of the person projecting the image of the library is. You can have people in the organization at any level who have a particular scope and a particular ability and it shouldn't matter as long as the profiling of the service is done correctly. A certain amount of profiling resides with leaders because, inevitably, they are the face of the service (Interviewee IR:01).

Section 4:5.3 above addressed the issue of librarians using the media to raise their personal profiles. All thirty respondents agreed that the library service does benefit from having the chief librarian's image highlighted through the news media:

The more we remind people of what the library is doing, the more they will use and support the library. This also helps us to market our services in an effective manner (Interviewee IR:10).

In contrast with the prevailing view that promulgating the service is a positive activity for a library leader, one librarian was quite critical of what he termed 'marketing', but did not define what precisely he meant by marketing or what aspects of marketing he was critical of:

I cannot stand people that are involved in marketing. A lot of marketing is false and it is manipulative and that is the last thing a librarian should be (Interviewee IR:13). Section 4:5 presents the large and varied views from the participants on communication and its many aspects. All thirty participants in this study saw communication as an intrinsic agent of leadership. They saw communication as a complex and an ongoing issue for all leaders and followers — involving networking, meetings, socializing, media usage, politics, storytelling, and information technology, among other issues, as well as direct face-to-face conversation and listening.

4:6 The Leader's Role as Teacher, Role Model, and Nurturer of New Leaders

McCauley (2001) contends that training and development for successful executive leadership should be seen as a continuous process throughout an executive's career. Van Velsor, McCauley, and Moxley (1998) suggest that leadership development has three major components: developmental experiences, the ability to learn, and the organizational context that supports development. Interviewee quotations on developmental experiences of leaders are presented in this subsection under the following headings:

- The leader as teacher/mentor
- The leader as role model
- Role modelling modifying leader's own behaviour
- Nurturing new leaders.

4:6.1 The Leader as Teacher/Mentor

Olsson (1996) argues that "Leaders have to be good examples, because it is a well-known fact that... staff tend to mimic their boss rather than listen to what he preaches" (1996: 33). The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions recommends mentoring as 'an effective and economical method of training' (IFLA/UNESCO, 2001: 67).

The first group of quotations are taken from some of the responses from seven leaders who expressed that do *not* have a role in (formal) teaching.

I don't see teaching as one of my particular roles, but I do see training staff as one of my responsibilities. That training is not just about courses; it is about ensuring that there is effective workplace training (Interviewee GB:09).

In terms of teaching, I would say No; instead I would like to use other terms such as mentoring, shadowing, or continuing professional development. I do not take people aside and show them how to do things but I would say it is more of a fostering or mentoring role and I would say that is very important (Interviewee GB:04).

I would not regard teaching as a responsibility of the leader. I would regard staff training and development very seriously. But, I would see the leader's role as putting in place the relevant training courses and the relevant personnel development plan. Teaching? — No; but the main part of the job would be to ensure that training systems are provided (Interviewee IR:07).

You are teaching by example, but, can you directly reach everyone in the organization by that method? I don't see formal teaching as the role of the city or county librarian. I don't see how time would allow for teaching (Interviewee IR:06).

I don't think anyone can do everything. I know I am a very bad teacher. Although I regard personal and career development and education a vital part of the work, I would have to delegate that. I inform everyone that development is important and that the library service will support their development (Interviewee IR:14).

While many of the interviewed leaders expressed that one of their functions was to offer guidance, the following reply, from one of the same twenty per cent, opens with an admonition to fellow leaders, suggesting a more modest view of oneself as a source of enlightenment: One should not see oneself as the guiding light or to be showing the way. I would never get involved in formal training or teaching; I delegate that. But, indirectly I do teach (Interviewee IR:12).

The following quotation is a sample view from the seven respondents (23%) who saw mentoring as an aspect of their teaching:

The role that I have is a mentoring role, wherein I provide support and encouragement. I know mentoring is a formal process often done externally to the organization, but I do try to use that mentoring approach for senior staff, particularly with management skills where it is about helping them to develop their expertise as managers (Interviewee GB:09).

Finally, the following sample extracts illustrate the broad thrust of the leaders who expressed that they believe they have a teaching role.

Of course, of course, leaders must teach. Leaders must teach every day, every minute; that is what training is about. I am using teaching in its broadest context, that is, creating an environment where people exercise good judgement, and exercising good judgement relies on a good knowledge base. It is knowing something, and, if not knowing something, knowing how to get the resources to find it. In some organizations, leaders are the most effective in identifying when they themselves need help. It is important for us as leaders to know when we do not have the capacity or knowledge base, and to know when we have to look for expertise somewhere else. Some leaders barge right into any situation, as if the consequences do not matter. Formal teaching is appropriate if the leader is good at it, but not every leader is. Where they are not good at teaching, leaders should not do it but should delegate it (Interviewee US:03).

A leader is a teacher; that is what makes a leader good. That's why I believe that telling stories is important. My stories tend to entertain but they also endeavour to teach... (Interviewee US:02). We have teaching on the job, definitely. We have that and need that. The day a leader stops being a teacher is the day he or she better get out of the business (Interviewee US:05).

The above quotes advocating teaching roles do mirror Tichy and Cohen's (1997) view that teaching is a function of effective leaders. Other aspects of the issue of teaching leadership will be discussed in subsections 4:6.2 and 4:6.3.

4:6.2 The Leader as Role Model

Twenty-seven (90%) of the interviewed leaders believe they are role models. Most of these were confident that their own behaviour influenced the behaviour of staff:

Inevitably, a leader is a role model for younger people (Interviewee IR:14).

Certainly, I am a role model (Interviewee US:02).

I rarely think of myself a role model, but, I am a role model, of course, of course. I am cognizant that people may copy my behaviour, so I try to be sensitive about my behaviour (Interviewee US:03).

Yes, I am a role model. A leader has to be a role model, otherwise that person is not in the right job (Interviewee GB:04).

The twenty-seven interviewees (90%) who were positive about their rolemodelling efforts were very conscious of the effect of their influence on others. The following quotations typify their views.

As a leader, one does need to be a role mode. People will observe and then justify their actions by the way you behave. You have to be honest with staff. You need to be consistent and fair. If you are being fair to people, that means that rules apply to senior staff as much as to anybody else. People justify their own actions by emulating the behaviour of senior staff. So, it is important in terms of the way you do or do not behave. People will observe your behaviour, and that will determine or influence the activities of other people (Interviewee GB:09).

I guess I am a role model. There are aspects of a person's personality, not necessarily the total personality, that can be modelled by others. I hope that what I consider to be the most important qualities for a leader are the qualities that someone might follow from me as a role model (Interviewee US:04).

I am not deliberately a role model but if staff see that I am committed to service, that probably influences their vision of service also (Interviewee IR:05).

Overall, the majority of participants (90%) regard themselves as role models for staff and view this aspect of their leadership as significant, since they believe that followers largely determine their approach to work by emulating the attitudes of their leaders.

4:6.2.1 Role Modelling Modifying Leader's Own Behaviour

Only four (13%) of the thirty interviewees believe that their behaviour was *not* modified for role-modelling purposes. Among the other twenty-six (87%), the deliberate modification of their own behaviour was acknowledged:

Yes, role modelling does change a role model's behaviour, to the extent that one always tries to lead by example. I should not expect people to do what I would not do myself (Interviewee GB:10).

Because of work, you can't be yourself. You are not entirely free. You have to be conscious that what you do and say impacts on other people. You are playing a role. You are not self-employed or a farmer in his own field. You have responsibilities (Interviewee IR:14).

I am conscious of people seeing what I do (Interviewee IR:07).

If you are aware that you are a role model, you have to set your own standards higher and consistently live by them. Otherwise, you are trying to get away with things that you don't think are appropriate for other people to do. Because people are all the time observing you as a role model you should always be aware of the role you are playing (Interviewee GB:09).

Role modelling does influence my behaviour insofar as I am aware that my behaviour can influence others (Interviewee IR:05).

The following extracts are from the four librarians who claimed that their behaviour was not modified by any role-modelling:

My behaviour as a role model is part of my personal style rather than something I deliberately act out. I am not self-consciously playing a role model (Interviewee IR:10).

I am myself and I always will be. I don't change my behaviour for the sake of role modelling (Interviewee IR:03).

I believe in what I am doing and I would not modify my behaviour, as my behaviour comes from my convictions (Interviewee IR:13).

The next response also hints at the view that every individual has as many different identities as the number of people who are acquainted with that individual (a view described by Nobel prize-winning dramatist, Luigi Pirandello, in *Enrico IV*):

I am myself. I do not think that I change as an individual between 9.00 a.m. and 5.00 p.m. Image is a word I have problems with. I am thinking of a perceived image and who is to say that my image of myself is your image of me, or vice versa? (Interviewee IR:06).

In summary, twenty-six of the thirty participants acknowledge that they consciously modify their behaviour because they view themselves as role models.

4:6.3 Nurturing New Leaders

Twenty-eight (93%) of the interviewees believe that library leaders should nurture new leaders. Eighteen (60%) said that elements of training and related opportunities were required for nurturing leaders. Such factors would include: formal leadership training programmes; mentoring and shadowing; providing experiential opportunities in leadership roles; providing space for experimentation; advising; facilitating job mobility; delegating within parameters; and placement in project teams.

In everybody there is ambition. If somebody is committed to what they are doing, I would see the leader's role to encourage them and to facilitate them and to broaden their experience in all aspects of the service. What I have seen in some places is that a person is put into a particular area and they become extremely proficient in that area but they are left in it too long and then you are talking about people to be nurtured to be potential leaders, the one thing they need is to be rounded, and see the whole picture and the way to do that is to give people experience in different areas. Potential library leaders need to have experience in dealing with personnel, finance, and people services — as well as spending a while in library administrative headquarters because that is where a lot of those services are co-ordinated (Interviewee IR:07).

We have done interesting things in the area of nurturing new leadership. A few years after I arrived here, we started to build our change process and the change process was designed to change the organization, to turn it on its head and to re-articulate what the library was about, and with that to impose a better understanding of what interactive leadership was and how people could get involved. We created what we call the change team. The team had eighteen people on it selected from all parts of the organization and, for the most part, people were selected because we believed they had leadership potential. The people who selected them formed what became the Strategic Process Team that now is the Senior Management Team for the library. We invited people whom we had identified. That has become an interesting nurturing exercise, as many of those people have gone on and have been promoted, and so the process of nurturing the next generation is ongoing. We have our director of public services retiring in a couple of days. I had a meeting with all of her direct reports in order to gather information, not only for some restructuring and reorganizing. I asked them to identify people in the organization whom we should make additional investment in, in terms of contributing to their future. I am building up a file from their replies, with comments such as, "Here is leadership potential that needs more sophistication", or another one with the remark, "Good application". (Interviewee US:03).

This is an interesting issue because there is a lot of debate about the developing of leaders. I am not sure I agree with that because that assumes that leadership is separate from every other skill that you need to effectively manage a service. In terms of developing leadership I don't treat that any differently from developing skills that library staff need. It is one of the things that the organization needs and is needed throughout the organization. With the support of the city council we provide a whole range of training and other skills and there are effectively management courses. There is external support to go on a postgraduate training course or to do an MBA degree if people want to. There is a lot of formal training available in leadership development as part of management and in management generally. In terms of working with staff in the organization, we look at shadowing, we look at secondment, and we look at general training internally. We second people to leader projects but if there are vacancies through maternity or ill health we provide secondment opportunities for people to act up into roles which they have not done before. It is about giving people opportunities not just to learn but also to expand their experience in the organization and in their work, and to encourage them as part of motivation. We do pay for postgraduate certificates in management training and we pay for a small number of people to do an MBA through Strathclyde University. There is a postgraduate certificate, which is above degree level but not higher; it is a management certificate done through the business school in Strathclyde for the public sector. We expect people to be qualified as librarians before they arrive, so we employ people as librarians or non-librarians and we do have two trainee

posts for people who have done their degree but need one year experience to gain their charter (Interviewee GB:09).

Five leaders (17%) mentioned the importance of allowing for mistakes:

Future leaders can be nurtured through mentoring and continuous professional development. It helps if you have a policy in the organization that is explicit to mentoring. Resources should support training; it is very often about sending somebody on a training course costing about £5,000. It is about work shadowing, learning on the job with proper support mechanisms, and doing away with the blame culture. It is about encouraging risk taking, by quenching the blame habit. Quite often in organizations people are afraid to take risks because they work in a blame culture. If you can get rid of that and say, 'Come on, we will give it a go', and if it goes wrong nobody is roasted over the coals, because they did their best. And if 90% of it goes wrong, but 10% of it is right, that is a result. It is about having that entrepreneurial spirit in the organization, especially when it is not for profit (Interviewee GB:04).

You make opportunities available for people to develop and that means that you allow people to make mistakes, and again it is back to climate, back to tone. Making mistakes is not a hanging offence around here. Make the same mistake three times and people may consider intervening. But, if people are not given room to develop and try things out they will never develop. The way I see the staffing situation is that we have very, very good staff here and part of my remit is to see that staff will develop as much of their potential as possible and then have the opportunity go and work somewhere else if that is what they want to do. If people get an opportunity to develop and work somewhere else that is fine, then new people come in and get a new perspective and that helps to keep the organization fresh. If you do not have a continuous throughput, you will get an organization that is stagnating (Interviewee GB:03).

I think each one of my staff has leadership potential, which needs to be fostered. I encourage them to try. That's why I believe in letting them make some of the decisions and letting them try new things, and if they fall they fall. After all, they may be my replacement (Interviewee US:01).

You have to give people the chance to fail as well, and see where their skills are, and delegation within known parameters is very important for nurturing anybody with leadership qualities. You say to a person this is your branch to run and organize monthly staff meetings, and that would be their responsibility, but you have to lay down the ground rules all the same, and there has to be feedback at every level. Giving people the chance to fail is important (Interviewee IR:14).

Interestingly, another library leader emphasized that the driving force for an individual's leadership must come from the potential leader rather than from the existing leader, even in an environment that encourages new leaders:

There is no need to spoon-feed future leaders, as it is essential that leaders should be self-driven. It is their responsibility to develop and push themselves if they are to be worthy leaders. Yet, for future leaders, bringing people along is a leader's responsibility. Professional training, and facilitating participation in workgroups and in research should form part of this (Interviewee IR:05).

The encouragement of potential leaders was also articulated by this leader:

When you have a staff member whom you believe has potential to move on and if you don't nurture them or steer them in a better direction then you are a bad leader (Interviewee IR:01).

One librarian cautioned that leaders must guard against nurturing only clones of themselves:

It is important to ensure that you are not just encouraging people who are like you, deciding you want that person in order to replicate yourself. It is also important to have people who are not like yourself as well and to be aware of that. You have to stop and ask yourself, 'Why am I promoting this person?' You need to be careful as a leader that you are not excluding people because they are different to you (Interviewee GB:02). Finally two (7%) of the interviewed leaders did *not* believe in encouraging staff to become leaders:

There are problems with leaders trying to develop staff. You give them some freedom, they muck it up; you then intervene to take the freedom off them, and nothing much changes. At the same time you are under pressure and deadlines to achieve results. It is difficult to find a balance in organizations, in letting people learn and develop in organizations, especially because of the pressures and workloads (Interviewee GB:08).

I would not see myself encouraging somebody to move up and out. It is not in my interest to encourage their career path. If they are good I want to keep them, and I am not going to push them out the door, because they are probably going to be replaced by a less efficient person (Interviewee IR:12).

All the respondents, except for two, believed in facilitating staff training to develop their future career plans. Part of this meant granting staff opportunity to practice executive leadership, including allowing them to make mistakes. Two respondents, however, admitted that they would not encourage talented staff to progress their careers if it meant losing them from their current organization.

4:7 People-centred Leadership

The growth in people-centred leadership, discussed in Chapter 2 (e.g., 2A:7.3, 2A:8.15 to 2A:8.15.6, and 2C:4.5) is also reflected in many of the statements of the interviewees in the current study. Views from the participants expressing proactive support for staff coincide with IFLA guidelines: "The library manager is responsible for the motivation of staff and bringing energy, vitality and strength into the library service and its staff" (IFLA/UNESCO, 2001: 72).

The most important thing for a leader is to be a manager of people. Holistic management of people is part of the leader's job. It is a vital part. It is definitely more difficult than planning a new branch or looking after finances. Inevitably, it impacts on your own life, as you have to respond to people's need for personal or psychological support, whether they have work-related or personal pressures as they bring those issues into work. You cannot respond to that without actually taking a hit yourself. I believe that a stark example of organizational failure resulting from a dearth of emotional support was when Mick McCarthy failed the Irish team so miserably in the 2002 World Cup finals. It was not the case that one person was right and one was wrong. McCarthy, in the role of leader, fell down on his duty to provide emotional support to his star player and team captain, Roy Keane (Interviewee IR:14).

Reflecting a similar need to empathize with staff, the next librarian asserted:

You need to be aware of what motivates people and what enhances people's own self-esteem (Interviewee GB:08).

You can have limited resources, you can even have poor buildings and not very much money to spend on the service, but if you can convince staff that you are still doing the best you can do within those parameters you will have them on board. That is a psychological approach. It is not just the physical. It is not just what you can give them in terms of resources. It is what they believe we are doing as an organization together (Interviewee GB:10).

The next librarian believes in people-centred leadership, but *after* a commitment to the organization:

The crucial thing is if you are committed to service. Secondly, you must be committed to your staff because people perform better and act better when they believe that their boss cares about them as people, that they are not just cogs in a wheel. I would prioritize leadership commitments in three steps: As a leader of the organization, the organization is your first priority, it has to be; the second priority is the collective good of the staff; and the third, is the individual members of staff. You work from the top down. We are being paid to do a job, which must come first. The second thing is that you try to ensure that the organization is a comfortable place for the collective good of those who work in it and that people get a fair deal. The third thing is that it comes down to the individual but it does not necessarily work the other way around, because you could do something for the individual which could damage the collective good of colleagues or the good of the organization (Interviewee IR:01).

William James, psychologist, said that "the deepest principle of human nature is the craving to be appreciated" (1896). This premise implies that the practice of showing appreciation should underlie all attempts at people leadership. The following librarian endorses the fundamental place of appreciation, while also cautioning against becoming too involved with the needs of individual employees:

It is crucial to give people praise and recognition, because, in a local authority I cannot give people more money or cars or private sector performance-related inducements, so the only thing you can do is to say 'Thank you' and to appreciate people's work, by acknowledging that it is their work rather than your own. Failure to acknowledge the contribution of individual staff is a widespread problem among leaders. Positive empathy with people is important but you have to draw the line in not becoming somebody's best friend and getting drawn into all kinds of things. You have to stand back a bit (Interviewee GB:04).

Further examples of the views on this topic expressed by library leaders are presented under the following categorizations:

- Trust
- Importance of integrity for leadership
- Leaders' attitudes to in-house challenges
- Leaders as emotional/psychological supporters of staff
- Humour and happiness as catalysts for better work outcomes.

4:7.1 Trust

Olsson (1996) suggests, "The existence of a trustful atmosphere makes us brave and less afraid of the unknown, makes us cope with difficulties, makes us believe in ourselves, makes us grow. With trust we can stand the necessary chaos of creativity and change. The ability to establish trustful relations with staff and within staff, with external co-operative partners and with strategic persons in the parent organization is directly correlated with the success of the leader, of his library and of his staff members" (1996: 33). This is one of the myriad arguments in support of trust in the literature on leadership. Data from the current study reflects a similar emphasis on the importance of generating interpersonal trust throughout the participants' organizations:

Leadership is born out of trust. Trust is one of the most needed requisites for leadership. If staff cannot trust you, you have lost them as followers, that is, you have lost leadership of them (Interviewee IR:10).

You cannot be a good leader if staff do not trust you (Interviewee GB:10).

Leadership and trust are one and the same. There is a direct connection. You can be a trusted person and not necessarily a leader, but you cannot be an effective leader if you are not trusted. It is interesting also in jobs like mine that are very political, where you often have challenges to your trust, internally and externally, because you are often partaking in political behaviours while the full picture may not be seen by others until later on. I may be taking a stand that looks like I don't want more money for the library budget but I am taking that stand from a political standpoint, accepting that there will be a payoff later on to the library. The way the public may see that is that I am not supporting the budget, I want their trust, but they are seeing my political behaviour as something they do not necessarily trust (Interviewee US:03).

Communication has to be open and honest. If you are dishonest you lose the trust. The link between leadership and trust is crucial. One is dependent on the other (Interviewee GB:09).

For leadership to be effective people have to trust you (Interviewee IR:05).

Interestingly, the rates of trust within an organization could be seen to vary for differing contexts:

One has to be trusted to be able to lead, and one has to be trusted at different levels by different levels of staff. My relationship with the management team is different to the relationship I may have with the caretaker, or with a temporary member of staff, or a contractor coming on site, but one has to be trusted, one has to be seen to be reliable, one has to be seen to be worthy of the belief of others in oneself (Interviewee GB:05).

Trust is one of those things that is not easy to achieve. Trust is important but achieving trust is difficult (Interviewee IR:01).

You can't play the hypocrite. You must be open. Trust is vital to leadership (Interviewee IR:06).

The participants regarded trust as more important than being liked or having a good relationship:

Staff don't actually have to be able to get on with their managers but they must be able to trust them (Interviewee GB:06).

The concepts of truth and leadership and integrity all go together in one package. Personal integrity is vital because you need to maintain credibility. People do not have to like you, but they have to respect you professionally (Interviewee GB:04).

One interviewee described an example of trusting staff to get on with work without supervision:

Someone, who is now a very successful county librarian, once said to me that I scared the living daylights out of him because I showed him an office, told him what he was to do and then left him at it. He said that he often wondered if a fellow came into the organization and decided that he was not going to work, what would happen? (Interviewee IR:03)

Trust is also seen as a catalyst for good communication:

Trust is very important. If people feel they can trust you there is more of a chance of them coming to talk about problems before they might develop into anything serious. Staff will be more forthcoming if they think that you are there for them, that you would listen to them and that they could confide in you (Interviewee IR:07).

Finally, these are some of the arguments outlining that the absence of trust results in the absence of effective leadership:

Trust is as important as leadership itself. You have to build trust in people you are trying to lead. Without trust it would be very difficult to lead (Interviewee US:04).

If your people don't trust you or if they don't think you are doing the right thing, you are not going to be able to lead them, no matter how hard you try (Interviewee US:05).

If you are not trusted you cannot lead, as people will not follow you; in fact, people will be so positively annoyed they will try to obstruct what you are doing (Interviewee GB:06).

Overall, the thirty respondents argued that a leader will not be effective unless he or she contributes to a relationship based on trust between followers and the leader. That is, without trust, followers will not follow, which in turn implies that the leader cannot effectively lead.

4:7.2 Integrity and Leadership

All but two of the respondents believe that integrity is an essential aspect of leadership. Two respondents (7%) who did not concur with the centrality of integrity to leadership argued that a more machiavellian view had validity:

In an ideal world you have personal integrity. However, where leaders are really successful and are high achieves for their organizations, if their integrity slips a little occasionally, to achieve the right ends, that can be acceptable. Some say you have to be straight, others will say that we got there in the end by other means. Therefore, personal integrity is not essential, even if it is highly desirable (Interviewee GB:07).

The person that is projected is what is important, in terms of what is done and what is communicated to whomever you are working with. While integrity does influence leader–follower relationships, a leader might be successful if he or she is machiavellian enough to be able to disguise a lack of personal integrity, so that people are not aware of the leader's personality flaws. Therefore, a leader should make certain that their organizational behaviour shows integrity and strength and associated qualities that would be important for successful leadership (Interviewee US:04).

Another library leader challenged the view that machiavellian attempts could succeed in disguising one's lack of integrity, arguing that levels of integrity are quite transparent:

A leader's personal integrity is an essential part of his or her leadership. A leader's personal level of integrity cannot be disguised for long; it is inevitably exposed. Leaders cannot hide their personal traits, so a leader's integrity does become apparent to followers and to other stakeholders (Interviewee GB:05).

The following quotations illustrate the (93%) majority view among the interviewed librarians in this study, typically underlining a need for all-round integrity for leadership:

Librarianship and integrity have to be intertwined. Integrity is about what the job is about. Morality comes into librarianship as well. A level of morality is involved in running a library service. Social beliefs are involved in leadership, such as equality of access and equality of esteem for staff, ensuring each is given opportunities and that people are not being manipulated by the market and big business. The library service is an antidote to commercial manipulation. This involves social morality. Integrity is very important. Otherwise leadership is only a charade. We have got to remember that library leadership is very influential. We are not selling mere commodities; we are affecting people's lives through the books that we choose and put on the shelves. We really are affecting people's lives, and this is ultimately founded on personal integrity (Interviewee IR:13).

A leader's personal integrity is vital. People are not going to follow somebody they question (Interviewee US:01).

Integrity is the most important thing in life and not just in librarianship. Without integrity we are nowhere. It is number one as far as I am concerned. You do not do things because they achieve results; you do them because they are the right things to do (Interviewee IR:01).

One of the basic criteria in life is that you would treat other people as you would expect to be treated.... Honesty is an absolutely crucial issue. Personal integrity and honesty are part of that (Interviewee GB:09).

Of course integrity is important for a leader. If you don't walk the talk you don't have any respect and people will tend to ignore or give short shrift to everything you articulate and everything you do (Interviewee US:03).

Integrity is important. People see through deception and typically refuse to follow, or they will be selective in responding to directives from someone without integrity (Interviewee IR:07).

Staff need to know that you are genuine (Interviewee IR:05).

If your standards are not considered to be honourable or acceptable you are going to have a major difficulty expecting other people to perform to the standards that you expect (Interviewee IR:06).

Interestingly, two interviewees remarked how integrity does not ensure that the person of integrity is necessarily liked by his or her followers, as referred to in the previous subsection. One respondent said that while staff have to be able to trust their managers they do not need to have a good personal relationship with their managers. Another argued that while people do not need to like their leader, they do need to have professional respect for him or her.

Finally, it is not just at chief librarian level that integrity is seen as effective. One librarian spoke of how the influence of integrity from the librarian's county manager had positive effects on the library service:

The current county manager is a man of great integrity and a person who shows great leadership, laying out what he wants to have achieved in his seven-year term, and also living up to that. That is an inspiration for us. Within the library service, I also try to reflect his leadership style (Interviewee IR:14).

In summary, most respondents saw integrity as an essential element of effective leadership, since staff are seen to require faith in their leader in order to follow that leader. The only (two) respondents who did not believe in integrity as an essential element in leadership expressed criticism of a machiavellian type of 'integrity' or that results can sometimes justify the means, even if not achieved through integrity. Finally, many respondents believe that it is more important for a leader to be believed in rather than to be liked by followers.

4:7.3 Leaders' Attitudes to In-house Challenges

While twenty-eight (93%) of the thirty interviewed librarians said they tolerate dissent, most respondents qualified their answers. Some emphasized the difference in connotations of the word 'dissent', ranging from ongoing negative behaviour to the mere expression of a different point of view. While the latter

behaviour among followers was generally seen as positive, more negative behaviour might require asking a member of staff to seek employment elsewhere:

Dissent is too strong a word. We encourage independent thinking, we encourage negotiation, but I don't believe we tolerate dissent. If there is dissent that gets in the way, we resolve the dissent. The organization does what is in the best interest of the organization. If an individual is dissenting from that, we invite the individual to either buy into what the organization is doing or to find another job. Dissent is too strong a word; we encourage constructive challenge, but we do not tolerate ongoing dissent. A person cannot work here and still be contrary to the organization (Interviewee US:02).

For some leaders, the matter of dissent or challenge depended on circumstances such as timing:

At times, I tolerate dissent and challenge; at times, I encourage dissent and challenge; but, at times, I abhor dissent and challenge: I am a human being most days! Diversity in people and ideas is great in organizations. One of the bywords I like to practise is that I do not know all the answers. The old style, the Jack Welch style, is that Jack Welch knows all the answers. Nobody knows all the answers. How do you build an organization where everybody's resources are maximized for the organization's benefit? That is the goal here (Interviewee US:03).

I certainly can tolerate dissent, yes, I can do that. It depends upon the nature of whatever this dissent is derived from. It depends on the situation. If it is dissent that I can empathize with, whether or not I necessarily agree with the dissenters, I can appreciate and respect the dissenting point-of-view, even if it is not the same as my own. In those cases, I don't see dissent as a problem. But, if dissent were ongoing, if it were continuous, I would give a different response (Interviewee US:04).

Overall, the interviewed librarians expressed that while they tolerated dissent they might not encourage it. Some suggest that dissent cannot be avoided but can be useful in moving to new positions. The following quotations include positive views on dissent:

I would not say that I encourage dissent but I certainly tolerate dissent, as I think it is healthy. I find that in this day and age, the more opinions you receive and the more opinions you seek the clearer are the goals you set, and you can also see whether of not people agree with you (Interviewee IR:07).

I do tolerate dissent.... There are people who can and do change my mind (Interviewee GB:08)

I am happy for people to discuss and disagree with me and that is the way we work the senior management team. We toss around the ideas until we reach a consensus, as three heads are usually better than one (Interviewee GB:03).

You have to have a healthy dose of disagreement and dissent in an organization. If dissent was stifled the organization would be less creative (Interviewee GB:10).

Staff and I occasionally have strong arguments, which some people from outside cannot understand and have said, 'Your staff have no respect for you', but, I would hate to have staff saying what they thought I would want to hear them saying. It is very much an open agenda and everyone is encouraged to be open, particularly at senior level I do encourage people to say what they feel and some people think I am crazy because I encourage dissent. Some staff by their very nature create dissent, and very often they are the brightest people, because they think deeply and they want to get their own opinion across, so this is why you have to be very open. I have no interest in people telling me what they think I want to hear. I want to hear their opinions and this results in a much happier organizational family. People feel part of things and it goes back to the issue of ownership, wherein staff think 'This is my job and I am allowed to get on with it without too much interruption'. I would see dissent as a positive. People have said to me that 'That fellow has no respect for you

at all and he should not be disagreeing with you', and I just smile because it happens every day in our organization (Interviewee IR:03).

Dissent and challenges to one's views are important. I think we are better at handling challenges now. I am sixteen years county librarian and attitudes have certainly changed on both sides and things are not accepted as a given anymore. You can expect to have to argue your case and you can expect to be challenged and that is a good thing. In a humbling way one can start off with very fixed ideas and it is only with experience that you find there are solutions out there that possibly were better than the ones you thought initially. Good management practice and experience show that it is better to encourage challenges (Interviewee IR:08).

I am not sure that I encourage dissent, but you must respect the views of your professional staff and you have to tolerate dissent and to respect another person's point of view (Interviewee IR:14).

I have no problem with people venting opinions that are different to mine. People are human beings and therefore react differently at different times. You must allow for contradictory views, even if held by the same person at different times. An organization is healthier if opposing views are aired (Interviewee IR:10).

Some distinguished between different grades of dissent:

There is a distinction between productive and negative dissent. There is a distinction between raising opposition to something for a better solution and someone just blatantly refusing to do something just to oppose matters (Interviewee GB:05).

I encourage debate, rather than dissent because the library has to be a single organization it should have a clear purpose and clear goals and not be riven by internal conflict. Everybody has to sign up to that. It is important that you debate, which can include dissent as part of that process, but undermining the organization is not acceptable (Interviewee GB:09).

'Dissent' can have different connotations. Constructive criticism is good. I do not, however, listen to negative or destructive complaints about anybody, but I would encourage discussions where ideas are constructively challenged (Interviewee IR:05).

Finally, the seven per cent who categorically said they do not tolerate dissent articulated their views as:

I neither tolerate nor encourage dissent. At the same time, I accept that some sort of dissent is inevitable, but I would not let it rest or encourage it. I meet it head on (Interviewee IR:15).

No. I don't like conflict or dissent. That is not to say that some good may come out of it at times (Interviewee IR:04).

Even if these final quotations confirm that two of the thirty interviewees do not tolerate dissent from followers, one of these two interviewees suggests that dissent can be beneficial. In summary, most respondents viewed constructive challenge as a positive and even necessary element in a healthy organization.

4:7.4 Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff

Olsson (1996) asserted: "I believe very firmly in the importance of the unconscious in personal relations. Our libraries are full of personal relations, within staff as well as between staff and customers", and added that the more a librarian "understands the psychological conditions for growth and motivation, the better teams he can build". He argues, "We all need personal confirmation. If not recognized by a leader... disappointment will be the result, which nobody benefits from" (1996: 32). Thus, Olsson contends that rich psychological support competencies in a leader are required to nurture full commitment from followers to organizational vision.

Among the thirty leaders interviewed for this study, twenty gave an unqualified reply that leaders should act as emotional/psychological supporters of staff. Another six articulated qualified approval for such support, while four believed that leaders should not become involved in providing emotional/psychological support to staff.

The first sample quotations are from the two-thirds majority of respondents who believe that leaders should support the emotional/psychological needs of staff. These include arguments that such support is also in the organization's interest:

In order to inspire, one needs to take into account both emotional and psychological factors. Everyday issues, like how people relate to an organization, are very much based on emotions (Interviewee GB:10).

If you do not nurture the emotional wellbeing of staff, you cannot expect staff to work well (Interviewee US:01)

How can you expect people to work well if you are not considerate towards them as whole persons, including their emotions and personal circumstances? People do not leave their private lives outside the door when they come to work; they bring them with them. If personal problems are brought to your notice you should support them. If, for example, a long-term staff member is affected by illness, you have to be supportive. We had a co-opted student with us for a while whose father was dying. The poor girl was in bits when he died and when she returned to work I could see that she might have a nervous breakdown because she had been very close to her father and she was a young girl. You have to be considerate of staff in those types of situation (Interviewee IR:04).

Yes, leaders certainly should provide emotional or psychological support to staff. I have no doubt about that. If you are going to give people support psychologically you are primarily doing it from the humane point of view. Secondly, however, you are doing it for the good of the organization also. It is when a person is in trouble that they need help, but if you ignore that, your inaction is going to be stored away in someone's mind. We have all faced traumas of different descriptions, therefore we can appreciate the need for help. Something like turning up at a funeral, for example, can be appreciated as very important for emotional support (Interviewee IR:06).

Leaders must be involved in personal support of staff. They cannot distance themselves from problems. They have of course to be objective as well as supportive. Personal support is for the good of staff and for the service when people help each other over their respective troubled times, for example when a member of staff is going through bereavement (Interviewee IR:10).

If staff are going through a particularly difficult time in their lives we have a duty of care to support them (Interviewee GB:06).

Yes, I have given emotional and psychological support at times, and it is part of having an open relationship and a participative style of management. I don't think leaders have much choice at times. Staff support goes with leadership. I believe that if a member of staff has any problem they should be able to come in and talk about it, without in any way feeling that it can have negative repercussions for them (Interviewee IR:07).

On occasion, yes. Everyone goes through some bad times when they need emotional support from those around them. Help during those times is valuable (Interviewee IR:05).

Some of those who qualified the onus on leaders to support staff's emotional needs spoke of balancing commitment to such support with other organizational demands. Some of them preferred to rely on referring staff to professional counsellors:

You have to give emotional or psychological support to staff if you respect people as people. People are emotional beings, therefore, there is an expectation that emotion makes the person. If you are aiming to

motivate and work with staff you have to recognize the emotional factors in their lives as much as the professional element. But, on the employment side, it is not an absolute, because at the end of the day if you have a commitment to customers it means that the organization has to be focused on that commitment. Therefore, there is a balance to the degree to which there can be such support. I don't mean there is a hard boundary. The Council, for example, does have a counselling service to which staff can be referred or encouraged to use. So there are areas where you would want to do that, but also the member of staff has a duty to their employer to be able to do their job, so in terms of when emotion prevents people from doing their job permanently there has to be recognition of that (Interviewee GB:09)

My instinct would be to offer initial support and, if necessary, to refer the person further (Interviewee IR:11).

It is something you need to be very careful about. Support can be intrusive. You have to be very careful and some staff may feel that supporters are intrusive or not appropriate. It is a balancing act (Interviewee GB:03).

The following quotation was a wide-ranging response to the enquiry on the leader's role in providing psychological support for employees. After an early caveat that a leader of a very large organization would find it difficult to devote time to the provision of such support, this respondent emphasized the aspect of developing an environment conducive to staff motivation. Part of this includes manifestations of appreciation, showing respect for the dignity of individuals, sharing a sense of ownership, and ensuring that staff are adequately trained:

We all behave in supportive ways for staff. There is always the temptation to be the social worker, psychologist, and generally few of us are trained for that duty. How much resource, particularly in time, do you have to give to 500 employees, and so where do you manifest that?... Good leaders cannot motivate anyone directly. What they can do is create an environment where people are motivated, usually self-motivated, or motivated as part of a team, or part of the context of their

work, but I don't believe that I can make anybody do anything. I can create an environment where people feel good and comfortable and excited and feel rewarded when they do certain things that need to be done. Therefore, in the context of the emotional/psychological aspect of staff, effective leaders understand what one does to create an environment where people feel a motivation to be successful in their jobs, to strive, to excel, to succeed - by the leader showing appreciation, showing respect, and thanking staff, all of which contribute to a motivating environment. If somebody has a chance to participate in the decisions that affect their lives and their work, they are going to feel more appreciated and will have more ownership. They are going to feel better about the outcome. That only works, however, if people have the skill set. So, if people are given all this latitude to do anything they want but where they do not have the skill set, the result is the opposite to what you intend. That is, if you have an environment where you think people are motivated but they can't necessarily do the job or they don't know how and then they fail. Generally the exercise quickly turns into negative motivation, where people become risk averse. They become risk averse because they don't have the skill set to do the work. So, invest in people is one of our value statements (Interviewee US:03).

The four who were not in favour of personally providing psychological support to staff shared the preferred option of referring emotional support to external professionals.

Becoming involved in emotions is very dangerous. I would not be focused on emotions. If one is emotional one is not in control of oneself. I cultivate detached support towards staff. Lots of external supports exist and one can encourage recourse to those. At the end of the day, everybody has a private life and problems, and it is not my own money to give extra time off to staff to support them (Interviewee IR:12).

It is not my particular forte. I am more distant. The employer itself, that is, the county council, has a role to help staff in difficult situations. There are other support mechanisms in the council, like Employment Assistance Programmes. I am somewhat distant even though I am in a small organization, but if something came to light I would pass it on because I would not feel confident (Interviewee IR:08).

There is a danger that you can become involved in something that you are not qualified in, that you end up as a quasi counsellor where you just don't have the skills. So the best you can do is to signpost people to where they can receive support (Interviewee GB:08).

These latter minority views ignored the ongoing psychological lives of colleagues. They referred exclusively to the crisis management of staff if or when they might be emotionally stressed. These minority views contrasted with the positive views expressed by the majority of the participants, such as "Emotional/psychological support builds trust, which for me enables me to empower staff; it is a confidence-building exercise" (Interviewee IR:15). Despite the burgeoning growth in literature supporting arguments for more proactive and ongoing support for the psychological and holistic health of staff, throughout the interviews, the participants made little reference to such support as an everyday positive aspect of their leadership.

4:7.5 Humour and Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes

Despite assertions in the literature (e.g., Sweeney, 1994; Olsson, 1996) that the presence of humour and a happy environment are requisites for more successful leadership, only five interviewees (20%) in the current this study referred to these. Incidentally, all five are Irish librarians. Examples of participant references to humour and happiness include:

If staff are happy in their workplace they translate that to more work productivity. They bring that positive energy home to the community where they also contribute in proportion to their happiness. If staff are unhappy at work, their contribution to work productivity and to their community is greatly hampered (Interviewee IR:09).

Mazlow's hierarchy of needs are reflected in the following quotation, which suggests that, after security needs are satisfied, happiness is desired by staff:

The most important cultural element in an organization is a positive staff attitude. For this, staff need to feel secure and staff need the leader's input to the creation of a happy work environment. A good atmosphere in the workplace percolates from the leader to staff and then to the people they are dealing with (Interviewee IR:06).

The same leader when asked about role modelling reintroduced the topic of humour as an aspect of leadership:

If you are seen to be serious about your job and at the same time if you exercise a sense of humour, you are a better role model. You shouldn't take yourself too seriously. I take the job seriously, but I like people with a sense of humour and I like a laugh during the day. I view people taking themselves too seriously as a weakness (Interviewee IR:06).

As the general product of humour is a feeling of happiness, leaders also focused on happiness and how they endeavour to contribute to a happier working environment. The following sample quotation illustrates an example of this, which also displays a patently altruistic leadership approach, reflecting aspects of servant leadership as described by Greenleaf (1996).

It is important that everybody working for you is feeling good and it is so important in the organization that, every day, when people come to work they feel good about coming to work. I often say this to staff who work with me, that you will be happy coming into work every day while I am here. It is very important for everybody to find the library a good place to come in to (Interviewee IR:13).

The latter quotation also reflects Rucci, Kirn, & Quinn (1998), directors of Sears Roebuck and Company, with a staff complement of over 80,000 personnel, where there is an policy to make their organization 'a compelling place to work' (Rucci, Kirn, & Quinn, 1998: 88). This view, in turn, mirrors the articulated aim of humour in organizations, that is, the generating of feelings of wellbeing in the workplace. The above quotations will be discussed in 5:7.5 the parallel subsection of Chapter 5.

4:8 Difficulties Associated with Leading

This section presents some negative comments offered by interviewees. With the exception of views quoted in subsections 4:8.3 and 4:8.3.1, the comments in this Section emerged spontaneously during the interview process, rather than in response to specifically related questions. Consequently, no large volume of data supported the various emergent themes on difficulties discussed in the following two subsections. The following categorization was used to examine the topic of difficulties for leadership in libraries:

- Paucity of leadership in many libraries
- Difficulties for leaders
- Gender-related difficulties
- Influence of leader's gender on follower relationships

4:8.1 Paucity Of Leadership in Many Libraries

The issue of chief librarians who are not deemed worthy of the title 'leader' is referred to in the first quotation to follow. Another phenomenon outlined below by the interviewees is the deliberate choosing by potential leaders or staff with obvious ability not to pursue leadership:

Leadership never featured highly in librarianship before. I used to go to chief librarian meetings where the topic of leadership was not high on the agenda, but that is changing now. The role is now a leadership role and some leadership techniques that are common in other fields are beginning to impact now in librarianship. Some library chiefs do not have the mental picture of themselves as real managers or leaders. I don't know what they think they are, but a lot of them have come up through the ranks and they are books people, sometimes they are authors, but they are not leaders. Library chiefs now manage large budgets and have a change agenda to manage; however, many head librarians are not making that changeover from librarians to leaders (Interviewee GB:04).

The following extract illustrates why some librarians deliberately choose not to become leaders:

I have a good member of staff who says she is not interested in becoming a leader. She is very intelligent and has a good handle on all of the issues that she manages in the six branches she runs, but she does not want to be involved in strategic policies, or in politics because that is unpleasant sometimes. She has a better work-life balance. People in the next layer down see the challenges at this level and do not want to engage with those challenges. They know that my job has taken over my life, requires so much personal sacrifice, and it upsets my worklife balance. For example, since my appointment here three years ago, I have a lot of health problems that are work related, including stress and high blood pressure. It is down to this job, and people see the toll pressure takes on their leader. Many people are too smart to want a leader's job (Interviewee GB:04).

London libraries, in particular, have problems recruiting at the moment. There is a lack of leaders. It is partly because of the way the organizations have developed over the last ten years or so, and we have taken on a role of management in the second stage up. Often, where we have librarians at an enquiry desk and managers at a fairly high level, there is very little in the way of progression for people to come up the system. What tends to happen is that the highfliers fly, and have flown, while the low-fliers, the ones that don't want to move out, stay where they are. If you try to recruit to middle-range management posts, as we have done recently, there are very few people coming forward, even from within the organization. This also ties in with the cost of living in the borough. Often, staff tend to be parochial within their library authorities. They do not want to move even short distances. People become settled. Also, there has not been the opportunities within the last ten years to move through different promotions. I came to libraries twenty-five years ago and my first five years were spent moving quite rapidly around jobs just one grade up each time. Those opportunities have become quite restricted, as staff have restricted their own mobility. There are a few leaders who fly anyway, going right to the very top, so that the chiefs here in London are becoming progressively younger, because the

highfliers have flown. But within the organizations that they leave behind there is a lack of staff in the middle. Filling posts of chiefs is not too problematic, although there are a number of authorities in London now struggling to fill the posts of their chief officers. The next stage down, the one where you take on more responsibility but don't receive the necessary kudos or the salaries, is quite difficult to fill. It is difficult to fill the posts of the area librarians, senior librarians, and site leaders (Interviewee GB:05).

Another interviewee suggested that good leadership is not necessary a corollary of good professional librarianship:

Some librarians are very good professionals but are lousy leaders. Leadership skills are distinct from the skills of librarianship; therefore, the assumption that a good library professional can be a good leader is not always true (Interviewee GB:09).

The scarcity of good librarians offering themselves for leadership positions, as reported in the study findings, might indicate a self-realization on the part of many library professionals that they may not have the capacity to become good leaders. Such perceptions, which may be founded on realistic self-assessment, together with personal lifestyle decisions not to pursue positions of leadership, might be a factor contributing to the reported dearth of quality leadership candidates.

4:8.2 Difficulties for Leaders

The thirty participants articulated a variety of difficulties facing library leaders. Quotations illustrating many of these issues are presented under the following headings:

- Onus on library leaders to work long hours
- Leader as vulnerable person
- Challenge of effective internal communication
- Negative stereotyping limiting career prospects outside librarianship
- Toxic or negative leadership
- Miscellaneous difficulties for library leaders

4:8.2.1 Onus on Library Leaders to Work Long Hours

Six (20%) of the interviewed leaders spoke of the need to work extra hours, an issue that caused ongoing difficulties for their personal lives. This was attributed largely to the broadening of librarians' work portfolios, for example, widening the organizational responsibilities for archives, arts, and related cultural areas. Reductions in the number of strategic personnel in libraries also increased the need for longer workdays for chief librarians.

I normally work sixty to seventy hours per week, but I get paid for only thirty-five of them, and that is the pace I work at. I clock in and out. The branch staff work a fixed timetable, but staff here at headquarters clock in and out. Everybody else works thirty-five hours. I work at the weekends, not in here, but maybe at a branch. I tend to come into work after 7.00 a.m. and often I work two or three evenings a week if I have a commitment to go to a work-related meeting or function. Running the public library service is one of the jobs that I do, but I also run community education and I run the museum service, school libraries, and the cultural sector. So, I have five areas. I have some team leaders, but I have about two hundred staff altogether across those five service areas. I am a librarian that came up through the ranks of managing the public library service, and now, with the restructuring and the emphasis on lifelong learning being amalgamated, I ended up being interviewed for a job I got which brings all five service areas together. My job title is Manager of Lifelong Learning, so managing the public libraries is only one of my strands, which is bad from the point of view of doing things very well because you are spread too thin. It is at a personal cost.... I don't like the multi-functional job I do now, because I am a chartered librarian and librarianship is what I am good at, but the job that I do now has become so diluted. I have five hats on at this level and it is the dilution of the things that I love with all of the things that I don't like. I would go tomorrow to get back into librarianship.... Because of job rationalization, too many staff have been let go and too many jobs have been compressed as the staffing levels have decreased. The people that are left are under more and more pressure. Those still functioning are doing a wider range of job parts but paid less money and are at lower levels, leaving fewer people at a strategic level. The leader librarian's job then is to knit people into that strategy and that gets harder and harder to do (Interviewee GB:04).

My remit is wider than libraries; it includes museums as well. I work about fifty hours a week. I am trying to be a bit more sensible. I do take work home, but trying to get sufficient blocks of time outside the office is difficult (Interviewee GB:08).

I put in extra hours. Usually my days stretch beyond straightforward hours from 9.30 to 5.00, but that goes with the job. If there is something important going on after office hours I would be there for it (Interviewee IR:07).

I work between forty-five and fifty hours a week, but I want to do that. I don't do it because I am forced to do it. I do it because I want the organization to succeed (Interviewee GB:09).

Despite the fact that I am away a lot, none of my staff works longer than the amount of hours I spend working. Many people believe that the way I work, like putting in the extra hours, is not the way to work (Interviewee IR:01). I work long hours but I don't expect staff to work the same hours, but it gives good example (Interviewee GB:10).

The commitment of participants to their careers effectively requires them to work long hours, as illustrated in the above quotations. As extra duties have been added to the post of chief librarian over the last number of years, there is a danger that inadequate time is available for strategic leadership of public libraries. This issue requires to be addressed by public library authorities.

4:8.2.2 Leader as Vulnerable

Various aspects of leader vulnerability were discussed by many of the participants in this study. The thirty interviewees affirm that the modern library leader is far from omnipotent when dealing with staff. Instead, vulnerability is seen not only as an attendant condition, but also as a desired quality of a library leader.

Being vulnerable is also a helpful thing as it helps leaders to avoid taking unnecessary organizational risks. If leaders do not feel vulnerable, they need to question what they are doing. Without feeling vulnerable, leaders are likely to go off on uncritical paths and then find themselves in troubled scenarios. I would always try to run ideas or plans through staff, to weigh up the pros and cons, before implementing plans. This contributes to participative leadership (Interviewee IR:07).

I cannot expect staff to follow everything I say or do, so one should not become upset over that, and a leader has also to be prepared to lose (Interviewee IR:13).

I get all sorts of stories from staff. In return, I tell them stories that act as emotional crutches for me. When two people are talking, they are using that experience either (a) as a sounding board, or (b) as a communication of a feeling that they have. When a subordinate shares an issue with me, I am going to be concerned about the matter. I am not sure that it works the other way around but, occasionally, I have found myself responding by deliberately saying something to gain respite and support from staff. It is a device that comes spontaneously rather than as thought through. I am a great believer in instinct. People know that you are also a person — as well as being leader, which of course makes your relationships with staff different (Interviewee IR:01).

While vulnerability may be categorized more as a quality of leadership than as a difficulty, it is also seen as an ongoing challenge for library leaders. Another vulnerability which might undermine effective leadership can be negative staff reactions to leaders when they make decisions that are seen by some to be unpopular. Absence of camaraderie and a very real distancing between the head librarian and staff can be difficult for leaders; sometimes they are the butt of criticism, other times a Samaritan role is imposed on them, and often they are kept at a distance by staff:

I don't think there is a chief in any organization who could say he or she is not isolated.... The thing I find most difficult in many ways about being the leader is that I am there as a separate entity in the organization, so I am there to be the scapegoat and to be shot at. As well as that, staff do offload their problems on the leader, especially if he or she is a listener (Interviewee IR:01).

It can be quite a lonely job because you cannot really confide (Interviewee GB:04).

Leaders must realize that staff will always keep a certain distance from a leader (Interviewee IR:10).

Bennis (1989) observed that, "Conflict is inevitable, and it can be destructive or useful, depending on how the leader handles it". He argued that, "Leaders do not avoid, repress, or deny conflict, but rather see it as an opportunity" (Bennis, 1989: 158). One of the participants described another being vulnerable when he has difficulties confronting or disciplining staff:

I am not good at disciplining people. I am not good at having confrontation with people and if it gets to a stage that I have to have a confrontation then it is obvious that there is a breakdown (Interviewee IR:13).

Interviewees who contributed to this study also spoke of the vulnerability of leaders *before* they gain experience at the top level. In the absence of a template for leadership, librarians need to learn their leadership skills in real situations, even if that means learning from mistakes:

Leaders learn best in the deep end. That is in the real situation after being appointed to a leadership position. When I was appointed librarian, I really wondered if I would be up to the job; I began to doubt by abilities. As time went on, however, I found myself learning leadership on the job. What one learns on the job is so important and it is something you can learn only when you are operating in the deep end. It is like driving a car; the only way to learn is when you are in the driving seat (Interviewee IR:10).

The more experience you have the better leader you are. I took that job of county librarian when I was quite young and I learned some things the hard way, and I made some mistakes. I can see where I made mistakes now. I made mistakes with people and systems. I will not make them again (Interviewee IR:13).

There is no template; leadership is broad enough to put your own stamp on it (Interviewee IR:12).

The above quotations on vulnerability are discussed in the parallel section of the following chapter. References to the literature on leader vulnerability were discussed in Section 2C:8, of Chapter 2.

4:8.2.3 Negative Stereotyping Limiting Career Prospects Outside Librarianship

Because of external stereotyping of library leaders, librarians argued that they are effectively limited from pursuing personal career development outside librarianship:

The head librarian's post is not high status and it is not highly paid. Employers do not recognize the transferable skills that we have and people have the stereotypical image of the librarian as not being very dynamic, proactive, manager/leader material, charismatic, and all of those things that the private sector have. We are not blessed with that image, and that image is damn hard to shake off. People assume that the entrepreneurial spirit resides exclusively in the private sector, so we do not appear to portray or cultivate an entrepreneurial image in the public sector (Interviewee GB:04).

Another Scottish librarian mirrored the same difficulties associated with negative stereotyping of library leaders by private sector managers. She believed that this effectively forced librarians to remain in the same career, even if they found this frustrating due to financial constraints on service development.

Maybe the truth is that I stayed in this career path because I did not have anything else coming along. I find the career interesting and stimulating, but very stressful just now in terms of managing the service within the environment and the financial constraints that we are in. A few years ago, I went for other jobs and at interviews people said that since I worked in the public sector I would never make it in the private sector, but the interview was not the place to argue that. When I studied for a diploma in management it was with a mixed class of public and private sector people and it was interesting to see the stereotypes that the private sector has of the public sector and vice versa (Interviewee GB:02).

A librarian in the London region mirrored the same lack of personal career prospects for library leaders outside the career of librarianship:

I enjoy what I do, but as I rise up the ladder it becomes more difficult to leave, since wherever else I go I would tend to go in at the bottom of any scale — and in the meantime I have a family to support, so that isn't an option (Interviewee GB:05).

Interestingly, one librarian, who took five years out from the profession and worked in a private sector firm before returning to public librarianship, contended that training in the private sector was more demanding, as it was more proactively results oriented. He expressed a difference of approach between the private and public sector professions:

I worked in a private company, and working for a private limited company affects your mindset. It makes you become quite sharp at making decisions and looking at areas where we are wasting money or wasting time. That type of training has made me impatient, and it trained me to deal with the specific issue. Since then, I deal with a point and then move on (Interviewee IR:09).

In general, the participants reported that people working in the private sector typically do not associate organizational entrepreneurship with librarians. The participants believe that this contributes to negative stereotyping of librarians, particularly if they apply for careers in the private sector.

4:8.2.4 Negative or Toxic Leadership

Another area of concern for leadership is negative leadership or 'toxic' leadership. While the library leaders in this study did not articulate negative concerns for their current superior officers, they did share accounts of defective leadership traits in other chief librarians, both among their current peers and previous bosses at chief librarian level. The following quotations illustrate these experiences:

I had head librarians whose management style I would not agree with. I recall behaviours that I would not want to do or to replicate. I worked in organizations where you would be transferred from one service point to another in a day, and out of it again the next day. I worked in organizations where the leader sat inside a locked office at all times, and would not talk to you unless you were a senior member of staff. I worked in organizations where the so-called leader sat in her ivory-tower office and never left it to talk to staff in branches. These memories never leave you and I would consider their managerial styles to be dictatorial, totally outdated, not treating people as adults not treating staff as being what they are or the best resource they have. I remember in one instance a business plan where it was proposed to involve all the staff, totally out of character, which started off by brining in consultants to talk to senior management and then to junior staff to seek their views. Their views came in but, as their views were not liked, the whole participative project was aborted. It would be better if it were not attempted at all, because it was only pretence (Interviewee IR:07).

The same interviewee affirmed the need for good leaders:

While good leadership is a major factor in determining organizational success, if the leadership is not the right type of leadership, this has a seriously negative effect.... Where a leader is negative, negativity is transmitted throughout the organization (Interviewee IR:07).

Critical comments on negativity from leaders were articulated by other interviewees also:

An autocratic leader in a library service prevents the organization from working effectively (Interviewee GB:09).

Excessive exercising of power and control and not being willing to delegate are among the worst traits of a bad leader (Interviewee IR:12).

This brief quotation pithily sums up the immeasurable negative consequences of toxic leadership:

A bad leader can ruin a generation of staff (Interviewee IR:13).

The negative effects of other library leaders should raise concerns for the profession. In subsection 4:8.3 below, one interviewee stated that a handful of her current female peers are 'disasters'. As no system is in place to easily dismiss problem or negative leaders, such as where a chief librarian would be appointed for a limited contractual period and would be required to compete for reappointment after a specified number of years, very little can be done to stop the tenure of a seriously negative library leader. This is a matter that might usefully be addressed by library parent bodies. Other negatives associated with the career of library leaders will be addressed in the following subsection.

4:8.2.5 Miscellaneous Difficulties for Library Leaders

Various difficulties or challenges for leaders were articulated throughout the interviews. Some of these are represented in the following quotations from the interviewees. Professional frustrations arising from difficulties associated with the lack of effective internal communication were articulated:

You can communicate lots but people do not necessarily hear or read what you communicate (Interviewee GB:01).

In every organization that I have worked in, including this one, our communications are far from perfect. Communicating is one of the things that we are worst at and it is one of the things that we recognize that we need to be good at, and it is one of the things we try to address, but communication is one of the things that we do not address sufficiently (Interviewee GB:04).

Other examples of communication problems are cited in subsection 4:5.1 above.

Participants also spoke of conflicts between personal ethical views and professional exigencies, as well as external constraints on public library leaders:

Library leadership is difficult because one has one's own personal standards in terms of ethics and one knows what is right and wrong and has one's own moral code, and a leader tries to be honest with people,

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except when we have information that is confidential, which cannot be shared with staff. Also, we have to implement corporate policies that may not seem fair but we have to do it because of our rank. At the end of the day that is what a manager is paid for. A decision can cause internal conflict when we are not comfortable with it and when we think that the impact it will have on staff is not justified. But when we work for an organization for which we have responsibility, but not necessarily authority, it depends how far up the tree we are. The CEO in a private enterprise has a lot more leeway about decision-making. At my level in the local authority organization I don't have much leeway. The way I can influence decisions is minimal, but I have to go out there and manage my 200 staff, and they don't see beyond me, and I have to stand there and say things that I do not agree with (Interviewee GB:04).

Some of the miscellaneous difficulties facing today's public library leaders arise from the larger external environment, such as cultural or societal changes, which have undermined traditional patronage and autocratic control:

Nobody today is dependent on the director for their job. The Jack Welch style of strong leadership is difficult to use in modern contemporary library organizations. Challenges to a leader can result from labour unions, and other issues, like high levels of competencies, specializations and so on that strengthen other people's relative positions in organizations (Interviewee US:03).

I am chairman rather than a chief (Interviewee IR:06).

Increased leadership pressures also arise due to threats from external organizational environments:

I do feel, all of the time, we are fighting a battle to bring more and more people into the library because there are so many other elements out there competing against us (Interviewee IR:04).

Two British librarians complained of bureaucratic constraints that frustrate their efforts to develop their services:

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Our council is a controlled organization. Council management does not allow autonomy to librarians. Within the bureaucratic framework I try to empower staff, but there is not much room for manoeuvre (Interviewee GB:01).

Trying to carry things forward has been frustrating and I need to remind myself that I do not need to get frustrated (Interviewee GB:08).

Other organizational negatives include blocks in the line of leadership in organizations and, in some areas, situations that challenge leadership effectiveness:

We have some very negative things in our culture in the west of Scotland. These are being phased out slowly but they are not gone yet. There are things like work practices, relationships between seniors and juniors, and where 'management' is seen as a derogatory term when used by many of the branch library staff. It is changing, but you still get a flavour of it, especially as we are trying to implement change, and we are trying to promote a new structure at the moment, a structure that is designed to enable staff to deliver new agendas. Admittedly, it does mean very substantial change for some member of staffs. It also means that some members of staff need to spend more time in headquarters to absorb the new culture. I spend a lot of time in headquarters and staff here embrace change in a very different way than the branch staff do. I see branch staff very rarely. The attitude towards change among staff who are more remote from team leaders and from heads of services is more resistant. It is probably due to poor communication (Interviewee GB:04).

Where we have an issue in this authority, and you will find it the same in other authorities, is getting continuity of leadership right throughout organizations. Some of the blocks, not necessarily deliberate blocks, to that can be at a fairly high level in the local authority, and even where there are no blocks it is still difficult to maintain a sense of seamlessness right throughout the organization. That's definitely an issue for us (Interviewee GB:05).

Another difficulty associated with leadership in the public sector is that financial or material bonuses cannot be offered to employees. As cited earlier (Section 4:7), one leader said that all she can do is to show appreciation and gratitude as a substitute for more concrete inducements. Overall, however, the leaders interviewed for this study were optimistic about leadership in public libraries, despite the variety of difficulties. The quotations on leadership difficulties above emerged at random throughout the research interviews, rather than from specific questions. The next topic, on gender-related difficulties, arose from deliberate enquiries into any effects gender might have on leadership relationships or effectiveness.

4:8.3 Gender and Leaders: Difficulties and Related Issues

In this section, ' \Im ' (male) and ' \Im ' (female) gender symbols precede the source code of quotations, identifying the gender of the speaker to add greater relevance to the expressed views. One-third (ten) of the respondents believe that gender is not an issue that affects leaders' professional roles with any organizational stakeholders. Forty per cent (twelve) of the respondents believe that gender does have a bearing on leadership and its effectiveness. The remaining twenty-seven per cent (eight respondents) did not make their views explicit.

Among the twelve who contend that gender definitely impacts on leadership effectiveness, there was only one female, and she suggested that:

Women tend to be more consultative. Men tend to be more autocratic or authoritarian, less consultative. That has been my experience. Men tend to go straight for the closure like salesmen, whereas women tend to do more of the going around and less of the closure. There are weaknesses on both sides of that (QInterviewee GB:04).

From the same group, male respondents expressed the following views:

Some female librarians report that they have difficulties dealing with people outside the library. Female leaders sometimes think that they

have to assert themselves when dealing with male managers. There should be no need to do that (*d* Interviewee IR:13).

Every direct boss I had was a woman before I became a county librarian. Gender certainly has an effect on being a chief librarian. From talking to library colleagues, I know it is more difficult for women leaders. In the local authority environment, it is more difficult for women on a practical level to go to engineers or architects, finance people and managers, where there are no women in those senior posts of responsibility. These circumstances are changing now after a very long time. The crossgender working environment is even more difficult for a woman if she has no in-house female colleagues in senior grades. In the context of the leader relating to his or her own staff within their own library, I don't know how gender affects that. People relate differently to males and to females. There are certain biology things we can't get over and there are ways in which we all do things differently as individuals. Overall, there are plus and minus circumstances for being either a male or female leader (3 Interviewee IR:14).

Women miss out on networking. It is through networking that a lot of business is done in local authorities and that is how decisions are made. Networking for the advantage of the service involves senior grades, the director of services, et cetera and they are all men in my local authority. Many decisions are not made inside the council chamber or the offices. They are agreed outside the chamber, as what really matters is not articulated inside. There are very few women business people in the county, I mean for the whole economic development of a county, and because of that there is not a culture of mixing. For these reasons, it is difficult for women librarians to overcome their networking difficulties (QInterviewee IR:02).

I have never done any type of research on gender balance but I'll bet that if you lined up a number of chief librarians they would be mostly men, and people in important positions making decisions are often men (*QINTERVIEWEE US:04*). The man is always held in higher esteem when dealing with outside people; the woman has to fight and work twice as hard as a man. However, you can sometimes use the fact that you are a female to your own advantage (QInterviewee IR:04).

It's been a woman's profession, unfortunately. Just like teaching was one time a woman's profession. Nursing was a woman's profession. And I think this held the profession back somewhat for quite a while, because it is only in the last number of years that women can get anywhere (♀Interviewee US:05).

I have worked under six different county librarians, three from each gender, and I can think of good and bad points about both genders. I cannot see any leadership characteristic that is unique to either gender. The males might seem to be that bit more detached. Females seem to be more likely to challenge you directly about something and to query why you did something, or they may call you to their office to challenge you. The males might pass a comment while passing by you. Males would not be as confrontational. But, then you might have the advantage of having a clear picture of where you stand with the females. Maybe that is not a gender thing either, as the three individual females might just happen to be fairly direct. They also had a particular vision of where the library was going, while the males might have been a bit vague in this respect (*d* Interviewee IR:12).

The next quotation, despite being singularly critical of a few specific female librarians, argues that differences in leadership do balance out between the genders.

I can think of five women who are currently county librarians who are disasters. If you look at good male managers and good female managers, they both manage differently. They both have strengths and weaknesses. Female managers tend to be able to take on board a range of issues at one time and are able to think in parallel. Men tend to work singly on issues and between people. Men can deal with only one issue at a time, whereas women can multitask, as women typically have to juggle more. Because of the culture we live in, we manage differently. I don't think either manages better because I have seen different styles. I have also seen county librarians that can definitely use the gender difference to their advantage with councillors (QInterviewee IR:02).

The following quotations are also typical of those who believed that the leadership pros and cons among the genders balance out:

Gender has an influence but I can't quantify that. Many of my external colleagues who are male are remarkable leaders but there are also female colleagues who are remarkable leaders. I have seen cases of both genders being successful and being unsuccessful. I observe somebody like Mary Dempsey, the New York City Librarian, who is remarkably powerful in her institution, very successful. Then I look at some male library directors who I don't think are worth anything, they are ineffective. Therefore, I am not sure if gender is that important (JInterviewee US:03).

Based on my own experience of working for both males and females, I had no difficulty working for either a male or a female. My personal opinion is, therefore, that there is no difference (Interviewee IR:08).

As most finance officers, personnel officers, and directors of services around the country are male, I wonder if it is more difficult for female leaders to negotiate because senior council officers are predominantly male. However, I know some male colleagues who say that they can't get what they want for their services. So, the qualities of a person should be the deciding factor. I don't think gender matters. It is the personal characteristics and the personal qualities of the person that matter (3 Interviewee IR:07).

As the quotations in this subsection present views on the gender of leaders in the wider organizational context, the following subsection addresses the organizational effects of the leader's gender internally, on followers, including some stereotypical problems associated with gender issues.

4:8.3.1 Gender-based Difficulties for Leader–Follower Relationships

Eight (27%) of the thirty interviewees reported some difficulties experienced by followers of female leaders. Interestingly, the same eight respondents were not critical of any male leaders. The first two quotations are from female library leaders about other female leaders, followed by critical comments reported by male interviewees.

Male and female leaders are different. Staff find it easier to relate to a male who is in charge rather than to a female. That is a generalization and I know any specific situation might be different. Females tend to relate to a male leader better and that is evident. I am not so sure about males relating to female leaders, it depends on the individual man. If the person sees the leader as being fair and open they would not have any difficulty with gender (QInterviewee IR:04).

I worked for one female boss who was the most authoritarian and unconsultative that I have ever met (QInterviewee GB:04).

The following are from males about female leaders:

I had some terrifying women librarians in my time (d'Interviewee GB:06).

Males and females do have different approaches. Females generally tend to be a lot harsher, and a lot more craving for power. Females tend to be far greater disciplinarians on average. That is a sweeping statement, but I am thinking of people I know and generally I find that males are more tolerant. Females tend to feel that their authority should be sacrosanct. Females also tend to have favourites. Women leaders surround themselves with selected people to the exclusion of others (*d*Interviewee IR:03).

I believe men tend to be more objective; very often emotions come into discussions when women are involved in a discussion. Over the years, I have heard it from both males and females that they tend to get on better with a male boss. Honestly, I prefer to work with men (*d*Interviewee IR:10).

While the two following male interviewees personally had no experience of gender-based problems with bosses, they reported hearsay accounts of both male and female staff who were critical of female bosses:

Some of the more traditional male members of staff report problems with having a woman as their line manager (*Interviewee GB:09*).

I do hear reports of female staff having problems working with a female boss, and some male library staff also report difficulties working with a female boss; that includes difficulties with female bosses at all levels, which people say is because they are women bosses (Interviewee IR:08)

A classic male chauvinist bias was articulated by one Irish participant:

This is where I could be controversial. Females in particular have a habit of rubbing each up the wrong way. A male can handle situations better where women are in the majority. I would be concerned with a predominance of female leaders. A female in charge can be conducive in some instances to friction, whereas men tend to have more understanding. It is a perceived idea from the woman's own point of view that a female in charge can add to friction (Interviewee IR:06).

The above arguments were, however, counterbalanced by two British librarians. The first reported that he found it easier to work with female bosses, while the final comment suggested that individual characteristics were stronger than characteristics that might be associated with gender:

I have worked for more female bosses than males and I found more harmonious relationships with female bosses. Women have a skill set that males tend not to have. It is hard to generalize. There are a lot of issues, but you probably get better team building with female leaders (Interviewee GB:08).

There are many theories now about both genders having different management styles. Certainly, a lot of men will tend towards an autocratic style and a lot of women will tend towards an inclusive style. But, it is not that simple because people are individuals after all (*Interviewee GB:09*).

Overall, reflecting the literature, the participants in the current study presented mixed views on the effect of gender on organizational leadership issues.

Further difficulties for librarians, due to constraints on development of the library service, will be examined in the next section, which presents a wide-ranging perspective on the public library service now and as it might be in the future.

4:9 Leaders' Perspectives on Current and Future Library Service

This section presents general overviews on the public library service from the perspective of the interviewed leaders. These views are presented under the following thematic headings, ranging from current policies to median and long-term perspectives:

- Leaders' priorities for public library services
- Social/community role of library leaders
- Constraints on service
- Five-year vision
- Leaders' speculations on the future of library services

4:9.1 Library Leaders' Priorities for Public Library Services

The raison d'être of public libraries informs much of the visionary and operational focus of the participants in the current study. Individual leaders articulate their own preferred emphases. The following interview excerpts illustrate many of these priorities:

The public: that is why we are here. If we didn't have the public we wouldn't be here. They are always my big concern (Interviewee US:01).

We have a set of values that are very important. Respect for differences is important. Willingness to invest in people and to improve their skills is important. The idea and concept of planning is important. The idea that diversity in people and in ideas is healthy in an organization is an important part of our culture. You must treat people humanely. We are driven by strong customer-service values. We actually have some documents with these cultural sentiments written down (Interviewee US:03).

The most important thing we do is to provide good customer service. Customer service is paramount to what we do. The public are our dollars and cents, and if we don't serve them well, then we are out of business (Interviewee US:04).

Our most important cultural aspect is the motivation of staff, since staff interest in really wanting to do a good job (or in not doing a good job) is central to quality of service (Interviewee US:02).

The people who work here in our library system are the most important part of our culture, because we could not do what we are doing without them (Interviewee US:05).

Performance management and a focus on customer care are central to our culture (Interviewee GB:01).

We focus on developing an outward-looking service that is continually seeking change (Interviewee GB:02).

The tone of the organization is important. What I mean by that is that I expect my members of staff to treat each other well, just as they would treat members of the public. The tone and how they relate to each other is important and there should not be a difference in the way they treat the public and colleagues. Everybody should be treated with respect and that is what I mean by tone (Interviewee GB:03).

It is difficult to say which is most important. We have a number of teams across our service and you could say that the culture of the organization is led by the culture within those particular teams. At management-team level, it is very important that we are seen to be directing the service, and that the managers at the lower levels are equally seen to be directing their particular teams (Interviewee GB:05).

I regard encouragement of devolved responsibility to community librarians as one of the most important aspect of our organizational culture. They are the people in the front line and they know what is required. They are given as much freedom as possible. One example is where the one branch organizes an annual daylong party around the theme of World Book Day, and that is because the librarian and staff are given scope to indulge their enthusiasm. Another library organizes promotions in support of the Alzheimer's society and also to support deaf people (Interviewee GB:06).

Keeping everybody informed about what is happening is essential. We like to think we do our best to, but in a decentralized service adequately informing all is not so easy. No matter how hard one communicates, people will say, "Oh, I never heard that" (Interviewee GB:07).

The overall goal of a library service is to promote information and learning. Within that context, the library must endeavour to serve national and council objectives of serving people's needs. The wider objectives ordain that the library serves a specific purpose by developing citizens. In doing that, the essential purpose of our library is to act as a catalyst of positive cultural change in society (Interviewee GB:08).

Along with commitment and interest, social responsibility is one of the most important aspects of a public library culture. I would emphasize what we are 'public servants', with equal emphasis on both words. Yes, we are in a public environment and everyone who works in the public service is in the public. Not everyone sees himself or herself as a servant, however. Staff too must see that service is absolutely critical to what we are doing (Interviewee IR:01).

A team spirit, assured vision, and a work ethic are the key characteristics of our library. Another core part of our culture is a focus on delivery of service to as many people in catchment areas as possible, particularly those who previously felt excluded because of economic circumstances (Interviewee IR:02).

A sense of devolved ownership is a deliberate core aspect of our culture. I am not a great person for management teams, I am far more interested in project teams — wherein someone's hierarchical grade is not necessarily important. . . . With ownership, the people that are doing something receive credit for it. They are given opportunities to develop their projects. Obviously, people will be led in certain ways, but it is hugely important that people feel that what they do is the result of their work. Our philosophy here is that you do a good job and then you get credit for it. People must feel that they are part of the organization and that they can shape it and change it. It is nice to know that what you do is appreciated. It has been proved that people do not work better because of remuneration, they work far better because of job satisfaction and recognition from seniors as well as recognition from their customers (Interviewee IR:03).

What is most important is customer service, as well as an open two-way communication culture with staff (Interviewee IR:04).

Our organizational culture should be founded on service, therefore having a vision of service is essential. The citizen's role in determining the direction of service is central to providing the best service (Interviewee IR:05). Obviously, the main reason we are here is to provide a service to the public, so the library has to have a strong culture of customer care and customer service. Good training modules should strengthen a culture of service. It is very important that people coming to the service would see a service culture already there and should be driven by what they perceive to be there. The two most important things about a library culture are delivery of service and inter-staff relations. Good, highly trained and motivated staff are important for effective customer care. Inter-staff relations are very important and regular information meetings are needed to encourage those relationships. These meetings include taking people's views on board, not dictating one's own views all the time, and listening to people who might tell you whether or not the organization is going in the right direction (Interviewee IR:07).

Our main goal is to serve the public. All our services are very focused on what works for the public. While we have support services and extension activities, we are mindful that our core business is libraries, books, and information. We endeavour to proactively reach out to people so that they will use our services to their best advantage. We put a lot of emphasis on maintaining and increasing the number of people who visit the libraries or who borrow books, and on the quality of books in stock and the choices borrowers make (Interviewee IR:08).

To talk about the basics of the library first, it is like the ten commandments being reduced to love your neighbour; you can reduce all library management to two things: the people working in the library must love books and love people; that is, they must love the people that are coming in and they must get on with the people they are working with. Staff must love what they are about, which is about books and reading; everything that we are doing is driven towards that, therefore, staff must have a great understanding of books and reading plus an active liking of people. Behind the counter you really have got to love people of all kinds. To be successful, a library's culture must have this double-pronged focus on books and people, and, to deliver on those, the leader must continually repeat that cultural message (Interviewee IR:13). I prioritize service to the public and that determines everything. From the hour I walk into the office in the morning, optimum service to the public is my guiding light the whole way through — whether using current resources and infrastructures or through acquiring more resources and developing new structures. I would be as determined as possible to have a very happy staff. When I say a happy staff I mean more than just jolly staff. I want to have people coming into work in the morning looking forward to working and to what they are doing, rather than hating their lot and coming into an organization they hate. I want that upbeat feeling to be ongoing through their day. That means interacting with their own staff levels and interacting upwards and downwards. I want that atmosphere The absence of a happy working culture and work environment. negatively affects the whole organization and, from that, service to the customers is negatively affected. This is my seventh local authority to work in, and I have experienced the good, the bad, and the ugly. It is that type of people-focused principle that I am guided by. It is a huge success when I see a happy staff, a staff that are motivated and who like to take on tasks and who like to see the end product, especially when they articulate that they are delighted to be involved in a particular task (Interviewee IR:09).

A widespread dedication to service throughout the organization is very important. A culture of continual development of quality bookstock collections; and development of specialist collections would be part of this. On the strategic level, the opening of new service points and developing methods of reaching new customers is important (Interviewee IR:10).

The following are important aspects of our organizational culture. First of all, providing a service to the public; then getting the message across to public representatives; implementing librarians' values; practising a certain amount of political correctness, out of necessity; practising social inclusion; having a big emphasis on outreach activities; trying to get the message out all the time about the library, thus encouraging individuals to use the service; and, trying to reach out to nonusers (Interviewee IR:12).

A culture of consultation and flexibility is most important (Interviewee IR:15).

This subsection presents a very representative selection of views expressed by the interviewee contributors to this study. These priorities are primarily customer focused, and then employee focused for enhancing delivery of service to customers.

4:9.2 Social/Community Role of Library Leaders

The theme of this subsection focuses on one of the library leadership roles prioritized in the previous subsection, that is, the librarian's role as a catalyst for adding value to the lives of citizens. All thirty interviewees shared a philosophy of endeavouring to address this role. The interviewed leaders discussed many aspects of how the public library service contributes to the quality of life of citizens, by being a local gateway to knowledge, facilitating lifelong learning, and as a cultural resource for individuals and groups. Illustrative extracts of these ideas are included in the following sample quotations, which are grouped thematically.

Interestingly, three interviewees argued that libraries make an important anticrime contribution to society, for example:

Looking at the criminal violence in some inner cities, where there are no social facilities, we can wonder if some of those people might have been changed through better opportunities and facilities (Interviewee IR:06).

Similarly, another librarian argued that it costs more in remedial expenditure to maintain public amenities which are continually vandalized in socially deprived areas, which, they argue, should have benefited from libraries acting as catalysts of education and other social advancements for their communities:

You only have to look at areas of crime in some urban settings and one tends to think that they are exacerbated by the lack of adequate libraries and the social investment a library can make in areas that are deprived of other amenities (Interviewee IR:10). The following quotation is representative of the general views expressed by library leaders arguing that public libraries enhance the lives of individuals and thus makes an important social contribution, and that the library is available to all sectors of society, especially:

... for people who are unfortunate enough not to have completed high school, those individuals who need the library for more than just recreation but need it because it can make a difference in people's lives in terms of improving their personal situation, whether that is in a better job, better health, or enhancing their lives generally. That is what I would like to see the library move towards, and it is so important in an urban setting like this city (Interviewee US:04).

Other replies expanded on this social role:

The library has an influence on the outside culture. We help to narrow the gap between the richer and poorer sectors in society. The location here tends to have a higher poverty rating. If we can empower children in the area to increase their knowledge, we are then going to change their culture (Interviewee US:01).

Libraries have a crucial role in terms of social inclusion and that is our next big development area. We have a key role to play in terms of social inclusion. Even at executive level, we have not got our act together in terms of what we can contribute to social inclusion. We have not really translated that into practical action yet. Regarding service to people, libraries have a key role to play in community life now but I don't think we have been driven as far as we can go. We should be involved in partnerships with local colleges, with the local inclusion groups, with education departments, higher and further education, and partners with enterprise groups such as training people for work. We need to see our role as supporting the individuals within our community, supporting individual borrowers, and working with community plans on adult literacy and numeracy, on adult development, including equal opportunities. We treat everybody the same; that is one thing all public libraries stand for. As librarians, we treat people's reading tastes as confidential and we are the bastions of social inclusion (Interviewee GB:04).

My responsibilities are for libraries, archives and education, which we integrate with the public library service to give a focus on lifelong learning. The individual learning that takes place in libraries is facilitated by the adult and continuing education and support sectors. With the People's Network in Britain, all libraries have a learning centre. The role of libraries in learning is now very much recognized as a key element. A learning centre in our terms means integrating our computer facilities with library services as well as providing Internet and information We are also providing learning packages and we have a services. partnership in the city called the Real Partnership, which is a partnership with Scottish Enterprise, an economic development agency, and the further education and higher education sectors and the City Council with the aim of having an integrated approach to lifelong learning to support individuals throughout the city. All our staff are trained to support the public and some of our staff provide short courses on using the Internet, but we also have a range of online courses which are either well tutored or you can go online and have tutors online from the local Further Education Board. Our staff support the individuals but we work with the colleges who provide teaching (Interviewee GB:09).

The role of libraries is in adding value and we have added value with ICT and some of the learning things through staff intervention and staff support (Interviewee GB:08).

One librarian asserted that an essential quality of a chief librarian is "being able to lead people in the direction that will be most helpful to a community" (Interviewee US:05). Another interviewee quoted her library's motto, which viewed "Libraries as the hub of local neighbourhoods, ensuring equal access to information and ICT for all ages and communities", to illustrate the democratic nature of access to public libraries (Interviewee GB:01). A librarian who was from the first generation in Scotland to benefit from public-funded college education felt he had "an obligation to put something back into society" and this informed his emphasis on the social aspect of his career (Interviewee GB:03). The following anecdote illustrates a particular contribution made to an individual and his personal development by the service: At a Scottish librarians' conference recently, a story was told about a young boy who availed of the library to change his life. The young boy, who wanted to be good at physics, pretended to his parents that he was hanging around with his friends, while he was actually going to the library to study physics. He is now beginning a job at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Since the boy had no domestic support he relied on the library for help to change his future. This is exactly what we should be doing (Interviewee GB:06).

The service is seen as important and people see it as a centre for themselves. It helps and develops people (Interviewee IR:01).

A librarian in Scotland also suggested that libraries are helping people to empower themselves, to find access to learning, to find employment and thus improve their lives. One Irish librarian asserted that librarians need a strong belief in a vision of serving the community and, equally, that that vision should be communicated to staff. An English librarian, however, said that librarians are struggling in an effort to grapple with social inclusion issues.

One Irish librarian suggested that a positive outcome of successfully focusing on service to community is that the communities, in turn, manifest their ownership of the public library service:

It is important for communities to have a strong sense of ownership of their community library. The library belongs to the community — not to the local authority nor the library staff. People like to hold and visit exhibitions in this new library, for example. They feel it is their own space to use, to be proud of, and to show off to other visitors with the help of exhibitions hosted here. As a community service, the library goes beyond its books and computers (Interviewee IR:10).

Unanimity was shared by the librarians when underlining their core role in serving community requirements, which was expressed as the raison d'être of the public library service.

4:9.3 Constraints on Service

While Section 4:8 dealt with difficulties for public library leaders themselves, this subsection addresses a number of constrains on library-service provision in general, as reported by the contributors to this study. Thirty (100%) of the respondents said that financial restrictions and the need for continual creative budgeting was the main constraint on expanding the quality and range of library service provision. The following quotes illustrate this issue.

Development of the service is constrained mostly through lack of staff and other resources, which encroaches on my time a lot because of the lack of staff. I wish I had many more professionals, including a programme director whose job I have to do (Interviewee US:01).

Apathy from the general public is a major constraint on library development. There is a lot of apathy here in America today for the public library service. There is a lack of interest. There is a lack of commitment. There is a lack of understanding of what a library is and what it does. There are a handful of libraries in the United States that are very well supported, that are very well funded, where the leaders, elected officials and the people who hold the purse strings are aware of the value and the impact of the library, whereas in most cases the majority of people believe that a library is just a building with shelves, staffed by a volunteer. They do not understand the value and they refuse to fund and support it in appropriate ways. Many people need library services, but community officials, legislators, and the general public are not willing to fund the service at the right level. A library service needs more than just a few thousand dollars. People just do not realize the cost of books, the cost of staff, the demand for qualified staff. There are just so many things they do not understand and they just do not care (Interviewee US:02).

Right now, lack of money is the major constraint. We have had major money cutbacks and major staff cutbacks, including the loss of about one hundred positions in the past two years. I previously had six hundred staff. The economy and a variety of things are responsible for this. Money is probably the biggest constraint. Changing the

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organization's culture is also part of that. We live in a trade-union environment, wherein we have two labour organizations. This can constrain development ambitions (Interviewee US:03).

My major constraint right now is the budget. Currently, there is a job freeze in the city council, so we cannot hire staff. In comparison to last year, we have at least forty people less, and we are trying to do the same job that we did this time last year. It is difficult not having the staff to do the work. This results in the lowering of staff morale, because people see that they are doing more with fewer staff. There are other problems but they pale in comparison to the staff cutbacks (Interviewee US:04).

Money is one constraint. Another constraint can be a dearth of people to carry forth ideas, and staff effectiveness is affected by the quality of their training as well as by staff numbers. You can stretch your staff only so far, and those people you know can do the work, that is, the carrying out of these ideas. But, there are only so many of them and they cannot do everything. There are libraries here in America that are very, very poor. Some don't even have librarians and they may just have a volunteer opening up a little area and bringing in books. You run the gamut in our country, from the very big libraries to the little tiny ones, and you have the bookmobiles that go around to people who don't drive and who live out in the country and maybe can't get to a library (Interviewee US:05).

Staffing levels are our major constraint on delivering or developing the service. Everybody has too much to do. So, trying to move the service in different directions means either major upheaval or increasing workloads for people. There is no slack, especially in the small libraries, so it is very difficult for them to do anything such as helping customers to use computers. They do it, but they could do a lot more if we had more staff (Interviewee GB:01).

Our ambitions are limited by constant budget reductions in the council, which is a local government issue. Despite cash cuts every year, local authorities are prepared to throw money into the pot to develop partnership and other new services while librarians have to snip around the edges at budgets to generate an exciting service and to take the service in new directions (Interviewee GB:02).

Political interference was illustrated by the following three extracts:

Private sector people think we are restricted by budget only, and do not realize our political constraints: we had an example of that recently where a chief librarian had all the groundwork done and wanted to develop the service, but an elected member said that that chief librarian was not going to implement that strategy (Interviewee GB:02).

Localized political pressures can hamper wider strategic development. A few years ago we transferred library resources closer to a more populated area, from a service point that we closed since it was not heavily used. Before that branch was closed, however, we had to call the police to that library because local people threatened to sit in. Politicians and people that never used the library also joined the campaign. We did close the branch so its customers now use the mobile library or other branches, while those staff now serve busier locations. A lot of extra time is expended in developing the service when decisions are not politically acceptable. Overall, the lack of time is our major constraint (Interviewee GB:07).

The traditional constraint is money, money and more money, but another major constraint is interference, interference and more interference. You need patience and tenacity to overcome interference (Interviewee IR:01).

A scarcity of sufficient time is also articulated in the next five quotations:

Time is the constraint; there is never enough time in the day or the week to do all the things we want to do. We are not short of ideas or space but we are short of time to put them into practice. The obvious constraint is money as you never have as much as you would like. However, the inventiveness of our leadership team does elicit extra funding, so funding is not the major constraint (Interviewee GB:03). *Time and money are our major developmental constraints* (Interviewee GB:08).

Our constraints are the usual ones: time, money and staff (Interviewee GB:06).

Time is our major constraint. The actual time that it takes to plan and implement change is frustrating. Even if we have been very successful in attracting resources to manage change and we do have a large staffing resource, the demands are still very high (Interviewee GB:09).

Not being large enough for further developmental purposes was an issue illustrated in the following quotation:

The major constraint for us as an authority is our size. We are not big enough to have structures and staff dedicated to developmental strategies. We all have quite complex job descriptions and we have very varied duties within them, so executing large initiatives is quite difficult for us because we do not have the staff time to develop them. The downside of our practice of assisting at front-line public service duties is that there is often very little time to do other things as well. So that is an issue for us (Interviewee GB:05).

Incompetence was highlighted in the following two extracts:

The only real constraint would be a librarian's own lack of ability. Constraints can be circumvented by the ingenuity of the librarian, for example with proper planning and the manner we conduct ourselves in the wider organization (Interviewee IR:03).

Staff incompetence is an issue that frustrates service development. We have staff who have contracts with us who are fairly weak performers, but there is not a lot you can do about them. You can't just give them their P45s and recruit new people. It is very difficult to deal with a legacy of incompetent staff members. I don't think you can ever fix an underperforming employee even after sending them on training schemes.

Financial constraints and the resultant efforts to meet budgets also restrict service development (Interviewee GB:04).

A defensive and hidebound professional attitude was articulated as a constraint:

There is a sense of we being defensive in our profession, as if we are under threat, so we have a bunker mentality. We also do not look wide enough and are confined too much to our own horizons (Interviewee GB:08).

Fulfilling bureaucratic regulations was seen as an increasing constraint on library resources:

Increased regulation, and expending resources to fulfil regulations, can constrain service development ambitions. Much more is prescribed now, by the government for example, than used to be the case. You get the sense that everybody is developing in almost exactly the same way, so there is less opportunity for individualism within development. That is not necessarily a bad thing, but we do try to serve unique local demands. Overall, however, financial limitations are the main constraint on developing our service (Interviewee GB:10).

Parent-body personnel changes can disrupt development plans:

Changes of management personnel in local authorities can greatly impede library development strategies, because the trust a librarian builds up with an outgoing manager or director has to be built up again with the new incumbent. It is almost like starting from scratch after building up so much trust. Suddenly, when your manager or director moves, you have a new boss who has new perceptions, influenced by their previous appointments, so it is like starting all over again, and that is an awful constraint on service development. You work very hard to establish the library service within the local authority, particularly, if the service is developing, but change of senior personnel is a big constraint. Money, money, money is also a big constraint (Interviewee IR:02). One Scottish Librarian claimed that local authority bureaucracy stifled the possibility of true leadership for chief public librarians:

Because of the culture of libraries sitting within the Council here, the library's structure and work procedures are very much determined by the Educational Resources department we sit with. It is the wider bureaucracy that determines our culture. There are specific educational mindsets that we have to accord with to a certain degree, which we then try to influence from a library's point of view. Leadership in the library service is about how we can bend and shape what is already there to suit us, rather than we being quite free to set the agenda. Senior managers within libraries have had very little turnover and since the local government organization it has virtually been the same, there are no changes in years. But, we are a very active grouping of staff and are very interested in making changes, but it has been caught up in Council issues, and more than anything frustration is the issue (Interviewee GB:02).

Another librarian believes that library development is constrained because librarians tend to be too inward focused:

Public librarians tend to be excessively focused inwards on administering their libraries, at the expense of relating librarianship to the wider community. Librarians do not do enough of a selling job with other local authority departments. We get the library aspect of it correct in our own minds, along with the public, the council and general public relations. I think that would even be reflected in the Library Council. The library service should have a national profile, but it is quite a low national profile. We are all collectively guilty of that. We lose out because of that and new groupings like the community enterprise boards seem to be more proactive and certainly seem to get the publicity for things that public libraries were doing and sometimes doing better. Maybe we should be working in co-operation with them more, and learning from them, as they are now one of our competitors (Interviewee IR:08). Despite the constraining effect of people and circumstances, some leaders point out that these should be strategically overcome by positive and determined endeavours by leadership, as illustrated in the two final extracts:

The main constraints are resource provision, and it can be lack of staff and lack of finance, and lack of support from the department in terms of capital grants for structural development. We have been lucky over the last six or seven years. The constraints that are there for everyone can be minimized by the direction of the leader and how he assesses it. No matter where you are, there are constraints, and you could let them stop you from doing things, which is very easy to do. If something has value and is worthwhile, you should be able to win the support of others for it. The case is there to be won, but if you are not positive in your own mind about it, it is going to be very hard to get the resources. You have to be convinced that it is going to be of benefit to the public, the local authority and the library service, before you can convince other people (Interviewee IR:07).

At the end of the day, I would be very optimistic about the library service despite all the constraints that we have (Interviewee IR:01).

In summary, while constraints on library service provision are widespread, the participants expressed optimism, arguing that one of the functions of leadership was the overcoming of obstacles and constraints. The next subsection turns to opportunities and the medium-term vision library leaders would like to see developed locally and/or nationally for developing library service provision.

4:9.4 Leaders' Medium-term (five-year) Vision for Library Services

Fifty per cent of the interviewed library leaders said that their vision for improving services within a five-year span would focus on the development of their existing services. Other aspirations included the development of 24-hour online services, as well as increasing visiting opening hours. Increased staffing levels were also aimed at. Over one in four interviewees added that they hoped for improvements in the quality and size of premises. Other miscellaneous

ambitions are articulated in the following quotations. Representative samples of participants' five-year strategic ambitions are presented in the following quotations, under loose category headings, and these extracts are analysed in the parallel subsection of the following chapter.

Greater access, greater inclusion, more external consultation:

We need to increase accessibility and opening hours. One way to do that would be through using more automation, including more self-issue terminals, so that we can open longer hours with fewer staff. We must also address the big issues that we have always been struggling with, like social inclusion. We need more external consultation to determine who is excluded from the library service and why? We have not traditionally been very good with consulting non-users. I would like to see that improve. Some libraries can probably say that they know why a particular group is not using libraries because of X and therefore they are doing Y to address it. We know why in some cases but not in others (Interviewee GB:10).

Improved ICT and a twenty-four-seven service. We should investigate a lobby-style twenty-four-seven unsupervised automated checkout of books such as popular novels. Access to the lobby or collection could be by smart card. There would be security issues to be tested (Interviewee IR:05).

Development of current facilities, attracting non-users, and assisting the development of computer skills among the elderly:

My vision would be to continue to do some of the things that we are currently doing, which is to increase library use by people who don't use us. For people who are accustomed to libraries, there is no challenge. They come and they get the services they need, but that represents a very small percentage of the population of the city. I would also hope that we would increase the number of teens who use the library. That is a user sector that we struggle to increase in numbers. There are so many resources that could be of benefit for senior citizens, many of them who do not use libraries since libraries were never a part of their lives. Computers are now so prevalent in our lives, while there are so many senior citizens who do not know how to use them, so we need to address that issue (Interviewee US:04).

What I have done over the last five years was to set out a service that was inclusive. Over the next five years, I would like to expand and develop each strand in place at the moment, to make the service accessible to all, to make access equitable, that is, to the housebound, to users of the mobile and schools services, and to extend the branch network to places that need it, such as the new branches which we are working on at the moment. We would also continue to roll out the extra services, including the public Internet access and language learning facilities (Interviewee IR:07).

Development of staff, buildings, greater access, and marketing:

I would start with staff development — by increasing staff numbers, resources and staff training — to maximize opportunities. New buildings, new service points, and longer opening hours would also translate into better quality of service. Marketing and promotion would be key factors. Countrywide, library leaders should build on library service improvements of recent years. The public profile of libraries has improved in the last number of years and there is a basis now for a sustained media campaign for the building programme to take off (Interviewee IR:11).

We need to do what we are doing better and we need to become more visible in the community (Interviewee US:05).

We must improve the physical quality to compete with people in the marketplace, as people will judge us on the quality of our buildings. If people see a dingy, dark library they perceive a dingy, dark service. We will continue our major program of refurbishment (Interviewee GB:08).

We must raise the profile of the library, which would include better marketing. There has also to be a greater understanding that IT is not going to take over the world. IT is a support mechanism. What users of our libraries want above all is access to quality reading material. We can provide that by using IT and we can enhance that by offering readers access to the catalogue twenty-four hours a day. We can offer them a delivery service. We provided a delivery service on a small scale for teenagers; they can go into our website and ask for a surprise read and we will package it for them and have it delivered to them. There has been so much push for IT and networks, but we must realize that IT is a support mechanism. People do not want to come in and find the place full of PCs; they want to find books (Interviewee GB:03).

Expanding libraries as hubs of and conduits to wider info sources:

We will soon be moving into the next phase. Let me give you an example of the next phase but it is difficult to articulate because I am still grappling with it myself. We are still stuck in this very traditional mode when people come to us either in person or online. Last year, we had 10.3 million hits to our website, so many of them do not come in person and we are still grappling with this traditional delivery system, we give them information and maybe a database or a book to check out or a book to look at. The next phase is the expansion of the vision of the delivery mechanisms. My example would be that somebody comes to us either in person or online and they want a book on X. Instead of being confined by the collection in the library, why are we not opening the entire world of books to them, for books they can source elsewhere? We are beginning to do that, using the virtual catalogue of books, which is How about non-book materials which we may not have step one. available? Why don't we buy books that are in bookstores and with booksellers, on demand, when they are requested, or if people want to buy them why do we not make the connections? We are the connection to information resources regardless of what they are, but let the patron decide if they want to buy or borrow it. There may be other options available which would be much broader than inter-library loans. Right now there are several whole areas of publishing which are completely outside the scope of libraries, such as industry reports which are done by some of the information management companies but they are very expensive. These reports may cost more than \$1,000 each. Sometimes there are ways of getting them but we do not even tell the patron they are available. We need to expand the universe of information to the patron. In the book world, we have thirty-three million books. We buy a couple of thousand books every year but we can't buy all the books people want. Sometimes we can guide people to a book they want, which we do not own, and if that is what they want why would we not make the connection for them? We don't charge anything for inter-library loans. So, expand the box, as right now we can give it to you if we own it and you can borrow it. Without expanding the box, we are going to deprive you of information where we did not make good selection choices or if an enquirer's area of interest is outside the box. So, I am saying we should not be limited by that and should let the patron make choices. If it is the only way they can get the information resource that they are after is for them to pay for it, at least we can be the information hub, it is a different role, it is further access to the resource (Interviewee US:03).

Public libraries are at such a key point because technology brings opportunities that give us a window to do more or else fade away. In Glasgow we moved away from the idea of books to content, even though I hate the word, but people come in for the knowledge or transfer of ideas regardless of format, so format is secondary to content. People have expectations that they will be able to access whatever they want in a format convenient to them and technology opens up a whole new world in that. At the moment the technology is geared so that a lot of it is based in the library so we use our librarianship skills and we also give people an opportunity to use the technology. As computers become part of homes and buildings people will not need to visit the library to get hold of that information, it will be available remotely. Unless we can make that available to people in the way they want to use it in their own homes people will not buy it in and knowledge will become increasingly privatized. There is a window there in terms of developing a model in which librarianship skills are still used and respected and provided with free access to information and move away from the whole buildings approach and give people the knowledge and information that they need rather than saying it is about people coming to a building and using That is the challenge electronically, and I think books will resources. always be important so that is why we need to become a multi-media

library service. Public libraries in Britain were invented when books were the technology of the day. So now it is a matter of saying what are libraries all about and reinventing the library service to meet those need while maintaining the public service ethos and the freedom of point of access ethos. That then does change the whole role of the building that you have because within that model it will take 100 years to redesign this building or the British library and equally public expectations of public libraries are very different. It is also about reinventing the library image so that the interior has a modern, contemporary, informal feel that goes with people accessing information that people can control (Interviewee GB:09).

Promotion of adult literacy:

I am concerned about the whole area of reading and literacy, which are central to what we are doing. In some ways that focus has been overshadowed, and we have got to do an awful lot more, as literacy problems in this country are enormous, especially because of time constraints, the number of books that people read now has declined remarkably. That is where book clubs in libraries are crucial. I would like to see the library being more involved. You can use the Web for book reviews and we can promote reading habits. Over the next few years that is the kind of thing I would like to see happening (Interviewee IR:01).

Finally, a very novel development formed part of the medium-term ambitions of this librarian:

We are starting a virtual library for a scattered rural population, who will be able to come into a designated cottage, where they will have access to our catalogue to order books for borrowing through the Internet. We will then deliver those requests by van on a weekly basis to that cottage. This project is the first of its kind that I know of. There will be different borrowing rules as there is no stock in the branch but we will probably issue ten or twenty books to individuals as they request them. They will know whether a book is out or not when they ask for it. We are introducing software so that when they click to request a particular book the e-mail goes directly to the holding branch where staff will go to the shelf to dispatch it. The service will also provide general Internet access. We will provide training on the system for the local people. There is a FÁS employment office in the same cottage and the locals also visit there for bingo. The school is beside it so we will invite the school students to use it as well. We will just see what happens and we will evaluate it afterwards. It will be interesting. We are doing it out of our own funding (Interviewee IR:03).

The above medium-term visions for developing library services are analysed in the parallel subsection (5:10.4) of the following chapter.

4:9.5 Leaders' Speculations on the Future of Library Services

While most of the interview data in the last subsection related to five-year plans, which included references to current practice and occasional references to past contextual backgrounds, this final selection of empirical data presents a long-term overview of the hopes and speculative guesses of the thirty interviewees, on what library services might be in the mid-twenty-first century. Specifically, the interviewed leaders were asked, *Stepping into the area of informed speculation, to the mid-twenty-first century, how would you guess that library services might be made available to citizens in the year 2050?* Seven respondents (23%) spoke on the difficulty of such speculation:

I don't know. I really cannot project that far into the future. When you think about what has happened just in the last five years, there has been such tremendous change. I can't jump to 2050. What I hope will still be very real in 2050 is an actual book that you can hold in your hand and still have that personal experience of enjoying privately, and being able to travel wherever you want to go and just let your imagination run rampant, or you can learn something and only you can know that your have learned that through whatever format you are using (Interviewee US:04).

I wouldn't have a clue. I hope and believe that books will be there. How much of the speculations in the last century of Arthur C. Clarke on space travel in 2001 or George Orwell on 1984 came true? (Interviewee IR:06)

I don't have a lot of faith in predictions (Interviewee IR:08).

I would be afraid to hazard a guess; the rate of change has been so fast in the past ten years. I believe the change in the way library staff deliver services to the public will be outside our control, in the wider context of technological developments and in the merging of other professional roles (Interviewee IR:11).

If you look back at forecasts over the years, they are almost entirely wrong, so I would stay away from forecasting. However, the principles of public librarianship have not changed, even though we might now express them differently. We are there to embody a resource for the community at large to make use of. I think there will be buildings, but forecasts are nearly always wrong. The principles of why public libraries exist were the same in 1850 as they are now at the beginning of this century. How it will be delivered in another half-century is anyone's guess, but, as meeting other people is a basic human need, a library as place should still be there, and books should still be there (Interviewee IR:14).

Ninety per cent of respondents expressed a belief that the public library service will survive. The three respondents who expressed doubts about the survival of the library made the following arguments:

Unless libraries claim a community role more strongly, I can't see public libraries being there in 2050. I think they are going to last for my ten remaining working years. Their community role would be like a community centre or a neighbourhood meeting place for a wide variety of purposes, apart from books, and for a variety of activities (Interviewee GB:01)

I am not so sure that libraries will be there. We often surmise about it here and believe, if we were to talk to people in library school, that we would not advise them to take up a career in librarianship, because we are not entirely sure if libraries will still be here.... Regarding the virtual community, I am not overly optimistic about the future of virtual community services (Interviewee GB:02).

The year 2050 is a long way away. I would like to think there would still be public libraries, but I am not convinced that public libraries will still be there. Rather than a building-based service, I think there might be some online service over the Internet, for example for lifelong learning or to download electronic products, but ones you cannot curl up in bed with (Interviewee GB:07).

Fifteen (50%) of the interviewees expressed a belief that radical change in library service provision would continue due to expected acceleration in technological advancement. While one British library leader initially said it was "impossible" to guess what library services might be in the mid-century, he went on to speculate that the social and book aspects of the service would survive:

The electronic side of libraries will change dramatically; people should be able to have books in an electronic format at the snap of their fingers through the phone. But that is only part of the reason why people use libraries. The big issue is the future of the social function of libraries, as an informal meeting place for the public. Many library services are reinventing themselves, adding cafes, bookshops, and Internet access, so they are becoming more of a social gathering place. That is perfectly legitimate as long as we don't lose sight of the core purpose. Clearly, our core public purpose is to provide books. The social aspect and the books are obviously interlinked (Interviewee GB:03).

Other participants also endorsed the conviction that libraries should continue to provide a social or community meeting place:

Branch libraries will still exist. There will be two library spaces: a virtual and actual space. Many more services will be available through virtual space, the Web and so on, but I expect people will continue to have library buildings that will constitute community space (Interviewee IR:15).

By the mid-century, the social aspect of libraries will dominate. People will come together to meet in libraries to exchange information in person. In 2050 the library will be a place and people will continue to physically go there. Books should still be in libraries, and they will provide the excuse for people to initially go to the library (Interviewee IR:08).

The social aspect is very important. Going to the library to browse is important. I would be concerned that interpersonal and inter-social skills might disappear in communities. Library visits contribute to social cohesion (Interviewee IR:06).

Our job is in promoting people's imagination and providing a place for that. Our job is with creativity and the creating of fiction. Fiction will always be in the form of a book. One of the librarian's roles is in providing social space and this will become more and more important as the library will become the most important community meeting place. Yes, the library will survive as a place (Interviewee IR:13).

I think libraries will be part of a space rather than just a space solely devoted to a library service. I think it will be a community space, more like a community centre now (Interviewee IR:03).

The following quotation outlines a belief that libraries will continue to evolve. This Irish librarian expects that the recent British model of accreting a wider range of community services will be developed as an integral element of Irish public librarianship:

The library role may not remain as closely defined as it is at the moment. It can be broadened out. Reflecting recent moves, pressure will build up from new jobs that are developing, such as the posts of the community arts officer, the community education facilitators, and any related community posts. There would be pressure to merge those posts and to situate them in libraries, on the basis that libraries already have a physical structure for these and a budget, while the newer services, like those of the community education facilitators from the VEC currently have a contract post and a brief but have no building or budget. There are other professionals moving into areas that we librarians have traditionally touched on and I think they are coming closer and closer to a lot of the work we have done, so there would have to be a re-drawing of boundaries or a merger in some roles (Interviewee IR:11).

The expansion of roles was also reflected in the following extract:

Libraries will expand their roles in the provision of art and archival collections, as these are just other media, in the way books are also a medium of human creativity (Interviewee IR:05).

One of the two librarians who doubted the survival of the book stated:

The library's focus on books is already declining, and by 2050 the book may be gone. Even if books might survive, they should be so much cheaper for people, in proportion to people's income, just as books have become so much cheaper during my career in the library profession (Interviewee GB:01).

I can see the library looking entirely different than it is now, but it still will be a library. Technology will change the way we store information. Maybe there won't be books or at most very few books? They may be all digitized, but that is looking a long way down the road (Interviewee US:05).

The following extracts provide a representative selection of the twenty-one positive views on the likelihood of the survival of the book. Many of the views, such as, "The book will survive without a doubt, along with many other mediums" or "I have no qualms about the future of the book. I believe the book is secure" express a clear confidence about the long-term survival of the book as a library medium.

Thirty-five years ago people were predicting that people would be taking a microfiche reader to bed with them and putting it on their chest and they would be reading it. It has not happened and it will not happen. The intimacy of the book will always remain. I have no doubt about that, even if many of our services will be delivered directly to homes electronically or maybe in some other format (Interviewee IR:03). *I am fairly sure that electronic books will be an option for nonfiction. I am not sure about electronic fiction books. How can you sit on the beach or especially in the bath with a piece of electrical equipment that might kill you?* (Interviewee GB:06).

Even if the delivery of information will have changed, we will always have books. There are certain things that electronic technology will never master. For example, I don't know how anybody sits down to read a novel on the Net, such as Stephen King's new novel on the Web. To read them, I assume that people would download electronic novels to paper, but I don't know. I can't see myself sitting in front of a terminal and feeling comfortable for half a day reading a novel. There is a sense of being able to sit down or lie down or do whatever is convenient with a book and digest it at your own pace, rather than looking at a flickering light in the corner (Interviewee IR:01).

I believe books will be there in another five decades. Currently, books are asserting themselves as a means of communication. While we might have problems keeping our readership levels up, and that is due to ourselves and to people's attitudes to public libraries, more and more books are being published. There seems to be more and more of a market for books. It still seems to be cool to pick up a book and read it — even for youngsters. Children are as easily wooed in the direction of a nicely illustrated and well-written book as ever they were (Interviewee IR:10).

At one time, people might have said that there is an inevitable demise of the book. I doubt that that is seen as true now. I don't think e-books are really taking off. I do, however, think there will be far more information available electronically directly to homes, and possibly through public libraries and through the Internet. Dissemination of information is ideal for electronic media, but I don't see the cultural and artistic side being disseminated that way. The novel as a medium will prevail, but I don't see it being disseminated electronically. We will still have many books and other media, and books will continue to be available alongside electronic media (Interviewee GB:10). Reflecting one respondent who expressed a belief that "Library services will not have changed a whole lot" in a half-century, another respondent perceived a need to maintain the traditional library niche role as a lender of books:

We have a niche market in which we lend books for free. People say that everybody buys books now, but the prices of books are rising, and not everybody can afford to buy books. We have no competition in this because nobody else lends books for free. Friends may share books, so maybe we may rediscover our niche market and rediscover our core and go back to it. It depends on what kind of a library you come from. If you come from a public library, there is still the debate going on about the hybrid library. For example, I have staff who are biased towards books and they do not care for computers, they are traditionalists. I have IT people and they see IT as the best tool in the world for accessing information as long as you know what you are about. So we have these big debates about hybrid libraries, and so maybe we will have this big split where we will have the book for recreational reading, and all the knowledge and information sources will be through IT. You would not need a building to operate online services, so you could be operating that over networks. Books will definitely still be there, however (Interviewee GB:04).

Reflecting an overview of some of the above points, the following broad points present synoptic views of expected future roles for public libraries:

There are several trends. The number one trend is: library is place. The library will begin again to become more important as a place, a physical place as a refuge from the world, and maybe will flourish, because we are losing public places. The other trend is in the online electronic environment, and they we will be the new aggregator in terms of this expansiveness and in a different role and using this retrospective resource which goes back in time to reorganize some of what is more beneficial to people. Right now we have a classification system that puts books on the shelves in some common areas of interest, but it is very primitive. The book will survive but we need to be looking at more content access, deeper than what we are thinking about now. In this institution, we need to implement a more efficient and more effective way of minding and accessing all the gold contained in our thirty-three million *items* (Interviewee US:03).

I presume there will be much more ICT, making materials available on demand. At the same time, library spaces will survive. The public space will always be needed by society. Libraries as social and cultural centres will still be important. Part of the attraction of the service that should help it to survive is because libraries are seen as neutral spaces and librarians are seen as neutral agents, in the sense that people can choose to use or not to use the service of librarians. Libraries and librarians are not viewed as potential threats to people (Interviewee IR:05).

The final quotations in this section presents synoptic overviews of many of the above expectations. The first adds a cautionary tale about a perceived threat to the public library service from commercial interests, while the second ends by challenging librarians and local authorities to expand their shared social or community role.

The social or community side of libraries will be important. I suspect there will be a mix of portable electronics in the home and elsewhere and community based facilities, which will be located alongside a range of other leisure activities. The jury is still out on electronic books. There may be small niche areas. One interesting niche area is the academic side, but I think academic institutions should supply those. Another niche area would be a service to housebound people, particularly as electronic libraries develop — which would incidentally end the problem of volunteers having to second-guess what housebound customers want to read. Regarding libraries providing free access to information and learning and knowledge in a range of formats, the balance of formats will change, the delivery will change, but the thing we do need to hang on to is the core principle behind reading provision. Unless we do that, there is a risk that the provision of reading material could become privatized. In that respect technology is a crucial thing. As a profession, we are too conservative. We are too hidebound. We see technology as not much more than putting computers in the library. Unless we make that content available in the public library mode it will be filled by commercial suppliers (Interviewee GB:09).

I firmly believe that books will always be there. People will always want to read, but we must embrace technology. Library services will also be available on computer, and I can see materials being posted out to people at home and I can see people not having to physically come to the library if they do not want to. If we don't take up the advances happening at the moment in relation to information, then we could be in very big trouble even before the year 2050. I expect that if we run parallel to the developments as they take place there will always be a role for libraries. I believe public space will survive, provided librarians and leaders keep reminding local authorities that libraries, are visible signs of the local authority in remote areas. It is not just libraries that have to look at what they do; it is local authorities and what they are doing in making things available at a local level. Area committees will meet in their local areas and they are grounding local democracy. It is up to the librarians to show the advantages. We have the networks and we need to get people to come and use them. The provision of bigger libraries, alongside one-stop shops, should be part of local authority devolution (Interviewee IR:07).

In summary, twenty-eight of the thirty respondents are optimistic about the continuity of the service, albeit in evolved form, influenced by technological and external environmental factors. Twenty-one respondents believe that the book will survive in paper form, particularly for recreational reading. Analysis of these varied and the other speculative views on the putative status of public library services in the year 2050 are analysed in subsection 5.10.5 of the next chapter.

4:10 Concluding Comments

The wide-ranging quotations in this chapter provide new empirical data from leader practitioners in the field of public librarianship. The first-hand insights are presented in nine broad categories, which are further subdivided into narrower categories. This classification of topics, summarized in Table 2.1 above, facilitates review of the data in a structured manner. These same taxonomic structures are replicated in Chapter 5, allowing for a parallel analysis of the data, while also providing ease of reference to the fuller quotations in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS OF DATA

True leadership is a rare but desirable commodity. Brosnahan, 1999: 14

5:0 Introduction

The discussion in this chapter centres on the thematic areas presented in Chapter 4. For a systematic approach, the same nine broad themes from the previous chapter are used to frame the analysis. The themes are numbered in parallel in both chapters. The discussion will show how the current study confirms, challenges, or adds to previous literature in the field of leadership in public librarianship. This study is an illustration of what Mathieu (2001) observed regarding the focus of leadership research in general, namely, that it is on leaders themselves — on who they are, what they do, and how they lead (2001: 444). As this study also focuses on the interviewed leaders, their data in this study should, therefore, make a contribution to research on the subject of leadership, specifically in the context of public library leadership.

5:1 Overview on Leadership, and Leader–Follower Relationships

As in Chapter 4, the discussion of themes in this section is divided under the following subheadings:

- Leadership fundamentals
- Leadership and management
- Followers/followership as an essential part of leadership
- Team leadership and the devolution of powers from leaders

5:1.1 Leadership Fundamentals

The findings in this study suggest that leadership is a broad and complex phenomenon, mirroring views expressed in the general literature on leadership, such as Stogdill's classic observation, referred to in Chapter 2 above, that there are "almost as many definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept". The interviewed leaders in this study articulate that leadership is an essential organizational skill but one without a formula, that is, with 'no absolutes'. This mirrors Vasu, Stewart, & Garson's (1998) view that "leadership is a multivariate phenomenon" (1998: 90). The range of views on leadership presented in the research findings for this study give a positive answer to the question posed by Taylor and Wilson (1996): "Is leadership an attribute, a style, a capacity for visionary thinking or some combination of all of these things?" (1966: 90).

The respondents in this study saw no absolutes in the 'skill' or 'talent' of leadership. These findings concur with Scholtes (1998), who suggests, "There is no formula for leadership. Leadership consists of more than the approaches, capabilities, and attributes talked about in books", to which he adds, "Leadership is an art, an inner journal, a network of relationships, a mastery of methods, and much, much more ..." (1998: 372).

The respondents in this study shared the view that leadership is about influence, and typically described leadership as 'bringing people with you' and they equated leadership (phenomenon) with motivation, just as they described the leader (agent) as a motivator. This concurs with Tannenbaum et al. (1961), Hightower (1990), Yukl (1994), Senge (1996), Northouse (1997), Bryson (1999), Campbell (2001) and others who saw leaders as people with influence over other people. The interviewed librarians, thus, considered good leadership and leaders as catalysts of motivation. This reflects Fiedler (1971), Schein (1992), Kotter (1990*b*), and Gardner (1986*b*), each of whom emphasized the importance of motivation as a function of leadership. Burns (1978) categorized motivation as a key element of 'transforming' followers (discussed in subsection 2A:8.15 above).

The views expressed by the study participants contrast with those of Meindl and his associates, who challenged the view that leadership is important for organizational success. They suggested that leadership had only ephemeral effectiveness and that it was overrated as a phenomenon (Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987). Participants in the current study, instead, asserted the importance of leadership for successful organizational outcomes. They saw leadership as 'very important', 'more important than dollars', 'more important than facilities', 'more important than staff training', and stressed that organizational success depends on leadership allied to 'strategic and sustainable planning'. This underlining of the importance of leadership concurs with Bass (1990) who reported, "countless surveys can be cited to support the contention that leaders make a difference in their subordinates' satisfaction and performance. Leaders also can make the difference in whether their organizations succeed or fail", and Bass summarily added, "leadership is often regarded as the single most critical factor in the success or failure of institutions" (1990: 6, 8).

5:1.2 Leadership and Management

Analysis of the data revealed, overall, that respondents were not acutely focused on leadership as a phenomenon distinct from management. Arguments from the literature on this distinction, e.g., Kotter (1990*b*) and Bennis (1989), are presented in Section 2A:13 and Tables 2.5 and 2.6 in Chapter 2. In the context of arguments from literature, the current findings suggest that some interviewees were focused on bureaucracy and management, rather than on innovation, creativity, vision, and other areas classically associated with leadership. Confirming this view, one Scottish interviewee argued that librarians who came up through professional ranks often did not make the leap from management to leadership, for example, many regarded themselves primarily as 'books people' rather than seeing themselves as 'leaders' (full quotation in 4:8.1 above). Illustrating the latter focus on books, a deputy leader participant, who frequently and enthusiastically returned to the topic of fiction provision in his library, responded in very vague terms when asked about leadership, admitting that leadership was not a phenomenon he thought much about.

Among the eight respondents (27%) who specifically discussed 'leadership' as a named topic, six of these saw leadership and management as functionally distinct. One of the two remaining librarians in this group of eight suggested that

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the distinction was 'arbitrary'. Another response seemed to betray a misconception of what leadership generally means in the literature, arguing that 'attention to detail' was at the core of leadership. Some writers, however, such as Grove (1986), Yukl (1989), and Useem (2001) see an overlapping of functions. For example, Useem (2001) argues, "Sometimes we see managing and leading as exclusive spheres, each following its own logic, each with a separate purpose. But however different managing and leading might be conceptually, the truth is that the two are joined at the hip" (2001: 295).

Comments from the six librarians who made a distinction between leadership and management revealed that: 'leadership is about leading people while management is about tasks', 'For a successful organization, one has to do more than manage, one has to lead', 'one has got to bring staff with them and that is different from management', 'if one is going to be a leader, one has to believe in things; one can *manage* without believing in things', 'I see management as dayto-day managing of task-related issues and I see leadership in terms of vision and style and influence', and, finally, one respondent declared starkly, 'leadership is not management'.

5:1.3 Leadership and Followership

The respondents typically reported that leading by example was a core function of a leader, with one respondent asserting that 'leadership *is* example'. Many writers, such as Riggs (2001*b*), affirm that followers are motivated by example. Avolio (1999*a*) emphasizes the importance of good leader–follower relationships and that transformational leaders serve rather than supervise their followers. In return for service towards followers, Avolio believes that followers increasingly put aside their self-concerns for the greater goals of the organization. He argues that the most effective leaders today focus primarily on helping followers to reach their full potential (Avolio, 1999*a*). The empowering of followers is understood to bring many organizational advantages, such as, promoting a culture of 'self-leadership' (Manz & Sims, 1987), effective 'self-regulation' (Bandura, 1997), and the establishing of learning oriented cultures (Argyris, 1985). Similar views on leadership were mirrored by interviewees in the current study, for example, where respondents suggested that leaders who are selfless

towards followers, that is, those who 'don't care who else gets the credit', 'should excel in leadership'.

Bennis (1999*a*) discusses how leadership was traditionally seen as an inherently individual phenomenon, often equated with the cult of the lone hero in society, distracting from the more appropriate focus on and acknowledgement of the contributions of talented people working together (1999*a*: 72). He argues that the main force behind effective change lies in the talent of a workforce and its collective alliance with top leadership, and that no change can occur without willing and committed followers. Bennis summarizes: "exemplary leadership and organizational change are impossible without the full inclusion, initiatives and co-operation of followers" (Bennis, 1999*a*: 74). Olsson (1996) declares, "The good leader has an absolute recognition of his dependence on his staff and vice versa" (Olsson, 1996: 32). These arguments are reflected in the interview findings of the current study.

While no specific question on the term 'followers' was included in the interview guide, deliberately allowing respondents to introduce this axiomatic corollary to leadership whenever they felt it appropriate in their responses, all respondents spoke of leadership in the context of followership. The interviewees articulated the dependence of a leader on followers, since leaders exist 'only because other people are willing to be led', and are 'only as good as the support' they receive, and also because staff 'recognize' the status of leadership. In summary, the librarian leaders acknowledge that followers acquiesce or co-operate only because they 'want to' and are thus willing to 'change behaviour', but they emphasize that this 'drive has to come from the leader' in order for 'people to want to do it'.

The librarians highlight the role played by their followers, whom they see as 'the foundation of public library service', adding, 'The service is front-line staff'. To achieve this, they confirm that 'partnership with staff is important' and that it is important 'to have them on board', since 'it is staff who deliver the service', and 'these are the people who deliver the service and thus the bread and butter of the service'.

The responses illustrate, however, that all the onus and initiative is not unidirectional, as 'followers too have a responsibility'. This will be explored in the following subsection.

5:1.4 Team Leadership: Sharing Authority with Followers

Klimoski and Koles (2001) argue that a leader alone "cannot create and communicate an organizational vision" (2001: 245). Levinson and Rosenthal (1984) asserted that visions emerge from interactions between the leader and the top management team. Ireland and Hitt (1999) contend that members of an organization's top management team must be empowered to formulate and put into effect strategies and courses of action to accomplish organizational purpose and goals.

Eight (27%) of the participants in this study proffered ideas on devolving authority to their more senior and/or qualified staff. This formed an integral part of their leadership philosophy. They insist that 'leadership is more than just one person at the top', since 'organizational culture is not so much determined by the leader as much as by the leadership'. The theme of leadership as 'layered throughout the organization' is encouraged, since the respondents believe that 'unless leadership applies in other areas of the organization it is not going to work', as 'a leader of a section can determine the success of that section'. This 'strong emphasis on the team approach' ensures 'maximum contribution from the team', so that it is not just the single apex 'who is providing the library service'.

While the librarians believed that it is important for them 'to set the tone and set the style', it was also seen as important that there is 'a team-based approach to leadership', 'throughout the organization', and 'at all levels'. This means 'devolving authority to the appropriate level', which in turn 'requires people to actively manage and apply leadership to their own teams'. As pragmatists, the interviewees acknowledge that 'the leader cannot be everything' and 'it is very important that there are different people in the organization' contributing their own specialities. The team will not operate effectively, however, unless the leader is 'a good motivator', who will 'work the organization well'. The respondents also argue that excellence on each side depends on persons on

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both sides, and they add that 'a good team without a good leader will not succeed'. Finally, as the public library service has a layer of professionally qualified staff, one respondent articulated that it is important for 'all the professionally qualified people in the organization' to have their contributions 'respected and taken on board' and 'to have a say in the running of the organization'. These views reflect many views promoted in recent literature, for example, on distributed leadership (Euster, 1990), on participative leadership/ management (Broughton, 1993; Lawson et al., 1993) and consensus-building leadership (Merchant, 1971), in particular where teamwork (Burgin & Hansel, 1991*c*) and partnerships (May & Kruger, 1990) are emphasized. Bennis (2000) affirms these approaches, arguing that: "the most exciting work being done today is collaborative, accomplished by teams of people working toward a common goal" (2000: 156).

5:2 Central Role of the Leader

This section focuses on the role of the leader as individual and on his or her role in organizational outcomes. This role is examined under the following four headings:

- The leader as determinant of organizational success
- The leader as participant in organizational success
- The leader as determinant of organizational culture
- The leader as participant in organizational culture

5:2.1 The Leader as Determinant of Organizational Success

The first question in the interview guide asked the thirty librarians if they agreed with the declaration "Leadership takes precedence over all other factors in determining organizational success" (Tichy & Cohen, 1997: 6). Two-thirds of the respondents agree with this statement, while the remaining ten respondents believe that leaders *share* in the determination of organizational success. The latter ten will be discussed in the following subsection, 5:2.1.1.

Many of those who agreed with the Tichy–Cohen declaration expressed their support emphatically, for example: 'I completely agree' or 'I agree one hundred per cent'. Three respondents said that the leader is 'the key' to organizational effectiveness, while others expressed that the leader is 'the driving force', is 'vital', and is the agent 'who determines organizational success'. Even if the leader was seen as the primary agent, the respondents also saw that organizational success also depends on other agents, including, local authority support and staff commitment, particularly from department heads. They believed that, without the primacy of a leader, 'an organization would be without direction, without goals and without proper monitoring' and would find organizational success very difficult to achieve.

While five respondents said they did not believe that the leader takes precedence over other factors in determining organizational success they, nevertheless, agreed that leadership is 'one component' among important organizational factors for success. As 'one of those factors' among 'a range of factors', the leader was seen as 'a big cog' that can 'permit the organization to move'. As such, the leader was compared to the 'director of an orchestra' and was, thus, 'participatory' in the 'continuous interaction between the leadership and the people who actually effect the success of an organization'. The leader's 'application of good judgement' was seen to require 'adequate resources and staffing with an array of services and products' in order to 'effectively meet a public need and demand'. For organizational success, participants suggested that staff themselves also need to be self motivated, trained, and to have appropriate personalities for customer service, and these were seen to be of such importance that leadership in itself would not take precedence over those requirements. Another view held that organizational structures are as important as leadership for organizational success.

The views of the interviewees on the primacy of leadership reflect Winston (2001), who suggests that the theoretical basis for leadership in organizations includes the consideration of many factors, including the qualities of successful leaders, the development of those qualities, and the relationship between effective leadership and organizational success (2001: 19). The interviewees also mirror the views of ASLIB, the Association for Information Management (1995), which asserts that "Public libraries will need dynamic leadership to expand their roles and seize the opportunities that are emerging" (ASLIB, 1995:

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3). These emphases, therefore, contrast with the views of Meindl et al. who played down the importance of leaders, as discussed above in 5:1.1.

5:2.1.1 The Leader as *Participant* in Organizational Success

This subsection refers to the views of five of the thirty respondents, who believe that leaders are just one of a number of contributors to organizational success, rather than being the main agent of success. These five respondents expressed views that emphasize the effect of the wider environment on organizational inputs and outcomes, arguing that good leadership and staff motivation are no stronger than elements such as budgets and staff numbers, since lack of resources or public embargoes on staff numbers can weaken the effectiveness of any leadership. Other views suggested that 'the leader is only part of the team', and that leadership is only 'one of the many issues . . . contributing to organizational success' and is thus 'not the most important' factor. In essence, these five contributors argue that 'the leader is part of the team' and that it is 'good teamwork' that makes a successful organization.

The thrust of these five respondents reflects writers such as Lord (2001), who suggests that "researchers and practitioners generally see leaders as proximal causes of favourable organizational outcomes" (2001: 413). Day and Lord (1988) also acknowledged the effect of a variety of internal or external determinants of organization outcomes. Lord and Smith (1999) argue that the activities of a leader are intertwined with environmental factors, rather than the leader being the unitary cause of organizational outcomes; suggesting that organizational success depends on a confluence of systems factors rather than on the traits or behaviours of a single individual. Similarly, Zaccaro and Klimoski (2001) suggest that executive leadership is only part, albeit an important part, of organizational effectiveness.

5:2.2 The Leader as Determinant of Organizational *Culture*

McCauley (2001) describes organizational culture as: "the values, expectations, and norms shared by organizational members", adding that "the culture represents the shared mindset that allows organization members to perceive and understand events and activities in similar ways" (2001: 373). Deal and Kennedy (1982) viewed organizational culture as the shared and learned pattern of behaviour, which is transmitted from one generation to the next. Weick (1979) saw 'sense making' as the primary function of leaders, through which organizational members develop a set of mutually acceptable ideas and beliefs on what is real, what is important, and how to respond. References to organizational culture in recent literature was discussed more fully in Chapter 2, Section 2A:5 above, where, for example, Bass (1999) suggests that "The behaviours of top-level leaders become symbols of the organization's new culture" (1999: 16).

Interestingly, the replies from the respondents did portray marked differences when analysed in national contexts. Throughout the interviews, much less deference to parent-body regulation was expressed by Irish respondents. This contrasted with their British counterparts' iteration of deference to hierarchy and to official regulations. The Irish and American attitude to self-determination of organizational affairs, for example with regard to communication and related activities, generally contrasted with the more hierarchy-focused and regulations-focused attitudes of British respondents.

While nineteen or almost two-thirds of the thirty respondents believe they determine the culture of their organizations, seventy-three per cent or almost three-quarters of Irish respondents believe that they are largely responsible for organizational culture. Selected quotations in Chapter 4 illustrate these attitudes, using phrases such as: the culture is 'stage-managed by the leader', 'without doubt, it is the leader who determines the culture', 'it is the leader who sets the cultural tone within the library', 'the leader is a huge factor in determining the day-to-day and ongoing culture', 'it is the leader who underpins the particular culture of a library', 'a leader determines the dominant culture of an organization', 'the leader continually changes an organizational culture', or 'it is the leader who has the greatest influence on the culture of any library'.

In contrast with the 73 per cent of Irish respondents, only sixty per cent of the British interviewees believe that the leader determines the culture, and typical responses included: 'Library staff realize they are in a hierarchical organization', 'it has to be an agreed organizational culture', and 'there are other issues, like corporate culture, planning processes of the authority, and regulations which influence the culture'.

While only forty per cent of the American interviewees said they were responsible for organizational culture, the reasons they gave for their relatively low rate of organizational influence was because they, as individuals, chose not to direct the culture themselves. Instead, they preferred organizational culture to be influenced in a more collegiate manner, particularly by their most senior or most qualified colleagues, as outlined in the following subsection. Those who did agree that the library leader determines the culture used phrases such as, 'staff move according to the person beating the leadership drum', and 'the culture is determined by the leader, absolutely yes', as illustrated in the relevant quotations in Chapter 4.

The above views emphasizing the leader's core role in determining organizational culture reflect Day and Lord (1988), who suggested, as one moves up through organizational hierarchy, that it becomes more difficult to disentangle leadership effects from organizational effects. This might be due to what Katz and Kahn (1978) believe is the leader's effect on shaping an organization in order to align it with external environments, rather than primarily on trying to change staff. Mathieu (2001) believes that as leadership becomes a "systems phenomenon and less of a person phenomenon", leaders change organizational culture by changing their process agendas (2001: 452).

About one third of the respondents, however, did not agree that the leader is the agent primarily responsible for determining organizational culture. The following subsection illustrates their arguments, suggesting that the leader is only one element in determining organizational culture.

5:2.2.1 The Leader as *Participant* in Organizational Culture

O'Toole (1995) suggests that, "A culture is a system of beliefs and actions that characterize a particular group. Culture is the unique whole, the shared ideas, customs, assumptions, expectations, philosophy, traditions, mores and values — that determines how a group of people will behave" (1995: 72). That 'group behaviour' is dynamic, indicating that the culture is not an 'it' (O'Toole, 1995),

but is determined through people and their behaviours. He argues that the leader cannot just arrive and change the culture, as "effective change builds on the existing culture" and therefore only evolutionary change is possible, and that "depends on the active support of the people" (1995: 73). O'Toole, emphasizes, that changing the corporate culture does depend on "a clear, long-term, top-management commitment to the hard work of altering corporate culture, which begins with themselves as leaders", but this can take maybe ten years to show clear results, and that decentralization of decision-making is part of the process (1995: 71). He, therefore, does not see the leader as omnipotent creator of organizational culture, and suggests that other factors, such as external environments, inherited culture, and team input influences cultural change.

Eleven of the thirty respondents concur with O'Toole's thesis on the legacy influence of inherited culture, such as one American participant who spoke of 'a lot of negative baggage' in the organizational culture, adding, 'if only the leader could change that, and I have certainly tried, but a leader cannot do that alone'. Another reason for the leader's limited influence on organizations is the impracticability for a leader of a large organization to directly influence all staff on an ongoing basis, especially across different buildings. According to the responding librarians, another argument suggesting that the leader's personal influence is no more than contributory, is because staff contributions also contribute to the determination of organizational goals and objectives: 'it is not just one person, as director, who sets those goals', and 'the cultural shades are determined... in conjunction with staff'.

Similar views were expressed by Irish interviewees in Chapter 4, for example, 'Our overall culture is made up of a range of cultures from different people, particularly senior staff, who bring their special expertise and their organizational abilities, as well as their differing emphases', or 'everyone at senior level has his or her own way of organizing staff', and 'the wider organizational culture is influenced by ongoing interactions between devolved leadership throughout the organization'. Other typical views included: 'the organizational culture is not determined solely by the leader', 'staff themselves also have an input', 'while the leader might endeavour to lead by example, not every staff member would follow', or, leader influence 'depends on staff interest'. The following Irish contribution summarizes the above: 'ultimately what determines the

organizational culture is the interaction between the titular leader and staff at all levels throughout the service'.

Replies from most of the British respondents illustrate an attitude of deference to wider bureaucratic controls, as outlined in subsection 4:2.2.1 above: 'The council culture largely determines the culture of libraries', 'because we are part of a wider council, the leader influences rather than determines the library culture', and 'A library's culture is determined by the leader only to a certain extent'. Other views expressed that the functioning of the library was mostly determined by the parent body and that 'it is the wider bureaucracy that determines our culture'. These libraries have to act according to the 'mindsets' of their parent-body organizations, and librarians therefore have to 'bend and shape what is already there', because they are 'caught up in council issues, and more than anything else frustration is the issue'.

In this study, it was exclusively British interviewees who articulated parent-body bureaucratic constraints. These pressures are illustrated again, exclusively, by British interviewees in subsections 5:5.3 & 5:5.3.1 below, when discussing another topic (dealing with news media). In summary, two-thirds (63%) of the thirty interviewees suggested that it is the library leader who *determines* the library culture, while one-third (37%) argued that the leader only *contributes* to the culture. No interviewee suggested that the leader did not inform the library's culture.

5:3 Qualities or Traits of Leaders

The thirty participants in this study were asked to suggest the best and worst qualities of leaders in the field of public librarianship. Their replies are discussed under the three following subheadings:

- Vision, the primary quality of a public library leader
- Other desired qualities of public library leaders
- Negative traits/practices of a bad public library leader

5:3.1 Vision, the Primary Quality of a Public Library Leader

Eugenie Prime (1998), corporate librarian at Hewlett-Packard, when asked how she would define leadership, replied: "Having a vision, and having the ability to articulate that vision consistently and persuasively, so that people buy into it". (1998: 37). Her views reflect Crismond and Leisner (1988), who contended that library leaders must have a vision of where their service is going, which they must share through long-range planning with staff and other involved parties (subsection 2C:4.1 above). They suggested that leadership vision "is slightly ahead of" the common view, and that it should inspire and motivate followers in order to translate the vision into a reality (Crismond & Leisner, 1988: 122). Zaccaro and Klimoski (2001), however, argue that, "Despite the ubiquity of vision concepts in the strategic leadership literature, the nature of this construct remains ambiguous" (2001: 183). They distinguish strategy and vision, seeing vision as "an idealized representation of what the organization should become" and can be "based on the leader's images of what the organization ought to be rather than what it is". They see strategy as "typically direction statements that emerge from a relatively rational analysis of the organization's resources and capabilities and the dynamics of its operating environment", which represent judgements on how best the organization "can be best aligned with its changing environment". Interestingly, unlike strategies, visions "are not necessarily derived from objective environmental criteria and organizational characteristics" (Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2001: 183).

Senge (1990) suggests that effective visions are based on positive values with long-term growth aspirations, in contrast with ineffectual visions that aim to maintain the status quo regardless of changing environments. Kouzes and Posner (1987) believe that a vision is a product of the values of a top executive merged with an analysis of environmental and organizational contingencies, after interacting with fellow executives and stakeholders. While two-thirds of the librarians interviewed for the current study said that librarians do require vision, none defined what they meant by vision.

Twenty (67%) of the librarians in the study expressed that the possession of vision is a core quality or core requirement for effective leadership: 'A leader has to have a vision of where the service is going, or where he or she would like to see it going'. This reflects the centrality of vision in the general literature on

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leadership. Wall, Solum, & Sobol (1992) suggest: "Vision is about leadership" (1992: 19). Arredondo (1996) suggests that a vision statement acts to "catalyze the macrolevel thinking that is essential to create organizational culture change either affirming or leading to a new identity and destiny" (1996: 66). Nanus (1992) asserts, "Strategy is only as good as the vision that guides it" (1992: 30). Senge (1990) contends that a sense of purpose and vision go together: "nothing happens until there is vision. But it is equally true that a vision with no underlying sense of purpose, no calling, is just a good idea . . ." (1990: 148). He distinguishes personal vision from purpose, seeing purpose as direction, that is, something more abstract. Senge suggests, "Vision is specific destination, a picture of a desired future". He sees vision as concrete, whereas purpose advances an individual's "capability to explore the heavens. Vision is 'a man on the moon by the end of the 1960s'. Purpose is the 'the best I can be', 'excellence'. Vision is breaking four minutes in the mile" (Senge, 1990: 149).

Interestingly, while the word vision was not included in the question about the most required qualities of library leaders, two thirds of the respondents pointed to vision as a requisite, thus mirroring the centrality of vision in the literature of leadership. This finding also supports the assertion of Bennis and Nanus (1985) that "leaders are the most results-oriented individuals in the world" (1985: 29). It was evident from the data that the interviewed leaders were very focused on achieving specific targets.

Typical views expressed by the respondents in the current study suggest that: 'Leadership is articulating vision', 'A leader needs to set the overarching vision and values', 'what public library leaders need most of all is vision, tempered by realism', or that the successful library leader 'has to come with vision and an understanding of what the institution is trying to do and he or she needs to be able to look to that point in the organization to know where to go and to move things along'. Other views suggested that 'having a vision and a commitment to public librarianship ideals' and 'having commitment and drive to implement one's vision' were among the primary qualities of a library leader. Another suggestion was that 'one must first of all have a vision of what the service has to be and, after that, the buildings and other organizational matters follow the vision'. One respondent argued that some library leaders lacked vision, as they tend to perpetuate traditional practices rather than choose visionary direction for future years. Overall, the interviewed leaders saw vision as 'important', 'very important', 'most essential', 'a primary requirement', as a requirement 'to see the bigger picture', and as a quality to be sought in people when recruiting staff for public librarianship.

5:3.2 Other Desired Qualities of Public Library Leaders

Sweeney (1994) suggests, "The post-hierarchical leader possesses a unique set of personality traits. Those traits are suited to the radical changes that this leader must create in a rather conservative and traditional institution" (1994: 83). He adds that all successful leaders will not possess the same personality but are likely to share several important traits: "The library leader must be flexible, energetic, empathetic, wise, creative, courageous, principled, gregarious, determined, and possessed of a sense of humour". He believes that perhaps there are "none so important as these" (Sweeney, 1994: 83). Confirming the findings of Sweeney and other observers, each of the participants to the current study presented priorities from their own mental lists of the most desired traits for library leaders. As the thirty participants produced a total of about sixty desirable traits for library leaders, the following synoptic paragraphs present a representative sample from the overall totality of suggested traits.

Good judgement

Good judgement was a leadership quality emphasized in the interview data. Brosnahan (1999) mirrored this: "A good sense of judgement is essential" (1999: 10). Extracts from the interview data confirm Brosnahan's prioritization of the need for good judgement, for example, 'For me, the most important aspect of leadership is the exercise of good judgement', 'What determines organizational success is a combination of the application of good judgement to adequate resources and staffing', 'The exercise of good judgement is something that everyone in almost every position needs, whether they are on the circulation desk loaning books, or if they are making some high-level decisions about the budget', and 'Judgement is what we are after, and good judgement is an essential leadership attribute'. The leader is also seen to have a responsibility for 'creating an environment where people exercise good judgement', since judgement 'is knowing something, and, if not knowing something, knowing how to get the resources to find it', because 'exercising good judgement relies on a good knowledge base'. Bell (1992) suggested, however, that good judgement is a quality not widespread enough among leaders: "the person who can strike the right balance between the sense of complexity and the sense of judgement is increasingly rare, and that is a problem it seems to me in every society".

Strategic

The interviewees emphasized a need for strategic thinking and behaviour: 'Having a sense of strategy and how to implement strategy is essential', 'Planning is hugely important, even if some people think it takes up too much time, but planning does save so much time in the long run if you get it right', and 'it is the role of the librarian to determine policy and plot the way ahead for the expansion of service delivery'. This requires 'looking at fresh ways of achieving development objectives' and 'being prepared to think outside the box all the time', which requires a leader 'to keep learning', and this in turn requires leaders 'to pass that learning on', for 'direction setting'.

Commitment, energy, tenacity, passion

Participants spoke widely of the need for library leaders to invest much more personal effort to their responsibilities, which usually meant working many hours outside of normal working hours. As they all believed that they were 'adding value to society', participants espoused zealous application to their professional commitments. Quotations illustrating this enthusiasm include: 'What a library leader needs most of all is conviction, matched by a passion for serving the public', 'Passion for the service is essential for a good head librarian', 'Commitment and enthusiasm are primary requirements', and 'Enthusiasm is beyond commitment; most leaders can be committed but enthusiasm is a more Good decision-making skills and decisiveness were also scarce quality'. suggested as requisites for effective leadership, and these often required energy and tenacity: 'Determination is very important within the public library service', even if 'Tenacity in a library context is sometimes like rolling a stone uphili', which is the reason librarians 'Must have endurance', and the responses also underlined 'energy as a key characteristic of a leader', since 'Energy is important because it enables a leader to keep a momentum going over a long period'. Judicious application of energy was, however, suggested, since 'a leader of the service does not have to do everything', as 'we have professionally qualified people' to assist leaders to execute strategies.

Networking, political, and marketing skills in the wider environment

Respondents emphasized that public librarians 'work in a political environment', requiring them to have 'an awareness of the environment' in which the libraries operate for 'exercising political skill'. Therefore, 'They need to have an understanding of the environment in which they are working', and 'The most important thing that a leader should do is to be aware of what is happening, what the feedback on the ground is, and what is not happening'. Participant responses emphasized that 'Another important quality of the chief librarian is to get out and work on promoting his or her beliefs on the importance of the service, by repeatedly talking to staff, management and politicians', and 'Networking is hugely important', since, one of the requisites that 'really determines success or failure is the librarian's ability to get local authority officers to work with him or her'. Further comments included: 'Another area we need to work on a lot more is in politics and self-promotion — and the internal politics, because this is about acquiring and utilizing resources', 'It is about being able to manipulate the politicians to support your vision and gauge it and resource it, because you can have all the vision in the world, but if you can't have the staff in place you can't deliver it', 'Library leaders need political skills because they rely on the support of politicians for resources', and 'You need to have your politicians on board, because if you can't sell your service to your politicians you will not have the money to do anything'. The same 'marketing skills' were advocated for dealing with senior local authority officials, as library leaders 'have to do their own PR for the library service, and particularly at estimates time they have to fight for their resource', or 'Political skills and political correctness are also needed to deal successfully with management and especially senior management', as 'one has to push the library service even at the expense of other local authority services'. Participants also advocated networking among external library colleagues 'to keep abreast of wider issues, as many important events happen outside formal meetings and are initiated through personal contacts or networking', or to network with library leaders from other authorities so that they can exchange ideas for shared organizational benefits.

Good communication skills

All thirty respondents confirm that 'one of the most required qualities of a public library leader' is a facility with 'communication skills'. 'The librarian has to have personality skills too to be able to communicate the library message to managers and to public representatives'. Among these skills, 'The chief librarian needs to have good verbal skills', and good communication should be used 'to build up a profile of the service with management, councillors, community groups, and county development boards', so 'that the chief librarian establishes and maintains a presence', with 'those in charge of finance, personnel, and other stakeholders'. Good interpersonal skills also mean that an effective leader practises 'communicating one's belief to one's staff'.

People-centred qualities

Many of the participants espoused people-centred leadership styles, particularly towards staff members, for better organizational effectiveness: 'The ability to get on with people, at all levels, would be one of the main qualities required by any library leader, and this includes relating well with the public, with library staff, and with management staff of the local authority', 'I would certainly consider people-centred leadership as important', 'Good people skills include good communication skills, including listening well and being a good talker, are required', and 'A leader must also reach out with trust, but trust is something that establishes itself over time, rather being a quality readily dispensed by any The participants believed in 'motivating staff', 'or, better still, to leader'. encourage staff to be self-motivated', as 'Encouraging people is hugely important so that people feel ownership' of their organizations, which in turn encouraged staff to utilize greater initiative. Part of people-centred leadership was also seen to mean 'Being a good listener' and holding the view that 'A leader certainly has to have openness to others' and 'must practise diplomacy' for greater motivation of staff.

Commitment to the public library ideal of serving individuals and communities

All the respondents affirmed that a public library leader must be committed to the ideals of public librarianship: 'Commitment to the public library ideal is probably most important quality of a public library leader', 'The biggest challenge is to persuade management in local authorities of the importance of a library in a community', 'to lead people in the direction that will be most helpful to a community', 'Believing in the difference the library can make to people and the lives of people is important', 'Believing in the educational role of the library is so important', 'A strong belief in what a library can do educationally and socially is very important', 'Believing in the value of library work is important', and 'believing that what you are doing really counts for the community'. Service to the community was also seen to require librarians to generate the best value from public funding: 'Librarians owe loyalty to the public and to public representatives, ensuring that their budgets are put to optimum use'.

Miscellaneous desired qualities for public librarians

As well as the most widely espoused traits of the ideal library leader, summarized above, a variety of other ideal traits for public library leaders were suggested throughout the empirical findings. Many respondents suggested positive personal qualities, such as, integrity and trust: 'Librarians also have to have good personal values', 'Personal integrity is vital because you need to maintain credibility', 'Trust is as important as leadership' and 'If you are not trusted you cannot lead, as people will not follow you'. Library leaders 'must be open to change' and 'open to new ideas', as 'Library leaders have to think about change and creativity in today's society, because it is all about change, so they need to keep changing'. Likewise, 'To be willing to take risks is important, and to try new ventures'. 'We need to have a pretty good librarianship skills set', and this includes 'knowing what a rare book is, to understanding how to negotiate with vendors for books' and 'Chief librarians have to know about literature; any librarian who tells you that they can run a public library and manage it as if it were a shop is talking nonsense'. They must also 'to be able to translate policy issues for staff at all levels', and they must have an 'understanding what the technology applications are', and 'need to be innovative in their use of

technology'. As well as that, 'you have to be able to manage budgets', and, in an American library context, 'A leader has to be a fundraiser'. The final example suggests that 'The chief librarian's positive attitude to life is important', because, 'If we go around with a chip on our shoulder, a negative image will come across to the staff', particularly because 'Staff tend to hum the same tune as the leader'.

The wide variety of traits suggested by the thirty respondents in the above two subsections portray professionals who have an overall positive outlook on the career of librarianship, a career viewed as far greater than just a means of employment, since the commitment to the public library ideal obviously underlines the variety of suggested ideal traits for library leaders. Commitment to adding value to society, to the service of communities and individuals is paralleled with the espousing of positive staff–leadership practices, including an emphasis on motivation and on positive personal values, such as integrity. The following subsection briefly discusses contexts or qualities that are at the opposite end of the scale to the positive qualities just discussed.

5:3.3 Negative Traits/Practices of a Bad Public Library Leader

All thirty respondents spoke of what they viewed as the most negative features of public library leaders. Some focused on organizational processes, others on people-centred features. Most included views on both. Negative processes included: 'Fear, fear of the unknown, fear to try things', 'lack of dynamism', 'unwillingness to change', 'being satisfied with the status quo', 'living the status quo', 'someone who is indecisive' or who does not delegate responsibility well, 'isolation or insularity', 'not working in partnership', 'not knowing what is happening', and 'sitting back, not being able to influence what is happening, not directing and controlling what is happening; and coming up with initiatives but not having the ability or the time to see them through to fruition'.

Other negative processes include: 'not promoting a culture of customer care', 'self-centredness', 'lack of commitment', 'seeing change as something to be feared rather than as a challenge', 'weakness in commitment to training', 'many

are negligent when it comes to staff training', 'having too much power', 'presuming that they are the only people that know anything about anything', 'inconsistency', 'thinking they know all the answers', 'the absence of passion for service', 'an unprofessional approach to the job', 'focusing on best value and good administration' is seen as a major flaw, along with 'a lack of belief in the quality of library service', 'fixed ideas and fixed ways of doing things, resistance to change', 'not reading', and 'trying to do everything'.

Negative traits in the context of people-centred leadership included: 'bullying', 'cynicism', 'stifling ideas', 'a leader that controls', 'a leader that won't allow independent thinking', 'a leader that won't help others to shape ideas', 'a leader that won't provide forms and opportunities for people to think beyond or think outside or even think within the realm of what they are doing in order to best do their job', 'not allowing staff to manage change', 'where the leader might not be able to bring very good staff along or to give them direction', 'old ways of managing staff, being very hierarchical and bureaucratic', 'not working as a partnership', 'lack of ability to relate to staff at all ages', 'not valuing the staff you have, not listening to them, or not communicating with staff', 'not being open and honest with colleagues', 'being a bad listener', 'bad communication', and 'being authoritarian'.

The views on negativity showed no clear pattern, e.g., by nationality of interviewees. In summary, most criticisms were made against (i) leaders who had bad people skills, and (ii) leaders who were ineffective through lack of executive action. All thirty accepted that poor leadership qualities exist and appeared resigned that it is an organizational phenomenon but did not suggest how negative traits might be addressed. Hersey and Blanchard (1988) reported that "dynamic and effective leadership" is the hallmark of successful organizations, whereas ineffective leadership is typically found in failing organizations (1988: 85). References by the interviewees to negative traits reflect reports in Chapter 2, Section 2A:6, above, quoting Hogan, Raskin, & Fazzini (1990) and White & De Vries (1990), who found that executive failure is widespread throughout organizations, with some estimates reaching as high as 50 to 75 per cent.

5:4 Career Narratives of Interviewed Library Leaders

This section analyses biographical aspects of the interviewed library leaders. As a leader's personality informs his or her behaviour as leader, the contributions add to the collective understanding of thirty sample leader personalities. Gardner (1995) suggests that by examining individual case backgrounds "we can gain a better understanding of the crucial phenomenon of leadership" (1995: 6). The thirty interviewed personalities are analysed thematically under the following subheadings:

- How participants chose a career in librarianship
- Mentoring received by participating library leaders
- The counter influence of negative mentors on participants
- Participants' personal styles of leadership
- Significant career contributions of participating leaders
- Why participants continue in library careers.

5:4.1 How Participants Chose a Career in Librarianship

The widespread reason for choosing a career in librarianship was overwhelmingly serendipitous for the majority (73%) of the thirty respondents. This majority cohort was typically influenced by whatever happened to be convenient, or because they simply wished to escape from their current circumstances, at time of their career choice. Therefore, the typical reason for choosing a career in public librarianship was happenstance, for example, one Irish and one English respondent used the identical phrase: "I fell into it"; two Irish respondents said the reason was simply "chance"; the same phrase was amplified by three more Irish librarians: "pure chance"; while a synonymous phrase, "an act of god" was used by another Irish librarian. Two (7%) librarians were prompted or encouraged by friends to take up the career. Another three (10%) were prompted towards the career by advertisements and/or by an acquaintance. Four (13%) chose librarianship for what might be construed as a negative reason: they wanted to avoid a career in teaching after they became university graduates. Only eight (27%) articulated classic reasons for their career choice, four of these from an interest resulting from exposure as an observer/user of the service, and another four interviewees from earlier part-time

service in librarianship, one while a second-level student and the other three as third-level students.

Illustrative examples of phrases used in the quotations from the interviewees include: 'I could not say that I had a vocation to librarianship', 'I applied for everything that came up in the newspapers', 'I had an offer of three jobs after I graduated but took the librarian job as it was the nearest', 'I was painting a hay shed for a farmer that day and I said anything was better than that', 'I am in librarianship very much by necessity and accident', and 'Perfectly by accident: I went to school, ran out of money, had to get a job, got a job in a public library'.

More high-minded reasons for choosing the career included: 'It was for the benefit and impact that libraries can have on people's lives, and also for what is in those libraries', 'It was the idea behind public libraries that they empower people and the idea of them providing free access to learning and education, allowing people to get the most out of their lives', and 'I felt I could return something to society by using my knowledge and skills in librarianship'. One sample quotation also showed how influences in earlier life built an attraction to the career: 'I had experienced libraries as a child, a teenager and a student and realized what their unique service could provide'.

In summary, no more than two (7%) respondents claimed to be in the career of librarianship because of a prior interest in choosing a career in librarianship. Based on the findings of this study, it is interesting to observe that librarianship as a career is largely chosen more by accident than as a result of any established ambition prior to entering the career. The interviewees reported that they chose the career of librarianship primarily as a result of combinations of serendipity, accident, happenstance or coincidental factors, rather than through any sense of vocation before entering the career.

5:4.2 Mentoring Received by Participating Library Leaders

Twenty-six (87%) among the thirty interviewees reported they were *informally* mentored or influenced by bosses or by other colleagues. Most interviewees used the concepts of being mentored and of being strongly influenced interchangeably. No single interviewee reported that he or she had a *formal*

mentoring relationship. Five interviewees stated explicitly that their mentoring was informal, while another expressed that she emulated the style of a senior whom she 'admired'. The acknowledged influences ranged between mentors who had a very strong influence on protégés to others whose styles were deliberately avoided, for example, (i) one person said that the positive mentoring was so powerful that he regarded himself as a composite of his mentors, while (ii) at the opposite extreme, another interviewee said he was so negatively mentored by a previous chief librarian that he determined to implement policies, such as openness and people-centred leadership, that would have been anathema to the practices of his former chief librarian.

Some relevant excerpts from the interview data outline some effects of (informal) mentors participants in this study. An American librarian spoke highly of an informal mentor he had: 'He became my boss and mentor and he was remarkable. He was a guy interested in being sure that people learned. He was very approachable. I don't think I ever had a meeting with him where I walked away without having learned something very specifically'. The same librarian found that management courses, presented by Maslow and Drucker, which he attended early in his career, had a positive influence on his subsequent career. One British librarian, described quasi-mentoring from writers of management literature: 'In terms of management, I draw on things that I read and reflect on'. The same librarian never had a formal mentor but was influenced by people he 'admired'. This practice of emulating what was admired in other people was also articulated by an Irish librarian who endeavours to adopt the practices of others whom he admired.

During analysis of the data, it became apparent that the general espoused theories and recommendations of the interviewees largely mirrored the positive policies they attributed to their mentors (and, to the eye of the interviewer, these same qualities were quite apparent in the personalities of the interviewees). This begs the question: whether the mentors initiated new ideas in their protégés, or if the protégés already had propensities for similar traits, to which they then apparently permitted themselves to be receptive. Thus, they might have subconsciously chosen protagonists of such behaviours as their mentors. One Scottish librarian, for example, when asked about the qualities of his mentor, said his first library leader, while 'not technically a mentor', was 'very gentle, very knowledgeable'. It was apparent to the author that this interviewee

had a patently gentle manner, both during the interview and after the interview, whether communicating with the interviewer or afterwards with different staff members, while granting the interviewer a tour of the library. This example appeared to the interviewer as a mirroring of the reported 'very gentle' quality of the interviewee's mentor. The same librarian declared that one of the most required qualities of a library leader was that 'they have to know about literature'. This reflected the participant's own widespread knowledge and passion for fiction, which was consistent with that participant being the first librarian in Scotland to become involved in promotional work for the *Orange* fiction competition for women writers.

Other examples of interviewees espousing practices in their own behaviours that mirror the practices of mentors are illustrated in the last quotations in subsection 4:4.2 of the previous chapter. Crismond and Leisner (1988) found that most of the top-ranking public librarians they interviewed had mentors early in their careers. Those leaders, in turn, mentored other colleagues (1988: 122). Finally, the participants' exhortations for the positive practice of mentoring, albeit informal in their own cases, reflect Schreiber and Shannon (2001), who also exhort senior library leaders to become mentors in order "to share their examples of building collaboration in their organizations, and to expand the 'possibility thinking' of the less experienced participants" (2001: 51).

5:4.2.1 The Counter Influence of Negative Mentors on Participants

The sample size for this subsection was small. Only three (10%) respondents reported cases of negative mentoring encountered by them. Interestingly, the effects of this negative mentoring did not appear to adversely affect their career progression. Instead, they were determined to counteract the negative influences of negative mentoring and to implement policies and practices that were contrary to those of their negative mentors. Such determination reflects Bennis and Thomas (2002), who found that leadership qualities are strengthened in people who overcome adversity: "one of the most reliable indicators and predictors of true leadership is an individual's ability to find meaning in negative events and to learn from even the most trying circumstances (2002: 39).

The salient points of the quotations on negative mentoring included: 'I had the opposite to a mentor', 'I recall behaviours that I would not want to do or to replicate', 'she was a virago', 'as a people manager she was a disaster', and 'she had no ability to manage or understand staff as people'. The final excerpt illustrates how a negative mentor can have a stifling effect on organizational productivity: 'It was a culture where you did not stick your head above the parapet because somebody would chop your head off, with the result that nothing very much happened'.

5:4.3 Participants' Personal Styles of Leadership

Sheldon's (1991) interviews, rather than asking specifically to identify a vision for the library service or for clear-cut goals, asked interviewees to describe their strengths (1991: 8). Part of the current study, in similar fashion, also asked librarians to describe their styles of leadership. Four leaders (13%) described their style as a dynamic or changing style, while the majority (twenty-six respondents or 87%) described their leadership styles according to what might imply fixed or unchanging traits/styles, e.g., 'collegiate', 'supportive', 'hands-on', or 'laid back'. All thirty respondents claimed to have styles of leadership consistent with New Management or people-centred theories of leadership. Each leader used more than one term to describe their individual leadership People-centred qualities, for example, were described variously as: styles. participative (30%); encouraging, supportive, or empowering (30%); democratic (23%); consultative, proactively approachable/communicative, or open (20%); and collegiate or team-leader style (17%). These five categories are not In general, their meanings can be seen not only to rigorously distinct. complement each other but also to overlap, for example, without any contradictions the same person could describe his or her leadership as participative, collegiate, democratic, consultative and supportive — traits from the five loose groupings above.

All thirty interviewees said they had more than one style of leadership: 'every leader has a mixture of styles', or 'you need appropriate styles of leadership for the circumstances you are in'. Some leaders described this approach as 'pragmatic, because one needs appropriate styles of leadership for the

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circumstances one is in'. This reflects Goleman (2000) who asserts that the most effective leaders flexibly switch among leadership styles as required (2000: 87).

Approximately one in four of the participants practise leadership by example: 'my style is fundamentally based on example'. In some cases, this self-belief approaches arrogance, 'an arrogance based on the fact that I know my job well enough and have worked at it hard enough to be able to determine what we do'. This can also lead to autocratic phases of leadership at times: 'I used to tell staff where we are going, whether they liked it or not; and now I am becoming more consultative and supportive', 'one is paid to make decisions and if I need to be authoritative I act accordingly', and 'If one has to discipline staff one has to discipline them and there is no point in being consultative about that'. Yet, despite changing styles, core characteristics were reported to prevail: 'That is not to say that you change personality; you must have consistent elements, for example, for effective communication'.

One interviewee declared: 'I believe in servant leadership' and 'above all, I am here to serve the needs of my staff for optimum organizational effectiveness' and, justifying her philosophy, she added that servant leadership 'has pragmatic organizational benefits, as staff perform better when I am there as a support for their organizational needs and effectiveness'. This accords with Greenleaf (1996), who suggested that the "way some people serve is to lead" (1996: 112).

The theme of storytelling as part of leadership style is discussed in subsections 4:5.9 and 5:5.9. Another aspect of style was tenacity: 'If I have to heckle or to sit outside a door until I get our resources, I will do it', 'The reason I have been able to overcome obstacles is because I do not take No for an answer', and 'If I think something is right, I go and go and go and keep going, arguing for the case'. This proactive style is not confined to external targets, since one leader endeavours to focus pressure on himself: 'I tend to be demanding of myself. I am never happy to sit still' and 'When I win one challenge I look to the next one without celebrating too long'. At the same time, he does not try to centralize power: 'I delegate much of the day-to-day management' and 'I leave it to middle management to select book stock'.

All thirty respondents claimed to practise people-centred leadership styles. Significant statements supporting this included: 'I believe in maximizing participation', 'I bring a quite relaxed atmosphere to the working environment', 'Staff are free to change their minds and they do. That is regardless of what grade they are or how long they are on the staff. This encourages ownership of their particular areas, as well as allowing them to develop', 'I tend to leave people off to their own devices', 'my job is to encourage staff to do their job better, to encourage them to think for themselves and to encourage them to disagree with me', 'the more interactive or participatory organizations try to move in the other direction and try to grant the people closest to the implementation of a decision the greatest role in either making the decision, or accepting their input to the decision', 'I try to engage people', 'I try to be consensual', 'My style is collegiate', 'I like to sit down with people and talk to them to get their ideas', 'My style of leadership is very teamwork oriented', 'every member of staff is as important as I am', and 'I am totally approachable, and I endeavour that anybody else in management is totally open as well'.

Other terms used by the participants describing their leadership styles included: 'hands-on', 'commitment', 'delegating', 'networking', and 'realist' styles. The overall thrust of the replies acknowledged that current leadership styles are now less authoritarian, and are more collegiate, democratic, participative, and supportive of individual and of team requirements.

5:4.4 Significant Career Contributions of Participating Leaders

When asked about the contribution they were most proud to have made to their organizations, interviewees generally pointed out that their achievements added value to what previously prevailed in their organizations. Stated achievements ranged from the unquantifiable (e.g., changing the organizational ethos) to the quantifiable (e.g., extending opening hours or building new branches). No common trends emerged to broadly distinguish any particular emphasis based on nationality or on gender. Both male and female respondents from each of the three participating national entities focused on different areas, ranging from internal strategies (e.g., introducing open management styles) to external strategies (e.g., new services or outreach programmes).

Key extracts from participants' quotations illustrate this variety. Changes to organizational intangibles are illustrated in the following sample statements: 'I changed the climate and the tone of the organization', 'I made people feel comfortable and made people feel they can contribute', 'the biggest change is that people are much more open to new ways of doing things, to their own development, and to being more customer focused', 'I oversaw rapid cultural and service change', 'We have raised the profile of our library service', and 'I got people more involved in the running of the organization'.

Some of the more concrete organizational contributions included: 'We have more than doubled our staff numbers in the last six years', 'We have introduced services that did not exist in a structured way', 'I am proud of the ongoing achievements, such as, getting buildings up', and 'we went from a paper-based organization to a sophisticated IT-supported service in a few years'.

Practical contributions made by the interviewed librarians included: the introduction and development of automation; increasing customer incentives; implementing incentives to increase issue statistics; and increasing opening hours and numbers of branch libraries. Changes to management procedures included: devolution of power; introduction of more open styles of management, such as, encouraging greater access to themselves as leader; motivating staff to attend more training courses; increasing levels of internal and external communication; and raising the profile of the library service.

5:4.5 Why Participants Continue in Library Careers

Two-thirds (twenty) of the interviewed librarians, when asked why they remain in the career of librarianship, said they believe that they are 'making a difference' to society by contributing to the enhancement of the lives of individuals and communities. This philosophy of service to the public reflects the core purpose of public librarianship as articulated by Unesco/IFLA, the European Commission, and numerous national policy documents on librarianship, such as Ireland's *Branching Out* report (Unesco, 1994; European Commission, 1997; Department of the Environment and Local Government: 1998). As explored in Chapter 2, Section 2C:4.2, the literature on librarianship describes professionals who are

generally very committed to service and to a sense of mission towards customers and society, and how librarians are motivated by the societal value of their profession (Cino, 1995; Bechtel, 1993; Sheldon, 1992). Mirroring these writers, Wedgeworth (1998) suggests that library leaders do endeavour to 'make a difference' rather than just being the 'head of something'.

Some excerpts illustrating the philosophy of contributing to society include: 'Public libraries do make a difference to people's lives', 'I felt that I had something to contribute', 'I like the social service aspect', 'What we are doing really really matters', 'I have always had a strong public service belief', or simply, 'I believe libraries make a difference'.

Similar to findings in the current study, that the 'societal value' of librarians' work is a key self-motivating factor, Sheldon (1992) also found that the American library leaders whom they interviewed also reported having "a deep and intense belief that what they are doing is not only satisfying but deeply significant" (1992: 391, 400). Twenty (67%) of the interviewed librarians in the current study also stated that one of the reasons participants continue in the career of librarianship is because they like/love/enjoy their careers. Twelve respondents were in both cohorts of twenty, and responses from these twelve interviewees are presented in the third group of key extracts towards the end of this subsection. Their findings contradict the negative views expressed in Britain's Review of the public library service in England and Wales for the Department of National Heritage (ASLIB, 1995), which reports dissatisfaction, especially among younger librarians, because of constraints on their work practices. The findings also contradict Usherwood's (1996) view on British public librarians: "Some more senior members of the profession have become so demoralized that they no longer have the courage of their convictions, or indeed even know what their convictions are" (1996: 123).

Typical responses from those who continue in their library careers, because of the satisfaction and pleasure they receive from their careers, included phrases such as: 'love it'; 'a buzz from it'; 'am extremely lucky'; 'enjoyable'; 'interesting'; and 'rewarding'. One librarian, who initially took a job in public librarianship because a labour dispute locked him out from his previous place of employment, went on to become a very successful leader, saying: 'I realized after a while that I was enjoying this'. Some of the chief expressions from a number of quotations

presented in the previous chapter included: 'I love it; I would not be doing anything else', 'Librarianship as a career is very exciting', 'It is dynamic', 'It is interesting', 'I feel very passionate about it', 'It is an exciting time to be in libraries', 'I love the service', 'This is a fascinating profession', 'I grew into the service', or simply, 'I like the career'. Another respondent articulated the enjoyment of dealing with information as an intrinsic part of librarianship: 'The person in the library is dealing with knowledge all the time, and there would have to be something wrong with you if you were not getting a kick out of that'. These findings confirm Sheldon (1992), whose survey among American librarians reported a similar "passion for the profession" as "the nature of the work, its intrinsic worth, its service orientation, provides a tremendous boost to library leaders" in a manner that corporate leaders do not express (1992: 400).

The final part of this subsection reports on the forty per cent of respondents who shared the double motivation of both enjoying their career and being convinced of the intrinsic positive contribution their careers made to society. Typical remarks include: 'I stay in this career because I love it and because we can really help people to develop themselves'; 'There is great job satisfaction in developing a service which has an impact on people's lives'; 'Why I remained in the career is because I really get a great buzz out of how we can help people'; 'I like my career; I believe I am playing a little part in improving the world'; 'Libraries do matter.... The career is so interesting I get a buzz out of it'; 'I am interested in and like my career. I do feel it is a worthwhile career. The library benefits the people we are serving'; 'Librarians have an influence on people's lives.... I like the job. It is very rewarding'; 'I remain in the career because I find it enjoyable and because there is an opportunity to make a difference in a nonprofit organization'; 'I am extremely lucky to be a librarian. The library service can really make a difference.... and life has been richer for me because I work in a library rather than in other jobs'. In summary, the respondents in this study continue in their public library careers because they enjoy contributing to the improvement of the quality of lives of their customers.

5:5 Leadership and Communication

This wide-ranging subsection analyses data findings from the corresponding section (4:5) in the previous chapter, under the same subheadings:

- Organizational communication: an overview
- Leaders and communication with front-line staff
- · Leaders and formal meetings with staff
- Use of news media by leaders
- Leaders' views on staff dealing with news media
- Leaders and networking
- Leaders and politics
- Socializing with internal colleagues
- Leaders socializing and internal hierarchy
- Risk of leader isolation and the curtailing of feedback
- Information technology and leadership
- Storytelling as part of leadership communication

5:5.1 Organizational Communication: An Overview

All thirty interviewees concurred that good communication is an essential aspect of leadership. Fifteen (50%) of the interviewees, however, articulated that inadequate communication typically prevails in their own organizations or in organizations generally. This reflects G. I. Evans (1993), who said, "for over 60,000 years men and women have been communicating. Yet we still feel the need, perhaps more than ever, to find ways to improve our communication skills" (1993). The interviewees made many references to the topic of communication throughout various parts of the interviews. Communication was referred to, for example, in response to the variety of questions about: organizational culture; leaders' good and bad traits; leaders' style; leadership qualities; the topic of teaching; leaders' contributions; constraints on organizational development; as well as with the topics that had an intrinsic relationship with communication, such as, mentoring or dealing with the media.

The following were the principal responses, from the interviewed librarians, illustrating their emphases on the importance of communication: 'It is

communication that makes an organization work', 'communication is absolutely crucial', 'Communication is of crucial importance', 'Communication is absolutely vital', 'one of the worst traits of a leader is no communication, lack of communication, or bad communication', 'Communication is one of the most important aspects of any organization', 'developing commitment to communication throughout the organization is crucial', and 'You cannot lead without communication'. These findings concur with Sheldon (1991), who asserts, "Successful library leaders tend to be extremely accessible to their staffs; they spend time visiting in different departments. It is not a chore for them to spend time listening to individual staff members because they are intensely interested in everything that goes on" (1991: 29). The findings also reflect the spirit of Schreiber and Shannon (2001), who said, "The new rule of 'share what you know as soon as you think you know it' replaces communicating on a 'need to know' basis" (Schreiber & Shannon, 2001: 47).

Fifteen (50%) of respondents, however, remarked that communication is unsatisfactory in their organizations. While emphasizing the centrality of good communication to organizational success, many library leaders believe that adequate communication is virtually impossible to achieve, as illustrated by the following extracts from the interview data: 'I don't think you can ever do enough communicating', 'The quality and quantity of communications in all organizations are inadequate', 'nine times out of ten, staff would say there is a lack of communication', 'the frequency with which I as a leader of over 400 staff can go and talk to individuals every day is fictional', 'Open communication is something that is always an ambition but perfection never happens', 'Communication is the biggest continuing problem', 'There is never enough communication', 'communication is enormously difficult, particularly in organizations where the pace of change is speeding up', 'how do you communicate all those changes when you also have to look at organizational efficiency, especially since some of this information is completely unimportant to anybody?', 'the ongoing exercise of communication consumes time', 'The continual flow of new information means that I can't concentrate', and 'Continually responding to new regulations is problematic... so communication is the toughest thing for me'.

In essence, organizational communication, which all interviewees agree is fundamental to proper organizational functioning, is widely admitted to be an ongoing problem that is quite impossible to address satisfactorily, partly because it requires proactive input from all organizational sectors and partly because it can never be complete because of the dynamic nature of organizations. One leader who, for example, said he received a complaint that there was too much downward communication, in turn, complained that multidirectional communication was inadequate, as illustrated in this extract from a larger quotation in Chapter 4:

We got our first complaint that there was too much communication within the organization. The other side of it is that you can never get communication right in all directions. It is difficult to remind people that communication is a two- or three-way process and you always have to work on that. It is just not the downward communication. There is too much emphasis on downward communication (Interviewee GB:09).

The same interviewee also said, 'At times we had to challenge staff to engage in frank discussions and to get them to communicate openly'. Another British librarian said, 'I would like to see more communication from the bottom up'. The views of these two British librarians were reflected by one Irish interviewee, who remarked: 'nine times out of ten, staff would say there was a lack of communication', but he then pointed out, 'I would not put all the blame for that on managers or leaders, because communication is a two-way process; many potential problems are avoided if you improve communication at all levels'. While the interviewees were asked for their general views on organizational communication, they were not asked specifically how they rated the quality of communication. Without prompting, they expressed strong negative concerns about communication even when discussing other organizational issues.

Six (20%) of the interviewees also remarked that listening was an essential aspect of communicating and saw poor listening skills as one of the worst traits of a library leader. Remarks from other interviewees included: 'communication should be about listening, it should be about being open to whatever it is that is going on around you', 'staff trust you to listen to what they are expressing about the service and whatever else they need to talk to you about', 'Good people skills include good communication skills, including listening well and being a good talker, are required', 'Being a good listener is very important', 'lack of listening is a major fault', 'how you listen to staff is all part of leadership, making them feel that they are important and that their opinions are listened to', and

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'You must always be prepared to listen'. One librarian said that library leaders are given 'more opportunities for listening to staff and valuing staff' where upward communication is encouraged. Another librarian thought it important to listen to staff so that they might 'vent their criticism' and 'let off steam'. While one librarian expressed that when library leaders visit staff and listen to them, they will 'pick up more feedback this way than in formal settings'. This was reflected by another comment: 'Sometimes it is very difficult to listen to people due to time constraints, but you do learn a lot when you listen'. These findings reflect the literature, for example, Avolio (1999a) quotes Larry Bossidy, CEO of Allied Signal: "The most useful thing I learned was to be humble and listen" (in Avolio, 1999: 17). Olsson (1996) exhorts library leaders to listen beyond mere words: "With an interest in and a capability of true listening, including to the unspoken, the leader can relate not only to the surface but to the deepest parts of the staff members' personality" (1996: 32).

5:5.1.1 Leader and Communication with Front-line Staff

While all thirty respondents affirmed the need for communication with all staff, fifty per cent of the respondents felt it was not always practicable to have ongoing direct communication with front-line personnel. The importance of front-line staff was affirmed in many of the responses: 'It is important to stay in touch with front-line staff, as their ideas are valuable for library leaders', 'Frontline staff deliver the service, so the leader has got to be with them', 'The chief should be right there with the front-line staff and talking to them as if he were dealing with a football team', 'Openness, transparency, and a sharing with all our employees, including front-line staff, of what the direction our organization should be, are especially important', 'There is a structure for communication, but at the same time I am happy to communicate with front-line staff on the phone. through e-mail or to go out and see them', 'I talk with any member of staff, regardless of hierarchy, whenever I meet them', 'The service is front-line staff', 'Our front-line people are our service', and 'Communication is very important. I go out and talk on a one-to-one basis with all staff . . . [including] library assistants behind the desk'.

Among the fifty per cent who expressed concerns over difficulties with front-line communication, the following extracts illustrate arguments in support

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of hierarchical structures as means of communication: 'I rely on them [department heads] to act as downward and upward conduits of information between junior staff and me', 'It is unfair on the people supervising if front-line staff come straight to me as it makes the supervisors feel devalued', 'The main thing is not to cut out the supervisor or manager because it makes the manager short-changed', 'I expect my front-line staff to be communicating through their supervisor and through the hierarchical chain', 'You inform your heads of departments and then you check that they inform people down the line', because of time constraints, it is not practicable for the leader to communicate adequately with front-line staff', 'Making certain that front-line people are aware of the work we are doing, and that we are also aware of their needs, is difficult', and, 'it is not practical for a chief librarian to adequately visit all branches, nor to depend solely on face-to-face communication'. Finally, three (10%) respondents added that library leaders should also maintain good communications with other boundary personnel — attendants, van drivers, and cleaners. In summary, communication with front-line staff were seen as crucial to effective public library leadership practices, as front-line personnel are often the only library personnel that customers deal with.

5:5.2 Leaders and Formal Staff Meetings with Staff

When the thirty library leaders were asked about the frequency of formal meetings they held with staff, there was a marked difference in frequency between the meetings held by Irish librarians and those held by their American and British counterparts. While all five American interviewees and nine of the ten British interviewees hold weekly meetings with senior library staff, only two (13%) of the fifteen Irish librarians hold weekly meetings with senior staff. Even if the ten more Irish librarians who hold meetings with staff at least twice yearly are added to the two who hold weekly meetings, the total of twelve from the fifteen Irish librarians who hold meetings within six months is still less than the total of their British and American counterparts who hold *weekly* meetings.

Among the three Irish librarians who do not hold any formal meeting with staff, one expressed concerns about negative uses of meetings, such as platforms to vent criticism of colleagues. The second librarian in this category said, 'we meet on a daily basis for discussions', which did not constitute formal meetings, and the third Irish librarian preferred 'one-to-one communication' because 'it is more informal', rather than meeting formally with staff. The latter views might reflect a popular stereotype view of Irish officialdom, which has a reputation for informal methodologies rather than relying on more formal or bureaucratic procedures (Jones-Evans, 1998: 13).

Only three of the fifteen Irish librarians reported holding any formal meeting with *junior* staff, and in each of those three cases these were held only on a twelvemonthly basis and were primarily seminar-type meetings. Two Irish librarians said that closing the library to the public was occasionally required to conduct meetings. As mentioned above, only two among the fifteen Irish libraries hold weekly meetings; and these were within the greater Dublin area. The third librarian from the Dublin area holds monthly meetings, which are minuted and circulated in paper form to library staff at all grades.

Contrasting with Irish practice, weekly/fortnightly senior staff meetings are held by nine (90%) of the ten British interviewees, and by four (80%) of the five the American interviewees. The importance of making the leader more accessible to staff was typically seen as a function of these meetings. Kouzes and Posner (1995) recommend that leaders should ensure that organizational team members are not working in isolation, and recommended counteracting this by, for example, the holding of regular team meetings to develop a stronger sense of community. Based on the findings of the current study, it is apparent that Irish librarians do not subscribe to or at least practise this philosophy. Further research should be engaged in to measure if the paucity of formal meetings among Irish library personnel tends to be substituted by informal communication, such as more frequent conversational exchanges, e-mails, or telephone conversations.

5:5.3 Use of News Media by Leaders

While exploring the role of communication and leadership, the thirty interviewees were asked (i) if chief librarians should have a high profile in the news media, and (ii) if they would authorize heads of departments to speak to the news media. A very sharp division based on nationality grounds was revealed. The Irish and American librarians coincided in having a 100% positive response to

both questions. Contrasting with this, the British librarians generally had a conservative or negative response to both questions. Only four of the ten British librarians clearly agreed that librarians should have a high media profile. The other six ranged from ambivalence to a negative attitude. Some of these were due to restrictions imposed by their parent bodies: 'If there was a press announcement being made, it generally would be by the director of education in the council or an elected member rather than by myself', 'Within councils there are quite strict procedures on who represents the council on external media matters', 'We are not supposed to go directly to the media, ourselves. That is a directive from the Chief Executive of the council', 'There are inherent dangers for chief librarians receiving publicity because, in an organization like ours, you could get a reputation for being a news hound, and your colleagues in other type of services and local representatives could be jealous'. Four of the ten British librarians, however, were positive about librarians featuring in the media: 'As the service should have a high media profile, quite often that means that the librarian has to share the profile', 'Yes, if chief librarians are good on the media', 'They are marketing a service', and 'Quite often reporters will want to speak to the person in charge of the service'.

Views that were clearly positive were expressed by Irish librarians for their presence in the media, such as: 'I have a high profile and this reflects well on the organization', 'In the eyes of the public, the incumbent librarian must be identified as the head of the service', 'Yes, libraries can benefit if librarians have a presence in the media. Anything that raises the profile of libraries should be good', 'Using the media is a good way to promote libraries', and 'It is advantageous or even necessary to be identified in the community'. Even though all Irish librarians supported the role of librarians in the media, one, who said 'Librarians should have a profile', did recommend a somewhat tempered approach: 'I don't think it would be to our benefit to be out there having a very high profile on a lot of issues because I don't think the library needs that, but it needs a defined profile'.

The American respondents were equally supportive: 'chief librarians should be readily identified on the media', 'we need to talk to the media', and 'People in my position are the human and public face of the organization'. The Irish and American responses and sixty per cent of the British respondents reflect the views of Crismond and Leisner (1988), who exhort library leaders to cultivate

active political skills to marshal maximum support from elected officials: "An active political leader has good visibility, is media conscious and charismatic, and works comfortably outside the library" (1988: 122). One American interviewee, who spoke of the need for librarians to challenge the negative stereotypes of librarians through the media, reflected the current literature, for example, one British librarian, Jacquie Campbell (2001), who challenges library leaders to take advantage of the media to promote a positive image of libraries: "Like it or not, our image is still diabolical. Yes, we've managed to make some changes in the minds of a few people, but you only have to read the Mediawatching column in the *Library Association Record* to know that we've still got a long way to go" (Campbell, 2001: 80). In summary, the Irish and American library leaders shared similar and positive views on the question of they having a high profile on the media. This contrasted starkly with the views of the majority of British respondents on the same question.

5:5.3.1 Leaders' Views on Staff Dealing with News Media

The contrast between the 100% positive replies from the twenty librarians in Ireland and America, and their ten British counterparts was starker on the question of heads of departments dealing with the news media. Only one British librarian had a clearly positive view. The negative stance taken by 90% of the British librarians on this point was largely dictated by the policy of their local authorities, each of which had a designated officer responsible for dealing with the media on all local authority matters: 'No, we do not authorize heads of departments to speak to the news media', 'Nobody is allowed to speak to the press without permission from the council', 'We have a policy in the Council whereby we have to take everything through the press office', 'The working policy here is that we would put it through council's PR section', 'The Council press office speaks on behalf of the library', and 'The Council policy is, very clearly, No'. The apparently strong bureaucratic parent-body control over library staff was very much in evidence in the responses. Only one British library leader had an opposing view: 'I personally encourage staff at all levels to be involved in the media if somebody is doing a children's event in their local library, the media . . . want to get the local staff'.

All the Irish interviewees were very supportive of heads of departments dealing with the media, even if coaching and advice is recommended for those members of staff: 'Definitely, staff should be allowed to speak with the media', 'Before they gain experience, some handholding is needed', 'One member of staff has a regular slot on local radio for promoting events in the library', 'local librarians need to have frequent slots on local radio or in the local newspaper', 'That is an aspect of delegating and letting people get on with things', and 'we have set up our own PR department and it is staffed by a librarian and a senior library assistant'.

American librarians were also very supportive of staff members dealing with the media: 'People involved with a project at the coalface are usually the best people to speak on that topic', and 'Often, other members of staff deal with the media; I can't do it all'. In summary, like the previous subsection on the chief librarian's profile on the news media, the Irish and American librarians again shared the attitude that junior and middle-grade staff should be allowed to speak directly to the media on niche aspects of the library service. Contrasting with this, ninety per cent of the British participants said that junior staff could not speak officially on library issues to the media.

5:5.4 Leaders and Networking

Many of the interviewed librarians emphasize the importance of networking for effective policy implementation. The networking activities of the thirty interviewees was focused towards (i) senior officials of the parent organization, (ii) local politicians, (iii) local community groups, (iv) news media, and (v) fellow librarians.

Networking with financial stakeholders, parent bodies, and with governmentdepartment officials was seen as an essential function of a library leader for procuring increased funding: 'Generous budgets do not come by mistake but from networking', and 'Networking is vitally important'. Other comments in support of networking concerned its input to greater leadership effectiveness: 'building up relationships with people in the local authority structure, whether it is for staff resources or financial resources', 'I see my role as influencing people in the local authority ... [including] county managers, county finance officers, and the director of services', 'I see my role as acquiring the resources needed to develop the library service', and 'if you are not there and people do not know you, it makes the job much more difficult'.

The establishing of personal relationships was seen as an essential aspect of networking: 'Networking involves interacting with them on a personal basis', 'you need people to know you. This means staying on late, going to events where elected representatives are going to be, and projecting the library service and letting them see what the benefits are'.

Librarians argued, 'Leaders should also network with professional colleagues', and elaborated on some of the benefits resulting from networking with professional associates, for example, one librarian in a London region spoke of co-operative developments resulting from networking, which subsequently resulted in 'co-operative training', and 'co-operative working, bidding for funding, and co-operative projects. Another comment illustrated the learning benefits resulting from networking: 'We are very aware of what is happening in different authorities because they are easy to reach, and we see many different styles of libraries and different styles of leadership', and 'We are aware of what is happening in each other's libraries, so, we beg and borrow, and adapt and change'. Comments from America included: 'it is important to me and my institution that we share with others what our ideas are', and 'You hope you get as much back as you give'. Another librarian articulated that, for internal organizational cohesion, it is important to have very good networking skills. Only two interviewees expressed any critical views of networking among fellow professionals; one feared that it might distract librarians from giving adequate attention to internal affairs, while the other thought it might 'become an end in itself'.

Two participants argued that important matters are often determined informally while networking: 'many important events happen outside formal meetings and are initiated through personal contacts or networking', and 'Many decisions are not made inside the council chamber or the offices. They are agreed outside the chamber, as what really matters is often not articulated inside'. Another librarian affirmed the phrase, 'out of sight, out of mind', and insisted that his new library headquarters was integrated with his county council headquarters premises, so that, 'Having our offices located in the county hall and having our own designated space there makes my job easier to network', to which he adds, 'as I am right in the middle among everybody else, I meet the finance officer every day and I meet the manager and director of services, as I don't have to arrange meetings to go and see them'.

The above quotations on networking mirror the IFLA/UNESCO guidelines on "Relationships with governing and funding bodies":

To achieve its goals the public library needs adequate and sustained funding. It is very important that the library manager establishes and maintains a close and positive relationship with the bodies that govern the library service and provide its funding. The library manager as head of the public library service should have direct access to and involvement with the board or committee that is directly responsible for the library service. As well as formal meetings there should be regular informal contacts between the library manager and members of the governing body, and they should be kept well informed about the library service and current and future developments (UNESCO/IFLA, 2001: 72).

The participants in this study report that, increasingly, much of their time is spend on communicating with external bodies. This reflects views in the literature, such as those of one librarian in Missouri: "What commands most of my time is communication and, at this point, outside my institution. That means meeting with community groups to try to establish linkages with their activities" (in Cottam, 1994: 22). This reflects the essence of this subsection, which advocates networking with external personnel for increasing the profile of the library service to attract greater resources for service development.

5:5.5 Leadership and Politics

Six (40%) of the fifteen Irish interviewees articulated a need for public library leaders to act in a political manner, asserting that they work in a political environment. In contrast, only one (10%) of the British interviewees and one (20%) of the American interviewees referred to any need for them to behave in a political manner. The particular British respondent reported that she displayed political acumen whenever her library was publicizing an activity, by arranging for an elected member of council to receive publicity and credit for being associated with a library event, so that 'The personal focus is on the politician and this keeps them happy'.

The following extracts represent the views of Irish respondents who affirmed that librarians are of necessity, or should be, political: 'We work in a political environment', 'we are responsible to our councillors', 'It is easier to acquire resources for a project after you first impress councillors', 'Public librarians must be able to interact successfully with senior public officials and politicians', 'Local politicians should be involved with library development so that they feel responsible for establishing them', 'One must be aware of subtle undercurrents and must understand the different agendas of politicians', 'Exercising political skill is a required quality for any chief librarian', 'A leader has to be a politician', and 'A county or city librarian needs political skills and to develop these over time. They are the kind of skills that are learned'.

The Public Library Service: IFLA/UNESCO Guidelines For Development (2001) endorsed the above views advocating a political role for public librarians, as these suggest that the library leader "must promote public libraries to politicians and key stakeholders at all levels in order to ensure they are aware of the importance of public libraries and to attract adequate funding for their maintenance and development" (IFLA/UNESCO, 2001: 72).

5:5.6 Socializing with Internal Colleagues

Among the thirty respondents, responses varied to the research question: *Do you believe leaders should endeavour to occasionally meet staff on social occasions?* A positive response to the question was received from four of the five American respondents, eight of the ten British respondents, and fourteen of the fifteen Irish respondents. Varying shades of commitment were revealed in the replies. What constituted 'socializing' also varied, for example, one Irish library leader regarded sharing his tea-breaks with staff as socializing, and another Irish librarian aimed for 'socializing' over lunch. One female American attends same-gender outings, or 'girls' nights', for social conversation among colleagues after work. One of the British respondents, agreed 'in principle' with the idea. Four of the Irish respondents were very definitely in favour of librarians socializing with staff. Among the more negative responses, one American thought such activities 'unwise', one British respondents thought such activities to be 'artificial', while another British participant argued leader–staff socializing was 'not necessary', and one Irish respondent simply disagreed with the

principle of a library leader socializing with staff. Overall, twenty-six (87%) of the thirty respondents were, in varying degrees, favourable to the practice of library leaders socializing with staff.

Representative quotations from the participants illustrating the more negative responses included: 'I don't encourage socializing between leader and staff because it confuses issues back on the job', 'Socializing would not be my style', 'I am not really sure if that fits in with good management', 'it is not only impossible but is unwise to be friends with your employees', 'You can't be friends', and 'socializing starts to bring artificiality into things, especially the more you formally celebrate things'.

Somewhat reserved approaches to socializing were represented by phrases such as: 'You have to be a bit wary of socializing with staff, because you could end up socializing to the exclusion of being seen to be their leader', 'You have to maintain a balance, a distinction', 'a formal or artificial setting always comes with a high embarrassment factor which actually works against things. But, if you encourage people to meet *informally* and socially it is a good idea', such as, 'a holiday party ... is important to create some social fabric for the organization, showing the caring and human part of the organization', 'A tricky one, and I have seen both sides of the coin on this one', and 'It is one of those "Yes, but ..." answers'.

Some of the neutral responses included: 'Socializing is a good idea but it has to come naturally', 'I would neither encourage nor discourage leader-staff socializing', 'This has neither a positive nor a negative impact on the job afterwards. I don't think it makes a difference', 'It depends very much on the types of personalities', 'Should the library have a social life? Yes', 'I would not say it is absolutely essential', and 'I wouldn't say it is essential to a good leader'.

Understanding that staff also want to socialize after the leader departs from a function was articulated by some respondents: 'you do not stay all night; If you end up there all night they do not let themselves go', 'You might cramp people's style', 'I will come and do the speech and stay for a while', 'I would not necessarily stay very late', 'When the leader meets staff socially, it changes the nature of the occasion', 'Staff have layers of socializing and leaders must realize

that and must allow staff to socialize without the presence of the leader also', and 'Without me, staff are usually more free and easy at social events'.

A Christmas or end-of-year holiday party was generally seen as an occasion which 'provides an opportunity to meet staff informally', 'Our team works very well and the only chance we get together socially tends to be Christmas and such special occasions', and 'The Christmas party is very important'. Some saw daily occasions during the work hours as opportunities to 'socialize' somewhat informally: 'I would join them for their tea', or 'I have found it easier to meet our headquarters staff socially, for example, over lunchtime'.

Remarks clearly in favour of socializing included: 'Because you spend so much time with your colleagues it is worth being friends', 'yes, I would go to any social occasion that is being organized', 'It can oil the wheels', 'the leader should meet staff socially', 'Definitely, you have to be there at the Christmas party or any other parties, such as, if a person is getting married, going to the stag party, and if there are table quizzes et cetera, you have to go to those', 'even if you did not enjoy it you should make an effort to go', 'I see social occasions as the means of engendering and encouraging a positive work environment. I see them as useful tools', and 'Most definitely; leader–staff socializing is very desirable but it does not happen often enough'.

The above examples in favour of socializing with staff reflect Lubans (2002), who cites the example of an internationally acclaimed orchestral conductor, Simone Young, who "unlike some conductors who prefer distance . . . overtly develops trust relationships through, for example, post-rehearsal drinks with a selected few . . . and individual talks with musicians. The result among the musicians is a desire to excel: 'I'm willing to do the best I can for her'", according to one of her followers (Lubans, 2002: 37). Overall, the findings in the current study confirm that about nine out of ten respondents do support the practice of library leaders socializing with staff.

5:5.6.1 Leaders Socializing and Internal Hierarchy

Only two (7%) of the thirty respondents did not express support for the leader socializing among junior grades. These two disagreed with chief librarians socializing with *any* colleague. All the other responding library leaders affirmed that they would be inclusive of any hierarchical grade if or when they might socialize with any colleague(s). The following extracts illustrate the essential arguments articulated by the (98%) majority of respondents: 'If you are going to socialize, it has to be with everyone', 'If you are out socially, hierarchy should not matter', 'If interaction is social it is social, and has nothing to do with leader to peer or leader to subordinate', 'The front-line staff are the most important in the organization, so I would socialize with all levels', 'When socializing, I would not differentiate by hierarchical levels', 'Everybody; it has to be egalitarian', 'I don't think there are any levels which leaders should not socialize with', 'All levels, you have to have a pint with the van drivers as well', and 'There should be no hierarchy outside of working hours'.

Realism was reflected in some of the remarks among the majority, for example, 'It is easier to socialize with people nearer your own grade', 'Token socializing is beneficial, but going beyond that could lead to unnecessary problems', 'If there is a party for someone leaving, then I think I should go, unless they specifically do not want me to go, which has also happened', and 'it is like work rather than a social occasion'. Realism was also reflected in the previous subsection, where leaders expressed that staff typically relax more easily when the leader is not present at social occasions. Such realism reflects Brass (2001), who affirms that strong interpersonal ties carry "opportunity costs" or disadvantages, as "Strong ties require time and energy to maintain, they are difficult to break, and they may prevent access to new opportunities" (2001: 137).

5:5.7 Risk of Leader Isolation and the Curtailing of Feedback

Fourteen of the thirty respondents agreed with the view that a leader's power, isolationism, and autonomy can inhibit him or her from receiving direct feedback or positive criticism from staff, as suggested by Kaplan, Drath, & Kofodimos (1985). All fifteen Irish agreed with Kaplan et al., insofar as feedback either is or

can be reduced for leaders. Five of the ten British respondents agreed, while the other five British librarians largely focused on denying that loss of feedback happens in their own particular cases. Among American respondents, four though that feedback is or might be reduced, while the fifth said that isolationism did not occur in her case.

Apparent realism is articulated in the following relevant extracts: 'The more detached you are, the more you will not hear feedback', 'Certainly, if you isolate yourself, you can prevent feedback', 'Staff will deliberately withhold some feedback, especially if it might be at the expense of themselves or of a colleague', 'it depends on a leader's personality type', 'It depends on the leader's communication skill', 'If a leader ever shoots the messenger ... that leader is discouraging further opportunities being presented with feedback', 'A leader who discourages feedback in any way will be less informed', 'leaders can become isolated if they see themselves as having autonomous power', 'It depends on the leader whether isolation happens or not', and 'even though the person says they have an open-door policy, staff themselves will keep themselves from using that open door'. One participant cautioned that a leader 'can become isolated' if they do not hold formal meetings with staff.

Some respondents suggested, rather than isolation depending on the behaviour of a particular leader, that isolation of the head of an organization is a typical condition in a group setting: 'Yes, the position does prevent some feedback', 'it is impossible to have full openness between followers and their leader', 'I don't believe you get the full story on any issue', and 'Because you are the chief librarian you do not hear things directly'. Other respondents, however, believed that they are not personally denied information: 'My way of ensuring that does not happen to me is by leaving my office door always open', or 'Not in my case, because I keep an open-door policy. If a person wants to talk to me, they know they can'.

Riggs (2001*b*) asserts, "One of the biggest problems of a leader is that of getting the truth. Colleagues may not want to disagree with the leader for various reasons (e.g., job security) and subsequently the leader makes mistakes.... To sustain credibility, the leader must get at the truth despite the pain and discomfort it may cause" (Riggs, 2001*b*: 13). Longenecker and Gioia (1992) quote one of their interviewee executives:

It doesn't make any sense. The higher you climb the ladder in this organization, the less chance you have of getting feedback about your performance. The working rule of thumb is: 'the farther up you go, the stranger things get', especially in the way you are reviewed and rewarded. We seem to have time for everything else, but no time to give our top people the kind of reviews they need to help them develop (in Longenecker & Gioia, 1992).

Bass (1990) contends that such isolation hinders the ongoing learning capacity of leaders (1990: 813). Kaplan, Drath, & Kofodimos (1985) cautioned that negative feedback from colleagues towards senior staff can be reduced as senior staff become more powerful. Isolation from lower ranks, distancing of relationships with others, exemption from appraisal, and an increase in monopolization of discussions and decision-making by the leader can also follow from acquiring greater power. Kaplan, Drath, & Kofodimos, however, believe that these problems can be avoided if the senior executive is aware of the dangers and of their negative effects (1985).

The question of psychosocial distance, or social differences in relative status, can, however, be viewed either as a positive or negative by some leaders for organizational effectiveness. Some like to cultivate such distance as they perceive an enhancement of power and effectiveness through limiting access to themselves and by accentuating difference between themselves and junior Argyris (1962) and Gibb (1964), however, found that such colleagues. distancing was counterproductive to organizational effectiveness. Bass reported that psychosocial distancing could include "defensive behaviour by followers, loss of contact, poorer quality of communications, the poorer selection of goals, less commitment to the group's goals, incipient revolt, and organizational rigidity" (1990: 669). Carp, Vitola, & McLanathan (1963) believed that there was an optimal psychological distance between leader and subordinates, that was not too close to allow emotional ties to obstruct effectiveness, and not too distant, which would deny emotional rapport. Bass (1990) recommended 'management by walking around' (MBWA) as an ideal method of practising optimum distance between leaders and subordinates. Eckert (2001) also recommends the practice of MBWA as an antidote to the isolation of a leader. He, for example, personally stands in line in the canteen rather than having his meals sent to his office. After his employees became accustomed to his presence, they started making appointments to meet him over lunch, and he also organized group lunches to discuss issues with staff.

Overall, substantial arguments were presented by the participants, confirming that hierarchical difference tends to create an attendant distancing of openness between leader and followers. Arguments from the literature, above, largely confirm this 'psychosocial distance'.

5:5.8 Information Technology and Leadership

Durrance and Van Fleet (1992), after interviewing twenty-three high-profile American public library leaders, reported that they were able to serve their communities more effectively by utilizing information technology. They, however, expressed concern with "staying knowledgeable about changing technologies and finding resources to implement appropriate ones" (1992: 32). Riggs (2001*b*) declares, while the professional lives of librarians has been changed by new technology, that the mission of libraries has not changed due to technology, even though the manner of serving the library mission has been altered dramatically.

Despite the growing literature on e-leadership and on automation generally, when the thirty interviewees were asked what affect automation had on leadership, the majority responded that information technology was not generally seen as central to leadership. Instead, most replies discussed the effect of automation on organizational management/administration and on interpersonal communications. This does not reflect some of the findings in the literature, for example, Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge (2000) report that more and more strategic thinking, visions, goals, and messages are mediated through information technology. Other views from the literature on information systems and leadership are discussed in Sections 2A:10 to 2A:10.2 in Chapter 2 above.

Two (7%) of the thirty librarians explicitly articulated that they did not associate information technology with leadership: 'I would not think about automation and leadership together', and 'I am not sure that automation has had much effect on leadership'. Some apprehensions were also expressed about technology: 'Line staff tend to know more about what is going on with technology'. Another

librarian complained about the volume of information received through automation: 'electronic communication is frustrating because I get tied to my computer most of the day', while another librarian suggested that 'automation has made people lazy'.

These cautionary concerns contrast with the majority responses, such as, 'The effect on leadership of automation has been tremendous. It has opened up vistas that we could not have imagined'; 'Automation has assisted leadership'; 'IT provides readily available information for decision-making'; and 'Before automation we were really operating in a blind sense'. Some of the more important interview extracts, supporting a link between leadership and automation, include: 'It is now a necessary tool for the library leader', 'Information technology is now so essential to providing a good library service', 'Automation certainly has changed leadership', 'There is an increase in democracy now as everybody has access to the knowledge within the system', and 'you are now leading a team that has access to all information which they would not have had before'.

Comments on the effects of information technology on *communication* included: 'The leader must be vigilant that automation will not unduly depersonalize relationships within the service, or between the library and customers', and 'A leader should be directly involved in communication with front-line staff; this is much easier now with e-mail'. Overall, the interview findings portray a positive view of the effect of automation on leadership effectiveness, reflecting many of the arguments from literature, as illustrated above.

5:5.9 Storytelling as Part of Leadership Communication

Burdett (1999) claims that people cannot display leadership behaviour unless they have some idea what it means to be a leader. He, for example, states that the use of language (metaphor, story, new imagery, etc.) is not just important but is "simply everything" (1999: 8, 13). Howard Gardner (1995) contends that leaders' stories are central to successful leadership: "Leaders achieve their effectiveness chiefly through the stories they relate" (1995: 9). These sentiments reflect Benjamin Disraeli's dictum, "With words we govern men" (1832: pt 1, ch. xxi). Gardner elaborates on this theme: "The ultimate impact of the leader depends most significantly on the particular story that he or she relates or embodies, and the receptions to that story on the part of audiences (or collaborators or followers)". Gardner adds that "leaders present a *dynamic* perspective to their followers: not just a headline or snapshot, but a drama that unfolds over time, in which they — leaders and followers — are the principal characters or heroes. Together they have embarked on a journey in pursuit of certain goals" (1995: 14). Gardner also contends that, "The *story* is the best way to convey this point, as it is a basic human cognitive form. The artful creation and articulation of stories constitutes a fundamental part of a leader's vocation. Stories speak to both parts of the human mind — its reason and emotion" (1995: 43).

Only three (10%) of the thirty interviewees in this study made a case in support of the importance of storytelling as an instrument of leadership. Some of the illustrative comments from participants include: 'I lead by story', 'My stories tend to entertain but they also endeavour to teach', 'I operate ... through stories', 'I occasionally write to all staff', 'I lead by telling of people's experiences and sharing my own experiences', 'I share experiences and examples, and that makes the whole leadership process interesting', 'this ongoing narrative ... is a bit like St Paul's epistles', 'A leader would be teaching others, all the time, through conversations', and 'it is through these stories that staff absorb the message and receive guidance'.

Jacobs and Jaques (1991) suggest that executive leaders 'add value' to their organizations "by giving a sense of understanding and purpose to the overall activities of the organization" and that the prevailing feeling in an excellent organization is that "the boss knows what he is doing, that he has shared this information downward, that it makes sense" (1991: 434). Gardner (1995) asserts, "The formidable challenge confronting the visionary leader is to offer a story", through which followers can make their individual contributions to an ongoing synthesis of organizational meaning (1995: 56). He contends that "the key to leadership, as well as to the garnering of a following, is the effective communication of a story", as leaders' stories "concern issues of personal and group identity" (1995: 62). Such stories are not based on isolated statements or actions but on the frequent embodiment of the leader through actions and stories over time. As such, the embodiment of a leader's mode of life is seen as an integral part of his message.

5:5.10 Figurehead and Spokesperson Roles in Leadership

Mintzberg (1973) defined an executive's *figurehead* role as 'symbolic head; obligated to perform a number of routine duties of a legal or social nature'. He defined the *spokesperson* as the agent who 'transmits information to outsiders on the organization's plans, politics, actions, results', and related activities, including presenting himself/herself as an organizational 'expert' (Mintzberg, 1973).

The final subsection on the topic of communication in this study presents representative views from the interviewees on figurehead and spokesperson roles for leaders: 'Clearly, a leader needs to have a spokesperson role', 'The more we remind people of what the library is doing, the more they will use and support the library', 'A certain amount of profiling resides with leaders because, inevitably, they are the face of the service', 'I am called to speak before organizations', 'I will speak at a career day... to kids who may be influenced to become librarians in the future', 'I attend when they want a figurehead', and 'I do go out into the community to represent the library'.

One of the thirty respondents expressed a mixed or even contradictory view on a library's figurehead role. While acknowledging that the chief librarian is 'inevitably' the public face of the organization, this interviewee suggested that a library could be highlighted independently of what he described as the 'face of the service'. Peculiarly, another librarian expressed an abhorrence of 'marketing' of the service, a role often associated with the role of figurehead.

The figurehead role was seen by Mintzberg (1973) as one of ten 'integrated roles' of managerial activity. He grouped these ten roles into three categories: interpersonal; informational; and decision roles. He saw the figurehead role as an element of the interpersonal category, and the spokesperson role as an element of the informational category. Bass (1990) reported that many studies endeavour to distinguish between the leader and the figurehead, insofar as leadership is always associated with activity or the attainment of group objectives (1990: 76), whereas the figurehead role can reside on, for example, inherited status.

As there was no specific question in the interview guide on the figurehead role of a leader, only eight (27%) of the interviewees referred to this topic. Six of these affirmed that a leader ideally exercises a figurehead or spokesperson role. One interviewee expressed caution for exercising such a role, while another interviewee expressed a fear that the role might be reduced to an empty marketing exercise. In summary, the majority (six from eight), who referred to the role of figurehead or spokesperson, spoke in support of the role, reflecting the positive view generally reflected in the literature.

This completes the discussion on the many aspects of communication relating to library leadership. Overall, communication involves a very large portion of the participants' day-to-day duties. While full communication was reported to be elusive for any leader, communication is seen as a core element of effective organizational leadership by all participants.

5:6 The Leader's Role as Teacher, Role Model, and Nurturer of New Leaders

Tichy and Cohen (1997) suggest that successful organizations provide opportunities for staff to improve leadership skills through coaching and systematic practice. They assert, "not only that leadership is the key trait that distinguishes the winners, but that the ability to *teach* leadership is their core competences.... Winning organizations consistently improve and regenerate themselves by effecting developing the leadership skills of all their people" (1997: 19). Data from the interviewees in this study are analysed in this section, in the context of relevant literature, under the following headings:

- The leader as teacher/mentor
- Leader as role model
- Role modelling modifying leader's own behaviour
- Nurturing new leaders.

5:6.1 The Leader as Teacher/Mentor

All thirty respondents concurred that teaching was one of their leadership functions. While seven respondents (23%) who interpreted teaching as a *formalized* process said they did not teach, on closer examination of their replies, however, a difference in semantics is evident rather than a difference in views, when compared with the views of the other twenty-three interviewees. The seven librarians qualified their initial 'no' responses when they indicated that they were all involved in *informal* teaching, such as, providing support for staff learning and training, by delegating training to another party, motivating, encouraging, establishing learning centres, or simply by leading by example. Interestingly, other leaders who were also involved in similar *indirect* teaching articulated, in contrast with the above seven, that they were engaged in 'teaching'. One of these contends that she teaches colleagues 'through conversations concerning the job' and through other more specific activities, such as interview preparation for career advancement.

The twenty-three leaders who affirmed that they have a teaching role — whether through example, mentoring, guiding, informing, coaching, or motivating — described their teaching methods as informal. Their views on their teaching role ranged from 'vital' to quite laissez-faire approaches, such as: facilitating learning through conversation, allowing individuals to make mistakes, providing resources for apprenticeship, passing on experience, or allowing space for personal development. Illustrative extracts from interview data include: 'A leader is a teacher; that is what makes a leader good', 'We have teaching on the job', 'The day a leader stops being a teacher is the day he or she better get out', 'Of course, of course, leaders must teach', 'Leaders must teach every day, every minute, that is what training is about', and 'Formal teaching is appropriate if the leader is good at it'.

Seven (23%) respondents expressed that they did not believe that leaders have a role in formal teaching: 'I would not regard teaching as a responsibility of the leader', 'I don't see formal teaching as the role of the city or county librarian', 'In terms of teaching I would say no; instead I would like to use other terms such as mentoring, shadowing, or continuing professional development', 'I don't see teaching as one of my particular roles', and 'I don't see how time would allow for teaching'. Another cohort of seven (23%) participants specifically referred to mentoring as part of a leader's teaching role, as in the following sample expressions: 'A mentoring role is very, very important', 'I do try to use that mentoring approach for senior staff', 'a leader can be in a very good place to be a teacher, by mentoring another staff person that he or she wants to coach', 'mentoring, shadowing, or ... fostering', 'The role that I have is a mentoring role', and 'If you are a good leader you would expect to teach and mentor'.

One leader recommended some humility from leaders when viewing themselves as exemplars: 'One should not see oneself as the guiding light or to be showing the way'. Humility was expressed by another respondent who admitted, 'I know I am a very bad teacher.... I would have to delegate that'. Despite mixed views on the role of leader as teacher/mentor, all participants affirmed that, at the minimum, they are all engaged in informal teaching of staff.

The literature attests that the relationship between leaders and talented staff influences leadership development (e.g., Riggs, 2001*b*: 9). Similarly, Zaccaro & Klimoski (2001) suggest that "Relationships in the workplace play a key role in the development of executives" (2001: 354). Kram (1985) and Noe (1988) suggested that mentors provide a psychosocial function (acceptance, encouragement, coaching, and counselling) and a career facilitation function (sponsorship, protection, challenging assignments, and visibility). Douglas (1997) defined a mentoring relationship as typically "an intense relationship, lasting eight-to-ten years, in which a senior person oversees the career and psychosocial development of a junior person (1997: 76). The informal teaching/mentoring roles of the participants, espoused in the current study, reflects these observations in the literature.

5:6.2 The Leader as Role Model

Twenty-seven (90%) of the interviewed leaders in the current study believe they are role models. Most of those were confident that their own behaviour influences the behaviour of staff: 'A leader has to be a role model, otherwise that person is not in the right job', 'I am a role model, of course', 'I am cognizant that people may copy my behaviour', 'a leader is a role model for younger people', and 'Certainly, I am a role model'. Three of the twenty-seven were very assured of the part they played in role modelling: 'certainly', 'of course' and 'has

to be'. Nine, however, of the twenty-seven positive replies were less certain: 'maybe', 'I suppose I must be a bit'; 'probably' (from two respondents); and 'I hope I am' (from three respondents).

Among three (10%) of the overall thirty who did not give a positive reply when asked if they considered themselves role models, one Irish librarian said she did not know if she was an effective role model. The context of her reply indicated that successful role modelling for her was predicated on follower receptivity to her efforts to 'try harder to be correct at all times, to do the right thing, and also to be seen to do the right thing'. In the absence of any follower informing her of her influence on their behaviour, she claimed she could not know if she was a role model. The other two respondents, who did not give positive replies, gave ambivalent replies. One of these suggested: 'As a librarian, I would hope that staff don't need role models'. Yet, the same respondent went on to say 'I would want to set an example'. We might reasonably presume that the act of setting an example is meant to influence followers, rather than simply an exercise in itself without role-modelling intentions. The third of these three replies was a 'No, but . . .' response, which might seem to be contradictory: 'No, but, I think people do lead by example'. The elaboration of his reply focused on the topics of motivation and on instilling pride in staff, but did not clarify his initial negative response denying that he was role model.

The majority twenty-seven (90%) respondents, who acknowledged their rolemodelling function, were aware of their effect on staff: 'People justify their own actions by emulating the behaviour of senior staff', 'People will observe your behaviour, and that will determine or influence the activities of other people', 'There are aspects of a person's personality, not necessarily the total personality, that can be modelled by others', 'You have to be honest with staff', 'You need to be consistent and fair', and 'if staff see that I am committed to service, that probably influences their vision'.

An interesting twist on role modelling is where associated pressures on library leaders, such as working and attending functions after normal working hours, can act as disincentives to potential library leaders. One of the interviewed leaders spoke of a talented member of her staff who enjoys 'a better work–life balance' than she does and who, like other followers, can 'see the toll pressure takes on their leader', such as stress and other health problems. That

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participant concluded that such followers are 'too smart to want a leader's job' (full quotation in Chapter 4, subsection 4:8.1, Interviewee GB:04).

Bass (1999) suggests that leadership role models ideally begin at the organizational peak, since top level leaders become symbols of organizational culture (1999). Bass's view is shared by 90 per cent of the participants, who also believe that one of their functions is that of role models, influencing the behaviour of followers and culture of their organizations.

5:6.2.1 Role Modelling Modifying Leader's Own Behaviour

Twenty-six (87%) of the respondents believed that their role-modelling function had an effect on their own behaviour. Typical responses referred to the leader being aware of his or her own behaviour and speech; being more considerate of the effect of one's own behaviour; being conscious of giving example; curbing one's own negative behaviour (for example, impatience or frustration); being aware of influence on others; and, exercising openness. Some of the principal highlights from the interview data include: 'you have to set your own standards higher and consistently live by them', 'Role modelling does influence my behaviour', 'I am conscious of people seeing what I do', 'You are not entirely free', and 'I should not expect people to do what I would not do myself'.

Four respondents do not believe that their own behaviour is influenced by any mentoring function they might exercise: 'I would not modify my behaviour, as my behaviour comes from my convictions', 'I do not think that I change as an individual between 9.00 a.m. and 5.00 p.m.', 'I don't change my behaviour for the sake of role modelling', 'I am myself and I always will be', 'I am not self-consciously playing a role model', and 'My behaviour as a role model is part of my personal style rather than something I deliberately act out'.

Overall, the study findings show that most leaders consider themselves to be role models, and they generally acknowledge that their own behaviour *is* influenced by playing the part of a role model. In summary, because of heightened consideration for and awareness of their followers, and their perceived influence on their followers, leaders generally modify their behaviours to act as role models within their organizations.

5:6.3 Nurturing New Leaders

Cino (1995) challenges library leaders to develop leadership skills among their fellow professionals and to identify potential leaders, early in their careers, among their colleagues. In the current study, only two interviewees did not believe in nurturing new leaders. The majority (93%) expressed views in support of training potential leaders: 'It is about giving people opportunities', delegation within known parameters is very important for nurturing anybody with leadership qualities', 'if people are not given room to develop and try things out they will never develop', 'we look at shadowing, we look at secondment, we look at general training', 'We second people to leader projects', 'There is a lot of formal training available in leadership development', 'With the support of the city council we provide a whole range of training', 'In terms of developing leadership I don't treat that any differently from developing skills that library staff need', 'Potential library leaders need to have experience in dealing with personnel, finance, and people services', 'If somebody is committed to what they are doing, I would see the leader's role to encourage them and to facilitate them and to broaden their experience in all aspects of the service', and 'Future leaders can be nurtured through mentoring and continuous professional development'. These views reflect Corrall (2002), who argues that chief librarians need to change the older culture so that libraries would proactively support continuing professional development of all their staff (2002: 118).

Interestingly, the importance of allowing staff to make mistakes was seen as an important aspect of leadership development, and was mentioned by five of the respondents. Selected extracts from their quotations include: 'Giving people the chance to fail is important', 'Making mistakes is not a hanging offence around here', 'I believe in letting them make some of the decisions and letting them try new things, and if they fall they fall', 'You make opportunities available for people to develop and that means that you allow people to make mistakes', 'It is about ... doing away with the blame culture', and 'It is about encouraging risk taking, by quenching the blame habit'. One interviewee recommended allowing extensive latitude when junior managers make mistakes: 'if 90% of it goes wrong, but 10% of it is right, that is a result'.

Just one among the thirty respondents believed that potential leaders should largely be left to their own initiative: 'There is no need to spoon-feed future leaders, as it is essential that leaders should be self-driven'. Another interviewee expressed: 'It is also important to have people who are not like yourself.... You need to be careful, as a leader, that you are not excluding people because they are different to you'. Two other respondents shared the view that potential leaders should not necessarily be encouraged to leave. One cautioned against developing a good understudy, in case that understudy might be encouraged to leave their current organization: 'It is not in my interest to encourage their career path. If they are good I want to keep them, and I am not going to push them out the door, because they are probably going to be replaced by a less efficient person'. This confirms Usherwood et al. (2001), who report that career development is given low priority in many library authorities. Prime (1998) articulates that good staff should be encouraged, even at the risk of losing them: "When you train and develop dynamic people you are actually training and developing them away from their organization", but she adds that "the void left by a good person gives you an opportunity to add to the richness and diversity of the staff" (1998: 38). Nørhede (1996) reports a fear widely identified in libraries: that potential leaders might be poached by other authorities. Usherwood et al. also suggest that public libraries might have to look beyond what is sufficient for their own authority, and to consider the requirements of public library service in other authorities (2001). The second of the two leaders in the current study who did not encourage leadership development said it was 'because of the pressures and workloads' on him, as leader, and also because 'You give them some freedom, they muck it up; you then intervene to take the freedom off them'.

While the majority of respondents suggest that they support leadership training, the thrust of their arguments were often vague, such as 'In terms of developing leadership I don't treat that any differently from developing skills that library staff need'. While some respondents referred specifically to classic leadership training, such as mentoring and continuous professional development, most did not distinguish between management training and leadership training. Overall, responses were not unambiguously proactive in developing future library leaders.

5:7 People-centred Leadership

Zuboff (1985) believes that radical organizational changes since the early 1980s, due to the impact of information technology and global economic changes, have led to "a corresponding transformation of the emotional landscape". She suggests that the era of managerial domination of organizational hierarchy by manipulative and insensitive managers represents a closing chapter in the history of organizations, and that experts in interpersonal skills will be the new organizational leaders. The new leadership will not be about power over others but about emotional aptitudes/intelligence which can help employees to gain more satisfaction through the workplace and to motivate them to work towards common goals (Goleman, 1996: 149). The findings on people-centred leadership in the current study are examined under the following headings in this chapter.

- Trust
- Integrity
- Leaders' attitudes to in-house challenges
- Leaders as emotional/psychological supporters of staff
- Humour and happiness as catalysts for better work outcomes
- Customer involvement in influencing library policy

5:7.1 Trust

All thirty interviewed leaders argued that trust between leaders and followers is required for organizational effectiveness. Many of their arguments were presented in axiomatic form, such as, 'if you are not trusted you cannot lead'. Sample extracts from the interview data include: 'The link between leadership and trust is crucial', 'For leadership to be effective people have to trust you', 'One is dependent on the other', 'you cannot be an effective leader if you are not trusted', 'Leadership and trust are one and the same', 'You cannot be a good leader if staff do not trust you', 'If staff cannot trust you, you have lost them as followers, that is, you have lost leadership of them', 'Trust is one of the most needed requisites for leadership', and 'Leadership is born out of trust'.

Other examples from the quoted material add to the above arguments: 'Trust is vital to leadership', 'If your people don't trust you ... you are not going to be able to lead', 'Staff don't actually have to be able to get on with their managers but they must be able to trust them', and 'Trust is important but achieving trust is difficult', 'one has to be seen to be reliable, one has to be seen to be worthy of the belief of others'. Finally, one leader declared: 'Trust is as important as leadership itself'.

Avolio (1999*a*) exhorts leaders to develop trust based on authenticity of their relationships with staff, while nurturing a culture of higher order values, making personal sacrifices, and developing greater self understandings. He believes that avoiding the trap of being too prescriptive is part of a trusting relationship, which in turn must have a genuine concern for the personal growth of followers. Bennis (1990) places the management of trust as third in his topmost competencies of leadership:

Trust is essential to all organizations. The main determinant of trust is reliability, what I call constancy.... A recent study showed that people would much rather follow individuals they can count on, even when they disagree with their viewpoint, than people they agree with but who shift positions frequently. I cannot emphasize enough the significance of constancy and focus (Bennis, 1990: 21).

Riggs (2001*b*) dismisses as "foolish" the "myth that a leader cannot be trusted". He asserts that "the trust factor is extremely important" for the successful leader, adding that, "trust, as the emotional glue, binds leaders and followers together in a library. In addition to being consistent in action, the library leader must listen to followers and trust them. Trust is a two-way street and it should never be taken for granted" (Riggs, 2001*b*: 8). Covey (1990) sees trust as "the highest form of human motivation", and recommends leaders to let people judge themselves rather than to rely on the leader to do that (1990: 178, 224).

The results of the current study coincide with arguments from the literature on leadership and trust. This topic raised no controversy throughout the interviews. Instead unanimity prevailed on the many views on trust and its place at the core of organizational leadership.

5:7.2 Integrity and Leadership

Twenty-eight (93%) of the thirty respondents expressed that integrity was a very important quality of leadership. The interviewed librarians used terms such as 'absolutely', 'vital', 'essential', 'very important', or 'most important' to emphasize the centrality of integrity to leadership. Reasons for the need for integrity ranged from it being positive in itself, without need for contextual justification, to its utilitarian effects, such as its positive effect on staff morale. The two (7%) respondents who did not concur with the centrality of integrity to leadership believed that 'integrity' could be seen as a machiavellian technique of leadership.

Significant extracts from the majority views on the topic of integrity included: 'People are not going to follow somebody they question', 'A level of morality is involved in running a library service', 'Staff need to know that you are genuine', 'People see through deception and typically refuse to follow, or they will be selective in responding to directives from someone without integrity', 'Integrity is important', and 'If you don't walk the talk you don't have any respect and people will tend to ignore or give short shrift to everything you articulate and everything you do'.

Other supportive comments included: 'we are affecting people's lives', 'Honesty is an absolutely crucial issue', 'treat other people as you would expect to be treated', 'You do not do things because they achieve results, you do them because they are the right things to do', 'Integrity is the most important thing in life', 'personal integrity is vital', 'Librarianship and integrity have to be intertwined', and 'Without integrity we are nowhere'. In summary, the majority finding reflects the views in the literature that staff will "walk the extra mile" (Riggs, 2001*b*: 13) where staff have confidence in their leadership.

5:7.3 Leaders' Attitudes To In-house Challenges

Openness is seen as part of people-centred leadership and being receptive to challenge was seen as part of this openness. This has parallels in double-loop learning, which accepts and reacts positively to conflicting requirements (Argyris & Schön, 1996: 22-3). Schreiber and Shannon (2001) report that in the field of

librarianship "interpersonal confrontation is often experienced as an opportunity for courageous action, [but] that learning confrontive diplomacy is a challenge many want to avoid". They suggest that library administrators "can support leadership in their libraries by taking a personal stand based on principle, encouraging others to do the same, then listening well, and working toward resolution" (2001: 53).

When the thirty library leaders were asked if they tolerate dissent/challenge, twenty-eight (93%) answered in the affirmative. Most of these respondents stated that the terms 'tolerate' and 'dissent' have a range of different meanings: 'Dissent can have different connotations. Constructive criticism is good. I do not, however, listen to negative or destructive complaints'. Some respondents pointed out a distinction between different levels of toleration: 'There is a distinction between productive and negative dissent', 'I encourage debate, rather than dissent', 'We encourage independent thinking, we encourage negotiation, but I don't believe we tolerate dissent', and 'I can appreciate and respect the dissenting point-of-view ... but, if dissent were ongoing, if it were continuous, I would give a different response'.

Views expressing an acceptance of dissent or challenge included: 'You have to have a healthy dose of disagreement and dissent in an organization', 'I do encourage people to say what they feel and some people think I am crazy because I encourage dissent', 'Diversity in people and ideas is great in organizations. One of the bywords I like to practise is that I do not know all the answers', 'I certainly can tolerate dissent, yes, I can do that', and 'I certainly tolerate dissent, as I think it is healthy'.

Similar comments from the participants included: 'Dissent and challenges to one's views are important', 'I do tolerate dissent', 'I have no problem with people venting opinions that are different to mine', 'everyone is encouraged to be open, particularly at senior level', 'I am happy for people to discuss and disagree with me'; 'I would hate to have staff saying what they thought I would want to hear them saying', 'I would see dissent as a positive', 'You must allow for contradictory views', 'You have to tolerate dissent and to respect another person's point of view', and 'you can expect to be challenged and that is a good thing'. Some of the reasons for tolerating dissent included: 'An organization is healthier if opposing views are aired', 'Some staff by their very nature create dissent, and very often they are the brightest people, because they think deeply and they want to get their own opinion across, so this is why you have to be very open', 'If dissent was stifled the organization would be less creative', 'I want to hear their opinions and this results in a much happier organizational family', and 'Good management practice and experience show that it is better to encourage challenges'.

The toleration of dissent can also depend on timing or circumstances: 'At times, I *tolerate* dissent and challenge; at times, I *encourage* dissent and challenge; but, at times, I *abhor* dissent and challenge', and 'It depends upon the nature of whatever this dissent is derived from. It depends on the situation'.

The following comment illustrates how one library deals with dissent: 'If there is dissent that gets in the way, we resolve the dissent... If an individual is dissenting from that, we invite the individual to either buy into what the organization is doing or to find another job'. Comments from the two librarians, who stated they do not tolerate dissent, included: 'We do not tolerate ongoing dissent. A person cannot work here and still be contrary to the organization', 'I neither tolerate nor encourage dissent', and 'I don't like conflict or dissent'.

Despite varying views on attitudes towards organizational dissent, all thirty librarians do confirm the existence of dissent as part of organizational behaviour. The findings in the study largely reflect the literature, which supports the organizational practice of accommodating productive dissent. Useem (2001) attributes much of leadership and organizational failure to situations where staff are "too intimidated or otherwise reluctant to challenge their leader" (2001). Bennis (2000) also surmises that, "In the 21st century, the laurel will go to the leader who encourages healthy dissent and values those followers courageous enough to say no" (2000: 175).

5:7.4 Leaders as Emotional/Psychological Supporters of Staff

When asked if leaders should act as emotional/psychological supporters of staff, twenty (67%) of the thirty interviewed leaders replied with an emphatic endorsement, using words such as 'must', 'have to', and 'we have a duty of care'. Four (13%) suggested that leaders should not adopt the emotional supporter role, as such a role might be 'very dangerous'. These four librarians focused on the negative side of the emotional health of staff and indicated that they would refer staff experiencing emotional or psychological difficulties to external counsellors. They did not articulate any role for an organizational leader in actively maintaining an ongoing positive psychological environment. The remaining six (20%) stated that they give qualified emotional/psychological support, for example where a very large staff complement makes such support a quite difficult exercise. Extracts from the interview data are presented in this subsection illustrating the above differences.

The first extracts illustrate the majority view, shared by two-thirds of the respondents: 'Staff support goes with leadership', 'You have to give emotional or psychological support to staff', 'we have a duty of care to support them', 'Leaders must be involved in personal support of staff', 'You have to be considerate of staff', 'you have to be supportive', 'you should support them', and 'Yes, leaders certainly should provide emotional or psychological support to staff'.

The leaders in favour of providing psychological support for staff suggested that organizational benefits accrue from these supportive cultures: 'Personal support is for the good of staff and for the service', 'If you are aiming to motivate and work with staff you have to recognize the emotional factors', 'you are doing it for the good of the organization also', 'How can you expect people to work well if you are not considerate towards them as whole persons, including their emotions and personal circumstances?', 'If you do not nurture the emotional wellbeing of staff, you cannot expect staff to work well', 'Everyday issues, like how people relate to an organization, are very much based on emotions', and one librarian suggested that the purpose of providing emotional support to staff is 'In order to inspire'.

Another leader expressed, 'I can create an environment where people feel good and comfortable and excited and feel rewarded when they do certain things that need to be done'. He added that 'effective leaders understand what one does to create an environment where people feel a motivation to be successful in their jobs, to strive, to excel, to succeed', and that this was achieved by 'the leader showing appreciation, showing respect, and thanking staff, all of which contribute to a motivating environment'.

The six librarians who expressed caution, clarified their view on psychological support of staff: 'It is something you need to be very careful about', 'It is a balancing act', 'some staff may feel that supporters are intrusive or not appropriate', 'there is a balance to the degree to which there can be such support', 'You have to be very careful', and 'it is not an absolute, because at the end of the day... you have a commitment to customers'.

Comments from the minority of four respondents, who said they were not in favour of providing psychological support for their staff members, included: 'you can become involved in something that you are not qualified in', 'you end up as a quasi counsellor where you just don't have the skills', 'Becoming involved in emotions is very dangerous', 'I am somewhat distant even though I am in a small organization', 'if something came to light I would pass it on', 'I would not be focused on emotions; if one is emotional one is not in control of oneself', and 'everybody has a private life and problems, and it is not my own money to give extra time off to staff to support them'.

Arguments from the literature support the organizational benefits of supporting staff holistically. Strebel (1996) places an emphasis on senior management's obligations to psychological and other personal support for junior staff. He contends that the lack of proactive personal 'compacts', starting from the top of organizations, is sufficient to prevent the implementation of any strategic initiative (1996: 92). Strebel describes a *psychological* dimension of implicit relationships and mutual expectation and reciprocal commitment that arise from feelings like trust and dependence between junior and senior. He suggests that that an unwritten psychological dimension underpins an employee's personal commitment to individual and company objectives. While Strebel states that managers expect employees to be loyal and willing, employees determine their

commitment to the organization along psychological dimensions of their personal compact, and through their perceptions of what recognition, financial reward, or other personal satisfaction they will receive for their efforts (1996: 87-8). Similarly, Ghoshal and Bartlett (1998) assert that management is fundamentally about achieving results through people (1996: 318). Reflecting arguments in the literature, the majority of the interviewees in this study, twenty-six among thirty, practise a holistic approach towards supporting followers, in varying degrees, including offering personal support, since 'People do not leave their private lives outside the door when they come to work, they bring them with them'. In summary, about two in every three respondents concur with the literature advocating leaders to offer psychological support to staff.

5:7.5 Humour and Happiness as Catalysts for Better Work Outcomes

Sweeney (1994) suggests that possession of a sense of humour is one of the most important traits of a successful leader: "the library leader is always able to laugh at himself or herself. This leader has confidence and can accept making mistakes because of a sense of proportion. This library leader is possessed of a sense of humour" (Sweeney, 1994: 85). Brosnahan (1999) suggests that organizations with a proper leadership environment "are places where people have fun and like going to work" (1999: 18). Olsson (1996) argues that two aspects of a leader's personal commitment to staff that are "extremely important" are "creating trust and finding the joy". He adds, however, that "Joy is not a very established part of library culture" (Olsson, 1996: 33). This was echoed by Radford and Radford (2001), who found, "In examining popularculture treatments of the library, one does not see the library as a metaphor of light, happiness, comfort, or joy" (2001: 325). Olsson reminds librarians that "joy is a tremendous power. The leader capable of bringing joy to the staff meetings, to the co-operation within the library as well as outside, to the daily activities at the desks, will contribute heavily to a viable organization" (Olsson, 1996: 33).

As outlined in Chapter 4, only five (20%) of the interviewed library leaders in this study raised the issue of humour as an aspect of leadership, and these respondents suggested that humour and related issues are positive attributes of organizational leadership. Noticeable extracts from the interview data include:

'You shouldn't take yourself too seriously', 'I like a laugh during the day', 'if you exercise a sense of humour, you are a better role model', and 'I view people taking themselves too seriously as a weakness'.

A happier environment was seen as a product of humour. Some of these leaders deliberately aim at making their organizations happier places to work. One believes that he is contributing to 'a much happier organizational family' as he encourages staff to frequently and openly challenge him and to share their truer opinions with him. He believes, in turn, that this grants to staff a positive sense of shared ownership of the library. Such freedom of expression grants heads of different departments the freedom to organize staff according to their own best judgement, which, he believes, contributes to a happier and more creative environment. The same leader supports the practice of bringing staff together on social occasions, as 'socializing is fun' and fosters professional networking. He also believes that a happy working environment could, however, discourage staff from moving out and upwards: 'as the trouble is when staff work in a service where there are good vibes and they are very happy it can encourage them to stay on rather than moving out to pursue promotional prospects' (Interviewee IR:03).

Yet another leader pointed out that it was not only staff who can find fun in the workplace. He also believed that the leader himself/herself should enjoy positive feelings from work. He suggested that it was *the* reason why he continued to work in librarianship: 'I remain in the career because I find it enjoyable' (Interviewee IR:11).

Humour and happiness were seen by the interviewees as a catalyst for a positive working environment: 'It is important that everybody working for you is feeling good', 'it is so important in the organization that, every day, when people come to work they feel good about coming to work', 'A good atmosphere in the workplace percolates from the leader to staff and then to the people they are dealing with', 'staff need the leader's input to the creation of a happy work environment', 'The most important cultural element in an organization is a positive staff attitude', 'If staff are unhappy at work, their contribution to work productivity and to their community is greatly hampered', and 'If staff are happy in their workplace they translate that to more work productivity'. These sentiments reflect a number of findings from studies ranging back almost a

century, for example, Webb (1915), Goodenough (1930), Stray (1934), Flemming (1935), Tryon (1939), Drake (1944), Sweeney (1994), and Olsson (1996) who reported correlations between leadership and a sense of humour. One of the leaders in the current study, who endeavours to establish and maintain a positive working environment for staff, said he often reminds staff, 'you will be happy coming into work every day while I am here'. As illustrated in Chapter 4, all five respondents who raised the issue of humour and happiness were among the fifteen Irish library participants. Interestingly, the topics of humour or staff happiness were not raised by any of the British or American interviewees.

5:8 Difficulties Associated with Leading

The comments in the first two subsections of Section 5:8 emerged spontaneously during the interview process, and did not relate to any specific question. The data are, therefore, scant in the same two subsections, as the interview guide did not ask the respondents about these two topics.

- Paucity of leadership in many libraries
- Difficulties for leaders
- Gender-related difficulties
- Influence of leader's gender on follower relationships.

5:8.1 Paucity Of Leadership in Many Libraries

Berry (1998) contends that "leadership is a relatively scarce quality" which may be due to a tension between a true leader and the organization's rules, boundaries, and policies. He declares that "there are, alas, plenty of leaderless libraries and plenty of libraries that would be intolerant of that basic quality of the leader — that unwillingness to abide by the structure at hand, that unwillingness not to change", before he concludes by declaring, "Many enterprises and libraries simply cannot tolerate or accept leadership" (1998: 6).

Brosnahan (1999) suggests that the environment in which public sector leaders operate "is generally not conducive to encouraging leadership". He believes this is due to "an inherent avoidance of risk in public organizations, which in turn tends to discourage innovation and risk taking" (1999: 13). As suggested in Chapter 2 (2B:2-4), Brosnahan believes the origins for this lay in the relatively much tighter confines in which public sector leaders operate.

Interestingly, the negative responses (i) concerning issues that might discourage librarians from pursuing top leadership positions in librarianship, and (ii) claiming that there is a paucity of true leadership among head librarians, were articulated by British interviewees only. One Irish librarian made critical judgements about some fellow librarians. Representative extracts from the participants arguing that head librarians are not true leaders, include: 'many head librarians are not making that changeover from librarians to leaders', 'Some library chiefs do not have the mental picture of themselves as real managers or leaders', 'they are books people, sometimes they are authors, but they are not leaders', and 'Leadership never featured highly in librarianship before'. Arguments making a distinction between leadership and librarians are very good professionals but are lousy leaders', and 'the assumption that a good library professional can be a good leader is not always true'.

Despite the perceived lack of leadership in librarianship traditionally, interviewee comments articulate that a change has begun: 'the topic of leadership was not high on the agenda, but that is changing now', 'The role is now a leadership role', and 'some leadership techniques that are common in other fields are beginning to impact now in librarianship'.

Another reason suggested for a lack of leadership strength among chief librarians is an unwillingness among librarians of merit to seek posts of leadership in librarianship, due to a variety of pressures. Extracts illustrating the avoidance of pressures associated with leadership include: 'Many people are too smart to want a leader's job', 'people see the toll that pressure takes on their leader', 'I have a lot of health problems that are work related, including stress and high blood pressure', 'my job has taken over my life, requires so much personal sacrifice, and it upsets my work–life balance', 'I have a good member of staff who says she is not interested in becoming a leader', and 'People in the next layer down see the challenges at this level and do not want to engage with those challenges'. Other disincentives facing potential applicants for leadership

posts include problems of geography, such as distance from current location or problems associated with acquiring reasonably-priced accommodation: 'London libraries, in particular, have problems recruiting', 'It is difficult to fill the posts of the area librarians, senior librarians, and site leaders', 'there are a number of authorities in London now struggling to fill the posts of their chief officers', 'the highfliers fly, and have flown, while the low-fliers, the ones that don't want to move out, stay where they are', 'staff have restricted their own mobility', 'They do not want to move even short distances. People become settled', or, simply, 'staff tend to be parochial'. In summary, these arguments support claims in the interview data that 'There is a lack of leaders'.

Even at middle management level, the precursor grade to top level leadership, there are difficulties for attracting future leaders, particularly in more expensive city environments, as these extracts illustrate: 'If you try to recruit to middle-range management posts ... there are very few people coming forward, even from within the organization', 'This also ties in with the cost of living in the borough', 'there is a lack of staff in the middle', and 'The next stage down ... is quite difficult to fill'.

This study provides useful data towards answering Usherwood's (1996) question about British librarians: "What are the barriers to success, and what is the difference between a leader and a manager?" (1996: 50). Responses from the British librarians in the current study mirror submissions made to Britain's public review group, as illustrated in the final report of the *Review of the Public Library Service in England and Wales for the Department of National Heritage* (ASLIB, 1995). That review team suggested a number of initiatives aimed at attracting high-calibre recruits and to provide professional leaders for the future. Some of these initiatives included new studentships, supernumerary trainee schemes, and a staff college to develop future professionals. Arguments from the current study (e.g., subsections 2A:15; 2C:13.2; 4:1.2; 5:1.2), however, suggest that these initiatives fundamentally aim to teach management rather than leadership.

In summary, the above findings support arguments in the literature suggesting a dearth of leadership, in terms of quantity and quality, in public librarianship. This is a core finding of the current study.

5:8.2 Difficulties for Leaders

Heifetz and Linsky (2002) declare, "to lead is to live dangerously" (2002: 65). Howard Gardner (1995) suggests that an exemplary leader "aims so high and carries such burdens" that he or she becomes more prone to the risk of failure, partly because "the greater the accomplishment of the leader" the greater the strain on the leader's associates. Gardner reports, however, that the exemplary leader "is not thrown by apparent failures", and must be realistic, because "Whatever our successes, we must all ultimately face our frailty and our limitations" (1995: 289). Hesselbein (1996) suggests that leadership entails "the willingness to remain highly vulnerable", since "leadership is not a basket of tricks or skills", but "is the quality and character and courage of the person who is the leader" (1996: 122).

In the current study, the interviewed leaders spoke of a range of difficulties associated with the post of chief librarian, which are analysed under the following headings:

- Onus on library leaders to work long hours
- Leader as vulnerable person
- Challenge of effective internal communication
- Negative stereotyping limiting career prospects outside librarianship
- Toxic or negative leadership
- Miscellaneous difficulties for library leaders.

5:8.2.1 Onus on Library Leaders to Work Long Hours

One in five of the interviewed library leaders related that they are effectively required to work inordinately long hours, in an effort to adequately or properly address what they considered is an expanding burden of duties. British librarians referred to the widening of their work portfolios since local government structures were reformed in the 1970s. That restructuring rationalized many local government posts, amalgamating diverse new functions, for example, for public librarians, who assumed additional non-library functions, such as, responsibilities for arts, museums, and archives. The following extracts from some of the British participants illustrate this: 'My remit is wider than libraries, it

includes museums as well', 'Because of job rationalization, too many staff have been let go and too many jobs have been compressed as the staffing levels have decreased', and 'I have five hats on at this level and it is the dilution of the things that I love with all of the things that I don't like'. Other comments from British respondents include: 'the job that I do now has become so diluted', 'I don't like the multi-functional job I do now', 'you are spread too thin', 'My job title is Manager of Lifelong Learning, so managing the public libraries is only one of my strands', 'with the restructuring ... I ended up being interviewed for a job I got which brings all five service areas together', and 'Running the public library service is one of the jobs that I do, but I also run community education and I run the museum service, school libraries, and the cultural sector'. The variety of demands continually interrupts the range of leadership priorities. This reflects one American library leader who said, "25% of the time I am responding to unanticipated demands", which interrupt the usual rhythms of leadership (in Cottam, 1994: 25).

The following extracts confirm that long hours are worked by British librarians in an attempt to serve their duties. The first three present summary totals of the weekly hours they typically work: 'I normally work sixty to seventy hours per week, but I get paid for only thirty-five of them', another said, 'I work about fifty hours a week', while a third British respondent said, 'I work between forty-five and fifty hours a week, but, I want to do that ... because I want the organization to succeed'. Other British responses included: 'I do take work home', 'I work long hours but I don't expect staff to work the same hours', 'I tend to come into work after 7.00 a.m. and often I work two or three evenings a week', and 'I work at the weekends'. The participants associated the need for the long house due to changes introduced since the implementation of local government reorganization in Britain, which reduced senior staffing numbers in the public libraries as well as adding more responsibilities to library services.

The Irish responses were more generalized than those of their British counterparts: 'Usually my days stretch beyond straightforward hours', 'none of my staff works longer than the amount of hours I spend working', 'I put in extra hours', and 'If there is something important going on after office hours I would be there for it'. The above examples illustrate an increasing burden on chief public librarians, who also complained that an increased amount of administration dilutes their application both to librarianship and to leadership. Interestingly,

none of the American participants mentioned anything about pressures of having to work long hours due to burden of work. Further study should investigate if American staffing structures might have higher ratios of senior management staff to deal with strategic issues.

5:8.2.2 Leader as Vulnerable

As discussed in Section 2A:3, followers are seen as an essential part of leadership, but they can also create ongoing difficulties for leaders, for example, Donnelly (1996) suggests:

Unfortunately for everyone who has to manage others, people remain the most complex, arbitrary, irrational, demanding thing we know. Individuals and groups... see no contradiction in being inconsistent, insensitive, critical and at times ... obstructive in the face both of others and of new situations which we find hard to accept. Yet we all demand to have leaders and managers who are attuned to our personal needs and expectations — calling upon them in the process to have clairvoyant powers amongst their other attributes, and always to find time for our problems (1996: 8).

Donnelly adds, "the workplace today has become a very challenging place in which to guide others along ..." (1996: 9). Avolio (1999a), however, sees leader vulnerability as a positive challenge for leaders. He also believes that a leader's management of vulnerability can foster transformational relationships.

Three (10%) interviewees in the current study report how, before becoming library leaders, they felt particularly unsure and vulnerable: 'When I was appointed librarian, I really wondered if I would be up to the job; I began to doubt by abilities', and 'I took that job of county librarian when I was quite young and I learned some things the hard way, and I made some mistakes'. Such vulnerability, however, tends to be lessened through experience: 'As time went on, however, I found myself learning leadership on the job', 'It is like driving a car; the only way to learn is when you are in the driving seat', 'There is no template', 'The more experience you have the better leader you are', 'Leaders learn best in the deep end', and 'you can learn only when you are operating in the deep end'. One experienced leader admitted, however, even after many years at the top and in more than one county library service, that he still feels personally vulnerable at times, for example, when he might be justified in

challenging a staff member: 'I am not good at disciplining people. I am not good at having confrontation with people'.

One Irish librarian articulated how he can feel vulnerable when at the receiving end of negative attention from staff: 'I am there to be the scapegoat and to be shot at'. This confirms Henington (1994), who reported similar experiences from the Director of the Minneapolis Public Library, Susan Goldberg Kent:

One of the things I have learned about being a Director is that you can't please everyone and you have to understand that not everyone will like you. This goes with the job. If you have to make tough decisions, then those decisions are likely to offend or upset one group or another. That's life and that's why we get paid the big bucks (Kent, in Henington, 1994: 102).

Library leaders must be able to routinely withstand other personal challenges, such as the lack of camaraderie: 'It can be quite a lonely job because you cannot really confide', 'The thing I find most difficult in many ways about being the leader is that I am there as a separate entity', 'Leaders must realize that staff will always keep a certain distance from a leader', 'I don't think there is a chief in any organization who could say he or she is not isolated'. Sometimes this means that leaders might find themselves 'deliberately saying something to gain respite and support from staff', or narrating 'stories that act as emotional crutches' for themselves. Another comment from the data pointed out that leaders must realize they are not infallible, therefore 'a leader has also to be prepared to lose'.

Finally, reflecting the literature, the following data extracts from the current study portray leader vulnerability as a positive organizational phenomenon: 'Without feeling vulnerable, leaders are likely to go off on uncritical paths and then find themselves in troubled scenarios', 'If leaders do not feel vulnerable, they need to question what they are doing', and 'Being vulnerable is also a helpful thing as it helps leaders to avoid taking unnecessary organizational risks'.

5:8.2.3 Negative Stereotyping Limiting Career Prospects Outside Librarianship

Forty per cent of British interviewees, who expressed frustration at bureaucratic restrictions, raised the issue of their own failures to change to careers outside of librarianship. They had discovered, when applying for senior posts outside of librarianship, that they were not considered suitably experienced candidates for employment in those careers, due to negative stereotyping of librarians as organizational managers. Representative comments illustrating this include: 'I went for other jobs and, at interviews, people said that since I worked in the public sector I would never make it in the private sector', 'When I studied for a diploma in management it was with a mixed class of public and private sector people and it was interesting to see the stereotypes that the private sector has of the public sector and vice versa', and 'we do not appear to portray or cultivate an entrepreneurial image in the public sector'. Other British comments included: People assume that the entrepreneurial spirit resides exclusively in the private sector', 'people have the stereotypical image of the librarian as not being very dynamic, proactive, manager/leader material, charismatic, and all of those things that the private sector have. We are not blessed with that image, and that image is damn hard to shake off', and 'Employers do not recognize the transferable skills that we have'. Another librarian articulated an aspect of the profession, which may be common to professions generally: 'as I rise up the ladder it becomes more difficult to leave, since wherever else I go I would tend to go in at the bottom of any scale'. An Irish librarian, who had also worked in the private sector, declared that work application in the private sector is different: 'working for a private limited company affects your mindset. It makes you become quite sharp at making decisions'. Private sector scepticism of the entrepreneurial ability of public sector leaders/managers is confirmed in the literature, for example by Radford and Radford (2001).

5:8.2.4 Negative or Toxic Leadership

Carson, Carson, & Phillips (1997) observe that, regardless of rank, there is always someone to whom people must answer to, but, "undoubtedly, one or more of these ranking administrators will be quite difficult to work with. In fact, one or more of them may be considered to have a difficult, if not a defective, personality" (1997: 158). The far-reaching, all-pervasive, and organizationally devastating impact of a defective leader was also articulated in the interview data. The first extract underlies how negative leadership can have long-term consequences: 'A bad leader can ruin a *generation* of staff'. This coincides with Ghoshal & Bartlett (1998), who contend that leaders have huge moral responsibilities over a generation of individuals and, therefore, make a major positive or negative difference to a society — a society of staff, customers, and related stakeholders.

Other negative traits outlined in the interview data are illustrated by the following selection of extracts: 'Where a leader is negative, negativity is transmitted throughout the organization', 'Excessive exercising of power and control and not being willing to delegate are among the worst traits of a bad leader', 'A bad leader is particularly rough on staff', 'if the leadership is not the right type of leadership, this has a seriously negative effect', and 'An autocratic leader in a library service prevents the organization from working effectively'.

Regarding specified examples of negative leaders, comments included: 'I worked in organizations where the leader sat inside a locked office at all times, and would not talk to you unless you were a senior member of staff', 'I recall behaviours that I would not want to do or to replicate', and 'I would consider their managerial styles to be dictatorial, totally outdated, not treating people as adults not treating staff as being what they are or the best resource they have'.

Carson, Carson, & Phillips (1997) observed that a leader, rather than an employee, with a negative profile is much more damaging to an organization as they have "the legitimate power of their offices to influence an organization's direction", and they declare, "most people with sociopathic tendencies don't typically wind up in prison — in fact, many wind up in the cushioned leather chairs of administrative offices" (1997: 158, 161). Carson, Carson, & Phillips add that, "trying to change sociopathic library administrators is impossible —

it can't be done", and colleagues who attempt to change them can "be setting themselves up to be scapegoated, victimized, abused" (1997: 162). Maccoby (2000) adds that a narcissistic leader is emotionally isolated and distrustful and can unyieldingly rage and retaliate against employees that do not massage the leader's self-image (2000: 76). In summary, the interview data report the presence of negative or toxic leadership in public libraries, reflecting findings in the literature for organizations in general.

5:8.2.5 Miscellaneous Difficulties for Library Leaders

Other challenges or difficulties, too varied to classify under collective headings, emerged throughout the interview process. The following miscellaneous extracts represent a selective sample of obstacles which have to be overcome by the successful leader: 'Challenges to a leader can result from labour unions, and other issues, like high levels of competencies, specializations and so on that strengthen other people's relative positions in organizations', 'I am chairman rather than chief', 'The Jack Welch style of strong leadership is difficult to use in modern contemporary library organizations', and 'Nobody today is dependent on the director for their job'.

British participants articulated an apparent excessive level of bureaucracy in their local authorities. They complained that their executive freedom was curtailed by an excessive number of official restrictions. The following extracts illustrate these complaints: 'Council management does not allow autonomy to librarians', 'we work for an organization for which we have responsibility, but not necessarily authority', 'At my level in the local authority organization I don't have much leeway', and 'Trying to carry things forward has been frustrating'. Other comments included: Within the bureaucratic framework I try to empower staff, but there is not much room for manoeuvre', 'Our council is a controlled organization', 'I find the career ... very stressful just now in terms of managing the service within the environment and the financial constraints that we are in', 'The way I can influence decisions is minimal', and 'The CEO in a private enterprise has a lot more leeway about decision-making'. Sager (1982) argued that overcoming bureaucratic obstacles as part of leadership: "Mastering the bureaucracy sufficiently to get things done, and avoiding the tendency to succumb to it, is a form of leadership" (1982: 22).

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Internalized or private conflicts for leaders, for example, when making decisions which impact negatively on a staff member, is a recurring issue for any leader, as illustrated in the data, for example: 'I have to stand there and say things that I do not agree with', or when 'we have to implement corporate policies that may not seem fair but we have to do it because of our rank'. Similar comments included: 'A decision can cause internal conflict when we are not comfortable with it and when we think that the impact it will have on staff is not justified' and 'Library leadership is difficult because one has one's own personal standards in terms of ethics ... and a leader tries to be honest with people, except when we have information that is confidential, which cannot be shared with staff'.

Frustrations over inadequate communication, as communication is something ongoing and therefore never in a state of completion, were presented by the leaders: 'our communications are far from perfect', 'Communicating is one of the things that we are worst at', 'You can communicate lots but people do not necessarily hear or read what you communicate', and 'communication is one of the things that we do not address sufficiently'.

Other organizational threats that cause increased pressure for library leaders include external environmental threats outside the control of the librarian: 'we are fighting a battle to bring more and more people into the library because there are so many other elements out there competing against us'. Inherited negative internal environments can be a challenge for a newly appointed leader: 'We have some very negative things in our culture.... These are being phased out slowly but they are not gone yet', 'There are things like work practices, relationships between seniors and juniors, and where "management" is seen as a derogatory term when used by many of the branch library staff', and 'The attitude towards change among staff who are more remote from team leaders and from heads of services is more resistant'. Despite diligent efforts of any leader, an inherited negative environment cannot be changed overnight, as one participant suggested, 'If the leader arrives in an organization quite set in its ways,... he or she would have an uphill struggle before getting results'.

* * *

The themes in this subsection emerged spontaneously during the interviews, rather than from responses to any specific question on difficulties that leaders might experience. Elsewhere, a number of negative aspects of leadership are discussed in their own subsections, for example, the following subsection, 5:8.3, discusses responses to a *specific* question asked of the library leaders on leadership difficulties.

5:8.3 Gender and Leaders: Difficulties and Related Issues

Osborne (1996) reports an undercurrent of gender tension between library boards and female library leaders, which, he believes, might suggest that female library leaders might work in "a climate where unspoken gender tension may exist to a degree that is less evident for male CEOs", and which might affect CEOs' effectiveness and performance (1996: 31). In the case of board members and staff, he suggests that they might display same-sex approval when appraising their leaders. In day-to-day internal colleague relationships, Osborne suggests that cross-gender tension might affect leaders of either gender equally. Osborne also found some evidence that male board members might underrate a female CEO, "while female board members may overrate her", suggesting that a board of trustees that is balanced in gender representation would be the ideal for appraising its CEO (1996: 32). Osborne concludes, however, that the reported differences in cross-gender appraisals were not statistically significant, and were highly subjective and open to misinterpretation.

In response to the question, *In your view, what influence (if any) has a leader's gender on the role of leadership?*, ten (33%) of the thirty respondents, including three females, suggested that a leader's gender has no effect on the role of leadership. Eight (27%) did not clarify their view on the issue. The remaining twelve interviewees (40%) — eleven males and one female — however, believe that gender clearly has a pronounced influence on leadership. The sole female interviewee among those twelve said, 'Women tend to be more consultative. Men tend to be more autocratic.... There are weaknesses on both sides'.

Some of the more generalized responses affirming a belief in the significance of the leader's gender included: 'Gender certainly has an effect on being a chief librarian', 'Gender has an influence', and 'People relate differently to males and to females'. The following views were express by those who believe that personality rather than gender matters most for leadership: 'I am not sure if gender is that important', 'there is no difference', 'the qualities of a person should be the deciding factor', 'I don't think gender matters', and 'It is the personal characteristics and the personal qualities of the person that matter'.

The following extracts are collated in clusters of commonalties. The first data extracts represent positive views from women leaders about other women leaders: 'Female managers tend to be able to take on board a range of issues at one time and are able to think in parallel', 'Women tend to be more consultative', and 'you can sometimes use the fact that you are a female to your own advantage'.

The following are negative views on women leaders by women interviewees. The first is a damning assessment of five of her female peers — one third of the total complement of fifteen Irish female city/county librarians at time of interviewing. Interestingly, she did not criticize any of her seventeen male peers: 'I can think of five women who are currently county librarians who are disasters'. Other comments on a relatively negative view of women leaders included: 'It's been a woman's profession, unfortunately and I think this held the profession back somewhat for quite a while, because it is only in the last number of years that women can get anywhere', 'The man is always held in higher esteem when dealing with outside people; the woman has to fight and work twice as hard as a man', 'Networking for the advantage of the service involves senior grades, the director of services, et cetera and they are all men in my local authority', 'people in important positions making decisions are often men', 'It is through networking that a lot of business is done in local authorities and that is how decisions are made', 'it is difficult for women librarians to overcome their networking difficulties', and 'Women miss out on networking'.

Negative views from female interviewees on male leaders were rather sparse. One such comment was, 'Men tend to be more autocratic or authoritarian, less consultative'. Neutral comments from women about either gender included: 'If you look at good male managers and good female managers, they both manage differently', 'They both have strengths and weaknesses', 'Men can deal with only one issue at a time, whereas women can multitask, as women typically have to juggle more', 'Because of the culture we live in, we manage differently', 'I don't think either manages better because I have seen different styles', and 'Men tend to go straight for the closure like salesmen, whereas women tend to do more of the going around and less of the closure'. One female respondent made a negative comment about leaders of either gender: 'There are weaknesses on both sides'.

Positive views expressed by male interviewees about female leaders included one by a male leader who found that his previous female bosses 'had a particular vision of where the library was going, while the males might have been a bit vague in this respect'. Positive comments from male leaders about other males included: 'Males would not be as confrontational'.

Neutral views from males about other male leaders included: 'there are plus and minus circumstances for being either a male or female leader', 'The males might seem to be that bit more detached', 'I cannot see any leadership characteristic that is unique to either gender', 'I can think of good and bad points about both genders', 'there are ways in which we all do things differently as individuals', 'Many of my external colleagues who are male are remarkable leaders but there are also female colleagues who are remarkable leaders', and 'I have seen cases of both genders being successful and being unsuccessful'.

Negative comments from male interviewees about professional and interpersonal circumstances for female leaders included: 'it is more difficult for women on a practical level to go to engineers or architects, finance people and managers where there are no women in those senior posts of responsibility', 'it is more difficult for women leaders', 'The cross-gender working environment is even more difficult for a woman if she has no in-house female colleagues in senior grades', 'Female leaders sometimes think that they have to assert themselves when dealing with male managers', 'I wonder if it is more difficult for female leaders to negotiate because senior council officers are predominantly male', and 'Some female librarians report that they have difficulties dealing with people outside the library'.

In summary, among the twenty-two respondents who expressed clear views on the effect, if any, of gender on leadership, the ration of replies was 5:6 between (i) those who held that gender *has* an effect, to (ii) those who held that gender has *no* effect.

5:8.3.1 Gender-based Difficulties for Leader–Follower Relationships

On the question of leader–follower relationships, far more negative comments about the relationships were expressed where the leader was a female rather than a male. More than one quarter (27%) of respondents reported accounts of difficulties followers had with some female leaders.

Negative comments by male interviewees about female bosses included: 'It is a perceived idea from the woman's own point of view that a female in charge can add to friction', 'A female in charge can be conducive in some instances to friction, whereas men tend to have more understanding', 'I would be concerned with a predominance of female leaders', 'A male can handle situations better where women are in the majority', and 'Females in particular have a habit of rubbing each up the wrong way'. Similar comments from males included: 'some male library staff also report difficulties working with a female boss; that includes difficulties with female bosses at all levels, which people say is because they are women bosses', 'I do hear reports of female staff having problems working with a female boss', 'Some of the more traditional male members of staff report problems with having a woman as their line manager'. Yet more comments from male respondents added to this list: 'I believe men tend to be more objective; very often emotions come into discussions when women are involved in a discussion', 'I find that males are more tolerant', 'Women leaders surround themselves with selected people to the exclusion of others', 'Females tend to have favourites', 'Females tend to feel that their authority should be sacrosanct', 'Females generally tend to be a lot harsher, and a lot more craving for power', 'Females tend to be far greater disciplinarians', 'I have heard it from both males and females that they tend to get on better with a male boss', 'I had some terrifying women librarians in my time', and, 'Honestly, I prefer to work with men'.

Female interviewees in this study passed much fewer negative remarks about male bosses than they did about female bosses. Their negative remarks about female bosses included: 'I worked for one female boss who was the most authoritarian and unconsultative that I have ever met', 'Females tend to relate to a male leader better', and 'Staff find it easier to relate to a male who is in charge rather than to a female'.

Some of the very few comments, from male respondents, praising female bosses included: 'a lot of women will tend towards an inclusive style', 'you probably get better team building with female leaders', 'Women have a skill set that males tend not to have', 'a lot of men will tend towards an autocratic style', and 'I found more harmonious relationships with female bosses'.

More neutral comments from men about gender and leadership included: 'Male and female leaders are different', 'It is hard to generalize', 'Males and females do have different approaches', and 'it is not that simple because people are individuals after all'. A neutral comment from a female interviewee also focused on individual characteristics: 'If the person sees the leader as being fair and open they would not have any difficulty with gender'.

The above quotations can be seen to support different views on the role of gender and leadership. This variety reflects Moran's (1992) summary on gender differences in leadership: "The reader who turns to the vast body of literature on gender differences to find the answer to this question will likely be left in a state of confusion. The studies report a number of contradictory findings. There is basic disagreement focusing upon the primary question being examined i.e., is there really a difference between the leadership styles of males and females?" (Moran, 1992: 476). While cautioning against "dangers of overgeneralization", Moran opines, "it does seem safe to say that the typical male and typical female ... practise distinct leadership styles" (1992: 483, 484). From the current interview data, it is evident that slightly less than half (about 45%) of the participants expressing clear views agree with this stereotype, while a little more than half (about 55%) of the interviewees suggest that the gender of a leader is an issue for leaders. On the question of leader-follower relationships, the views are also mixed, with a majority suggesting that male leaders generally relate better with followers than female leaders do.

5:9 Leaders' Perspectives on Current and Future Library Service

The final section analyses data from the participants on a variety of personal and professional perspectives on the public library service. These will be examined under the following headings:

- Leaders' priorities for public library services
- Social/community role of library leaders
- Constraints on service
- Five-year vision
- Leaders' speculations on the future of library services.

5:9.1 Library Leaders' Priorities for Public Library Services

'You can reduce all library management to two things: people working in the library must love books and love people'. This was part of a reply from an Irish librarian when asked: *What aspects of the organizational culture of your organization do you regard as most important?* That quotation summed up the thrust of the responses from the thirty library leaders as, overall, they focused on service to the public, including quality of information/books, and on support for staff. As the views in this subsection are largely similar, comparative analysis is not quite relevant in this subsection. Instead, synoptic extracts are collated from the data and presented, illustrating this philosophy shared among the thirty interviewees.

Views focusing on the public — individual member or community — were represented widely in the top priorities of the participants. The following illustrate the primary focus of all thirty interviewees: 'I prioritize service to the public and that determines everything', 'From the hour I walk into the office in the morning, optimum service to the public is my guiding light the whole way through', 'All our services are very focused on what works for the public', 'Our main goal is to serve the public', and 'Obviously, the main reason we are here is to provide a service to the public, so the library has to have a strong culture of customer care and customer service'. Other similar responses included: 'Performance management and a focus on customer care are central to our culture', 'What is most important is customer service', 'The public are our dollars

and cents, and if we don't serve them well, then we are out of business', 'The most important thing we do is to provide good customer service', 'Customer service is paramount to what we do', and 'The public: that is why we are here'. Finally, an axiomatic reason for the existence of the public library service means: 'If we didn't have the public we wouldn't be here'.

Responses concerning service to the public explicitly indicated that the service was much more than a commodity supply service. Enhancement of social and personal qualities was expressed as the purpose behind service improvement to the public: 'The wider objectives ordain that the library serves a specific purpose by developing citizens', 'social responsibility is one of the most important aspects of a public library culture', 'the essential purpose of our library is to act as a catalyst for positive cultural change in society', 'having a vision of service is essential', 'We are driven by strong customer-service values', and 'the library must endeavour to serve national and council objectives of serving people's needs'.

Listening to customers and taking their views on board is seen as a core aspect of public service: 'The citizen's role in determining the direction of service is central to providing the best service'. The participants underpinned a policy of inclusion for all sectors of society as a fundamental focus of the public library culture, which meant 'trying to reach out to nonusers', 'practising social inclusion', and 'a focus on delivery of service to as many people in catchment areas as possible, particularly those who previously felt excluded because of economic circumstances'.

Throughout the interviews, the participants stressed the importance of the 'people-focused principle' of management theories widely advocated over recent decades. This includes cultivating working climates which provide for 'taking people's views on board, not dictating one's own views all the time', and 'listening to people', as 'A culture of consultation and flexibility is most important'. Personal relationships within organizations were seen as important: 'The two most important things about a library culture are delivery of service and inter-staff relations', 'Good, highly trained and motivated staff are important for effective customer care', 'Good training modules should strengthen a culture of service' and 'Inter-staff relations are very important and regular information meetings are needed to encourage those relationships'.

Part of this focus on the well-being of staff was illustrated by comments such as: 'I would be as determined as possible to have a very happy staff', 'I want to have people coming into work in the morning looking forward to working and to what they are doing', and 'The absence of a happy working culture negatively affects the whole organization'. Another core aspect of staff motivation was illustrated by usage of phrases such as: 'People must feel that they are part of the organization and that they can shape it and change it', 'people do not work better because of remuneration; they work far better because of job satisfaction and recognition from seniors', and 'It is nice to know that what you do is appreciated'. Similar sentiments were expressed as: 'Our philosophy here is that you do a good job and then you get credit for it', 'it is hugely important that people feel that what they do is the result of their work', 'I am far more interested in project teams — wherein someone's hierarchical grade is not necessarily important', 'With ownership, the people that are doing something receive credit for it', and 'A sense of devolved ownership is a deliberate core aspect of our culture'.

As well as people-focused priorities, the leaders also prioritized quality of service and methodologies of delivery: 'opening of new service points and developing methods of reaching new customers is important', 'using current resources and infrastructures or through acquiring more resources and developing new structures'. Respondents also emphasize continuity of focus on the basics of traditional library services: 'Staff must love what they are about, which is about books and reading; everything that we are doing is driven towards that, therefore, staff must have a great understanding of books and reading', 'We put a lot of emphasis on maintaining . . . the quality of books in stock', or, in summary, 'our core business is libraries, books, and information'.

5:9.2 Social/Community Role of Library Leaders

Many participants espoused the inclusion of members from all sectors of society, such as, from all socio-economic sectors, of varying literacy levels, and all ages — a widely accepted policy in the literature of public librarianship (e.g., *Branching Out*). Illustrative participant comments include: 'We have a key role to play in terms of social inclusion', 'we are the bastions of social inclusion', and 'We treat everybody the same; that is one thing all public libraries stand for'.

This reflects the findings from the European Commission (1997), which declared that investment in the tools and institutions for developing the information society, such as schools, libraries, and other educational institutions, is required to minimize a gap in social information assets — which might result in growing social tensions, in a society where IT is becoming the dominant technology for industry and for all aspects of social life (1997: 8).

The interviewed librarians affirmed that libraries have a core role in enhancing people's lives, for example, contending that libraries 'can make a difference in people's lives in terms of improving their personal situation, whether that is in a better job, better health, or enhancing their lives generally', and that 'libraries have a key role to play in community life'. The participants also see the library as a contributor to lifelong education 'for people who are unfortunate enough not to have completed high school, those individuals who need the library for more than just recreation'. The quotations in the interview data in the previous chapter include an anecdote illustrating how an Irish researcher in a prestigious American college acknowledged that he 'relied on the library for help to change his future', as he had no domestic support for study when he was a child.

The community's sense of ownership of the service was viewed as an aspect of public service: 'The service is seen as important and people see it as a centre for themselves', 'The library belongs to the community — not to the local authority nor the library staff', and 'It is important for communities to have a strong sense of ownership of their community library'.

The successful engagement of a public library with its social environment was judged to be a strong influence on people's culture: 'If we can empower children in the area to increase their knowledge, we are then going to change their culture' and 'The library has an influence on the outside culture. We help to narrow the gap between the richer and poorer sectors in society'. One comment summarily declared: 'the role of libraries is in adding value'.

A richer sociocultural environment, such as one facilitated by the availability of a local public library service, was also seen as a means of reducing some negative results of social deprivation, such as criminal behaviour: 'Looking at the criminal violence in some inner cities, where there are no social facilities, we can wonder if some of those people might have been changed through better

opportunities and facilities', and 'You only have to look at areas of crime in some urban settings and one tends to think that they are exacerbated by the lack of adequate libraries and the social investment a library can make in areas that are deprived of other amenities'.

A 1994 report on literacy stated that the USA spends many more billions of dollars on policing, prisons, and unemployment than on education (Talan, 1994). The *Borrowed Time?* report from the CoMedia group (1993) in Britain suggests that investing in community actively boost the morale of a society, and is cheaper and more effective than anti-crime projects, custodial sentences and dealing with the effects of family breakdown. CoMedia contends that public libraries help to redress social problems, to repair social damage, and to counterbalance social disintegration. The report also states that public libraries provide sources of continuity for personal identities in the midst of social change — for example, for the elderly, for the unemployed, and for individuals from ethnic minorities — providing islands of order, cleanliness, quietude, and social integration, for example, through reading clubs (CoMedia, 1993: 32-3, 37-8).

The UNESCO *Public Library Manifesto* (1994), the European Commission's *Libraries in the Information Society* (1997), and the Department of the Environment & Local Government's *Branching Out* (1998) all concur that the central goal of today's public libraries is to provide and facilitate access to information for anyone, at any time and anywhere, without any ideological, political or religious form of censorship.

The views outlined above confirm that library leaders are very conscious of being a catalyst for adding value to individual and societal worth. In this sense, public libraries are not just seen to be owned by the public but are also seen as a key contributor to the wellbeing and development of society.

5:9.3 Constraints on Service

When asked *What are the major constraints on your ambitions to develop the service?*, all thirty library leaders agreed that obstacles had to be challenged by all of them: 'No matter where you are, there are constraints, and you could let them stop you from doing things, which is very easy to do'. For illustrative purposes the following headings synopsize the topics discussed throughout the remaining paragraphs of this subsection.

- Lack of resources staffing and financial
- Apathy
- Complexity and volume of portfolios
- Bureaucracy and conservatism
- Changes in management personnel
- Trade unions
- Political constraints and interference
- Lack of time
- Incompetence
- Acceptance of low public profile for librarianship
- Institutional size not allowing for strategic development
- The need to continually remind suppliers and other stakeholders to follow through on an activities.

The first six extracts from the interview data represent many of the comments passed about restrictions on resources: 'The obvious constraint is money as you never have as much as you would like', 'The main constraints are resource provision, and it can be lack of staff and lack of finance, and lack of support from the Department in terms of capital grants for structural development', 'Money, money, money is also a big constraint', 'The traditional constraint is money, money and more money', 'Our ambitions are limited by constant budget reductions', and 'My major constraint right now is the budget'. This reflects Durrance & Van Fleet (1992), who reported that Ron Dubberly, Director of the Atlanta–Fulton Public Library in the United States, indicated that instability of funding is problematic for many libraries and "makes planning exceedingly difficult" (in Durrance & Van Fleet, 1992: 117). The interviewed leaders in this study confirm this finding of Durrance and Van Fleet, as the participants also

confirm that funding limitations do obstruct their attempts at multi-year strategic and routine development of library services.

Restrictions on staff numbers form part of these organizational obstacles: 'Staffing levels are our major constraint', 'There is no slack, especially in the small libraries, so it is very difficult for them to do anything such as helping customers to use computers', 'there is a job freeze in the city council, so we cannot hire staff', 'In comparison to last year, we have at least forty people less, and we are trying to do the same job that we did this time last year', and another librarian who previously had six hundred staff complained, 'We have had major money cutbacks and major staff cutbacks, including the loss of about one hundred positions in the past two years', while another summarized, 'There are other problems but they pale in comparison to the staff cutbacks'.

Bureaucratic restrictions were also articulated: 'It is the wider bureaucracy that determines our culture', 'Leadership in the library service is about how we can bend and shape what is already there to suit us, rather than we being quite free to set the agenda', 'the library's structure and work procedures are very much determined by the . . . department we sit with', 'Increased regulation, and expending resources to fulfil regulations, can constrain service development ambitions', 'Much more is prescribed now', and bureaucratic constraint informed the comment, 'frustration is the issue'.

A relatively low public profile is reflected in the following: 'Librarians do not do enough of a selling job with other local authority departments', 'Public librarians tend to be excessively focused inwards on administering their libraries, at the expense of relating librarianship to the wider community' and 'The library service should have a national profile, but it is quite a low national profile'. Another leader suggests that librarians are defensive: 'we have a bunker mentality' and that organizational horizons tend not to be wide enough in the strategic thinking of librarians.

Interference was reported to impede progress also: 'another major constraint is interference, interference and more interference. You need patience and tenacity to overcome interference', 'A lot of extra time is expended in developing the service when decisions are not politically acceptable', 'Localized political pressures can hamper wider strategic development', 'Private sector people think we are restricted by budget only, and do not realize our political constraints', and in one case, an elected member ordained that the local library leader 'was not going to implement' a particular strategy that the librarian had drawn up.

Other comments referred to time constraints: 'Time is our major constraint. The actual time that it takes to plan and implement change is frustrating', 'there is never enough time in the day or the week to do all the things we want to do', and 'Time and money are our major developmental constraints'. Such situations are made worse where lack of sufficient size is an issue: 'We are not big enough to have structures and staff dedicated to developmental strategies'.

Over two decades ago, Baughman (1980) found that metropolitan library leaders in America were already reporting that an increasing amount of their time was required outside the day-to-day operations and management of their libraries. In the current study, broader portfolios and increased workloads, partly because of staff cutbacks, mean that 'Everybody has too much to do', since 'You can stretch your staff only so far'. Another pressure was having to deal with trade unions, as reported from America in the current study: 'We live in a trade-union environment, wherein we have two labour organizations. This can constrain development ambitions'. Apathy was yet another issue illustrated by comments from American participants to this study: 'Many people need library services, but community officials, legislators, and the general public are not willing to fund the service at the right level', 'Apathy from the general public is a major constraint on library development', 'There is a lack of understanding of what a library is and what it does', and 'There is a lot of apathy here in America today for the public library service; there is a lack of interest; there is a lack of commitment'.

A positive response suggested that, 'the inventiveness of our leadership team does elicit extra funding', and this was reflected by another respondent, who suggested that, 'Constraints can be circumvented by the ingenuity of the librarian'. Competence, however, was not a universal trait, as the data revealed that a very real constraint could be 'a librarian's own lack of ability'. Lack of ability among staff was commented on also: 'Staff incompetence is an issue that frustrates service development' and 'We have staff who have contracts with us who are fairly weak performers, but there is not a lot you can do about them'.

Lack of management continuity was also reported as an obstacle to progressing strategies: 'Changes of management personnel in local authorities can greatly impede library development strategies, because the trust a librarian builds up with an outgoing manager or director has to be built up again with the new incumbent', and 'It is almost like starting from scratch, after building up so much trust'.

Many respondents said that a lack of resources largely sum up the greatest obstacle to service development: 'Financial restraints; that covers everything, including restrictions on staffing'. Strategy and tenacity in leadership was seen as a requisite for continually overcoming a variety of organizational obstacles. A positive outlook was illustrated by the following viewpoints: 'If something has value and is worthwhile, you should be able to win the support of others for it. The case is there to be won, but if you are not positive in your own mind about it, it is going to be very hard to get the resources', 'The constraints that are there for everyone can be minimized by the direction of the leader and how he assesses it', and 'I would be very optimistic about the library service despite all the constraints that we have'.

In summary, despite a litany of constraints on service development reported in the interview findings, the participants were obviously committed and determined to continue serving the ideals of the public service.

5:9.4 Leaders' Medium-term (five-year) Vision for Library Services

When asked for a five-year vision for improving public library services, fifty per cent of interviewees outlined that they would increase or develop their current core services, including developing what they were already engaged in, by maintaining judicious selection of bookstock, increasing book budgets, encouraging nonusers to use the library and by facilitating access to those who have difficulties accessing services, including citizens who are house- or institution-bound. Support for traditional services included: 'My vision would be to continue to do some of the things that we are currently doing, which is to increase library use by people who don't use us', and a cautionary view of the growing focus on technology-based services was also presented: 'There has

been so much push for IT and networks, but we must realize that IT is a support mechanism. People do not want to come in and find the place full of PCs; they want to find books'.

Other examples of five-year ambitions included the marketing of current and new activities, such as the development of outreach activities to attract further attention to library services, as affirmed in the data, for example, by policy statements such as: 'book clubs in libraries are crucial'.

Eleven (37%) of the interviewees reported that they would increase online services. This includes provision of equality of access for all age groups, twenty-four-hour access, digitization of images, and online delivery of digital information. One interviewee spoke of a novel scheme he was about to launch, in a sparsely populated area, where a 'virtual library' with online workstations would open every Wednesday to provide collection/delivery point for items ordered online by library members. Other phrases illustrating medium-term strategies included: 'Improved ICT and a twenty-four-seven service', and 'People have expectations that they will be able to access whatever they want in a format convenient to them'.

Ten participants (33%) indicated that they wished to improve general accessibility to libraries, such as, increased opening hours, online delivery of information, and automated after-hours checkout of popular novels: 'to make the service accessible to all, to make access equitable, that is, to the housebound, to users of the mobile and schools services, and to extend the branch network to places that need it'. Related to the theme of accessibility, five librarians (17%) focused on efforts to contribute to community development, including 'New buildings, new service points, and longer opening hours' for 'better quality of service'. The librarians emphasize the need for the proactive fostering of social inclusion, greater community links and the provision of more reading groups / book clubs.

Eight library leaders (27%) were determined to see an improvement in the staffing of existing services. Suggestions included improved recruiting methods, improved staff ratios to customer numbers, and increased staff training: 'I would start with staff development — by increasing staff numbers, resources and staff training'.

Another cohort of eight interviewees (27%) wanted to see the physical structures of libraries improved. Included in this were suggestions for more meeting rooms; modern, attractive and quality building designs and décor; as well as new library buildings, such as: 'reinventing the library image so that the interior has a modern, contemporary, informal feel', 'We must improve the physical quality to compete with people in the marketplace, as people will judge us on the quality of our buildings', and they argued that 'If people see a dingy, dark library they perceive a dingy, dark service'. Coates (2004), writing in a British context, confirms the latter observation: "Many public libraries throughout the country are drab and dismal. It is as if there were an assumption that any attempt to create an attractive space is a waste of taxpayers' money. Yet it is a far greater waste to offer an unwelcoming service in an unpleasant environment ..." and "the best advertisement for a service lies in the way the building in which it is offered is presented to the public" (2004: 18).

Four interviewees (13%) were determined to heighten visibility or awareness of library services in their medium-term goals, so that libraries would be seen as an essential social resource by politicians, as well as something librarians should continually market to all stakeholders: 'We must raise the profile of the library, which would include better marketing' and 'we need to become more visible in the community'. Other sample goals were that libraries: should survey users and potential users to determine library strategies; should impress on local authority councillors how important libraries are and how very different they are from bookshops; should fight the privatization of knowledge supply; and should continually highlight the public-service aspect of the service.

The above analysis portrays professional librarians who appear to be realists and innovators — (i) realistic, because they focus on maintaining and supporting core library ideals, such as improving staff training and staff ratios, together with improved quality and quantity of bookstock and related resources, and (ii) innovative, because they are determined to embrace technology as an instrument for improving access to, and quality of, greatly expanded library facilities. This reflects the exhortation of Schreiber and Shannon (2001) to library leaders, quoted above in Chapter 2: "Amidst all the innovation, be practical" (2001: 42). These traits, among others, inform the vision of library leaders. The five-year vision of the interviewed leaders in this study underscore a professional approach that endeavours to align realism and idealism. The following subsection analyses the long-term views of the interviewed leaders.

5:9.5 Leaders' Speculations on the Future of Library Services

Finally, stepping into the area of informed speculation, how would you speculate that library services might best be made available to citizens in the year 2050? This was the last research question asked of the thirty library leaders in this study. While the participants' views about the future are, by definition, conjectural, those views nevertheless illustrate informed speculation of likely directions that librarianship might take in the future. Seven (23%) of the respondents articulated concerns for the value of such speculation: 'If you look back at forecasts over the years, they are almost entirely wrong, so I would stay away from forecasting', 'I would be afraid to hazard a guess; the rate of change has been so fast in the past ten years', 'I don't have a lot of faith in predictions', 'I can't jump to 2050', or 'I really cannot project that far into the future'. These doubts about the value of speculation concur with Riggs (1999), who argues that it would be unwise for anyone to expect that they could accurately predict how a library might be even twenty years later. He, nevertheless, suggests, "A compelling vision is necessary in any leader's repertoire" (1999: 7). Examples of these half-century speculative visions tendered by the interviewees in this study will be examined in this subsection.

Twenty-seven interviewees (90%) expressed optimism for the survival of public library services into the middle of the twenty-first century. More than half (57%) of the responding librarians explicitly expressed a belief that the public library would continue to provide important *space* or *premises* to support social or community requirements in the middle of the twenty-first century. Their views endorse the IFLA/UNESCO statements that:

- The public library has an important role as a public space and meeting place.
- It is sometimes called 'the drawing room of the community'.
- Using the public library can be a positive social experience (IFLA/UNESCO 2001: 7).

Recently, Britain's *Framework for the Future* (2003) emphasized the role of public libraries as 'shared spaces' in which people are welcome to engage in a

wide variety of activities. Harris (2003) believes that, in the future, "effective public libraries will need to demonstrate a role in the community cohesion and the generation of social capital", through providing "a place to which people can go, without obligation, threat or constraining expectations" (2003: 26). This reflects Oldenburg (1989), who speaks of 'third places', distinct from home and workplace, that is, neutral places where a visitor is not encumbered by the role of either host or guest. He contends that people who visit casual or informal environments, "without having to plan or schedule or prepare", will have "positive social experiences" (Oldenburg, 1989: 289). Harris (2003) believes that public libraries as public spaces should be more proactive in promoting community cohesion, in 'neighbourhood networks' (2003: 26).

All participants concurred that one of the core purpose of libraries is to assist social cohesion for citizens, a human need which the librarians believe will continue: 'The big issue is the future of the social function of libraries, as an informal meeting place for the public', 'Library visits contribute to social cohesion', 'the social aspect of libraries will dominate', 'People will come together to meet in libraries to exchange information in person', 'The social aspect is very important', 'The social or community side of libraries will be important', and 'Many library services are reinventing themselves, adding cafes, bookshops, and Internet access, so they are becoming more of a social gathering place'. These findings confirm Durrance and Van Fleet (1992), who reported that most of the library leaders they interviewed believe that "the community holds the key to the type of public library services that should be developed and that planning is a valuable mechanism for effectively identifying and responding to community needs" (1992: 33).

Los Angeles City Librarian, Susan Goldberg Kent (1996), argues that, "The recurring theme of the obsolescence of the public library, encountered regularly by most librarians, should be challenged more that ever before". She reports that, since her career in librarianship began in the mid 1960s, librarians have to deal with continual challenges predicting the demise of public libraries — from futurists, technologists, and from elected officials — while most librarians "see a strong future ahead in what will perhaps be the most important era" in the history of the public library (1996: 208).

As referred to above, participants in this study emphasize the library as place, or as a physical structure, to serve the social aspects of library service. Other illustrative quotations on this view include: 'The number one trend is: library is place', 'Libraries as social and cultural centres will still be important', 'library spaces will survive', 'The public space will always be needed by society', and public space will survive provided librarians and leaders keep reminding local authorities that libraries are visible signs of the local authority'. Other comments from the data include: 'Yes, the library will survive as a place', 'In 2050 the library will be a place and people will continue to physically go there', 'people will continue to have library buildings that will constitute community space', and 'a library as place should still be there'. Still more views affirming a belief in the survival of the public library as space include: 'One of the librarian's roles is in providing social space and this will become more and more important as the library will become the most important community meeting place', and 'Part of the attraction of the service that should help it to survive is because libraries are seen as neutral spaces and librarians are seen as neutral agents, in the sense that people can choose to use or not to use the service of librarians'.

Some of the library leaders speculated that libraries in the future will occupy part of larger community buildings: 'libraries will be *part* of a space rather than just a space solely devoted to a library service', and 'there will be a mix of portable electronics in the home and elsewhere, and community based facilities which will be located alongside a range of other leisure activities'. As well as that, within the library service, the library premises will be only part of the library's overall service: 'There will be two library spaces: a virtual and actual space'.

Only three (10%) of the interviewees believed that the public library service might not survive to the middle of the twenty-first century: 'I am not convinced that public libraries will still be there', 'I am not so sure that libraries will be there', 'I am not overly optimistic about the future of virtual community services', and 'I can't see public libraries being there in 2050. I think they are going to last for my ten remaining working years'. Incidentally, these rather pessimistic views on the future survival of public libraries were articulated by three British librarians.

Twenty-one (70%) of the interviewed librarians speculate that books will continue to be published, particularly fiction books, even if nonfiction sources

might rely more on electronic media. The following sample extracts illustrate this point of view: 'Fiction will always be in the form of a book', 'I firmly believe that books will always be there', 'The novel as a medium will prevail, but I don't see it being disseminated electronically', 'The intimacy of the book will always remain', 'I believe books will be there in another five decades', 'more and more books are being published', 'The book will survive without a doubt', and 'I believe the book is secure'. For one respondent, the survival of the book underlies the survival of libraries, because, 'Clearly, our core public purpose is to provide books'. Another librarian suggested that it is books that will continue to bring people into libraries: 'Books should still be in libraries, and they will provide the excuse for people to initially go to the library'.

Two (7%) librarians, however, expressed doubts about the survival of book publishing in paper format: 'The library's focus on books is already declining, and by 2050 the book may be gone', and 'Maybe there won't be books?'. These views contradict those expressed by the other twenty-eight librarians. The literature is also mixed about this speculation. Irish writer, Anthony Cronin (2000), when interviewed on radio, made a strong case in favour of the printed book:

Let's face it, the book as physical object has a hell of a lot going for it which nothing else has going for it. It requires no wires, no batteries. It won't break down on you. If you sit on it, you don't irreparably damage it. You don't need earphones. You can take it on a bus and nobody else is conscious of your communication with this thing. You can drop it on the floor and you are not breaking any valves or anything. You can take it to bed with you and you can take it into the bath with you, in a way you can't take computers and things. The book has a hell of a lot going for it. If it was invented now it would be regarded as the greatest invention of all times (Cronin, 2000).

Reflecting Cronin's argument, Gorman (2001) asserts: "People like books. Production, sale and use of books have all increased steadily for many years and show no signs of diminishing". He adds, "It is arguable that the most successful, user-friendly, inexpensive information medium of the late 20th century is the mass market paperback" (Gorman, 2001: 6).

Many of the interviewed librarians suggest that both paper and electronic formats of books will coexist: 'maybe we will have this big split where we will have the book for recreational reading, and all the knowledge and information sources will be through IT', 'I am fairly sure that electronic books will be an option for nonfiction. I am not sure about electronic fiction books. How can you

sit on the beach or especially in the bath with a piece of electrical equipment that might kill you?' and, 'books will continue to be available alongside electronic media'. Regardless of paper or electronic formats, views also pointed to the survival of the core practice of reading: 'the balance of formats will change, the delivery will change, but the thing we do need to hang on to is the core principle behind reading provision', because 'Unless we do that, there is a risk that the provision of reading material could become privatized'. Kent (1996) suggests that the public library's primary goal of providing "equity of access to information and the world of knowledge", can be looked at from three perspectives: "the library as a physical, architectural place; the library as a terminus on the information into knowledge" (1996: 209).

De Klerk and Deekle (1993a) found many assertions in the literature heralding the replacement of "older communications media, libraries, and other traditional learning resources". These predictions parallel a growing sense of uncertainty among administrators and librarians (1993a: 2). De Klerk and Deekle (1993b) reported on a survey, of academic officers and library directors in more than two hundred and fifty colleges and universities, which predicts: an increased demand for prompt and responsive information service; problems of information overload; and, a corresponding need for greater discretion and selectivity of resources. They also see a growing need for librarians to assist communities when dealing with the electronic-based information (1993b: 42-3). The literature also supports arguments suggesting that public libraries will be increasingly needed to help people to adapt to accelerating change, and to cope with evolving lifestyles. Munitz (2000), for example, argues, "Increasingly, employed workers will require additional education to keep pace with the rapid changes in the work environment", and he adds that the "distinctions between educational and the world of work or between instruction and the world of leisure and entertainment are increasingly artificial" (Munitz, 2000), therefore, the established library roles of providing support for educational/instructional, leisurely and professional pursuits should underpin an increasing need for library services to communities. Reflecting these needs, Williams (2001) argues that it will be important for library leaders to understand that "learning will remain a very human process; that transforming information into knowledge and wisdom will remain a personal struggle; that learning and creating new knowledge [will continue to be processes that are] human and personal" (2001: 159).

Fifteen (50%) of the interviewed librarians surmised about particular technological developments in the library service — such as digitization, e-books, remote delivery of books/data, new 'virtual library' (i.e., online) services, and on-demand downloading: 'The electronic side of libraries will change dramatically; people should be able to have books in an electronic format at the snap of their fingers through the phone', but, as one librarian summarized, 'The jury is still out on electronic books'. William Birdsall (1994), in his book, *The Myth of the Electronic Library*, also predicts that libraries will have new demands made on them by society:

• Librarians should not accept the inevitability of a technologically dominated information society.

• The library will continue to serve as a crucial social institution providing a place for social interaction, communal and cultural authenticity, and sensory and intellectual stimulation

• Librarians should be identified with a broad concern for the collection, organization, and dissemination of knowledge rather than a narrower focus on information.

• Librarianship's commitment to client self-sufficiency should be promoted in the context of the library serving as a bridge between community and individualism, reinforcing ligatures and providing options with the social objective of promoting life chances for all members of society (Birdsall, 1994).

O'Brien (2004) affirms that it is librarians, in their traditional role as "information brokers", who are used as consultants to technicians who are grappling with design systems to "manage the flood of information on the net", as both librarian and technician "know they share the same goal: disseminating knowledge to as wide a group as possible" (2004: 6). This reflects Birdsall's (1994) views on the new and additional roles that librarians should play in society's future.

* * *

The findings of the current study confirm Crismond & Leisner's (1988) telephone survey on nine public library leaders, that the common goal of librarians was to make public libraries "an integral part of the intellectual, cultural, and social life of the community, serving all segments of the population" (1988: 122). The majority of librarians in the current study argued that a need for buildings as a social space should survive and that such premises should continue to be provided for library or library-associated services. These premises are expected to survive and thrive alongside the 'on-demand' delivery of library services to homes and alongside the electronic downloading of data to customers to wherever they happen to be. As librarians believe that people in the future will continue to have similar library-related requirements as those of people in the past, the librarians interviewed for this study are largely optimistic about the long-term survival and development of public library services.

5:10 Summary

The overall findings in the current study provide an insight to a professional leadership that portrays a largely positive outlook on their current and projected future profession. The broad focus of the study is on the theme of leadership. Arguably, much of the participants' replies discussed management rather than leadership. This reflects the findings of Osborne (1996), who reported that chief librarians in Ontario were evaluated more positively on competence than with respect to vision, interpersonal relations, and creativity. In the current study, participants placed a strong emphasis on communication, people-centred leadership, interpersonal relationships, encouraging staff commitment, eliciting co-operative work practices, and on commitment to the ideals of public librarianship — most of which are concerned with both management and leadership.

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1.	"Leadership takes precedence over all other factors in determining organizational success"
	(Tichy & Cohen, 1997). Do you agree?
2.	Do you believe that the organizational <i>culture</i> of your overall library service is largely determined by the leader?
3.	What aspects of the organizational culture of your organization do you regard as most important?
4.	What contribution are you most proud to have made to your organization?
5.	How would you describe your style of leadership?
6.	What qualities are most required by leaders in the field of public librarianship in general?
7.	In your opinion, what are the worst traits/practices of a bad leader in public librarianship?
8.	(i) Do you consider yourself to be a role model for your staff?(ii) If yes, how does playing a role model influence your own behaviour?
9.	Do you think a leader's personal integrity (as a role model) is important for leading staff?
10.	What links do you see between leadership and trust?
11.	Should leaders act as emotional/psychological supporters of staff? If yes, why?
12.	Do you regard Teaching as one of the responsibilities of a leader? If yes, to what extent?
13.	Do you tolerate/encourage dissent?
14.	Do you hold formal meetings with staff? If yes, how frequently?
15.	Does a leader's power, isolationism, and autonomy prevent him/her from receiving direct feedback or positive criticism from staff? (Kaplan et al.)
16.	What are the major constraints on your ambitions to develop the service?
17.	How might future public library leaders be nurtured in the organization?
18.	What are your general views on communication within an organization? Should a leader involve himself/herself with direct communication with frontline staff?
19.	Do you think chief librarians should have a high profile in news media?
20.	Would you authorize heads of departments to speak to the news media?
21.	Do you encourage all heads of departments to participate in the formulation of policy?
22.	What major effect has automation made on leadership?
23.	Do you believe leaders should endeavour to occasionally meet staff on <i>social</i> occasions? If yes, what hierarchical levels should leaders socialize with?
24.	In your view, what influence (if any) has a leader's gender on role of leadership?
25.	Did you have a mentor in your earlier career? If yes, what was the gender of the mentor, and what influence had the mentor on you?
26.	Briefly, what is your vision for improving public library services within the next five years?
27.	What prompted you to take up a career in librarianship?
28.	Why do you remain in the career of librarianship?
29.	Have you any additional comments on leadership that you would like to add?
30.	Finally, stepping into the area of informed speculation, to the mid-21 st century: How would you speculate that library services might best be made available to citizens in 2050?