

3 Leadership in the European context

Some queries

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INTRODUCTION

The last decade has seen the rapid development of a leadership literature concerned with leaders as transformers or visionaries (Bass 1985; Bennis and Nanus 1985; Burns 1978; Kouzes and Posner 1987; Tichy and Devanna 1986). This literature contrasts with that of the preceding three decades which emphasized the importance of leader behaviour, particularly behaviours concerned with initiating structure and consideration (Fleishman 1953; Stogdill and Coons 1957). Both of these major theoretical developments, transformational and transactional leadership respectively, have been the creation of American academics working within US cultural perspectives. Indeed leadership research can be taken as the exemplar of American academic hegemony over a topic area in the social sciences.

The purpose of this chapter is to re-examine both of these models of leadership paying particular attention to the fundamental assumptions implicit in them. Those fundamental assumptions are then compared with US cultural values identified in cross-cultural studies. These cultural values are then contrasted with those of groups of European countries. This contrast indicates that the US models do not necessarily travel well. Europe, with its more evident diverse cultural paradigms, seems to require different models of leadership. Some preliminary models of leadership in the European context are derived. These alternative models suggest a research agenda which offers the opportunity to examine different models of leadership rather than merely looking for supporting data for the American models.

MODELS OF LEADERSHIP: TRANSACTIONAL

Transactional models are grounded in a belief in the importance of the leader in achieving higher performance. In the simplest forms of this theory followers are regarded as 'potential productives' to be energized and brought to their full capacity by appropriate forms of leader behaviour. In 'situational leadership', one of the most used theories of leadership in a training context, different productive capacities and stages of development among followers

are recognized (Hersey and Blanchard 1977). These differences require flexibility of leadership style if the leader is to develop fully his or her followers through his or her interventions.

Implicit in this range of models is a belief that full utilization of followers' productive capacity cannot be achieved through the exercise of whatever power and authority is invested by the organization in the leader. On the contrary, it is held that optimal productivity and performance levels require not only the consent of the followers but their wholehearted commitment. Those beliefs in the limitations of leader power and the need to win follower commitment are crucial underpinnings to the theory of transactional leadership.

Insofar as situational leadership focuses on the followers it regards followers as capable of developing to the point where they achieve psychological and job maturity at which stage they are able and willing to perform productively while receiving relatively little initiating or consideration behaviour from their leader. This final stage of development for followers implies that they achieve a state where they are fulfilled by exercising their discretion in their tasks within the guidelines established by the leader. The model assumes that the natural goal of followers is to achieve as much independence as possible from the leader by taking responsibility for themselves and their tasks and exercising their own judgement in discretionary situations rather than relying on the judgement of their leader. (It also serves to reinforce the conception of the leader as someone who is time pressured and thereby benefits by being able to delegate freely to followers. That assumed concern with time and the need to 'free it up' is a further example of a fundamental assumption.)

Although one commonly refers to a singular leader and followers in the plural, a more accurate depiction would be that of a singular follower. Transactional theory, based on contingent models of leadership such as path-goal theory (House 1973; House and Mitchell 1974) and situational leadership (Hersey and Blanchard 1977) emphasizes the individuality of each follower and the need for flexibility of behaviour on the part of the leader to respond to each individual. This approach is summed up in the dictum 'different strokes for different folks' (cf. Harris 1973). Leader behaviour is not directed immediately towards groups but rather to the individual personalities which comprise those groups. This model implies that the relationship between the follower and the leader is more significant to the follower than the relationship between the leader and the group or between follower and follower. In the workplace followers are assumed to be individualistic, needing personalized attention and a one to one relationship with the leader. The importance of the group or team with which the leader must interact is seen as secondary, compared with the individual follower-leader relationship.¹

Finally, the transactional model presumes a trade or an exchange. Leaders' contribution to the exchange is to provide those behaviours which they

perceive are wanted and needed by their followers. The followers' contribution is that they provide the productive performance which the leader seeks. If the leader is perceptive about his or her followers and skilful in his or her deployment of behaviours each follower is expected to respond accordingly. It is not assumed in this model that leaders want any reciprocating behaviours from their followers. The objective of leaders in this transaction is materialistic in terms of the achievement of performance targets. As Fiedler and Chemers argue:

The leadership role or function involves the motivation, direction, supervision, guidance, and evaluation of others for the purpose of accomplishing a task. . . . The effectiveness of a leader is usually measured on the basis of ratings given by immediate supervisors or, whenever possible, by measuring the performance of the leader's group'.

(Fiedler and Chemers 1984: 4)

Effective leaders are those who achieve higher levels of performance. Different versions of transactional leadership place different emphasis on the appropriate mixes of initiating and consideration behaviours. These emphases vary from the prescriptive early models of Blake and Mouton (1964) to more complex contingent models of the kind proposed by Fiedler (Fiedler 1967; Fiedler and Chemers 1984). These differences do not alter the assumed objective of the leader. The objective remains that of maximizing productive performance. The appropriate sets of behaviours are simply means to an end.

The underlying assumption then is that of the importance of materialism, of productive achievement. Effective leadership is to be judged by its impact on performance. The quality of the leader-follower relationship is only an issue in relation to its impact on performance. Any impact is confined to the follower. The quality of the relationship is not seen as having value to the leader.

MODELS OF LEADERSHIP: TRANSFORMATIONAL

Transformational leadership shares some but not all of the above underlying assumptions. The mechanism for achieving performance has now become the leader's skill in creating and communicating a vision which links leader and followers to behaviours which enhance organizational effectiveness. The leader's skill in choosing and deploying behaviours which enhance follower performance has now been replaced by the leader's skill in securing 'buy-in' to his or her vision. The assumption that leader power and authority on its own is insufficient to secure wholehearted follower commitment and performance remains.

Followers are assumed to contribute most strongly when the vision touches more than their simple self-interest. Instrumental calculative behaviour and its attendant reward systems is overlaid but not replaced by the engagement of values and emotions. Followers respond most strongly when transformational

leadership is linked to empowerment. In these circumstances the follower's discretionary capacity in relation to performance and judgement is given maximum scope subject only to the guidance provided by the vision. Again the underlying assumption is that of an individual follower whose full productive potential can only be utilized when the follower is placed in situations requiring analysis, evaluation and decision. It is assumed that, prior to the espousal of transformational leadership and empowerment, the individual had been inhibited from optimal performance by organizational pressures including leadership style.

Transactional and transformational leadership diverge most sharply on the issue of whether the leader interacts with the individual or the group of followers. Transformational leadership emphasizes the role of the vision as a means of uniting the collective, followers and leader, in a team devoted to the vision's achievement. Indeed it may be suggested that when the vision has been communicated successfully the followers will continue to strive to achieve it even after the leader's departure. It may be further argued that leaders who are adjudged by the group as having deviated from the vision risk expulsion from the team. This emphasis on the collective role in achieving and, in some circumstances, shaping the vision and on the leader's relationship with the whole group distinguishes transformational from transactional leadership.

The underlying assumptions reflect a stronger belief in the importance of group norms and dynamics including that of pressure and support from colleagues in pursuit of a common end. It also implies that the personal relationship between leader and follower is less important than the common identification with and commitment to the vision.

The final point of comparison between the two models concerns the leader's objectives in establishing a relationship with his or her followers. Again it seems that the objective is that of improving the organization's competitive performance by raising follower performance. We appreciate that some leaders, in embarking on this quest, see themselves as empowering their followers and attach positive values to that process. None the less, the two models seem to be quite close. Leadership is valued as a means of achieving greater productivity rather than as a means of enhancing the relationship between leaders and followers or between followers and followers.

AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES AND THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

To what extent are the underlying assumptions of the largely American transactional and transformational leadership models a cultural artefact? In order to address this question we need to be able to identify the key facets of American (US) culture and then to distinguish these American cultural values from those more typical of various European countries. In order to do this we

will utilize the well established model of four key cultural dimensions proposed by Hofstede (1980) after an extensive empirical study. In doing so we are cognizant of the criticisms which have been levelled against his work (Westwood and Everett 1987), but believe it offers a robust framework for some initial investigations.

From his large database of 116,000 IBM respondents over two time periods Hofstede derived four key dimensions of cultural difference from a factor analysis: power distance; uncertainty avoidance; individualism–collectivism; and masculinity–femininity. His data allowed the individual country scores for 40 countries to be located on each of the four dimensions. Table 3.1 displays the scores for the USA together with the maximum, minimum, and mean scores for each dimension.

Table 3.1 The scores of the USA on Hofstede's dimensions of cultural difference

	<i>USA</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Power distance	40	94	11	51
Uncertainty avoidance	46	112	8	64
Individual/collectivism	91	91	12	51
Tough/tender minded	62	95	5	51

Source: (Hofstede 1980: 315)

The power distance index measures 'the extent to which the members of a society accept that power in institutions and organizations is distributed unequally' (Hofstede 1985: 347). The USA emerges as a country in which the inequalities are restricted and where the inequalities are subject to a degree of challenge and questioning. This is consistent with a situation where the exercise of power and authority by leaders will have limited effectiveness, because the power itself is limited and because followers may question its exercise. That questioning is likely to be greater the greater the power that it is attempted to exercise.

The uncertainty avoidance index reflects 'the degree to which the members of a society feel uncomfortable with uncertainty and ambiguity, which [then] leads them to support beliefs promising certainty and to maintain institutions protecting conformity' (Hofstede 1985: 347–8). High uncertainty avoidance could manifest itself in close rule observance, high preference of employment stability and avoidance of stress. Followers in such a society might be expected to prefer highly structured, stable work environments in which discretion was exercised elsewhere. The USA emerges as significantly more tolerant of uncertainty than average, i.e. as one where individuals may prefer less structured situations in which they can exercise their discretion.

Individualism stands for 'a preference for a loosely knit social framework in society in which individuals are supposed to take care of themselves and their immediate families only' in contrast to collectivism which stands for 'a preference for a tightly knit social framework in which individuals can expect

their relatives, clan, or other in-group to look after them, in exchange for unquestioning loyalty' (Hofstede 1985: 348). Of the 40 countries covered in Hofstede's original research the USA emerged as the most individualistic. In the work setting this high level of individualism is associated with a strong calculative approach to employment and a lack of identity with the organization. In the USA context it might be associated with a willingness to switch employment to obtain better rewards and a sense of the importance of the individual, even in the setting of the total organization.

The masculine-feminine dimension distinguishes those cultures which emphasize 'achievement, heroism, assertiveness, and material success' (masculine) from those (feminine) which emphasize 'relationships, modesty, caring for the weak, and the quality of life' (Hofstede 1985: 348). The USA is above average on the masculine side of the dimension.

These individual cultural values could be aligned with the underlying assumptions of transactional and transformational leadership. The level of correspondence seems high. The relatively low power distance scores are consistent with the assumption that the leader lacks sufficient power or respect to obtain wholehearted assent by simply commanding it. The US data suggest that leaders are not accorded sufficiently high degrees of support or respect to make that a viable course of action in most instances.

The relatively low score for uncertainty avoidance is consistent with the assumption that employees desire discretion over their work without too close supervision. It is also consistent with the view that leaders expect and support such desire because it matches their own cultural expectations.

The individualism/collectivism index with its very high individualism score seems to support the notion that leaders and followers have a one to one relationship rather than a one to group relationship. This degree of match seems closer for transactional rather than transformational leadership. The latter models offers vision as a means of providing direction to each individual in the organization so that he or she can use his or her discretion while striving towards the organization's objectives. Again it may be regarded as significant that each individual is assumed to need a sense of direction. By implication that sense of direction will not be given by interaction with the group.

Finally, the assumed objective of both models of leadership is that of greater performance. Such an objective is consistent with the masculinity score recorded for the USA. It is also consistent with the suggestion that the leader-follower relationship is not valued in its own right but only as a means to an end.

Although these levels of correspondence are individually intuitively persuasive they should not be viewed in isolation. To understand the significance of cultural values it is necessary to do more than examine the individual components, attention must be paid to the whole picture.

A more holistic approach would recognize the overall direction given the high level of individualism, the lower levels of uncertainty avoidance and

power distance, and the higher masculinity score. Altogether these values emphasize the importance of the individual in charge of their own destinies, responsible for themselves and their actions, determined to produce outcomes favourable to themselves, a country where 'a man's gotta do what a man's gotta do'. Presented in such stark fashion values may be regarded as little more than cultural stereotypes. Certainly most US citizens would differ from the average picture presented here.

Yet the overall impact is that of a society which will emphasize the role and significance of the individual within the organization and the wider community. From this it is not fanciful to suggest that the society will invest the leader role with greater importance, greater responsibility than would a less individualistic society. Indeed US society may 'romanticize' the role of leaders precisely because such individuals are seen as personifying society's values rather than because of the 'real' contribution which the leader makes (Meindl *et al.* 1985; Meindl and Ehrlich 1987).

EUROPEAN CULTURAL VALUES

The second part of our argument is to examine different sets of cultural values within Europe and to consider their possible impact on societal perceptions of and approaches to leadership. If transactional and transformational models of leadership are representations of American culture, might different models be required in other cultures?

In examining European cultural values one cannot regard Europe as a homogeneous unit. Europe is very diverse in its cultural values between different countries and, in some instances, within the same countries. Some of the tensions implicit in these differences are reflected in the current breaking up of larger states in Eastern Europe into their component parts. For the purposes of this analysis three small clusters of European countries have been identified and analysed. The clusters reflect similarities in their cultural values (Table 3.2). These clusters are Anglo (United Kingdom, Ireland); Scandinavian (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden) and Mediterranean (France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey) and are shown in Figure 3.1.

Anglo cultural values: their implications for leadership

The Anglo cluster, which could be extended beyond Europe to include Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, contains countries which resemble the cultural characteristics of the USA. These countries score low on the power distance and the uncertainty avoidance index, very high on individualism and high on masculinity. In these circumstances it is not unreasonable to suppose that transactional and transformational models of leadership would have greater application and acceptance in these countries. The underlying assumptions of the models 'fit' the cultural values of the societies...

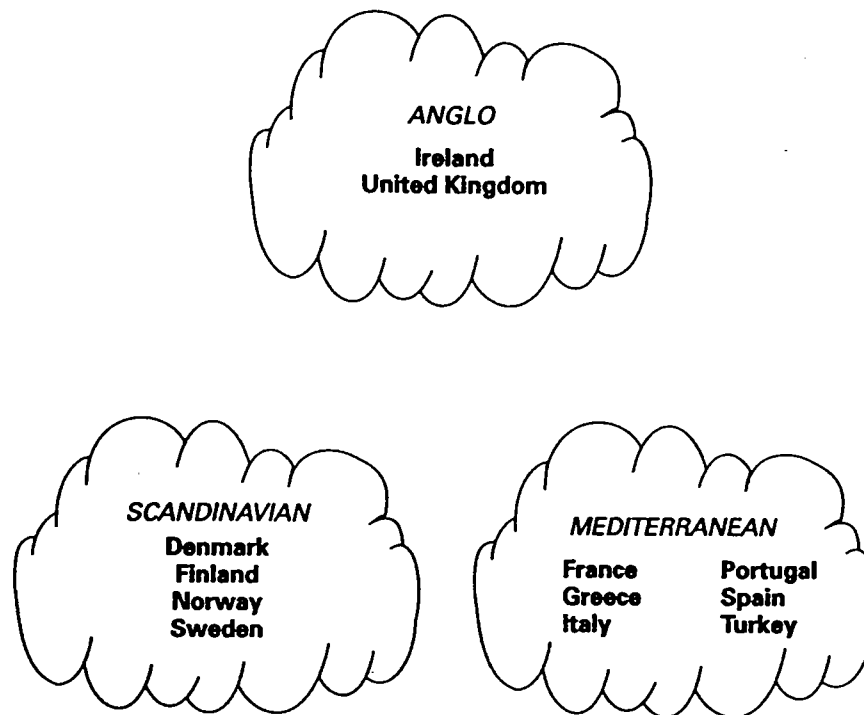


Figure 3.1 Selected country clusters in Europe

Table 3.2 Scores of selected countries on Hofstede's cultural dimensions

Country	Power distance	Uncertainty avoidance	Individualism/collectivism	Masculine/feminine
<i>Anglo</i>				
UK	35	35	89	66
Ireland	28	35	70	68
<i>Scandinavian</i>				
Denmark	18	23	74	16
Finland	33	59	63	25
Norway	31	50	69	8
Sweden	31	29	71	5
<i>Latin/Mediterranean</i>				
France	68	86	71	43
Greece	60	112	35	57
Italy	50	75	76	70
Portugal	63	104	27	31
Spain	57	86	51	42
Turkey	66	85	37	45
USA	40	46	91	62

Source: Hofstede 1980: 315

Scandinavian cultural values: their implications for leadership

The Scandinavian cluster have power distance scores which range from very low to low, uncertainty avoidance scores which are low to moderate, individualism scores which are high and masculinity scores which are very low. In relation to uncertainty avoidance these scores do not seem significantly different to those of the 'Anglos'. The power distance scores, on average, are lower as are the individualism scores although the differences are not great. The greatest difference between the Anglos and the Scandinavians is on the masculinity/femininity dimension with the Scandinavians vastly more feminine.

The difference on this dimension is so marked that it shifts the whole orientation of Scandinavian society. In the same way that the very high individualism and masculinity scores in the USA affects the whole approach to leadership so, it is argued, does the low masculinity score of the Scandinavian cultures. The low masculinity score suggests major concerns with the quality of working relationships and with the quality of life, at work and outside. The power distance and uncertainty avoidance scores indicate that commitment has to be won, it cannot be taken for granted and that many employees would like to exercise greater discretion in their working lives. The high individualism scores in Scandinavian cultures will be reflected in a strong separation between work and personal life and a belief that the former should not interfere with the latter. It will not be associated with competitive behaviours in the way it is in Anglo cultures because of the different orientations to materialism and achievement.

In Scandinavian societies the development of semi-autonomous work teams might seem a logical extension of organizational structures in the scope it provides to improve the quality of working life and of relationships in the workplace. It would also be consistent with moves towards greater forms of industrial democracy and worker participation. Such involvement would be regarded as valuable in its own right. Leaders are more likely to be seen to be effective in their ability to foster good working relationships and to encourage harmony and cooperation in their workplace.

The contrasts with Anglo cultures are very stark. In Anglo cultures proposals for greater industrial democracy are much more likely to be debated in terms of their potential contribution to greater performance rather than as being important in themselves. Anglo experience with joint consultation and employee involvement has been mixed. Part of the explanation for this may be that Anglos, when consulted or involved, expect, because of their high masculinity scores, to shape the final outcomes. If views differ about appropriate final outcomes the result is conflict. In Scandinavian cultures the purpose of consultation is to provide involvement, not necessarily to shape the decision. Involvement is valued in its own right and not simply as a means to an end (i.e. determining the final decision). In Anglo cultures effective leaders are those 'who can make it happen' where 'it' is performance. If, in

making it happen, relationships are damaged that may be accepted as the necessary price to pay. Social consensus and harmony are much less valued. Consequently their non-achievement is more easily accepted. In contrast, in Scandinavian cultures a leader who simply emphasized greater materialism and productivity would be operating outside the cultural norms and would risk the rejection that that implies.

Mediterranean cultural values: their implications for leadership

The Mediterranean cluster presents a much sharper contrast with each of the other two clusters although there are also some significant differences within the cluster. The power distance scores are moderate to high. All the countries in the Mediterranean cluster have much higher power distance scores than in either of the other clusters. These moderate to high scores suggest societies in which inequalities of power and influence are greater and in which these differences are accepted. In such societies leaders are more likely to be able to influence their followers because of their position. There will be less necessity for leaders to seek follower commitment through providing appropriate behaviours and rewards or via the creation of a shared vision.

The uncertainty avoidance index provides another key differentiator. The Mediterranean cluster share scores which range from high to very high. This indicates a much lower tolerance of uncertainty and ambiguity, a strong preference for operating within structured environments. A critical part of the role of the leader in such cultures may be to act as a buffer or an insulator; absorbing the shocks and uncertainties of the environment and replacing them by structure and order.

As the business environment becomes more internationalized, as the pace of change grows more rapid and the forces of international competition develop further the degree of uncertainty and ambiguity affecting societies is increasing dramatically, perhaps even exponentially. In such circumstances either the underlying cultural values must change to enable the burden of adjustment to be more widely shared among members of the society or the role of the leader is going to assume more and more importance. This growing importance may be manifested in an insulating replacement of complexity and ambiguity by simplicity and certainty so that the leaders undertake the task of determining the nature and scale of the changes required to respond to the external pressures.

Alternatively the growing importance of leadership may be evident in more subtle processes in which the leader interprets and explains the external changes and their consequent internal effects to their followers. The role of the leader is that of providing meaning and perception so that the new developments may be integrated into the existing culture to form a new synthesis. This role would be consistent with Schein's observation that 'the unique and essential function of leadership is the manipulation of culture' (Schein 1985: 317).

In relation to individualism/collectivism the Mediterranean cluster seems to contain two sub-groups. France and Italy have high individualism scores similar to those of the other two clusters. Greece, Portugal and Turkey have high collectivism scores. Spain falls between these two sub-clusters.² In the French and Italian cases the individualism may reflect itself in a greater sense of individual choice, a stronger feeling of calculative involvement with organizations so that loyalty has its bounds. Its impact on leaders may be that followers feel free to switch loyalties in the event of leaders' failing to meet follower expectations. In the Italian case the analysis may be complicated by marked regional differences within the state.

In the case of Greece, Turkey and Portugal the high collectivism scores are likely to produce quite different patterns. The relationship of the individual with the group including the leader is much stronger. There is less scope for the individual to decide to opt in or out. Employing organizations may be family-owned concerns employing significant numbers of family members and others who closely associated with the family. The involvement with the organization and its leaders will carry an emotional or moral overtone which in turn reinforces the high power distance score but extends to include the concept of reciprocal obligation. The leader is not free to leave the relationship. Nor may the leader decide not to offer leadership. The relationships would not permit such an opt out. It would not be acceptable within such a culture for the leader to share or delegate the burden of decision-making to his followers. Such an act is likely to be seen as negation of leadership rather than a positive step towards empowerment. Employment patterns of this kind may also exist in France and Italy where family-run concerns are supportive of collectivist values.

With the clear exception of Italy the Mediterranean cluster have moderate femininity scores. Italy ranks as moderate to high on masculinity. This preference for femininity is not as marked as in the Scandinavian case but it is quite different from the Anglo cultures. If the masculine/feminine dimension can be taken as an indicator of the kinds of outcomes valued by societies it suggests that successful leaders in the Mediterranean cluster will be those who maintain cohesion and take care of all members of the group, not just the successful ones. The high power distance and high uncertainty avoidance scores do not admit an option of achieving these goals through teamwork and devolved responsibility. It will be seen as the leader's responsibility to achieve the desired state of affairs. Using the same logic in the case of Italy would suggest Italian leaders may be judged more heavily on their capacity to meet the materialistic needs of their followers.

Overall the Mediterranean cluster of cultures shares a higher power distance and uncertainty avoidance index but differ in regard to individualism/collectivism and masculinity/femininity. The shared characteristics suggest a greater role for leadership and greater demands on that leadership. Where those features are also associated with moderate collectivism and femininity the effect is to emphasize the importance of the quality of relations, the

significance of reciprocal obligation, and the need to maintain cohesion. In those instances where the scores indicate more individualistic and masculine cultures it would suggest a more calculative materialistic emphasis to the evaluation of leadership.

CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

In this chapter we have sought to argue that different cultures will conceptualize leadership quite differently according to the values of that culture. One consequence of this proposition is that models of leadership are culturally specific. Transposed to incompatible cultures the models will either be seen as irrelevant because they ignore locally significant processes and values or, if adopted, will be understood and manipulated in ways different to those of their native culture.

Among the significant cultural differentiators in respect of leadership are the measures by which leader success is adjudged. At its most stark that may reveal itself as a division whereby in masculine cultures leader success is a function of material improvement while in feminine cultures leader success may be judged by the quality of relations and the maintenance of harmony and cohesion. One research area would be to investigate the ways in which different cultures measure leader effectiveness.

Another issue concerns the perceived power and authority of leaders and the extent to which follower attitudes are related to perceptions of that power and authority. Recent theoretical developments in regard to leadership have underplayed the significance of power and authority almost to the extent of regarding leadership through the exercise of power as illegitimate. Such value judgements are typical of low power distance cultures. Such judgements may also obscure a real appreciation of the processes and forces at work in high power distance cultures. Possible avenues of research could include the degree of congruency between leaders and followers in regard to the former's power and authority, the processes by which power and authority may be enhanced or diminished, and the relationship between perceptions of leader power and employee attitudes of commitment, identification and compliance.

It is axiomatic of much current management literature that employees must be empowered (Block 1987) if organizations are to compete effectively in what Tom Peters alliteratively and evocatively describes as the 'nanosecond nineties' (Peters 1992). Such empowerment is pragmatically adjudged a necessary condition of success, it is seen as 'right', in accord with society's values, and it is seen as being desired by employees. The latter group, it is recognized, may take some persuading to exercise their new discretion in the light of previous organizational practice but, once they trust the new policy, their cooperation and engagement will be forthcoming. It is possible, probable that the whole empowerment doctrine is the product of low power distance, low uncertainty avoidance, individualistic, and masculine cultures which see it as a means of gaining a competitive advantage. In such cultures

it may yield a competitive advantage, appealing as it does to the society's core values. It is also possible that such proposals would be less enthusiastically received in cultures with different cultural values. One is tempted to draw parallels with the generally disappointing performance of quality circles when they were adopted wholesale in US and UK firms. Again, some interesting lines of research and investigation offer themselves. How tolerant are organizational members of uncertainty and ambiguity? To what extent is leadership welcomed and looked for? How comfortable are individuals acting on their own initiative?

Much of Anglo management interest of the last decade in organizational cultures has been concerned with ways of providing direction without management, with gaining employee loyalty and commitment and performance, with achieving a competitive edge. Strong organizational cultures may be seen as attempts to reverse the calculative self-interest of an individualistic society, to create a new sense of identity, to establish a new set of norms, to forge a new set of self-controls to replace the organizationally inspired controls which were failing to provide the desired level of competitive performance. Such concerns are real and strong appropriate organizational cultures may meet them within certain societies. One of the implications of this chapter is to cast doubt on their appropriateness to other different cultures.

Finally, some caveats are probably in order. We have chosen to focus our analysis on the level of country clusters rather than on the level of individual countries. Partly this is the result of space limitations, but more seriously because we believe that culture is not neatly coterminous with the existing geographical, political and legal boundaries of countries within Europe. We would argue that while there may be differences between countries within clusters it is the larger differences in core value orientations *between* clusters which are likely significantly to impact leader and follower behaviours. This is not to deny, however, the existence of cultural differences between countries in our clusters or, indeed, to ignore the cultural heterogeneity *within* many of the countries discussed.

We have also used the four-dimensional framework from Hofstede as a convenient heuristic device, both to identify key differences in cultural values between our country clusters and to begin to hypothesize about potential differences in leadership. Our usage does not imply uncritical acceptance of his analysis or imply that there are not other key cultural dimensions or differentiators.

We also realize that much more research needs to be done to support our tentative analysis. Our initial literature review has, as yet, revealed little written on leadership in specific European cultures and what does exist is often nothing more than the testing of American models with European data. We have also failed to find 'indigenous' theories of European leadership. This may be partly due to the hegemony of American models, but may also be because 'leadership' is not seen as such a salient concept in Europe; or is seen

as salient but in another guise and under another label; or because it is not 'romanticized' in the same way as it is in American culture.

We have already noted during this chapter areas in which further research could develop and here would simply reiterate the necessity of further research work which focuses on leadership in a European context, on European interpretations of leadership functions, on the relations between leaders and followers in different cultural contexts, and on the symbolic aspects of leadership as a social construction.

NOTES

- 1 It should be noted, however, that this was not always the case with earlier theories of leadership. Bryman (1992) notes that one of the major characteristics of the Ohio approach was that subordinates' rankings of their leaders using instruments such as the LBDQ (Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire) were aggregated and averaged to produce group-level descriptions of the leader. In redressing the criticism of the absence of situational specificity, one may suggest that the more recent contingency theories have increasingly focused attention on individual followers, environmental conditions and task characteristics at the expense of group dynamics.
- 2 One possible explanation of these differences might be the extent of industrialization. High collectivism scores in Europe tend to be correlated with larger agricultural sectors.

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