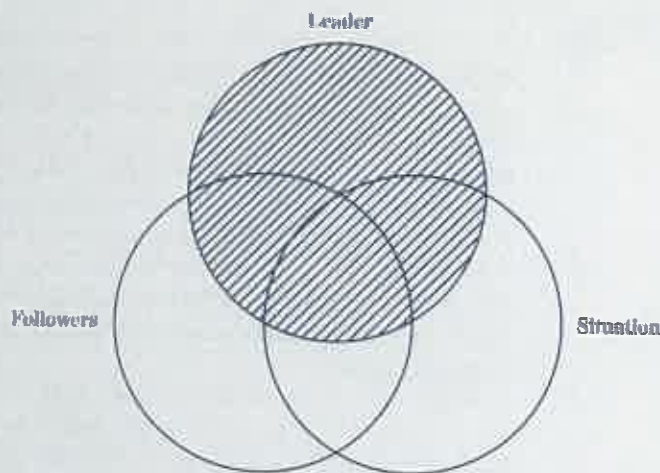# Focus on the Leader

Part 2 focuses on the leader. The effectiveness of leadership, good or bad, is typically attributed to the leader much more than to the other elements of the framework. Sometimes the leader is the only element of leadership we even think of. One great leader's views were clear enough about the relative importance of leaders and followers:

> Men are nothing; it is the man who is everything. . . . It was not the Roman army that conquered Gaul, but Caesar; it was not the Carthaginian army that made Rome tremble in her gates, but Hannibal; it was not the Macedonian army that reached the Indus, but Alexander.

> Napoleon

Because the leader plays such an important role in the leadership process, the next three chapters of this book review research related to the characteristics of leaders and what makes leaders effective. Part 2 begins with this chapter about power and influence because those concepts provide the most fundamental way to understand the process of leadership. Chapter 5 looks at the closely related issues of leadership values, ethics, and character. In Chapter 6 we consider what aspects of personality are related to leadership, and in Chapter 7 we examine how all these variables are manifested in effective or ineffective leader behavior.

Chapter

4

Power and Influence

Introduction

We begin **Part 2** by examining the phenomenon of power. Some of history's earliest characterizations of leaders concerned their use of power. Shakespeare's plays were concerned with the acquisition and failing of power,[1] and Machiavelli's *The Prince* has been described as the "classic handbook on power politics."[2] Current scholars have also emphasized the need to conceptualize leadership as a power phenomenon.[3,4] Power may be the single most important concept in all the social sciences,[5] though scholars today disagree over precisely how to define power or influence. But it's not just scholars who have different ideas about power. The concept of power is so pervasive and complex that each of us probably thinks about it a little differently.

What comes to *your* mind when you think about power? Do you think of a person wielding enormous authority over others? Do you think of high office? Do you think of making others do things against their will? Is power ethically neutral, or is it inherently dangerous, as Lord Acton said? ("Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.") Do you think a leader's real power is always obvious to others? What sorts of things might enhance or detract from a leader's power? What are the pros and cons of different ways of trying to influence people? These are the kinds of issues we explore in this chapter.

Some Important Distinctions

Power has been defined as the capacity to produce effects on others[6] or the potential to influence others.[7] Although we usually think of power as belonging to the leader, it is actually a function of the leader, the followers, and the situation. Leaders have the potential to influence their followers' behaviors and attitudes. However, followers also can affect the leader's behavior and attitudes. Even the situation itself can affect a leader's capacity to influence followers (and vice versa). For example, leaders who can reward and punish followers may have a greater capacity to influence followers than leaders who cannot use rewards or punishments. Similarly, follower or situational characteristics may diminish a leader's potential to influence followers, such as when the latter belong to a strong, active union.

The fact that power is not merely a function of leaders is reflected in the continuing research on the use of power in organizations. In addition to ongoing research examining the negotiation of power dynamics within and across organizations,[8] other research has examined power relationships between shareholders and governance boards[9] and power related to gender (a topic we examine in more detail later in this chapter) in entrepreneurial relationships.[10]

Several other aspects of power are worth noting. Leaders do not need to actually exercise power in order to bring about its effects. (See Profiles in Leadership 4.1.) Thus merely having the capacity to exert influence can often bring about intended effects, even though the leader may not take any action to

Michael Dell

PROFILES IN LEADERSHIP 4.1

The problem of having power you didn't know you had and might not even want.

It's hard to imagine anyone not recognizing the name Michael Dell. As founder of the computer company Dell, Inc., he created one of the most profitable computer companies in the world, with annual sales of up to $50 billion. Michael Dell has also become one of the wealthiest people in the world with a 25th place listing on the *Forbes* rich Americans list in 2013 and an estimated worth of $15.9 billion. In July 2007 *USA Today* published its ranking of the 25 most influential business leaders in the last 25 years. Number 17 on this list was Michael Dell.

With just $1,000 in his pocket, Dell started PC's Limited in 1984. From his university dorm room Dell started building and selling personal computers from stock computer parts. In 1988 PC's Limited changed its name to Dell Computer Corporation and had an initial public offering (IPO) that valued the company at roughly $80 million. By 1992 Dell Computer Corporation was listed on the *Fortune* 500 list of the largest companies in the world, making Dell the youngest CEO ever to head a *Fortune* 500 company.

One of this book's authors worked with Michael Dell in the early 1990s (and wishes he had bought stock). He was chatting with Michael and describing the problems that can happen in large organizations when the leader has a lot of personal or referent power. Michael said, "Oh, I'm learning about that. We've even got a name for that problem. We call them, 'Michael saids'."

Here's an example of a "Michael said." One afternoon, Michael was walking around the plant and stopped to ask one of the assembly employees how things were going and what could be done to make things better. The assembler said that things were great but that occasionally there was some confusion with a particular electronic component (let's call it a resistor). Sometimes the resistors were red and sometimes they were green, and the red ones looked like another component. The assembler suggested that this problem could be eliminated if this particular resistor came only in green. Michael said that seemed like a reasonable solution and passed that information along to the people who bought resistors from the suppliers.

Six months later, Michael was having a meeting in his office when someone knocked on the door. It was a frazzled person who said he was terribly sorry to interrupt but there was a crisis down in manufacturing and production was about to stop. "Why?" asked Michael. The messenger said that the supplier of green resistors had a problem and the only resistors they could get were red and they couldn't use the red resistors. "Why not?" asked Michael. The messenger looked sheepishly at his feet and passed along the bad news. They couldn't use the red ones because "Michael said we could only use green resistors."

While referent and expert power may be good to use, as Dell and others have found out, there can be a potential downside of which you might not even be aware.

influence his or her followers. For example, some months after the end of his term, President Dwight Eisenhower was asked if leaving the White House had affected his golf game. "Yes," he replied, "a lot more people beat me now." Alternatively, power represents an inference or attribution made on the basis of an agent's observable acts of influence.[11] From this perspective, power is never directly observed but rather attributed to others on the basis and frequency of influence tactics they use and on their outcomes.

Many people use the terms *power, influence,* and *influence tactics* synonymously,[12] but it is useful to distinguish among them. Influence can be defined as the change in a target agent's attitudes, values, beliefs, or behaviors as the result of influence tactics. Influence tactics refer to one person's actual behaviors designed to change another person's attitudes, beliefs, values, or behaviors. Although these concepts are typically examined from the leader's perspective (such as how a leader influences followers), we should remember that followers can also wield power and influence over leaders as well as over each other. Leadership practi-tioners can improve their effectiveness by reflecting on the types of power they and their followers have and the types of influence tactics that they may use or that may be used on them.

Whereas power is the *capacity* to cause change, influence is the degree of actual change in a target person's attitudes, values, beliefs, or behaviors. Influence can be measured by the behaviors or attitudes manifested by followers as the result of a leader's *influence tactics*. For example, a leader may ask a follower to accomplish a particular task, and whether or not the task is accomplished is partly a function of the leader's request. (The follower's ability and skill as well as access to the necessary equipment and resources are also important factors.) Such things as subordinates' satisfaction or motivation, group cohesiveness and climate, or unit performance measures can be used to assess the effectiveness of leaders' influence attempts. The degree to which leaders can change the level of satisfaction, motivation, or cohesiveness among followers is a function of the amount of power available to both leaders and followers. On one hand, leaders with relatively high amounts of power can cause fairly substantial changes in subordinates' attitudes and behaviors; for example, a new and respected leader who uses rewards and punishments judiciously may cause a dramatic change in followers' perceptions about organizational climate and the amount of time followers spend on work-related behaviors. On the other hand, the amount of power followers have in work situations can also vary dramatically, and in some situations particular followers may exert relatively more influence over the rest of the group than the leader does. For example, a follower with a high level of knowledge and experience may have more influence on the attitudes, opinions, and behaviors of the rest of the followers than a brand-new leader. Thus the amount of change in the attitudes or behaviors of the targets of influence is a function of the agent's capacity to exert influence and the targets' capacity to resist this influence.

Leaders and followers typically use a variety of tactics to influence each other's attitudes or behaviors (see Highlight 4.1 for a description of some nonverbal power cues common to humans). Influence tactics are the overt behaviors exhibited by

The true leader must submerge himself in the fountain of the people.
V. I. Lenin, Leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution

Gestures of Power and Dominance

HIGHLIGHT 4.1

We can often get clues about relative power just by paying attention to behaviors between two people. There are a number of nonverbal cues we might want to pay attention to. The phrase **pecking order** refers to the status differential between members of a group. It reminds us that many aspects of human social organization have roots, or at least parallels, in the behavior of other species. The animal kingdom presents diverse and fascinating examples of stylized behaviors by which one member of a species shows its relative dominance or submissiveness to another. There is adaptive significance to such behavioral mechanisms because they tend to minimize actual physical struggle and maintain a stable social order. For example, lower-ranking baboons step aside to let a higher-status male pass; they become nervous if he stares at them. The highest-status male can choose where he wants to sleep and whom he wants to mate with. Baboons "know their place." As with humans, rank has its privileges.

Our own stylized power rituals are usually so ingrained that we aren't conscious of them. Yet there is a "dance" of power relations among humans just as among other animals. The following are some of the ways power is expressed nonverbally in humans:

Staring: In American society, it is disrespectful for a person of lower status to stare at a superior, though superiors are not bound by a similar restriction. Children, for example, are taught not to stare at parents. And it's an interesting comment on the power relationship between sexes

that women are more likely to avert their gaze from men than vice versa.

Pointing: Children are also taught that it's not nice to point. However, adults rarely correct each other for pointing because, more than mere etiquette, pointing seems to be a behavior that is acceptable for high-status figures or those attempting to assert dominance. An angry boss may point an index finger accusingly at an employee; few employees who wanted to keep their jobs would respond in kind. The same restrictions apply to frowning.

Touching: Invading another person's space by touching the person without invitation is acceptable when one is of superior status but not when one is of subordinate status. It's acceptable, for example, for bosses or teachers to put a hand on an employee's or a student's shoulder, respectively, but not vice versa. The disparity also applies to socioeconomic status; someone with higher socioeconomic status is more likely to touch a person of lower socioeconomic status than vice versa.

Interrupting: Virtually all of us have interrupted others, and we have all been interrupted ourselves. Again, however, the issue is who interrupted whom. Higher-power or status persons interrupt; lower-power or status persons are interrupted. A vast difference in the frequency of this behavior also exists between the sexes in American society. Men interrupt much more frequently than women do.

Source: D. A. Karp and W. C. Yoels, *Symbols, Selves, and Society* (New York: Lippincott, 1979).

one person to influence another. They range from emotional appeals, to the exchange of favors, to threats. The particular tactic used in a leadership situation is probably a function of the power possessed by both parties. Individuals with a relatively large amount of power may successfully employ a wider variety of influence tactics than individuals with little power. For example, a well-respected leader could make an emotional appeal, a rational appeal, a personal appeal, a legitimate request, or a threat to try to modify a follower's behavior. The follower in this

situation may be able to use only ingratiation or personal appeals to change the leader's attitude or behavior.

At the same time, because the formal leader is not always the person who possesses the most power in a leadership situation, followers often can use a wider variety of influence tactics than the leader to modify the attitudes and behaviors of others. This would be the case if a new leader were brought into an organization in which one of his or her subordinates was extremely well liked and respected. In this situation, the subordinate may be able to make personal appeals, emotional appeals, or even threats to change the attitudes or behaviors of the leader, whereas the new leader may be limited to making only legitimate requests to change the attitudes and behaviors of the followers. And finally, as if figuring out relative status isn't enough of a problem, when working globally, the various rules and customs of cultures often clash. Michelle Obama discovered this in 2009 when attending a social function at Buckingham Palace for the G20 conference. While posing for pictures, Obama reached out and patted Queen Elizabeth on the back, a nonverbal message that was unheard of and apparently seen as inappropriate to many. For further insights into the complexity of exercising power when working globally across cultures, see Highlight 4.4, later in this chapter.

Power and Leadership

We began this chapter by noting how an understanding of power has long been seen as an integral part of leadership. Several perspectives and theories have been developed to explain the acquisition and exercise of power. In this section we first examine various *sources* of power. Then we look at how individuals vary in their personal *need* for power.

Sources of Leader Power

Where does a leader's power come from? Do leaders *have* it, or do followers *give* it to them? As we will see, the answer may be both . . . and more.

Something as seemingly trivial as the arrangement of furniture in an office can affect perceptions of another person's power. One vivid example comes from John Ehrlichman's book *Witness to Power*.[13] Ehrlichman described his first visit to J. Edgar Hoover's office at the Department of Justice. The legendary director of the FBI had long been one of the most powerful men in Washington, D.C., and as Ehrlichman's impressions reveal, Hoover used every opportunity to reinforce that image. Ehrlichman was first led through double doors into a room replete with plaques, citations, trophies, medals, and certificates jamming every wall. He was then led through a second similarly decorated room into a third trophy room, and finally to a large but bare desk backed by several flags and still no J. Edgar Hoover. The guide opened a door behind the desk, and Ehrlichman went into a smaller office, which Hoover dominated from an impressive chair and desk that stood on a dais about six inches high. Ehrlichman was instructed to take a seat on a lower couch, and Hoover peered down on Ehrlichman from his own loftier and intimidating place.

On a more mundane level, many people have experienced a time when they were called in to talk to a boss and left standing while the boss sat behind the desk. Probably few people in that situation misunderstand the power message there. In addition to the factors just described, other aspects of office arrangements also can affect a leader's or follower's power. One factor is the shape of the table used for meetings. Individuals sitting at the ends of rectangular tables often wield more power, whereas circular tables facilitate communication and minimize status differentials. However, specific seating arrangements even at circular tables can affect participants' interactions; often individuals belonging to the same cliques and coalitions will sit next to each other. By sitting next to each other, members of the same coalition may exert more power as a collective group than they would sitting apart from each other. Also, having a private or more open office may not only *reflect* but also *affect* power differentials between people. Individuals with private offices can dictate to a greater degree when they want to interact with others by opening or closing their doors or by giving instructions about interruptions. Individuals with more open offices have much less power to control access to them. By being aware of dynamics like these, leaders can somewhat influence others' perceptions of their power relationship.

Prominently displaying symbols like diplomas, awards, and titles also can increase one's power. This was shown in an experiment in a college setting where a guest lecturer to several different classes was introduced in a different way to each. To one group he was introduced as a student; to other groups he was introduced as a lecturer, senior lecturer, or professor, respectively. After the presentation, when he was no longer in the room, the class estimated his height. Interestingly, the same man was perceived by different groups as increasingly taller with each increase in academic status. The "professor" was remembered as being several inches taller than the "student."[14]

This finding demonstrates the generalized impact a seemingly minor matter like one's title can have on others. Another study points out more dramatically how dangerous it can be when followers are overly responsive to the *appearances* of title and authority. This study took place in a medical setting and arose from concern among medical staff that nurses were responding mechanically to doctors' orders. A researcher made telephone calls to nurses' stations in numerous different medical wards. In each, he identified himself as a hospital physician and directed the nurse answering the phone to administer a particular medication to a patient in that ward. Many nurses complied with the request even though it was against hospital policy to transmit prescriptions by phone. Many did so despite never even having talked to the particular "physician" before the call. In fact, 95 percent of the nurses complied with the request made by the most easily falsifiable symbol of authority, a bare title.[15] (See also Highlight 4.2.)

He who has great power should use it lightly.
Seneca, Roman philosopher

Even choice of clothing can affect one's power and influence. Uniforms and other specialized clothing have long been associated with authority and status, including their use by the military, police, hospital staffs, clergy, and so on. In one experiment, people walking along a city sidewalk were stopped by someone dressed either in regular clothes or in the uniform of a security guard and told this: "You

The Milgram Studies

HIGHLIGHT 4.2

One intriguing way to understand power, influence, and influence tactics is to read a synopsis of Stanley Milgram's classic work on obedience and to think about how this work relates to the concepts and theories discussed in this chapter. Milgram's research explored how far people will go when directed by an authority figure to do something that might injure another person. More specifically, Milgram wanted to know what happens when the dictates of authority and the dictates of one's conscience seem incompatible.

The participants were men from the communities surrounding Yale University. They were led to believe they were helping in a study concerning the effect of punishment on learning; the study's legitimacy was enhanced by the study being conducted on the Yale campus. Two subjects at a time participated in the study—one as a teacher and the other as a learner. The roles apparently were assigned randomly. The teacher's task was to help the learner memorize a set of word pairs by providing electric shocks whenever the learner (who would be in an adjacent room) made a mistake.

A stern experimenter described procedures and showed participants the equipment for administering punishment. This "shock generator" looked ominous, with rows of switches, lights, and warnings labeled in 15-volt increments all the way to 450 volts. Various points along the array were marked with increasingly dire warnings such as *extreme intensity* and *danger: severe.* The switch at the highest level of shock was simply marked *XXX*. Every time the learner made a mistake, the teacher was ordered by the experimenter to administer the next higher level of electric shock.

In actuality, there was only one true subject in the experiment—the teacher. The learner was really a confederate of the experimenter. The supposed random assignment of participants to teacher and learner conditions had been rigged in advance. The real purpose of the experiment was to assess how much electric shock the teachers would administer to the learners in the face of the latter's increasingly adamant protestations to stop. This included numerous realistic cries of agony and complaints of a heart condition—all standardized, predetermined, tape-recorded messages delivered via the intercom from the learner's room to the teacher's room. If the subject (that is, the teacher) refused to deliver any further shocks, the experimenter prodded him with comments such as "The experiment requires that you go on" and "You have no other choice; you must go on."

Before Milgram conducted his experiment, he asked mental health professionals what proportion of the subjects would administer apparently dangerous levels of shock. The consensus was that only a negligible percentage would do so—perhaps 1 or 2 percent of the population. Milgram's actual results were dramatically inconsistent with what any experts had predicted. Fully 70 percent of the subjects carried through with their orders, albeit sometimes with great personal anguish, and delivered the maximum shock possible—450 volts!

see that guy over there by the meter? He's overparked but doesn't have any change. Give him a dime!" Whereas fewer than half complied when the requestor was dressed in regular clothes, over 90 percent did when he was in uniform.[16]

This same rationale is given for having personnel in certain occupations (such as airline crew members) wear uniforms. Besides identifying them to others, the uniforms increase the likelihood that in emergency situations their instructions will be followed. Similarly, even the presence of something as trivial as tattoos can affect the amount of power wielded in a group. One of the authors of this text had

a friend named Del who was a manager in an international book publishing company. Del was a former merchant marine whose forearms were adorned with tattoos. Del would often take off his suit coat and roll up his sleeves when meetings were not going his way, and he often exerted considerably more influence by merely exposing his tattoos to the rest of the group.

A final situational factor that can affect one's potential to influence others is the presence or absence of a crisis. Leaders usually can exert more power during a crisis than during periods of relative calm. Perhaps this is because during a crisis leaders are willing to draw on bases of power they normally forgo. For example, a leader who has developed close interpersonal relationships with followers generally uses her referent power to influence them. During crises or emergency situations, however, leaders may be more apt to draw on their legitimate and coercive bases of power to influence subordinates. That was precisely the finding in a study of bank managers' actions; the bank managers were more apt to use legitimate and coercive power during crises than during noncrisis situations.[17] This same phenomenon is observable in many dramatizations. In the television series *Blue Bloods,* for example, Police Commissioner Frank Reagan (played by Tom Selleck) normally uses his referent and expert power to influence subordinates. During emergencies, however, he will often rely on his legitimate and, occasionally, his coercive power. Another factor may be that during crises followers are more willing to accept greater direction, control, and structure from leaders, whatever power base may be involved.

A Taxonomy of Social Power

French and Raven identified five sources, or bases, of power by which an individual can potentially influence others.[18] As shown in Figure 4.1, these five sources include one that is primarily a function of the leader; one that is a function of the

FIGURE 4.1
Sources of Leader Power in the Leader–Followers–Situation Framework
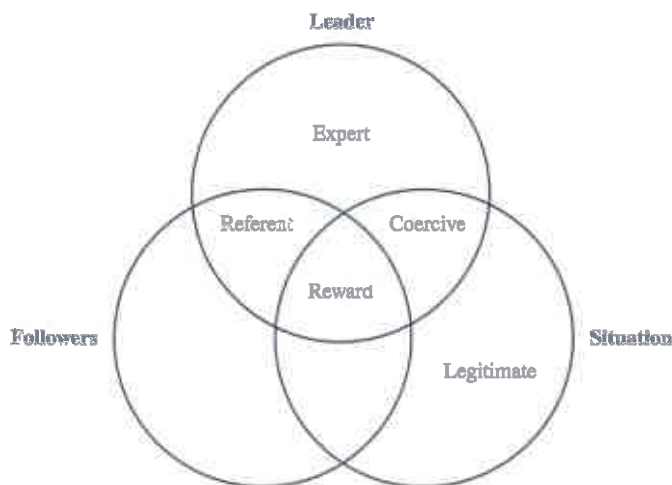
relationship between the leader and followers; one that is primarily a function of the leader and the situation; one that is primarily a function of the situation; and finally, one that involves aspects of all three elements. Understanding these bases of power can give leadership practitioners greater insight about the predictable effects—positive or negative—of various sorts of influence attempts. Following is a more detailed discussion of French and Raven's five bases of social power.[19]

Expert Power

Expert power is the power of knowledge. Some people can influence others through their relative expertise in particular areas. A surgeon may wield considerable influence in a hospital because others depend on her knowledge, skill, and judgment, even though she may have no formal authority over them. A mechanic may be influential among his peers because he is widely recognized as the best in the city. A longtime employee may be influential because her corporate memory provides a useful historical perspective to newer personnel. Legislators who are experts in the intricacies of parliamentary procedure, athletes who have played in championship games, and soldiers who have been in combat are valued for the lessons learned and the wisdom they can share with others.

Because expert power is a function of the amount of knowledge one possesses relative to the rest of the members of the group, it is possible for followers to have considerably more expert power than leaders in certain situations. For example, new leaders often know less about the jobs and tasks performed in a particular work unit than the followers do, and in this case the followers can potentially wield considerable influence when decisions are made regarding work procedures, new equipment, or the hiring of additional workers. Probably the best advice for leaders in this situation is to ask a lot of questions and perhaps seek additional training to help fill this knowledge gap. So long as different followers have considerably greater amounts of expert power, it will be difficult for a leader to influence the work unit on the basis of expert power alone.

Referent Power

One way to counteract the problems stemming from a lack of expertise is to build strong interpersonal ties with subordinates. **Referent power** refers to the potential influence one has due to the strength of the relationship between the leader and the followers. When people admire a leader and see her as a role model, we say she has referent power. For example, students may respond positively to advice or requests from teachers who are well liked and respected, while the same students might be unresponsive to less popular teachers. This relative degree of responsiveness is primarily a function of the strength of the relationship between the students and the different teachers. We knew one young lieutenant who had enormous referent power with the military security guards working for him due to his selfless concern for them, evident in such habits as bringing them hot chocolate and homemade cookies on their late-night shifts. The guards, sometimes taken for granted by other superiors, understood and valued the extra effort and sacrifice this young supervisor put forth for them. When Buddy Ryan was fired as head coach of the

Philadelphia Eagles football team, many of the players expressed fierce loyalty to him. One said, "We'd do things for Buddy that we wouldn't do for another coach. I'd sell my body for Buddy."[20] That is referent power.

Another way to look at referent power is in terms of the role friendships play in making things happen. It is frequently said, for example, that many people get jobs based on whom they know, not what they know. This is true. But we think the best perspective on this issue was offered by David Campbell, who said, "It's not who you know that counts. It's what who you know *knows about you* that counts!" (personal communication).

Referent power often takes time to develop, but it can be lost quickly—just ask Tiger Woods. Furthermore, it can have a downside in that a desire to *maintain* referent power may limit a leader's actions in particular situations. For example, a leader who has developed a strong relationship with a follower may be reluctant to discipline the follower for poor work or chronic tardiness because such actions could disrupt the nature of the relationship between the leader and the follower. Thus referent power is a two-way street; the stronger the relationship, the more influence leaders and followers exert over each other. Moreover, just as it is possible for leaders to develop strong relationships with followers and, in turn, acquire more referent power, it is also possible for followers to develop strong relationships with other followers and acquire more referent power. Followers with relatively more referent power than their peers are often the spokespersons for their work units and generally have more latitude to deviate from work unit norms. Followers with little referent power have little opportunity to deviate from group norms. For example, in an episode of the television show *The Simpsons,* Homer Simpson was fired for wearing a pink shirt to work (everybody else at the Springfield nuclear power plant had always worn white shirts). Homer was fired partly because he "was not popular enough to be different."

Legitimate Power

Legitimate power depends on a person's organizational role. It can be thought of as one's formal or official authority. Some people make things happen because they have the power or authority to do so. The boss assigns projects; the coach decides who plays; the colonel orders compliance with uniform standards; the teacher assigns homework and awards grades. Individuals with legitimate power exert influence through requests or demands deemed appropriate by virtue of their role and position. In other words, legitimate power means a leader has authority because she or he has been assigned a particular role in an organization. Note that the leader has this authority only while occupying that position and operating within the proper bounds of that role.

Legitimate authority and leadership are not the same thing. Holding a position and being a leader are not synonymous, despite the relatively common practice of calling position holders in bureaucracies the leaders. The head of an organization may be a true leader, but he or she also may not be. Effective leaders often intuitively realize they need more than legitimate power to be successful. Before he became president, Dwight Eisenhower commanded all Allied troops in Europe

during World War II. In a meeting with his staff before the Normandy invasion, Eisenhower pulled a string across a table to make a point about leadership. He was demonstrating that just as you can pull a string, not push it, officers must lead soldiers and not push them from the rear.

It is also possible for followers to use their legitimate power to influence leaders. In these cases, followers can actively resist a leader's influence attempt by doing only work specifically prescribed in job descriptions, bureaucratic rules, or union policies. For example, many organizations have job descriptions that limit both the time spent at work and the types of tasks and activities performed. Similarly, bureaucratic rules and union policies can be invoked by followers to resist a leader's influence attempts. Often the leader will need to change the nature of his or her request or find another way to resolve the problem if these rules and policies are invoked by followers. If this is the case, the followers will have successfully used legitimate power to influence their leader.

Reward Power

Reward power involves the potential to influence others due to one's control over desired resources. This can include the power to give raises, bonuses, and promotions; to grant tenure; to select people for special assignments or desirable activities; to distribute desired resources like computers, offices, parking places, or travel money; to intercede positively on another's behalf; to recognize with awards and praise; and so on. Many corporations use rewards extensively to motivate employees. At McDonald's, for example, great status is accorded the All-American Hamburger Maker—the cook who makes the fastest, highest-quality hamburgers in the country. At individual fast-food restaurants, managers may reward salespeople who handle the most customers during rush periods. Tupperware holds rallies for its salespeople. Almost everyone wins something, ranging from pins and badges to lucrative prizes for top performers.[21] Schools pick teachers of the year, and professional athletes are rewarded by selection to all-star teams for their superior performance.

The potential to influence others through the ability to administer rewards is a joint function of the leader, the followers, and the situation. Leaders vary considerably in the types and frequency with which they give rewards, but the position they fill also helps determine the frequency and types of rewards administered. For example, employees of the month at Kentucky Fried Chicken are not given new cars; the managers of these franchises do not have the resources to offer such awards. Similarly, leaders in other organizations are limited to some extent in the types of awards they can administer and the frequency with which they can do so. Nevertheless, leaders can enhance their reward power by spending some time reflecting on the followers and the situation. Often a number of alternative or innovative rewards can be created, and these rewards, along with ample doses of praise, can help a leader overcome the constraints his or her position puts on reward power.

Although using reward power can be an effective way to change the attitudes and behaviors of others, in several situations it can be problematic. For example, the perception that a company's monetary bonus policy is handled equitably may

Unreviewable power is the most likely to self-indulge itself and the least likely to engage in dispassionate self-analysis.

**Warren E. Burger,
U.S. Supreme Court
chief Justice,
1969–1986**

be as important in motivating good work (or avoiding morale problems) as the amounts of the bonuses. Moreover, a superior may mistakenly assume that a particular reward is valued when it is not. This would be the case if a particular subordinate were publicly recognized for her good work when she actually disliked public recognition. Leadership practitioners can avoid the latter problem by developing good relationships with subordinates and administering rewards that they, not the leader, value. Another potential problem with reward power is that it may produce compliance but not other desirable outcomes like commitment.[22] In other words, subordinates may perform only at the level necessary to receive a reward and may not be willing to put forth the extra effort needed to make the organization better. An overemphasis on rewards as payoff for performance may also lead to resentment and feelings by workers of being manipulated, especially if it occurs in the context of relatively cold and distant superior–subordinate relationships. Extrinsic rewards like praise, compensation, promotion, privileges, and time off may not have the same effects on behavior as intrinsic rewards such as feelings of accomplishment, personal growth, and development. There is evidence that under some conditions extrinsic rewards can decrease intrinsic motivation toward a task and make the desired behavior less likely to persist when extrinsic rewards are not available.[23,24] Overemphasis on extrinsic rewards may instill an essentially contractual or economic relationship between superiors and subordinates, diluting important aspects of the relationship like mutual loyalty or shared commitment to higher ideals.[25] These cautions about reward power should not cloud its real usefulness and effectiveness. As noted previously, top organizations make extensive use of both tangible and symbolic rewards in motivating their workers. Furthermore, all leaders can use some of the most important rewards—sincere praise and thanks to others for their loyalty and work. The bottom line is that leaders can enhance their ability to influence others based on reward power if they determine what rewards are available, determine what rewards are valued by their subordinates, and establish clear policies for the equitable and consistent administration of rewards for good performance.

Finally, because reward power is partly determined by one's position in the organization, some people may believe followers have little, if any, reward power. This may not be the case. If followers control scarce resources, they may use the administration of these resources to get leaders to act as they want. Moreover, followers may reward their leader by putting out a high level of effort when they feel their leader is doing a good job, and they may put forth less effort when they feel their leader is doing a poor job. By modifying their level of effort, followers may in turn modify a leader's attitudes and behaviors. And when followers compliment their leader (such as for running a constructive meeting), it is no less an example of reward power than when a leader compliments a follower. Thus leadership practitioners should be aware that followers can also use reward power to influence leaders.

You do not lead by hitting people over the head—that's assault, not leadership.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, U.S. president, 1953–1961

Coercive Power

Coercive power, the opposite of reward power, is the potential to influence others through the administration of negative sanctions or the removal of positive

events. In other words, it is the ability to control others through the fear of punishment or the loss of valued outcomes. Like reward power, coercive power is partly a function of the leader, but the situation often limits or enhances the coercive actions a leader can take (see Highlight 4.3). Examples of coercive power include police giving tickets for speeding, the army court-martialing AWOL soldiers, a

Leadership Lessons from the Stanford Prison Experiment

HIGHLIGHT 4.3

Almost nowhere is power as unequally distributed as in a prison. The administration and guards have both freedom and control while the prisoners have neither, at least officially. But there are important leadership lessons to be learned here as well.

A short review of the history of leadership might be helpful. If your grandparents happened to study leadership anytime from 1900 until about 1950, they would have read case studies of famous leaders. This "great man" theory of leadership hoped to unearth the traits that differentiated great leaders from lesser leaders. For the most part, this quest to identify underlying innate leadership abilities stopped in the late 1940s when Ralph Stogdill published his findings that there was no clear set of traits responsible for great leaders.

From the 1950s to the 1980s, we decided that because leadership could not be comprehended by focusing solely on the leader, we should look at the relationship between the leader and the followers. As you will learn in Part 3 of this book, as the maturity and skills of the followers change, so should the behavior of the leader.

In the mid-1980s we started to consider the leadership implications of research done about 25 years earlier. We began to acknowledge that even if it were possible to know everything about a leader and everything about her or his followers, another variable powerfully affected leadership and performance: the situation (the focus of Part 4).

Two troubling studies clearly demonstrated this situational impact. The first, conducted by Stanley Milgram, was described in Highlight 4.2. The lesson learned was that reasonable, normal people, when put in a situation where authority told them to behave in a nefarious manner, for the most part did just that.

Ten years after Milgram's research, Phillip Zimbardo at Stanford University recruited students to serve as either "prisoners" or "guards" in a "prison" that was simulated in the basement of a campus building. Neither the guards nor the prisoners were given any instructions about how to behave. The experiment was to have lasted for approximately two weeks but was canceled after only six days because the "guards" were abusing their fellow student "prisoners" both physically and emotionally. It's not that the student guards were bad people; rather, they were put in a power situation that overcame their own beliefs and values.

Fortunately an occasional noble hero rises to stand on higher moral ground. But as leaders, we cannot rely on that. For the masses, the situation is a powerful determinant of behavior. Incidentally, the Stanford Prison Experiment has its own website at www.prisonexp.org should you care to learn more about it, and the experiment is described in more detail in Chapter 11.

Knowing what Milgram and Zimbardo demonstrated, it is at least possible to comprehend how someone like Pfc. Lynndie England, who according to her family would not even shoot a deer, could have become caught up in clearly inappropriate behavior in her role as a U.S. Army guard in the notorious Abu Ghraib prison debacle in Iraq. This is not to excuse her behavior but to help us understand it. And if we should not excuse the behavior of an undertrained soldier, we should be even less willing to excuse the leadership that put her and others in this situation without clear behavioral guidelines. After all, we've known about these studies for over 50 years!

Whether under the direction of authority as in the Milgram study, or under role assignments as in the

continued

Zimbardo study, the Abu Ghraib case showed a leadership vacuum that should not be tolerated.

And what about the business world? Leaders cannot claim they want and expect teamwork and collaboration from their subordinates if they place them in a situation that fosters competition and enmity. Neither can leaders claim that they want creativity from their subordinates if they have created a situation where the slightest deviation from rigid rules brings punishment. And perhaps most important, leaders

can not expect egalitarian behaviors if people are put in highly differentiated power situations. People in organizations are smart. They are less likely to give you the behaviors you espouse in your speeches and more likely to give you the behavior demanded by the situation in which you place them. The leader's job is to create the conditions for the team to be successful, and the situation is one of the most important variables. What to consider in the situation is discussed in more detail in Chapter 13.

teacher detaining disruptive students after school, employers firing lazy workers, and parents reprimanding children.[26] Even presidents resort to their coercive powers. Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., for example, described Lyndon Johnson as having a "devastating instinct for the weaknesses of others." Lyndon Johnson was familiar and comfortable with the use of coercion; he once told a White House staff member, "Just you remember this. There's only two kinds at the White House. There's elephants and there's ants. And I'm the only elephant."[27]

Nearly all men can stand adversity, but if you want to test a man's character, give him power.

**Abraham Lincoln,
U.S. president,
1961–1965**

Coercive power, like reward power, can be used appropriately or inappropriately. It is carried to its extreme in repressive totalitarian societies. One of the most tragic instances of coercive power was the cult led by Jim Jones, which unbelievably self-exterminated in an incident known as the Jonestown massacre.[28] Virtually all of the 912 people who died there drank, at Jones's direction, from large vats of a flavored drink containing cyanide. The submissiveness and suicidal obedience of Jones's followers during the massacre were due largely to the long history of rule by fear that Jones had practiced. For example, teenagers caught holding hands were beaten, and adults judged slacking in their work were forced to box for hours in marathon public matches against as many as three or four bigger and stronger opponents. Jim Jones ruled by fear, and his followers became self-destructively compliant.

Perhaps the preceding example is so extreme that we can dismiss its relevance to our own lives and leadership activities. Yet abuses of power, especially abuses of coercive power, continue to make the news, whether we are seeing reports of U.S. military abuse in Iraq or Taliban abuse in Afghanistan. However, such examples provide a dramatic reminder that reliance on coercive power has inherent limitations and drawbacks. But this is not to say disciplinary sanctions are never necessary; sometimes they are. Informal coercion, as opposed to the threat of formal punishment, can also change the attitudes and behaviors of others. Informal coercion is usually expressed implicitly, and often nonverbally, rather than explicitly. It may be the pressure employees feel to donate to the boss's favorite charity, or it may be his or her glare when they bring up an unpopular idea. One of the most common forms of coercion is simply a superior's temperamental outbursts. The

intimidation caused by a leader's poorly controlled anger is usually, in its long-term effects, a dysfunctional style of behavior for leaders.

It is also possible for followers to use coercive power to influence their leader's behavior. For example, a leader may be hesitant to take disciplinary action against a large, emotionally unstable follower. Followers can threaten leaders with physical assaults, industrial sabotage, or work slowdowns and strikes, and these threats can modify a leader's behavior. Followers are more likely to use coercive power to change their leader's behavior if they have a relatively high amount of referent power with their fellow coworkers. This may be particularly true for threats of work slowdowns or strikes.

Concluding Thoughts about French and Raven's Power Taxonomy

Can we reach any conclusions about what base of power is best for a leader to use? As you might have anticipated, we must say that's an unanswerable question without knowing more facts about a particular situation. For example, consider the single factor of whether a group is facing a crisis. This might affect the leader's exercise of power simply because leaders usually can exert more power during crises than during periods of relative calm. Furthermore, during crises followers may be more eager to receive direction and control from leaders.

Can we make any generalizations about using various sources of power? Actually, considerable research has examined French and Raven's ideas, and generally the findings indicate that leaders who rely primarily on referent and expert power have subordinates who are more motivated and satisfied, are absent less, and perform better.[29] However, Yukl[30] and Podsakoff and Schriesheim[31] have criticized these findings, and much of their criticism centers on the instrument used to assess a leader's bases of power. Hinkin and Schriesheim developed an instrument that overcomes many of the criticisms,[32] and future research should more clearly delineate the relationship between the five bases of power and various leadership effectiveness criteria.

Four generalizations about power and influence seem warranted. First, effective leaders typically take advantage of *all* their sources of power. Effective leaders understand the relative advantages and disadvantages of different sources of power, and they selectively emphasize one or another depending on their objectives in a given situation. Second, whereas leaders in well-functioning organizations have strong influence over their subordinates, *they are also open to being influenced by them.* High degrees of reciprocal influence between leaders and followers characterize the most effective organizations.[33] Third, leaders vary in the extent to which they share power with subordinates. Some leaders seem to view their power as a fixed resource that, when shared with others (like cutting a pie into pieces), reduces their own portion. They see power in zero-sum terms. Other leaders see power as an expandable pie. They see the possibility of increasing a subordinate's power without reducing their own. Needless to say, which view a leader subscribes to can have a major impact on the leader's support for power-sharing activities like

Cultural Differences and Power

HIGHLIGHT 4.4

Dutch sociologist Geert Hofstede and his colleagues have quantified the business culture in more than 100 countries on six parameters: individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation, indulgence, and of importance in this chapter, power distance. They define **power distance** as the degree to which the less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. The fundamental issue here is how a society handles inequalities among people. People in societies exhibiting a large degree of power distance accept a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place and that needs no further justification. In societies with low power distance, people strive to equalize the distribution of power and demand justification for inequalities of power. A few examples will help demonstrate the Power Distance Index.

At the low end of the Power Distance Index is a country like Austria. Austria scores very low on this dimension (score of 11), which means that the following characteristics typify the Austrian style: being independent, hierarchy for convenience only, equal rights, superiors accessible, coaching leader, management facilitates and empowers. Power is decentralized and managers count on the experience of their team members. Employees expect to be consulted. Control is disliked. Communication is direct and participative.

In contrast are countries with high scores on the Power Distance Index. It is important to note here that although low scores can usually be generalized as above, high scores tend to be more culturally specific and can be influenced not only by tradition but also by geography. Again, a few examples will help.

Saudi Arabia scores high on this dimension (score of 95), which means that people accept a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place and that needs no further justification. Hierarchy in an organization is seen as reflecting inherent inequalities, centralization is popular, subordinates expect to be told what to do, and the ideal boss is a benevolent autocrat.

Russia, scoring 93, is a nation where power holders are very distant in society. This is underlined by the fact that the largest country in the world is extremely centralized. Roughly two-thirds of all foreign investments go into Moscow, where 80 percent of all financial potential is concentrated. The huge discrepancy between the less and the more powerful people leads to a great importance of status symbols. Behavior has to reflect and represent the status roles in all areas of business interactions, whether in visits, negotiations, or cooperation; the approach should be top-down and provide clear mandates for any task.

Although we are focusing on the power distance factor here, Hofstede points out that it is important to consider the potential interaction with other cultural indices. The United States provides a useful example of these interactions. The fairly low score on power distance (40) in combination with one of the most individualist (91) cultures in the world plays out in the following ways:

- The American premise of "liberty and justice for all." This is evidenced by an explicit emphasis on equal rights in all aspects of American society and government.
- Within American organizations, hierarchy is established for convenience, superiors are accessible, and managers rely on individual employees and teams for their expertise.
- Both managers and employees expect to be consulted, and information is shared frequently. At the same time, communication is informal, direct, and participative to a degree.
- The society is loosely knit; the expectation is that people look after themselves and their immediate families only and should not rely (too much) on authorities for support.
- There is also a high degree of geographic mobility in the United States.
- Americans are the best joiners in the world; however, it is often difficult, especially among men, to develop deep friendships.

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- Americans are accustomed to doing business or interacting with people they don't know well. Consequently, Americans are not shy about approaching their prospective counterparts in order to obtain or seek information. In the business world, employees are expected to be self-reliant and display initiative. Also, within the exchange-based world of work, we see that hiring, promotion, and assignment decisions are based on merit or evidence of what one has done or can do.

Finally, Hofstede points out that his indices are most useful when used to compare two cultures. To the degree the cultures are similar, work across and between the two countries will be easier with little need for specific consideration of the differences. But when the differences are great, leaders are well advised to consider the differences and adjust their behaviors to be most effective.

One of your authors failed to recognize this power difference when conducting a workshop with both American and Russian participants. (Partially in his defense, this event occurred prior to the publication of Hofstede's first book). In setting the stage for the workshop, he presented a tentative agenda and asked the participants what they would like to add, delete, or change. This seemed perfectly reasonable to the American participants, but the Russians completely disapproved and rejected this effort. As it turns out, your author misjudged two critical factors. First, he considered himself a "facilitator" for the workshop, whereas the Russians, who saw him standing in front of the room and addressing the participants, considered him the "leader." This error contributed to the second problem, related directly to Hofstede's power difference. In the United States, it is reasonable and even expected that the agenda will be developed informally and in a participative manner including the facilitator and all participants. Not so much in Russia. The Russian leader is expected to provide clear mandates for the task at hand. Not only did it take a while to discover this error had been made, but it took even longer to recover from it. Though not of dramatic international consequences, this was certainly a failure to recognize the leadership impact of inattention to cross-cultural power expectations. One can only imagine how these differences influence our perceptions of leadership effectiveness between the United States and Russia.

Sources: G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations across Nations*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 2001); G. Hofstede, G. J. Hofstede, and M. Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*, revised and expanded 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010).

delegation and participative management. A leader's support for power-sharing activities (or in today's popular language, *empowerment*) is also affected by the practice of holding leaders responsible for subordinates' decisions and actions as well as their own. It is, after all, the coach or manager who often gets fired when the team loses.[34,35] Fourth, effective leaders generally work to increase their various power bases (whether expert, referent, reward, or legitimate) or become more willing to use their coercive power.

Leader Motives

Thus far we have been looking at how different *sources* of power can affect others, but that's only one perspective. Another way of looking at the relationship between power and leadership involves focusing on the individual leader's personality. We will look most closely at the role personality plays in leadership in an upcoming chapter, but it will be nonetheless useful now to briefly examine how all people (including leaders) vary in their personal motivation to have or wield power.

People vary in their motivation to influence or control others. McClelland called this the **need for power**,[36] and individuals with a high need for power derive psychological satisfaction from influencing others. They seek positions where they can influence others, and they are often involved concurrently in influencing people in many different organizations or decision-making bodies. In such activities they readily offer ideas, suggestions, and opinions, and also seek information they can use in influencing others. They are often astute at building trusting relationships and assessing power networks, though they can also be quite outspoken and forceful. They value the tangible signs of their authority and status as well as the more intangible indications of others' deference to them. Two different ways of expressing the need for power have been identified: **personalized power** and **socialized power**. Individuals who have a high need for personalized power are relatively selfish, impulsive, uninhibited, and lacking in self-control. These individuals exercise power for their own needs, not for the good of the group or the organization. Socialized power, by contrast, implies a more emotionally mature expression of the motive. Socialized power is exercised in the service of higher goals to others or organizations and often involves self-sacrifice toward those ends. It often involves an empowering, rather than an autocratic, style of management and leadership.

Although the need for power has been measured using questionnaires and more traditional personality inventories, McClelland and his associates have used the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) to assess need for power. The TAT is a **projective personality test** consisting of pictures such as a woman staring out a window or a boy holding a violin. Subjects are asked to make up a story about each picture, and the stories are then interpreted in terms of the strengths of various needs imputed to the characters, one of which is the need for power. Because the pictures are somewhat ambiguous, the sorts of needs projected onto the characters are presumed to reflect needs (perhaps at an unconscious level) of the storyteller. Stories concerned with influencing or controlling others would receive high scores for the need for power.

The need for power is positively related to various leadership effectiveness criteria. For example, McClelland and Boyatzis found the need for power to be positively related to success for nontechnical managers at AT&T,[37] and Stahl found that the need for power was positively related to managers' performance ratings and promotion rates.[38] In addition, Fodor reported that small groups of ROTC students were more likely to successfully solve a subarctic survival situation if their leader had a strong need for power.[39] Although these findings appear promising, several cautions should be kept in mind. First, McClelland and Boyatzis also reported that the need for power was unrelated to the success of technical managers at AT&T.[40] Apparently the level of knowledge (that is, expert power) played a more important role in the success of the technical managers versus that of the nontechnical managers. Second, McClelland concluded that although some need for power was necessary for leadership potential, successful leaders also have the ability to inhibit their manifestation of this need.[41] Leaders who are relatively uninhibited in their need for power will act like dictators; such individuals use power

impulsively, to manipulate or control others, or to achieve at another's expense. Leaders with a high need for power but low activity inhibition may be successful in the short term, but their followers, as well as the remainder of the organization, may pay high costs for this success. Some of these costs may include perceptions by fellow members of the organization that they are untrustworthy, uncooperative, overly competitive, and looking out primarily for themselves. Finally, some followers have a high need for power, too. This can lead to tension between leader and follower when a follower with a high need for power is directed to do something.

Individuals vary in their motivation to manage, just as in their need for power. Miner described the **motivation to manage** in terms of six composites:[42]

- Maintaining good relationships with authority figures
- Wanting to compete for recognition and advancement
- Being active and assertive
- Wanting to exercise influence over subordinates
- Being visibly different from followers
- Being willing to do routine administrative tasks

Like McClelland, Miner also used a projective test to measure a person's motivation to manage. Miner's Sentence Completion Scale (MSCS) consists of a series of incomplete sentences dealing with the six components just described (such as "My relationship with my boss . . . "). Respondents are asked to complete the sentences, which are scored according to established criteria. The overall composite MSCS score (though not component scores) has consistently been found to predict leadership success in hierarchical or bureaucratic organizations.[43] Thus individuals who maintained respect for authority figures, wanted to be recognized, acted assertively, actively influenced subordinates, maintained "psychological distance" between themselves and their followers, and readily took on routine administrative tasks were more apt to be successful in bureaucratic organizations. However, Miner claimed that different qualities were needed in flatter, nonbureaucratic organizations, and his review of the MSCS supports this view.[44]

Findings concerning both the need for power and the motivation to manage have several implications for leadership practitioners. First, not all individuals like being leaders. One reason may be that some have a relatively low need for power or motivation to manage. Because these scores are relatively stable and fairly difficult to change, leaders who do not enjoy their role may want to seek positions where they have fewer supervisory responsibilities.

Second, a high need for power or motivation to manage does not guarantee leadership success. The situation can play a crucial role in determining whether the need for power or the motivation to manage is related to leadership success. For example, McClelland and Boyatzis found the need for power to be related to leadership success for nontechnical managers only,[45] and Miner found that motivation to manage was related to leadership success only in hierarchical or bureaucratic organizations.[46]

Third, to be successful in the long term, leaders may require both a high need for socialized power and a high level of activity inhibition. Leaders who impulsively

exercise power merely to satisfy their own selfish needs will probably be ineffective in the long term. Finally, it is important to remember that followers, as well as leaders, differ in the need for power, activity inhibition, and motivation to manage. Certain followers may have stronger needs or motives in this area. Leaders may need to behave differently toward these followers than they might toward followers having a low need for power or motivation to manage.

Two recent studies offer a fitting conclusion to this section about power and the individual's motives and a transition to our next topic. Magee and Galinsky not only have presented a comprehensive review of the nature of power in hierarchical settings but also have noted that the acquisition and application of power induce transformation of individual psychological processes, with the result being manifested by actions to further increase power![47] This is not the first time this phenomenon has been observed (recall Lord Acton's words about power and corruption). That power actually transforms individual psychological processes as an underlying cause of this phenomenon is fascinating.

But just having power, by either situation or individual transformation, does not guarantee success. Treadway and colleagues have presented research showing that although past work performance is a source of personal reputation and can increase an individual's power, this increase does not necessarily translate into influence over others.[48] Many people fail to achieve this increased influence due to their lack of political skills for influence, and the application of influence is our next topic.

Influence Tactics

Whereas power is the capacity or potential to influence others, influence tactics are the actual behaviors used by an agent to change the attitudes, opinions, or behaviors of a target person. Kipnis and his associates accomplished much of the early work on the types of influence tactics one person uses to influence another.[49] Various instruments have been developed to study influence tactics, but the Influence Behavior Questionnaire, or IBQ,[50] seems to be the most promising. Here is a detailed discussion of the different influence tactics assessed by the IBQ.

Types of Influence Tactics

The IBQ is designed to assess nine types of influence tactics, and its scales give us a convenient overview of various methods of influencing others. **Rational persuasion** occurs when an agent uses logical arguments or factual evidence to influence others. An example of rational persuasion would be when a politician's adviser explains how demographic changes in the politician's district make it important for the politician to spend relatively more time in the district seeing constituents than she has in the recent past. Agents make **inspirational appeals** when they make a request or proposal designed to arouse enthusiasm or emotions in targets. An example here might be a minister's impassioned plea to members of a congregation about the good works that could be accomplished if a proposed addition to the church were built. **Consultation** occurs when agents ask targets to participate in

A leader is like a shepherd. He stays behind the flock, letting the most nimble go out ahead, whereupon the others follow, not realising that all along they are being directed from behind.

Nelson Mandela, South African president, 1994–1999

planning an activity. An example of consultation would be if a minister established a committee of church members to help plan the layout and use of a new church addition. In this case the consultative work might not only lead to a better building plan but also *strengthen member commitment* to the idea of a new addition. **Ingratiation** occurs when an agent attempts to get you in a good mood before making a request. A familiar example here would be a salesperson's good-natured or flattering banter with you before you make a decision about purchasing a product. Agents use **personal appeals** when they ask another to do a favor out of friendship. A sentence that opens with, "Bill, we've known each other a long time and I've never asked anything of you before" represents the beginning of a personal appeal, whereas influencing a target through the exchange of favors is labeled **exchange**. If two politicians agree to vote for each other's pet legislation despite minor misgivings about each other's bills, that is exchange. **Coalition tactics** differ from consultation in that they are used when agents seek the aid or support of others to influence the target. A dramatic example of coalition tactics occurs when several significant people in an alcoholic's life (such as spouse, children, employer, or neighbor) agree to confront the alcoholic in unison about the many dimensions of his or her problem. Threats or persistent reminders used to influence targets are known as **pressure tactics**. A judge who gives a convicted prisoner a suspended sentence but tells him to consider the suspension a "sword hanging over his head" if he breaks the law again is using pressure tactics. Finally, **legitimizing tactics** occur when agents make requests based on their position or authority. A principal may ask a teacher to be on the school's curriculum committee, and the teacher may accede to the request despite reservations because it is the principal's prerogative to appoint any teacher to that role. In practice, of course, actual tactics often combine these approaches. Rarely, for example, is an effective appeal purely inspirational without any rational elements.

Influence Tactics and Power

As alluded to throughout this chapter, a strong relationship exists between the relative power of agents and targets and the types of influence tactics used. Because leaders with high amounts of referent power have built close relationships with followers, they may be more able to use a wide variety of influence tactics to modify the attitudes and behaviors of their followers. For example, leaders with referent power could use inspirational appeals, consultations, ingratiation, personal appeals, exchanges, and even coalition tactics to increase the amount of time a particular follower spends doing work-related activities. Note, however, that leaders with high referent power generally do not use legitimizing or pressure tactics to influence followers because, by threatening followers, leaders risk some loss of referent power. Leaders who have only coercive or legitimate power may be able to use only coalition, legitimizing, or pressure tactics to influence followers. In fact, influence tactics can be so effective, Cialdini refers to them as "Weapons of Influence."[51]

Other factors also can affect the choice of influence tactics.[52] People typically use hard tactics (that is, legitimizing or pressure tactics) when an influencer has

Don't threaten. I know it's done by some of our people, but I don't go for it. If people are running scared, they're not going to make the right decisions. They'll make decisions to please the boss rather than recommend what has to be done.

Charles Pilliod, American business executive and diplomat

the upper hand, when they anticipate resistance, or when the other person's behavior violates important norms. People typically use soft tactics (such as ingratiation) when they are at a disadvantage (see Highlight 4.5 comparing football and judo for an example of using a disadvantage to your advantage), when they expect

Power and Influence (or Football and Judo)

HIGHLIGHT 4.5

While great leaders use both power and influence effectively (see Highlight 4.8 for perhaps the quintessential example of using both techniques effectively), it can also be instructive to compare and contrast the two at their most obvious polarities. At least for one of your authors, football and judo are cases in point.

Football, and by that I mean what is known in Europe as "American football," is a game about power. Of course, influence can also be used and often is quite effectively. But overwhelmingly, football is a game about size, strength, and speed. If one combines those three concepts and then searches for a single word to describe them, I would submit that "power" might work. If you have ever been around professional football players, you will discover this for yourself. They are a powerful group of men. Quite a while back, my brother-in-law was a professional football player. He played as an offensive end in college but was converted to a linebacker as a pro. I remember back in college that I thought he was about the largest human being I had ever known; if he was in a room with normal-sized, non-football-playing people, he readily stood out, and above, everyone else. As a result of these experiences, the first time I attended a game in which he was playing as a pro, I expected to be able to pick him out easily. But on the field with other powerful pro football players, he was indistinguishable except for his jersey number.

This notion of the importance of power to the game of football was summed up once by one of my coaches who repeatedly informed us that "a good big man is always better than a good small man."

Contrast this with judo, or its cousin, jujitsu (see Robert Cialdini's excellent book entitled *Influence: Science and Practice* for more details on using

jujitsu as "a weapon"). Again, your author's experience is cited as but one example. After a not-so-great experience as an undersized high school football player, I tended to blame my lack of power (size, strength, and speed) for my results. That notion changed later in life. Having been selected to be part of a covert operations group during the Vietnam War, I was sent to a number of preparatory courses, and one of these was a course in judo. I remember quite vividly my first day in the *dojo*, as we stood around in our ill-fitting *gis*. I had the sense that most of us were engaged in the same mental activity; we were sizing up our classmates hoping to avoid the most "powerful" of our peers. In this search for the most powerful among us, there was one small person meekly sitting over against the wall who received no consideration as a threat and for whom I almost felt sorry. He appeared more timid than the rest of us and was not even prone to make eye contact with anyone. Clearly possessing the smallest and "least powerful" body in the room, he just sat quietly, thumbing through some sort of notebook.

As the minute hand moved to the top of the clock, we all kept an eye on the door, watching for our instructor to enter the room at any moment. We didn't even notice when the small fellow put down his notebook and stood quietly against the wall. Then he spoke, saying that his name was Tze Lang Chen, and he would be our *sensei*. Really? This was the instructor? I was sure he was going to be crushed, especially by some of our larger classmates. Let me assure you, that notion was rapidly and completely dispelled.

In judo, the power of your opponent is a weapon to be used against him. In fact, the word *judo* means "the gentle way," which is somewhat antithetical to the football word *power*. According to our *sensei* Tze

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continued

Lang Chen, the founder of Judo, Jigoro Kano, was quoted as saying that "resisting a more powerful opponent will result in your defeat, while adjusting to and evading your opponent's attack will cause him to lose his balance, his power will be reduced, and you will defeat him. This can apply whatever the relative values of power, thus making it possible for weaker opponents to beat significantly stronger ones." I believe a paraphrase of the profound statement might well be "the bigger they are, the harder they fall."

We quickly learned that the more we resisted the force of our *sensei*, the sooner we would find ourselves flat on our backs looking up at this rather small man hovering over us. Such is the nature of power versus influence. Power can be used to force movement whereas influence may be hardly felt at all.

Source: R. B. Cialdini, *Influence: Science and Practice*, 5th ed. (Boston: Pearson Education, 2009).

resistance, or when they will personally benefit if the attempt is successful. People tend to use rational tactics (the exchange and rational appeals) when parties are relatively equal in power, when resistance is not anticipated, and when the benefits are organizational as well as personal. Studies have shown that influence attempts based on factual, logical analyses are the most frequently reported method by which middle managers exert lateral influence[53] and upward influence.[54] Other important components of successful influence of one's superiors include thoroughly preparing beforehand, involving others for support (coalition tactics), and persisting through a combination of approaches.[55]

Findings about who uses different tactics, and when, provide interesting insights into the influence process. It is clear that one's influence tactic of choice depends on many factors, including intended outcomes and one's power relative to the target person. Although it may not be surprising that people select influence tactics as a function of their power relationship with another person, it is striking that this relationship holds true so universally across different social domains—for business executives, for parents and children, and for spouses. There is a strong tendency for people to resort to hard tactics whenever they have an advantage in clout if other tactics fail to get results.[56] As the bank robber Willie Sutton once said, "You can get more with a kind word and a gun than you can get with just a kind word." This sentiment is apparently familiar to bank managers, too. The latter reported greater satisfaction in handling subordinates' poor performance when they were relatively more punishing.[57] Highlight 4.6 offers thoughts on how men and women managers sometimes use different influence techniques.

Although hard tactics can be effective, relying on them can change the way we see others. This was demonstrated in an experiment wherein leaders' perceptions and evaluations of subordinates were assessed after they exercised different sorts of authority over the subordinates.[58] Several hundred business students acted as managers of small work groups assembling model cars. Some of the students were told to act in an authoritarian manner, exercising complete control over the group's work; others were told to act as democratic leaders, letting group members participate fully in decisions about the work. As expected, authoritarian leaders used more hard tactics, whereas democratic leaders influenced subordinates more

It is not power that corrupts, but fear. Fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it.

Aung San Suu Kyi, Burmese politician and diplomat

Gender Differences in Managing Upward: How Male and Female Managers Get Their Way

HIGHLIGHT 4.6

Both male and female managers in a *Fortune* 100 company were interviewed and completed surveys about how they influence upward—that is, how they influence their own bosses. The results generally supported the idea that female managers' influence attempts showed greater concern for others, whereas male managers' influence attempts showed greater concern for self. Female managers were more likely to act with the organization's broad interests in mind, consider how others felt about the influence attempt, involve others in planning, and focus on both the task and interpersonal aspects of the situation. Male managers, by contrast, were more likely to act out of self-interest, show less consideration for how others might feel about the influence attempt, work alone in developing their strategy, and focus primarily on the task.

One of the most surprising findings of the study was that, contrary to prediction, female managers were less likely than male managers to compromise or negotiate during their influence attempts. The female managers were actually more likely to persist in trying to persuade their superiors, even to the point of open opposition. At first this may seem inconsistent with the idea that the female managers'

influence style involved greater concern for their relatedness to others. However, it seems consistent with the higher value placed by the women managers on involvement. Perhaps female managers demonstrate more commitment to their issues, and greater self-confidence that they are doing the "right thing," precisely because they have already interacted more with others in the organization and know they have others' support.

Although male and female managers emphasized different influence techniques, neither group overall was more effective than the other. Nonetheless, there may be significant implications of the various techniques for a manager's career advancement. At increasingly higher management levels in an organization, effectiveness may be defined primarily by its fit with the organization's own norms and values. Managers whose style most closely matches that of their superior may have an advantage in evaluations and promotion decisions. This may be a significant factor for women, given the highly skewed representation of men in the most senior executive ranks.

Source: K. E. Lauterbach and B. J. Weiner, "Dynamics of Upward Influence: How Male and Female Managers Get Their Way," *Leadership Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1996), pp. 87–107.

All forms of tampering with human beings, getting at them, shaping them against their will to your own pattern, all thought control and conditioning, is, therefore, a denial of that in men which makes them men and their values ultimate.
A. A. Berle Jr., writer about corporations

through rational methods. More interesting was the finding that subordinates were evaluated by the two types of leaders in dramatically different ways even though the subordinates of both types did equally good work. Authoritarian leaders judged their subordinates as less motivated, less skilled, and less suited for promotion. Apparently, bosses who use hard tactics to control others' behavior tend not to attribute any resultant good performance to the subordinates themselves. Ironically, the act of using hard tactics leads to negative attributions about others, which, in turn, tend to corroborate the use of hard tactics in the first place.

Finally, we should remember that using influence tactics can be thought of as a social skill. Choosing the right tactic may not always be enough to ensure good results; the behavior must be *skillfully executed*. We are not encouraging deviousness or a manipulative attitude toward others (although that has certainly been done by some, as illustrated in Highlight 4.7 and discussed more in Chapter 5, on ethics). Instead, we are merely recognizing the obvious fact that clumsy influence

The Clout of Influence and the Big Con

HIGHLIGHT 4.7

The confidence game, or "con game" is certainly nothing new, although some people might argue it has been taken to new heights by the likes of Bernie Madoff. The term *confidence man* was first used by the New York press during the trial of William Thompson in 1849. What remains unchanged over the years is that the con game is not about violence or power but much more about the illicit use of influence. It is about the nefarious manipulation of trust.

Amy Reading has written a detailed history of "the big con" while wrapping it around a fascinating story of one of the largest swindles in U.S. history. Reading describes the preparations and staging necessary to win over the "mark" as if it were a form of theater. The mark in her historical account is one J. Frank Norfleet, a man who by his own description is as straight as they come. "I don't drink, chew tobacco, smoke, cuss, or tell lies," he would say. And he trusted others, which led to his involvement in the big con.

While not intending to glamorize the swindlers, or "grifters" as they are often called, their use of psychological influence is quite remarkable and instructive. Perhaps most telling are psychological traps one and two in the series of three.

In the prelude to the first psychological moment, Norfleet has graciously refused a $100 reward for returning a wallet he found in the hotel lobby—a wallet planted, of course, by the grifters. The swindlers then announced they had to go conclude a business deal involving the use of what we would today refer to as "insider trading." Since Norfleet had refused the reward, would he mind if they took that same money and "invest it along with their own." Twenty minutes later, the swindlers return and proudly offer Norfleet the $800 return on his declined $100 reward money.

Perhaps no aspect of the big con is more so than the second psychological moment. This is also the most telling difference between street crime, where the engine is power, and the confidence game, where the engine is influence.

The big con succeeds not because it *forces* the mark to hand over his valuables. It succeeds because it *influences* the mark to believe that he not only is acting in his own self-interest but also is helping others, even if it is acknowledged to be with a wink and a smile. Those interested in how this plays out, both in a theatrical sense and in the big con, would find Reading's book informative.

Sources: A. Reading, *The Mark Inside: A Perfect Swindle, a Cunning Revenge, and a Small History of the Big Con* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012).

attempts often come across as phony and may be counterproductive. See Highlight 4.8 for a perspective of a political leader who used power appropriately but was arguably the quintessential master of using influence effectively.

A Concluding Thought about Influence Tactics

In our discussion here, an implicit lesson for leaders is the value of being conscious of what influence tactics one uses and what effects are typically associated with each tactic. Knowledge of such effects can help a leader make better decisions about her or his manner of influencing others. It might also be helpful for leaders to think carefully about why they believe a particular influence tactic will be effective. Research indicates that some reasons for selecting among various possible influence tactics lead to successful outcomes more frequently than others. Specifically, thinking an act would improve an employee's self-esteem or morale was frequently associated with successful influence attempts. On the other hand, choosing an influence tactic because it followed company policy and choosing one because

Nelson Mandela: The Master of Political Influence

HIGHLIGHT 4.8

Invictus is both the title of the cited poem that provided inspiration to Nelson Mandela during his 27-year imprisonment for fighting apartheid and also became the title of the 2009 Clint Eastwood movie. This film takes us from Mandela's 1994 election through South Africa's World Cup journey the following year. The poem becomes the central inspirational gift from Mandela (played by Morgan Freeman) to Springbok rugby team captain François Pienaar (played by Matt Damon).

Invictus
William Ernest Henley

> Out of the night that covers me,
> Black as the pit from pole to pole,
> I thank whatever gods may be
> For my unconquerable soul.
>
> In the fell clutch of circumstance
> I have not winced nor cried aloud.
> Under the bludgeonings of chance
> My head is bloody, but unbowed.
>
> Beyond this place of wrath and tears
> Looms but the Horror of the shade,
> And yet the menace of the years
> Finds and shall find me unafraid
>
> It matters not how strait the gate,
> How charged with punishments the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate:
> I am the captain of my soul.

Rugby was more than just a game in South Africa; it was a preoccupation. Mandela had won the election as the African National Congress's (ANC) first black president. With that position came power, but Mandela knew that his political victory was tenuous. Even though the ANC dominated Parliament, whites still controlled the economy. And it was the country's history of white-dominated apartheid that had resulted in the national rugby team's exclusion from international sports competitions.

Against the advice of his supporters among the ANC, Mandela fought to retain the Springbok name and their beloved green and gold jerseys. Mandela recognized that this was a reminder of decades of oppression to the now-black majority, but he also knew that white extremist Afrikaners posed a continuing threat. Their ongoing resistance to a black-dominated government could plunge the fragile government into anarchy and insurrection. Power would not work—but influence might.

The movie, based on John Carlin's book *Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game That Made a Nation*, takes us through a moving scene in which Mandela exhibits his dramatic ability to influence the struggling rugby team. Taking the team to visit Robben Island, where he had been imprisoned for 17 years, Mandela recites "Invictus" as Pienaar and the team imagines the struggles of Mandela and his fellow prisoners. The underdog Springboks rallied to win the Rugby World Cup, hosted by South Africa in 1995. But, as noted by Arlene Getz, "[I]t was South Africa's good fortune that Mandela opted for reconciliation over retribution." It was also South Africa's good fortune that Nelson Mandela was a master of influence.

Sources: J. Carlin, *Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game that Made a Nation*, (New York: Penguin Press, 2008); A. Getz, "The Real Story of 'Invictus'," *Newsweek*, December 9, 2009, http://www.newsweek .com/2009/12/09/sports-politics-and-mandela.html

it was a way to put a subordinate in his place were frequently mentioned as reasons for unsuccessful influence attempts.[59] In a nutshell, these results suggest that leaders should pay attention not only to the actual influence tactics they use—to *how* they are influencing others—but also to *why* they believe such methods are called for. It is perhaps obvious that influence efforts intended to build others up more frequently lead to positive outcomes than do influence efforts intended to put others down.

Summary

This chapter defined *power* as the capacity or potential to exert influence, *influence tactics* as the behaviors used by one person to modify the attitudes and behaviors of another, and *influence* as the degree of change in a person's attitudes, values, or behaviors as the result of another's influence tactic. Because power, influence, and influence tactics play such important roles in the leadership process, this chapter provided ideas to help leaders improve their effectiveness. By reflecting on their different bases of power, leaders may better understand how they can affect followers and even expand their power. The five bases of power also offer clues to why subordinates can influence leaders and successfully resist leaders' influence attempts.

Leaders also may gain insight into why they may not enjoy certain aspects of their responsibilities by reflecting on their own need for power or motivation to manage; they may also better understand why some leaders exercise power selfishly by considering McClelland's concepts of personalized power and activity inhibition. Leaders can improve their effectiveness by finding ways to enhance the value of their personal contribution to their team while not permitting in-group and out-group rivalries to develop in the work unit.

Although power is an extremely important concept, having power is relatively meaningless unless a leader is willing to exercise it. The exercise of power occurs primarily through the influence tactics leaders and followers use to modify each other's attitudes and behaviors. The types of influence tactics used seem to depend on the amount of different types of power possessed, the degree of resistance expected, and the rationale behind the different influence tactics. Because influence tactics designed to build up others are generally more successful than those that tear others down, leadership practitioners should always consider why they are using a particular influence attempt before they actually use it. By carefully considering the rationale behind the tactic, leaders may be able to avoid using pressure and legitimizing tactics and find better ways to influence followers. Being able to use influence tactics that modify followers' attitudes and behaviors in the desired direction while they build up followers' self-esteem and self-confidence is a skill all leaders should strive to master.

Key Terms

power, *110*
influence, *112*
influence tactics, *112*
pecking order, *113*
expert power, *118*
referent power, *118*
legitimate power, *119*
reward power, *120*
coercive power, *121*

power distance, *125*
need for power, *127*
personalized power, *127*
socialized power, *127*
projective personality
  test, *127*
motivation to manage,
  128
rational persuasion, *129*

inspirational appeals, *129*
consultation, *129*
ingratiation, *130*
personal appeals, *130*
exchange, *130*
coalition tactics, *130*
pressure tactics, *130*
legitimizing tactics, *130*

Questions

1. The following questions pertain to the Milgram studies (Highlight 4.2):

   a. What bases of power were available to the experimenter, and what bases of power were available to the subjects?

   b. Do you think subjects with a low need for power would act differently from subjects with a high need for power? What about subjects with differing levels of the motivation to manage?

   c. What situational factors contributed to the experimenter's power?

   d. What influence tactics did the experimenter use to change the behavior of the subjects, and how were these tactics related to the experimenter's power base?

   e. What actually was influenced? In other words, if influence is the change in another's attitudes, values, or behaviors as the result of an influence tactic, then what changes occurred in the subjects as the result of the experimenter's influence tactics?

   f. Many people have criticized the Milgram study on ethical grounds. Assuming that some socially useful information was gained from the studies, do you believe this experiment could or should be replicated today?

2. Some definitions of leadership exclude reliance on formal authority or coercion (that is, certain actions by a person in authority may work but should not be considered leadership). What are the pros and cons of such a view?

3. Does power, as Lord Acton suggested, tend to corrupt the power holder? If so, what are some of the ways it happens? Is it also possible subordinates are corrupted by a superior's power? How? Is it possible that superiors can be corrupted by a subordinate's power?

4. Some people say it dilutes a leader's authority if subordinates are allowed to give feedback to the leader concerning their perceptions of the leader's performance. Do you agree?

5. Is *leadership* just another word for *influence*? Can you think of some examples of influence that you would *not* consider leadership?

Activity

This activity will demonstrate how the five bases of power are manifest in behavior. Write the five bases of power on the board or put them on an overhead. Divide students into five groups, and give each group a 3 × 5 card that lists one of the five bases of power. Give the group 10 minutes to plan and practice a 1-minute skit that will be presented to the rest of the class. The skit should demonstrate the base of power listed on the 3 × 5 card. After the skit is presented, the remaining groups should guess which base of power is being used in the skit. As an alternative, you might choose a project for out-of-class work. Another variation is to assign the groups the task of finding a 3- to 4-minute segment from a movie or video representing a base of power and bring that in to the class.

Minicase

The Prime Minister's Powerful Better Half

Ho Ching's power has been recognized by many. As chief executive officer of Temasek Holdings, she ranked number 18 on a list of Asia's most powerful business-people and number 24 on the *Forbes* list of the world's most powerful women. How did a shy, Stanford-educated electrical engineer end up with this kind of power? Ho was a government scholar who started off in civil service and ended up working for the Defense Ministry in Singapore. There she met and married Lee Hsien Loong, Singapore's current prime minister and the son of Lee Kwan Yew—one of modern Singapore's founding fathers. Ho's experience, education, and connections led to her appointment as chief executive of Temasek, where she oversees a portfolio worth over $50 billion and influences many of Singapore's leading companies.

Temasek Holdings was established in 1974 in an attempt by the Singapore government to drive industrialization. Through Temasek Holdings the Singapore government took stakes in a wide range of companies, including the city-state's best-known companies: Singapore Airlines, Singapore Telecommunications, DBS Bank, Neptune Orient Lines, and Keppel Corp. The company's website describes Temasek's "humble roots during a turbulent and uncertain time" and its commitment "to building a vibrant future [for Singapore] through successful enterprise." Ho's appointment to Temasek in May 2002 caused some controversy; as her prime minister husband has a supervisory role over the firm. Ho denies any conflict of interest:

> The issue of conflict does not arise because there are no vested interests. Our goal is to do what makes sense for Singapore, I don't always agree with him (Mr. Lee) and he doesn't always agree with me. We have a healthy debate on issues.

In her role as CEO, Ho is pushing for a more open policy and an aggressive drive into the Asian market. Under Ho's leadership Temasek has decided to publicly disclose its annual report with details of its performance—details that have formerly remained private and been known only to Temasek executives.

Ho is concentrating on broadening Temasek's focus beyond Singapore, most recently opening an office in India. At a conference of top Indian companies, Ho appealed to investors to look to India for opportunities for Asian growth:

> Since the Asian financial crisis in 1997, the word *Asia* had lost a bit of its sparkle. But that sparkle is beginning to return. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Asia economic miracle referred to East Asia, specifically Japan. The 1970s and 1980s saw the emergence of the four Asian Tigers of Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore.
>
> Now is India's turn to stir, standing at an inflexion point, after 10 years of market liberalisation and corporate restructuring. Since 1997, Singapore's trade with India grew by 50 percent, or a respectable CAGR of about

7.5 percent. Confidence is brimming in India, and Indian companies began to reach out boldly to the world over the last five years.

All these waves of development have shown that Asia, with a combined population of 3 billion, has been resilient. If Asia continues to work hard and work smart, honing her competitive strengths and leveraging on her complementary capabilities across borders, the outlook in the next decade or two looks very promising indeed.

1. We have described *power* as the capacity to cause change and *influence* as the degree of actual change in a target's behaviors. Ho Ching's power as a leader has been recognized by many, but would you describe Ho Ching as an influential leader? Why?

2. Based on the excerpt from Ho Ching's speech, what type of tactics does she use to influence the behavior of others?

3. Ho Ching has been named one of the most powerful leaders in Asia. What are her major sources of power?

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