

LEADERSHIP, MORAL DEVELOPMENT, AND CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR

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Abstract: This paper suggests that different styles of leadership arouse different sorts of normative motivation among followers, and these diverse motivational sources in turn are associated with different forms of participant contribution to organizational success. Three interrelated clusters of leadership styles, normative motivation of followers, and organizational citizenship behavior are described. Leadership that appeals exclusively to followers' self-interests is associated with pre-conventional moral development and dependable task performance. Leadership styles focusing on interpersonal relationships and social networks are associated with followers' conventional moral development and work group collaboration. Transforming leadership that both models and nurtures servant leadership abilities is associated with post-conventional moral development and responsible participation in organizational governance.

Inducing constructive contributions from participants in collective entities and enterprises has long been a concern of political philosophers and organizational scholars. The role leaders potentially play in inspiring or otherwise motivating the behavior of followers has received special attention. Building on the observations of Burns (1978) and Greenleaf (1977) that leaders have the potential of enhancing the moral development of followers, this paper proposes theoretical linkages between a range of well-known styles of leadership behavior, three paradigmatic levels of moral reasoning, and three forms of participant contribution, also called organizational citizenship behavior (OCB).

The first section of the paper offers brief overviews of research on varieties of OCB and levels of moral development. In the second section these typologies are related to each other and also to a range of styles of leadership. The paper concludes with an assessment of the contradictory potential of charismatic leadership.

Theoretical Background

Varieties of Participant Contribution

Over the long term, successful organizations benefit from a variety of forms of participant contribution which vary in motivational impetus (Katz, 1964; Organ, 1990). Three distinctive types of contribution—displayed in Figure 1—are dependable task accomplishment, work group collaboration, and civic virtue (Graham, 1991a).

FIGURE 1

VARIETIES OF PARTICIPANT CONTRIBUTION
TO ORGANIZATIONAL SUCCESS:
ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR

Dependable Task Accomplishment

Regular on-time attendance
Reliable effort expended on both quality and quantity of output
Efficient use of resources
Compliance with rules and instructions
Common sense handling of unforeseen contingencies

Work Group Collaboration

Sharing information, tools, and other resources
Helping to train and socialize newcomers
Assisting those with heavy workloads
Responding flexibly to disruption
Representing the group favorably to outsiders

**Civic Virtue: Constructive Participation in
Organizational Governance**

Keeping informed about current (and potential)
issues of organizational importance
Attending nonrequired meetings
Giving decision makers timely information and input about
organizational policy or practice
Providing reasoned arguments for proposed changes
Listening to other points of view

Sources: Adapted from Graham (1991a), "An Essay on Organizational Citizenship Behavior," and Organ (1988), *Organizational Citizenship Behavior: The Good Soldier Syndrome*.

Dependable task accomplishment includes the basics of regular on-time attendance, reliable effort expended on both quality and quantity of output, efficient use of resources, and common-sense handling of unforeseen contingencies. All these behaviors concern individual task performance and are familiar indicators of the hard-working employee who is attentive to detail and responsive to instruction.

A second category of contribution—work group collaboration—differs from the first by focusing on interpersonal cooperation in the workplace (Kohn, 1986). Illustrative behaviors include sharing information, tools and other resources with others, helping newcomers and those with heavy workloads, representing the group favorably to outsiders, and responding flexibly to inconveniences occasioned by others' mistakes. These cooperative behaviors reflect a generosity of spirit and loyalty to the group as a whole. While theoretically distinct from the task-focused behaviors in the first category, work group collaboration presumes that the individual's assigned task is also performed reliably.

Dependable task accomplishment as well as work group collaboration have long been identified as examples of participant contributions necessary for organizational success (Katz, 1964), and about a decade ago began to be termed "organizational citizenship behavior" (Bateman & Organ, 1983; Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983). Reference to the term "citizenship," however, also suggests a third form of contribution, civic virtue, or constructive participation in organizational governance (Graham, 1986). This form of OCB is less obvious and more controversial than the other two (Graham, 1991a), but also has been described as the most admirable form (Organ, 1988:13). It includes keeping informed about issues of organizational importance, attending nonrequired meetings, giving decision-makers timely information and input about organizational policies and practices, providing reasoned arguments for proposed changes, and listening to other points of view. Such behaviors assume a capacity for independent critical analysis and may require moral courage to deliver bad news or defend a minority point of view.

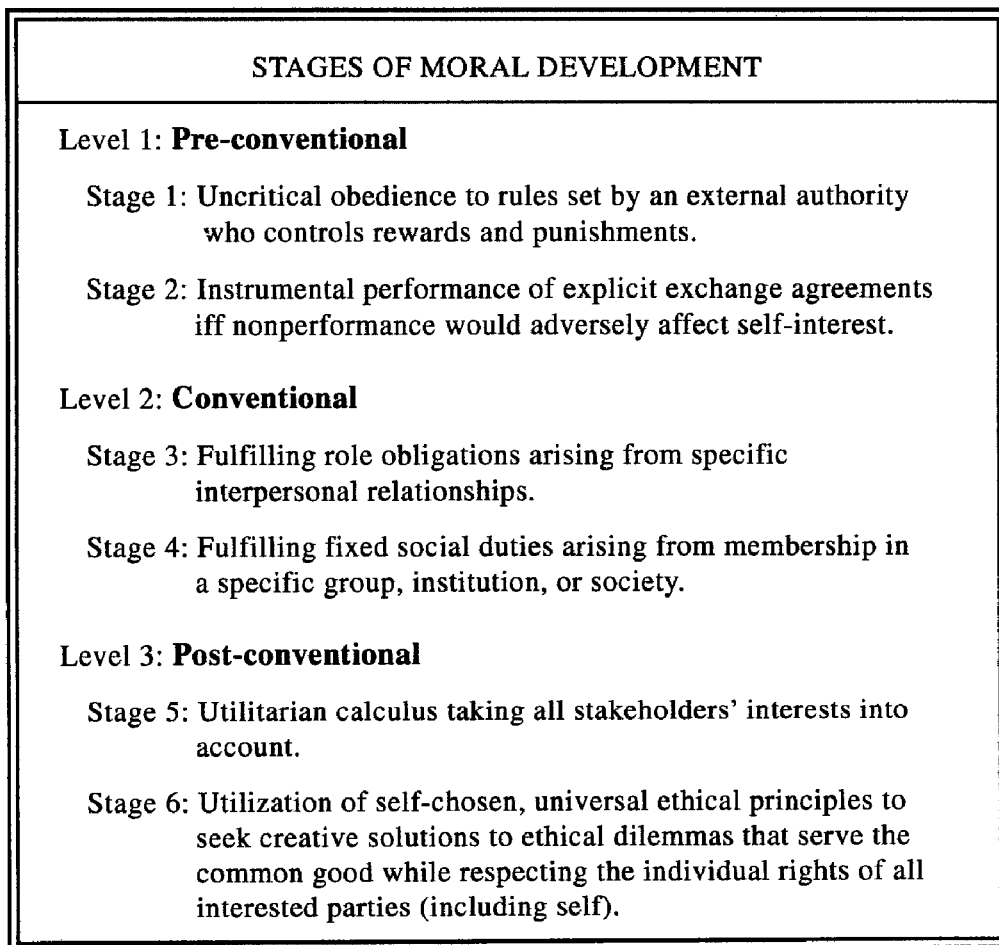
The three categories of participant contribution are theoretically distinct, and in general each builds on the previous one. However, conflicts are conceivable between civic virtue and the other forms of contribution. For example, if a worker feels that a work instruction is unwise or unethical, s/he may refuse to comply with it while appealing to a higher authority for clarification and/or correction of the order. Thus, while responsible participation in governance has long been recognized as a vital contribution of active citizens (Inkeles, 1969), and can also play an important role in helping organizations to stay up-to-date and avoid wrongdoing, it may be seen as inconvenient or even threatening by those who put a premium on individual task accomplishment and/or smooth-running group collaboration. As a result of ambivalent or even hostile attitudes toward civic virtue, motivating participants to contribute in that particular way may pose the greatest challenge.

Varieties of Normative Motivation

The motivation to contribute to organizational success varies across persons, situations, and types of contribution, but has long been analyzed in terms of the rewards (or inducements) associated with specific forms of contribution (e.g., Simon, 1952). One way to broaden the discussion of motivation is to rephrase the question, "What makes a behavior worth doing?" to "What makes the behavior good?" This normative approach to motivation does not ignore the traditional rewards-centered approach; but rather situates the logic of pay-offs along a continuum of cognitive moral development.

Developmental psychologists have identified several levels of moral reasoning (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Kohlberg, 1969, 1976), and all have limits. A summary of the logic used at each level is shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2



Sources: Adapted from Carol Gilligan (1982), *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, and Lawrence Kohlberg (1969), "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," and (1976), "Moral Stages and Moralization: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach."

At the earliest level of development—preconventional morality—morality is defined solely in terms of what an unquestioned authority figure (e.g., parent, teacher, soldier, boss) declares to be right and wrong. Right action is that which buys favor from the authority figure, thereby protecting or enhancing self-interest. This makes preconventional morality essentially instrumental in character. As such, it contains no restraint on unbridled egotism, on the one hand; and, on the other, no basis for independently assessing the morality of authoritative pronouncements. For a preconventional moral reasoner, “I was just following orders” is an adequate moral defense for any behavior, no matter how outrageous.

The second level—conventional morality—moves away from individual authority figures to social systems of rules and responsibilities. The focus of moral concern broadens from protection of personal interests to performance of social duties. While these obligations may be articulated by individual spokespeople, they have authoritative force because the hearer takes seriously his or her identity as a member of a social group with cultural traditions and normative expectations; the member is loyal to the group. Such loyalty, however, can give rise to groupthink, the uncritical acceptance of majority opinion (Janis, 1972). Gilligan's (1982) analysis of female moral development identifies another danger of conventional morality: the potential for imbalance caused by an abdication of self-interest by those who devote themselves entirely to the needs and interests of others.

Both the first and second levels of moral reasoning have the advantage of simplifying moral decisions by relying on external authorities to distinguish right from wrong. The third level—post-conventional morality—moves from external definitions of morality (be they determined by individual authority figures or social convention) to independently arrived at principled beliefs that are used creatively in the analysis and resolution of moral dilemmas. When an individual moves from the relative passivity of levels one and two to become an active subject at level three, the limitations of the other levels of moral reasoning are overcome: respect for and careful balancing of all interests avoids both excessive attention to or abdication of self-interests; and independent analysis and moral courage counteract the threats posed by uncritical reliance on a single authority and/or groupthink. Such efforts are complex and time-consuming, however, and presuppose a mature and well-balanced personality. Some leadership styles have what Burns (1978: 41) describes as an “elevating power” that may both provide a model for and help to nurture the personal development of followers that is necessary to post-conventional morality.

Clusters of Leadership, Normative Motivation, and OCB

While leadership surely is not the only determinant of the moral reasoning capacity of followers, the example that leaders set, the encouragement they provide, and the inspiration they offer arguably can influence followers' moral development in a variety of ways. In this section of the paper, a range of well-known leadership styles is related to the levels of moral reasoning and OCB that were described earlier. An overview of the proposed relationships is provided in Figure 3.

FIGURE 3

LEADERSHIP STYLES ENCOURAGING VARIOUS LEVELS OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND OCB AMONG ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERS			
Leadership Style	Level of Moral Development	Moral Referent(s)	Additional Form of OCB
Pre-Conventional			
Autocratic or Coercive Leadership	Uncritical obedience to external authority	Authoritative rules and instructions	Dependable task accomplishment
Path-Goal or Transactional Leadership	Instrumental compliance with exchange agreements	Enforcible contracts and job descriptions	
Conventional			
Leader-Member Exchange and Consideration	Meet interpersonal role obligations	Personal relationship with supervisor	Work group collaboration
Institutional Leadership	Fulfill social duties from group membership	Cultural expectations	
Post-Conventional			
Transforming or Servant Leadership	Utilitarian calculus Discern and apply universal principles	Costs and benefits for all stakeholders Principles of justice	Constructive participation in organizational governance

Cluster I: Dependable task performance can be induced by incentives and the instrumental moral imperative of pre-conventional moral reasoning. Leadership that assists followers in understanding the connection between their contributions to the organization and the personal consequences of their acts will

strengthen followers' normative motivation to perform the specifics of their assigned tasks. Leaders can not only clarify but also enforce these connections. If the emphasis is on positive outcomes of subordinate action, such leadership can be described as clarifying path-goal relationships (House, 1971). If the emphasis is on negative outcomes of subordinate (in)action, such leadership can be described as autocratic or coercive (Greenleaf, 1978). Neutral terms include initiating structure (Stogdill & Coons, 1957) and transactional leadership (Bass, 1985). These leadership styles all have in common an emphasis on influencing subordinate behavior by connecting it to specific rewards and/or punishments. They are based on an operant conditioning (or perhaps expectancy) model of behavioral psychology (Sims, 1977).

Command and control leadership is likely to be most effective for subordinate behaviors that are concrete and specifiable in advance, such as regular on-time attendance, reliable effort expended on quantity and quality of output, and compliance with work rules—all examples of dependable task accomplishment. While convenient for management in the short run, such ready obedience provides no check on the possibility of unethical rules or instructions; authority is obeyed without question.

Cluster II: Work group collaboration—helpfulness, generosity, and cooperation—is less amenable to command and control methods of leadership than dependable task performance because the description and timing of desired behaviors are difficult to specify in advance. Since cooperative behavior is more a way of life than a set of discrete acts capable of assignment, monitoring and reward, leadership that establishes and nurtures ongoing interpersonal relationships and their related social roles is likely to be important for work group collaboration. For example, leader consideration (Stogdill & Coons, 1957; Bass, 1985) and cultivation of vertical dyadic exchange between leaders and favored subordinates (Dansereau, Graen & Haga, 1975) may engender interpersonal loyalty and a moral obligation to fulfill or exceed role expectations above and beyond the promised payoffs for dependable task performance. On a more impersonal basis, institutional leadership or “organizational statesmanship” (Selznick, 1957) may help to create and sustain an organizational culture with strong norms of role performance and supererogatory contribution. Several OCB studies have found evidence connecting leader attributes such as trustworthiness and fairness with subordinate altruism/cooperation, but a different set of causal factors for obedience-type OCBs (e.g., Farh, Podsakoff, & Organ, 1990; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990; Smith et al., 1983). In these studies it appears that leadership helps create strong interpersonal and/or social relationships that broaden self-interest to include service to a dyad or group, thereby giving rise to social norms that favor cooperation as well as personal industry.

The dedication to duty and generosity engendered by conventional moral reasoning is less self-serving than the instrumental ethic of preconventional morality, yet it too has its limits. While Gilligan's (1982) analysis of conventional morality focuses on women and family relationships, an analogous imbalance is conceivable within organizations: the organization man's [sic] workaholicism, for example, may entail sacrificing self-interest to organizational goals to an extent that is not only generous but potentially self-destructive.

Cluster III: Constructive participation in organizational governance avoids the extremes of both chronic complainers agitating exclusively for selfish interests (operating from a pre-conventional morality) and docile acquiescence to groupthink or unhealthy altruism (operating out of conventional morality). Selfishness and naive gullibility are both lessened when people are empowered to engage in high level moral reasoning that assesses and balances interests of all stakeholders in terms of universal moral principles. Leadership that models and encourages post-conventional moral reasoning has been termed "transforming" (Burns, 1978) and "servant leadership" (Greenleaf, 1977). Burns describes transforming leaders as "rais[ing] the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and led" (Burns, 1978: 20) in terms of "near-universal ethical principles of justice such as equality of human rights and respect for individual dignity" (p. 42). Greenleaf (1977) describes servant leadership as focusing on the highest priority needs of those being served, both within and outside an organization. As a practical test for this form of leadership, Greenleaf asks:

. . . do those served grow as persons; do they, *while being served*, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants? *And*, what is the effect on the least privileged in society; will he benefit, or, at least, will he not be further deprived? (Greenleaf, 1977: 13-14)

Drake and Baasten (1990, pp. 4-6) identify three things leaders can do to elevate moral dialogue. First, they can legitimate it by engaging in it themselves, making it clear they are open to conversations about the ethics of their own, as well as organizational, policies and practices. Second, leaders can demonstrate concern for a wide range of stakeholders of the organization. At a moral minimum, this requires that organizational actions benefit, or at least not harm, all stakeholder groups. Finally, leaders can encourage diversity and dissent to "prevent complacency and encourage continued learning by all parties" (Drake & Baasten, 1990, p. 5). By these means leaders can nurture high level moral reasoning and the practice of civic virtue in the workplace.

Charismatic leadership: Until recently, organizational scholars writing about charismatic leadership and its variants have emphasized its capacity to motivate performance beyond expectations (e.g., Avolio & Bass, 1988; Bass, 1985, 1988; Conger & Kanungo, 1987, 1988). Its inspirational quality has been associated with follower trust in the correctness of the leader's beliefs, unquestioning acceptance of the leader, willing obedience to the leader, and emulation of the leader (House, 1977). What is troublesome is that such a perspective on charismatic leadership neglects the moral hazards involved when "people abdicate responsibility for any consistent, tough-minded evaluation of the outcomes of specific policies" (Katz & Kahn, 1978: 545). It would appear that charismatic leadership, as traditionally understood, encourages pre-conventional moral reasoning with its blind faith in the authority of the (charismatic) leader. It is not surprising, then, that Bass (1985: 20) counts Hitler among history's most charismatic/transformational leaders.

Happily, several recent articles on charismatic leadership (e.g., Graham, 1988 & 1991b; Howell, 1988; Howell & Avolio, 1992) have addressed questions such as, "What safeguards the morality of the ends and means advocated by a charismatic leader?" (Graham, 1991b: 105). Howell & Avolio (1992) distinguish be-

tween “ethical charismatics” and “unethical charismatics.” The former are inspiring leaders who

develop creative, critical thinking in their followers, provide opportunities for them to develop, welcome positive and negative feedback, recognize contributions of others, share information with followers, and have moral standards that emphasize collective interests of the group, organization, or society. (Howell & Avolio, 1992: 44).

Howell & Avolio’s (1992) ethical charismatics, Burns’ (1978) “transforming leaders,” and Greenleaf’s (1977) “servant leaders” all describe leader-follower relationships that focus on the ideals of service and growth. In servant-led organizations, serving the needs and interests of all participants is part of the purpose and normal functioning of the enterprise, and opportunities for wide participation in discussions about policies and practices provide the means for that end. The consequence of such organizational ends and means is an ethically elevating climate that frees participants from the need to guard self-interest without regard for the cost to others (in the manner of pre-conventional morality), or to subordinate self-interest entirely to group interests or organizational goals (as is possible with conventional morality). Instead participants, encouraged by servant leaders, are responsible both for informing others of their own needs and interests, *and for inquiring about those of others*—the object being to serve in a balanced way all those needs and interests that do not violate moral injunctions such as not harming others. Integrative solutions are devised to resolve conflicts—for example, by applying universal moral principles behind a Rawlsian (1971) veil of ignorance (of which interests are one’s own)—so that some interests are not systematically favored over others. The role of the transforming/servant leader is to envision, espouse, facilitate, and model this process.

Conclusion

That servant leaders encourage others to engage in high level moral reasoning is significant for several reasons. First, impartial application of universal principles to resolve moral conflicts and dilemmas balances self-interest with equal concern for others’ interests. This has the effect of calling forth reserves of emotional and physical energy to serve the common good.

But that is not all. For who determines what the common good is? Should leaders—even servant leaders—presume to have infallible insight into what best serves the common good of all? If that position be accepted, where are the safeguards against leaders who would disguise their personal interests in the attractive garb of the common interest, thereby neglecting, or even harming, the interests of other stakeholders? It is here that the second significant role of post-conventional moral reasoning and the civic virtue associated with it are critical. Followers are encouraged to do their own thinking, not to accept the moral definitions espoused by powerful or otherwise appealing authority figures. Selfishness and gullibility are both lessened when people are empowered to engage in high level moral reasoning. Servant leaders serve their followers best when they model and also encourage others not only to engage in independent moral reasoning, but also to follow it up with constructive participation in organizational governance.

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