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EMPOWERMENT AS A DYNAMIC OF THE LEADERSHIP RELATIONSHIP:
A STUDY OF TWO LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

by

Danell Scarborough Gavares

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education

University of San Diego

1993

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EMPOWERMENT AS A DYNAMIC OF THE LEADERSHIP RELATIONSHIP:
A STUDY OF TWO LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

SCARBOROUGH GAVARES, DANELL, ED.D. University of San Diego, 1993.

Director: Joseph C. Rost, Ph.D.

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The purpose of this study is to develop a better understanding of the empowerment processes operating within organizations and to theorize about the relationship between empowerment and leadership. The study focuses on empowerment in two local governmental organizations--the City of Carlsbad, California and the City of Scottsdale, Arizona.

The research design combined the key characteristics of naturalistic inquiry with the analytical approach of grounded theory methodology. The researcher interviewed the members of both management teams and spent time as a participant observer.

The data were synthesized into a conceptual model--a picture of the empowerment practices within these two organizations. The model includes the five aspects which influence organizational members' sense of empowerment: contextual, organizational, managerial, personal, and interpersonal.

The majority of the practices which contributed to a sense of empowerment were processes of the "good management" paradigm: increasing feelings of self-worth and efficacy, providing opportunities for involvement, expanding decision-making authority, and inspiring commitment to organizational goals. Inhibitors included: a traditional authoritarian

management style, ego needs of managers involved, ambiguity that is created as a result of shared power, time commitment required, conflict that is a natural by-product of critical thinking and dialogue, and normal changes and crises that confront an organization.

The good management practices, which have sustained the two cities over time, provided fertile ground in which leadership relationships emerged. Leadership emerged when, from time to time, substantive changes were called for. The city managers shifted the power of their position to a shared power. The management teams together looked at the challenges the cities faced, thought together about the opportunities that exist, and challenged each other to think beyond the status quo—they developed a shared vision and commitment to change.

If empowerment is mobilizing people's beliefs, desires, abilities, and opportunities to exercise influence and to create change; and if leadership is a relationship among leaders and followers based on mutual influence who intend substantive changes that reflect their common purposes; then participation in a leadership relationship is one of the most powerful sources of empowerment for an individual or collective.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother and father,

Glenella Grant Scarborough
who embodies leadership through empowerment
in her home, work, and community,

and

Robert Daniel Scarborough
whose love of learning and critical thinking
has challenged me through the years.

My parents have given me a sense of faith
and self efficacy without which this effort
would not have been dreamed of nor completed. Thank you.

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Many wonderful people have contributed to the completion of this study and my doctorate.

My deepest appreciation goes to my husband John for his unending support and encouragement through this long process.

I am especially grateful to Dr. Joseph Rost who has been most influential in shaping my views on leadership--a cherished teacher in the early days and an incredibly competent dissertation chair in the final days.

I am grateful as well to Dr. Mary Scherr for serving on my committee and sharing many stimulating conversations, and Dr. Foster whose work in leadership has informed and guided my thoughts.

I extend a special thanks to Dr. Trudy Sopp who through this process has been a supportive boss, gracious mentor, thoughtful and encouraging committee member, and caring friend.

My family, friends, and colleagues have each contributed incredible amounts of optimism and inspiration. My sisters Karen, Robin, and Delsie have believed from the start. My friends and neighbors Connie, Tinette, Dave, Susannah, Carl, and Linda have been a constant source of sustenance. My colleagues at the City of San Diego's Organization Effectiveness Program Catherine, Cathy, Christine, Gloria, Jeannette, Jim, Karen, Kathie, Keren, Mauro, Melanie, Oliver, Peggy, Phil, and Ruby have nudged and celebrated at all the right times. My colleague Gary Winters helped me create wonders on the computer. And my school buddies Bob, Jon, and Dana shared many stimulating discussions and good times.

Finally, I wish to express sincere appreciation to the men and women who participated in this study. To Dick Bowers and the City of Scottsdale and to Ray Patchett and the City of Carlsbad, thank you very, very much. To Robin Reid and Michele Moomaugh, thank you for partnering on this study and for our friendships. Each of the participant's open sharing has made an important contribution towards the further understanding of the dynamics of leadership and empowerment. Thank you all.

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CHAPTER ONE
STATEMENT OF THE ISSUE

Introduction

We are living in a time of complex and seemingly insurmountable challenges in our collective lives. According to Astin (1989), "Our major institutions are failing us. A leadership crisis is evident in our government, in business, in our religious institutions, and in education" (p. 1). From all areas of our society, and from the world at large, we hear cries of ineffective structures and relationships. In the face of these challenges, we are being called to rethink and renew our relationships, our organizations, our paradigms. We must find ways to create together new and positive visions of the future. We must mobilize to accomplish fundamental change. We must be empowered to pursue our higher common purposes. Our future quality of life depends on our efforts.

One thing is clear: now more than ever before, we need leadership. We need leadership that will provoke, guide, inspire, mobilize, and empower us to rise to the challenges we face. Expressing this need, Kotter (1988) said: "Our country cries out for leadership at the business level and the political level. Lack of leadership is the biggest problem we have in making this nation competitive" (p. 1). Nanus (1989) also wrote, "With thousands of our major organizations over managed and underled, it is little wonder that anxiety about the future is so widespread in America Never has the need for leadership been greater" (p. 7). At this particular time in history, we must develop a clearer understanding of the nature of leadership. We must develop a deeper

comprehension of the practice of leadership. The dynamics of the important processes of leadership—vision, mutual influence, empowerment, and change—become vital sources of inquiry as we seek to respond to these complex and challenging times.

Organizations, public and private, local and global, are experiencing these challenges most acutely. They are grappling with their own renewal and even survival (Kanter, 1983, 1989b; Kilmann & Covin, 1988; Naisbitt & Aburdene, 1985; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Srivastva & Cooperrider, 1986; Waterman, 1987). Corporate transformation is now mandatory for organizational success according to Kilmann and Covin (1988). Spencer (1989) saw this critical need for organizational transformation being driven by the changing marketplace and work force. The economic, environmental, political, and technological pressures facing organizations are not new but have increased in scope and intensity in recent years. An additional driving force for change is now coming from inside the organization as well. The changing work force, with its new demographics, diversity, and values, is also calling for change in organizations. Srivastva & Cooperrider (1986) concurred that organizational leaders, in order to support the transformation of their organizations, "are being asked to envision alternatives that have never yet existed, to challenge current notions of what is possible, to ignite the spirit of collective renewal, and to harness turbulent environmental forces" (p. 1). Public sector organizations are experiencing these same pressures and challenges: increasingly scarce resources at the local level, decreased support from traditional funding sources (i. e., federal government), rising demands (in scope and complexity) for services from constituents, and pressures for privatization of services. Citizens are calling for an increased level of involvement and participation in government and at the same time are

demonstrating an apathy and disillusionment about government that is debilitating for our democratic society. This is especially frustrating given the role that government plays in addressing the critical issues of the day. "Our government has assumed a critical role in the resolution of virtually every significant problem facing our society today. The problems that public leaders confront in discharging these responsibilities are among the most difficult and intricate of any issues that any leadership group is called upon to face in this society" explained Allison (1984, p. 238).

Again, if there was ever a time when leadership was needed, it is now. Kotter (1988) believed that these environmental and organizational changes are combining to make leadership more necessary but increasingly difficult to carry out. "The leadership factor has become significantly more important" (p. 15). Similarly, Bennis and Nanus (1985) observed: "leadership is the pivotal force behind successful organizations and that to create vital and viable organizations, leadership is necessary to help organizations develop a new vision of what they can be, then mobilize the organization change toward the new vision" (p. 3).

Arriving at an understanding of the core nature of leadership has been a formidable task. Reflecting upon this condition, Burns (1978) wrote, and Bennis and Nanus (1985) later agreed, "leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth" (p. 2). The study of leadership has been through wave after wave of different theories; from the great man theories of the 1930s and 1940s, to the trait theories of the 1960s and 1970s, to the situational and excellence theories of the 1980s and 1990s. Rost (1991) was not surprised that we have not been able to clarify the nature of leadership, "because most of what is written about leadership has to do with its peripheral elements and content rather than with the essential nature of leadership as a

relationship" (p. 5). We must begin to focus on "understanding the essential nature of what leadership is, the process whereby leaders and followers relate to one another to achieve a purpose" (p. 4).

Imperfect as it may be, our present understanding of leadership does provide important clues about new directions that must be taken in understanding the essential nature of the leadership process (Marinoble, 1989). Burns (1978) defined leadership as "the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political, and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers" (p. 425). Rost (1991) defined leadership as an "influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes" (p. 102). The leader, according to Bennis and Nanus (1985), is one who "commits people to action, who converts followers into leaders, and who may convert leaders into agents of change" (p. 3). Contained within these definitions are the concepts of vision, collective purpose, mutual influence, empowerment, and attempting change. Learning more about these concepts and as a result, understanding more about the essential nature of leadership, is an important piece in our being able to respond to the challenges we are facing in our collective lives.

The Issue

How does leadership tap the belief, the energy, the commitment, the initiative, and the partnership of individuals? of an organization? How do organizations translate intention into reality and accomplish real change? How do followers come to fully participate with leaders in a leadership relationship? These are vital questions for people studying the practice of

leadership. The concept of empowerment holds promising answers to these questions. Empowerment could be a key process for leaders and followers attempting organizational change. To date, empowerment is an area largely unexplored by leadership scholars. Given the calls for leadership in our society and given the challenges organizations are facing, I think leadership studies would benefit from a further exploration of empowerment.

Leadership and empowerment have been linked by a few authors. They see leadership as "the process of empowering others" (Britton & Stallings, 1986; Burke, 1986; DePree, 1989; Tichy & Devanna, 1986). Astin (1989) expressed the belief that the leader is a catalyst or facilitator, and that through the processes of empowerment and collective action the desired changes in the institution can be accomplished. Leadership is "empowering others to translate intention into reality and sustain it" (Bennis and Nanus, 1985, p. 80). In agreement, Conger (1989) also conceived of leadership as the "art of empowering others" (p. 17).

While there is an increasing awareness of the link between leadership and empowerment, these references fail to provide an in-depth look at the relationship between the two concepts. In addition, they do not address the actual practices that create a sense of shared power and involvement among organizational members. The literature that does address the practical applications of empowerment treats it more as a function of participative management than as a part of the process of leadership. This study will provide an in-depth look at empowerment as a dynamic of the leadership relationship and how it is practiced in organizations.

There is also an absence of leadership studies that are focused on the public sector. In the majority of the studies that have focused on leadership across multiple organizations (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Kotter, 1988; Kouzes &

Posner, 1987; Levinson & Rosenthal, 1984) a perfunctory remark is usually made about the inclusion of public sector organizations in the data gathering. The types of public sector organizations typically included are federal agencies, institutions of higher education, or nonprofit foundations. A focus on local governmental organizations is rarely included. The underlying assumption is that the same models and theories that apply to private organizations or large public organizations also apply to local governmental agencies. While this may ultimately be true, we need studies focused specifically on these organizations to determine if the assumption is valid.

Purpose of the Study

This study has three purposes. First, the intent of this research is to contribute to the field of leadership studies and to the process of developing a new paradigm of leadership. The second purpose is to study the empowerment process as a dynamic of the leadership relationship. The third purpose is to engage in the reciprocal relationship of theory informing practice and practice informing theory so that this research may be a contribution to scholars and practitioners alike.

A new paradigm of leadership is emerging in the literature. A primary purpose of this study is to contribute to this body of thinking. This research seeks to understand more about leadership within organizations through the use of a qualitative study. Qualitative studies uncover, clarify, and describe context, relationships, processes, and belief systems. The emerging paradigm of leadership needs more insight into its processes and relationships. Knowledge about these dynamics is best achieved by participation with and dialogue between the members of the organization and the researcher. In this

study, the participants and I have been co-researchers. We have discovered together how leadership is practiced.

Most of our knowledge about leadership in organizations to date has been derived from the study of private sector entities. This study has focused on leadership in public sector/governmental organizations, specifically two local municipalities. Studying leadership through the lenses of governmental organizations may uncover variations or nuances that are useful to the field. In addition, because of the role that governmental organizations play in our collective lives, if we can increase our understanding of leadership in these areas, we can affect not only one organization but the community at large as well.

The two organizations which participated in this study were the City of Carlsbad, California and the City of Scottsdale, Arizona. Both cities are incorporated and have a council-manager form of government, which means that they have an elected mayor and city council who decide the policy direction for the city. The city manager is a professional manager who serves at the pleasure of the council and is responsible for day-to-day management of the operations of the organization. The services the cities provide include safety services (police and fire), parks and recreation, library, utilities, street and facility maintenance, public works (water, sewer, and trash), and planning, zoning, building, and community development services. Both cities also have internal or staff departments including financial management, human resources, purchasing, and risk management. I interviewed and observed the management teams of these two organizations, including city managers, assistant city managers, general managers, department directors, and staff assistants.

The second purpose of this research is to study the empowerment process as a dynamic of the leadership relationship. My objectives are threefold:

1. To understand empowerment more fully. My aim is to discover the individual and organizational belief systems, behaviors, and interactions that foster and sustain empowerment and those that inhibit it. Developing knowledge about the consequences of empowerment, both the benefits and the dilemmas, will be useful as well.

2. To understand the relationship between empowerment and leadership. My purpose is to clarify and describe how the concepts of leadership and empowerment relate to each other. Is empowerment a precondition to leadership? Must people feel a sense of empowerment before they can participate in a leadership relationship? Is empowering a process of leadership? Is leadership a combination of visioning, influencing, and empowering? Or, is empowerment a result of leadership? Is a sense of empowerment experienced as a result of participation in a leadership relationship?

3. To construct a conceptual model of these dynamics that visually depicts the awareness of leadership and empowerment emerging from this study.

The third and final purpose of this study is to engage in research that promotes the reciprocal relationship of theory informing practice and practice informing theory (Foster, 1986a). This research study represents the second half of this reciprocal process--practice informing theory. The participants shared with me their practice, in return, I provided a theory about leadership and empowerment that I hope will inform the practice of these and other local governmental organizations and therefore be useful to

working practitioners. I hope the information will be instrumental in encouraging the practice of leadership so that together we will be able to more responsibly and effectively address the challenges we are facing.

Research Questions

Strauss and Corbin (1990) explained that research questions appropriate for developing a model or theory need to provide the flexibility and freedom to explore a phenomenon in depth. In addition, the questions need to be action and process oriented. Initially, the questions are broadly focused. They become progressively more focused during the research process. Throughout the data analysis, which begins with the first collection of data, the process of refining the questions continues.

Although the research questions used in this study are broad in nature, they do provide the necessary focus and freedom. How the questions have evolved and developed over the course of the study will be discussed in the final chapter. Question 1 focuses on the relationship between the concepts of empowerment and leadership. Questions 2, 3, and 4 concern the aspects of empowerment which will be most evident and influential in the organizations under study. These questions are based on review of the relevant literature. Question 5 attempts to capture all aspects of empowerment discovered—as a result of the initial research questions and the emerging questions and refinements. The five research questions are as follows:

1. In local governmental organizations, does the leadership relationship create and foster empowerment?
2. What contributes to and what inhibits a sense of empowerment?
3. Does empowerment affect the experience of the group?
4. Does empowerment affect the outcome (product) of the group?

5. What would a conceptual model of empowerment look like?

Definition of Terms

The following terms are central to this research.

Leadership - "Leadership is an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes" (Rost, 1991, p. 102).

Empowerment - The process of mobilizing people's beliefs, commitment and ability to intend real changes. A key component of empowerment is sharing power: the process of sharing tangible and intangible power. Tangible power includes involvement and influence in core issues and access to power tools such as information and material resources. Intangible power includes self-efficacy beliefs and connectedness to a sense of higher purpose.

Power - Power, in the social realm, is the capacity to bring about certain intended consequences in the behavior of others. "Rather than connoting only dominance, control, and oppression, power can mean efficacy and capacity" (Kanter, 1979, p. 66). Power in organizations is the ability to mobilize resources (human and material) to get things done.

Participative Management - The process in which managers involve employees in decision-making, goal-setting, and problem-solving responsibilities with employees. Thus, participative management is a management style in which subordinates have meaningful input into the workings of the organization (Anthony, 1978).

Organization of the Dissertation

The purpose of this dissertation is to study leadership and empowerment as they operate within local governmental organizations. Chapter Two is a

review of the literature on leadership, empowerment, and other subjects closely associated with these concepts. A review of qualitative research methodology and the grounded theory approach as it was applied in this study is contained in Chapter Three. Chapter Four provides a description of the two organizations studied: their context, structures, and relationships. The information collected from observations, interviews, and other data collection methods is presented in Chapter Five. The data are organized into a conceptual framework which emerged through the interactive process among the participants, the data, and the researcher. Chapter Six addresses the research questions initially posed and draws conclusions from the study. This chapter also reviews the strengths and weaknesses of the study and makes recommendations for future research and application.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The review of literature explores four closely related concepts: leadership, power, participative management, and empowerment. The leadership section explores historical and emerging definitions of leadership. The section on power is included for two reasons. First, understanding more about power helps in understanding more about leadership. Secondly, power is the root concept from which empowerment is derived. Exploring the nature of the root will shed light on the derivative. Participative management is closely associated with empowerment in current literature and practice. Although there is notable overlap between the two concepts, there is merit in examining their differences. In the final section, the literature on empowerment is surveyed from an individual, structural, and leadership perspective. Review of these four concepts provides a theoretical framework upon which the research process can be grounded.

Leadership

Traditional Definitions

It is immediately apparent from a review of the leadership literature that there is no standard, agreed-upon definition of leadership (Bass, 1981; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Burns, 1978; Smith & Peterson, 1988; Rost, 1991). According to Burns (1978), leadership was "one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth" (p. 2). Kellerman (1984) acknowledged that there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there are leadership

theories. She outlined how leadership has at various times been defined as: the focus of group process, personality and its effects, the art of inducing compliance, the exercise of influence, a form of persuasion, a power relation, an instrument of goal achievement, a differentiated role, and the initiation of structure. Although traditionally there have been multiple conceptualizations of leadership, one of them tends to prevail over the others. We "still see a leader as one person, sitting at the top of a hierarchy, determining, for a group of loyal followers, the direction, pace and outcome of everyone's effort" Nicoll observed (1986, p. 30). Astin (1989) related a similar observation. "In most studies, leadership has been viewed primarily in hierarchical terms. A prevailing notion being, that a leader is someone with special attributes who has the power to influence others by virtue of his position and resources" (p. 4).

Paradigm Shift in Leadership Studies

The current disarray of our understanding of leadership, coupled with the rapidly changing environment, has led several leadership scholars and practitioners to either identify or call for a paradigm shift in the studies and practice of leadership (Adams & Spencer, 1986; Allen, 1990; Astin, 1989; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Burns, 1978; Kiefer, 1986; Maccoby, 1981; Nanus, 1989; Rost, 1988, 1991; Tichy & Ulrich, 1984). Rost (1988) described the leadership models of the past or the "industrial era" as "scientific, rational, male, management oriented, quantitative, goals dominated, technocratic, cost-benefit driven, personalistic, hierarchical, short term, pragmatic, and materialistic" (p. 10). He believed that a new paradigm of leadership, a "postindustrial" model of leadership, must be developed for the twenty-first century.

Foster (1986b) concurred that leadership is a concept that must be "dismantled and rebuilt" (p. 3). He pointed out that the "revolution in social

science is the abandonment of the positivistic paradigm in favor of a dialectical framework which allows for a dynamic interpretation of human history and action" (p. 9). He explained that under the old paradigm, leadership is seen as "personal property or a property of position" whereas under the new paradigm leadership is "the consensual and mutual determination of possibilities" (p. 3).

Several other authors have focused on the need for new models of leadership, although they have not called for the type of "revolution at the core" that Foster and Rost have. Nanus (1989) called our current model of leadership "static" and not up to the challenges of complexity, change, uncertainty, and ambiguity which we are facing. He wrote that "what we currently understand leadership to be is not wrong; it is simply not adequate to the challenge of a new age" (p. 53). Maccoby (1981) noted that our old models of leadership no longer work and that we need a new model that responds to our "changing social character" (p. 13). "Our traditional views of leaders . . . are deeply rooted in an individualistic and nonsystemic world view" observed Senge (1990, p. 340). He also called for a fundamentally new view of leadership.

We find ourselves caught in the transition period between old and new paradigms of leadership. We have not fully let go of the old, and we have not yet fully crafted the new. Even though we are consciously trying to fashion new definitions of leadership, many of the fundamental assumptions of our old definitions remain unconscious and unchallenged and therefore are constantly creeping into our new conceptualizations. Nicoll (1986) concurred that we do need to struggle with the implications of a new leadership paradigm. He added that, although a number of scholars and practitioners are talking about new ideas, most of the work is, in critical ways, still a prisoner to

outdated concepts. He lamented that even our newest and best approaches to leadership are still rooted in hierarchical, linear, and dualistic thinking. The work of crafting a new paradigm of leadership, free of the values and assumptions of the industrial paradigm, will not be easy but must be done.

Postindustrial Paradigm Definition of Leadership

Rost (1991) strongly stated the need for a "new school of leadership." This new school would represent a "substantial paradigm shift toward a model of leadership that is postindustrial in its basic background assumptions and in its definitions" (p. 126). The purpose and challenge of this new school of leadership would be to present a clear definition of leadership for the twenty-first century.

At the time, Burns' (1978) major work on leadership was heralded as the new school of leadership which would usher in this new paradigm. With the assistance of many years of hindsight and analysis, his work is now viewed more as a bridge between paradigms than as a clear, new beginning (Rost, 1991). Burns identified two forms of leadership, transactional and transformational. His concept of transformational leadership remains a foundation on which current discussions of leadership are still based. He pointed out that transformational leadership has five essential components. First, leadership occurs in relationships between people and thus is collective in nature. Leadership is also dissensual. The processes of leadership must be seen as part of the dynamics of conflict and power, and must be seen as a competition for followers. The third essential component is that leadership results in change. The result of this interactive process is change in the motives and needs of leaders and followers. This ultimately has a causative effect on groups and organizations. Leadership is also morally purposeful because it is driven by the leader's values and vision which are shaped in

concert with followers. Finally, leadership is morally elevating. Leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation, morality, and human conduct (see pp. 451-457).

If Burns' work is not the new paradigm but rather a bridge between the industrial and postindustrial paradigms of leadership, what must the new definition look like? Rost (1991) ventured perhaps the first postindustrial definition: "Leadership is an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes" (p. 102). This definition appears deceptively simple. Actually, each word was carefully chosen to convey specific meaning. Rost's definition includes four essential elements, all of which must be present if leadership is occurring. The elements are: (1) a relationship based on mutual influence, (2) leaders and followers sharing in the leadership relationship, (3) intending real changes, and (4) having mutual or common purpose. This is the definition that is explored below.

Essential Elements of the Definition

The first essential element of leadership is that the relationship is based on mutual influence. This implies a proactive rather than a passive role for followers, and multiple levels and directions of dialogue and influence. Rost (1991) defined influence as "using persuasion to have an impact on other people in a relationship" (p. 107). This persuasion is multidirectional and noncoercive. Rost (1989) had described earlier that "when coercive and authoritarian processes are characteristic of a relationship, we can no longer call that relationship leadership" (p. 4). Gibb (1969) also defined leadership as an influence process. He insisted that, "the term leadership applies only when this (influence) is voluntarily accepted or when it is in a 'shared direction'" (p. 212-213).

Influence flows both ways in the leadership relationship agreed Gardner (1990). He observed how "leaders are almost never as much in charge as they are pictured to be, followers almost never as submissive as one might imagine. That influence and pressure flow both ways is not a recent discovery" (p. 23). He added that leadership is a "relationship between leaders and constituents in which each is in some measure the shaper, and in some measure the shaped" (p. 31). Gardner proposed using the word constituent instead of follower because as he said, "the connotations of the word 'follower' suggest too much passivity and dependence to make it a fit term for those who are at the other end of the dialogue with leaders" (p. 5).

Other authors have used the metaphor of a dialogue to describe this two-way flow of influence. In his interactive paradigm of leadership, Nicoll (1986) suggested that wisdom and meaning come from the interplay or the dialogue between the leader and the led. He suggested that "leaders need to begin thinking about themselves as if they were part of an 'action-dialogue' or a 'shared-trusteeship' . . . part of a mutual, interactive process of creation" (p. 32). In Grob's opinion (1984), leadership is a dialogue in which both participants engage in a process of critique. "The very essence of dialogue consists in the mutual offering of perspectives which allows for--indeed, promotes--the movement of followers into leadership roles" (p. 274).

The second essential element that must be present if leadership is occurring is that leaders and followers are engaged in a leadership relationship. This is different from past concepts of leaders doing leadership and followers doing followership. Rost (1991) expressed the view that "both leaders and followers form one relationship that is leadership. There is no such thing as followership" (p. 109). There must be more than one follower, they must be active, and typically there is more than one leader in the

relationship as well (Rost, 1991). Kellerman (1984) concurred, "it takes two to make leadership; the leader, and at least one follower. In fact, they depend on each other utterly, and define, stimulate, and reinforce each other" (p. 79).

Several authors discussed the idea of leadership being a shared process. Leadership is shared, according to Foster (1989); it is a communal relationship. Astin (1989) wrote that "leadership can be viewed as a process of collective effort, rather than in terms of one person (leader), with specific attributes, who leads others" (p. 9). Perreault (1991) proposed using the metaphor of friendship (rather than the military battle or sports event metaphors more commonly used to describe leadership.) She explained that "the basic assumption of a friendship model of leadership is that our mode of relationship with each other is fundamentally one of connection and interdependence" (p. 8). In a similar vein, DePree (1989) described leadership as "more tribal than scientific, more a weaving of relationships than an amassing of information" (p. 3).

Several authors also noted the interchangeable nature of the leader and the led. Leaders see themselves as members of a collective effort, according to Nicoll (1986). He said, "there is an element of belonging that is active in all good leadership. Leadership, first of all, bespeaks membership" (p. 32). Lee (1991) emphasized "the symbiotic relationship between leaders and followers. To be a leader, you'd better know what following is all about because the substance of leadership is followership" (p. 29). He described followers as partners in the leadership process and added, "in fact, they act a lot like leaders themselves" (p. 28).

The third essential element of leadership is that leaders and followers intend real changes. Rost (1991) emphasized the implications of the words intend and real changes. The word intend means that "the leaders and

followers purposefully desire certain changes in an organization and/or in the society. . . . The intention is deliberate and initiated on purpose" (p. 114). Rost's definition of leadership is process rather than product oriented. Change does not have to be produced for leadership to occur; words and actions can indicate intention. In contrast, Burns (1978) claimed that intended results must be produced and change must be accomplished, not just intended. He said, "the leadership process must be defined, in short as carrying through from the decision-making stages to the point of concrete changes in people's lives, attitudes, behaviors, and institutions" (p. 414). Gardner (1990) however, concurred with Rost and contended that "leaders act in the stream of history. As they labor to grind out a result, multiple forces beyond their control, even beyond their knowledge, are moving to hasten or hinder the result. So there is rarely a demonstrable causal link between a leader's specific decisions and consequent events. Consequences are not a reliable measure of leadership" (p. 8).

The second part of this element is that real changes must be intended; neither pseudo, superficial, incremental change nor organizational excellence goals are acceptable. "Real means that leaders and followers intend changes in people's lives, attitudes, behaviors, and basic assumptions, as well as in the groups, organizations, societies, and civilizations they are trying to lead" (Rost, 1991, p. 115). Foster (1989) also identified leadership as a vehicle for social change. He believed that "leadership is and must be socially critical . . . and oriented toward social vision and change, not simply, or only, organizational goals" (p. 7). According to Astin and Leland (1991), social change is the work of leadership. They defined leadership as "a process by which members of a group are empowered to work together synergistically toward a common goal or vision that will create change, transform

institutions, and thus improve the quality of life" (p. 8). Finally, Kotter (1990) stressed that the primary function of leadership is to produce change. He wrote that "leadership and management differ in terms of their primary function. The first can produce useful change, the second can create orderly results which keep something working efficiently" (p. 7).

The changes that leaders and followers intend reflect what they have come to understand from their interactions as their mutual or common purposes. This is the fourth essential element of leadership. An agreement upon common purposes must come out of the multidirectional and noncoercive influence relationship described above. "The changes that leaders and followers intend must reflect their mutual purposes. Mutual purposes are common purposes, not only because they are forged from the influence relationship . . . but because the followers and leaders together do leadership" (Rost, 1991, p. 122). Foster (1986b) described leadership in a similar way as "the consensual and mutual determination of possibilities" (p. 3). Vaill (1984) also captured this phenomenon with his concept of "purposing," seen as a continuous stream of actions which induce clarity, consensus and commitment regarding the organization's basic purposes. Although he was referring to the leader as an individual rather than to leadership as a relationship, Kiefer (1986) believed that the leader's role is that of a catalyst and custodian of the collective vision: "The leader is primarily a catalyst of the collective vision. The leader acts as a channel for the expression of that vision. It is as if the organizational vision flows through the leadership rather than originates from it" (p. 189).

The essential elements of Rost's postindustrial paradigm of leadership can be reassembled for a definition: leadership involves the influence relationship of multiple leaders and followers who intend real changes which

reflect their mutually held purposes. Leadership then, is a shared endeavor. It is "the essence of the relationship" between leaders and followers (Rost, 1991, p. 122).

Power

An understanding of power, as it relates to organizational life, provides an essential component in the study both leadership and empowerment. "To understand the nature of leadership requires an understanding of the essence of power, for leadership is a special form of power" (Burns, 1978, p. 12). McClelland (1975) noted that "leadership and power appear as two closely related concepts, and if we want to understand better effective leadership, we may begin by studying the power motive in thought and action" (p. 254). Foster (1986a) agreed: "Power must be a dominant concern of leadership" (p. 183). Conger and Kanungo (1988) stressed that "in order to critically analyze the notion of empowerment . . . the root constructs of power and control from which the empowerment construct is derived must be considered" (p. 472). In Burke's opinion (1986), we must have a context in which to understand empowerment. The context he proposed consisted of "an exploration of the holding of power" (p. 53).

Bertrand Russell (1938) said that "the fundamental concept in social science is power, in the same sense in which energy is the fundamental concept in physics" (p. 10). This basic social energy (power) is one of the most familiar forces in the universe, and it has been misused, mistrusted, and misunderstood. Power is at the same time, "the most necessary and most distrusted element exigent to human progress" (Bennis and Nanus, 1985, p. 16). According to Toffler (1990), power: "Is an inescapable aspect of every human

relationship. . . . Yet of all the aspects of our lives, power remains one of the least understood and most important--especially for our generation" (p. 3).

Ambivalence toward the holding of power is one way this dichotomy (being both necessary and distrusted) is expressed. Illustrating this ambivalence, Kanter (1979) described power as "America's last dirty word" and then added, "people who have it deny it; people who want it do not want to appear to hunger for it; and people who engage in its machinations do so secretly" (p. 65). Gardner (1990) stated, "power has such a bad name that many good people persuade themselves they want nothing to do with it" (p. 55). In American society, McClelland (1975) pointed out that although individuals are proud of having a high need for achievement, they dislike being told they have a high need for power. "It is OK to be concerned with doing things well (achievement) but it is reprehensible to be concerned with having influence over others (power)" (p. 255). Waterman (1987) noted that "while it seems manifest that those who make change happen . . . understand the use of power, in a positive sense of that word, still the words themselves--politics, power--are so loaded, so rightfully suspect, that those who are good at politics and power often deny it" (p. 10).

We recoil from power yet are preoccupied, almost obsessed, with it (Burns, 1978). Burns believed that our main hope for disenthraling ourselves from our overemphasis on power lies in a more sophisticated understanding of power. Srivastva and Cooperrider (1986) also called for a further understanding of power: "If the world in which power operates has become increasingly complex, so must our conceptions of power" (p. 2).

Several authors have attempted to further our understanding of when the use of power is bad and when it is good (Bradford & Cohen, 1984; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; McClelland, 1975; Waterman, 1987). McClelland

(1975) first articulated the distinction between good and bad power by using the concept of "two faces of power." He observed that "the negative or personal face of power is characterized by the dominance-submission mode. . . . The positive or socialized face of power is characterized by a concern for group goals, for finding those goals that will move men, for helping the group to formulate them, for taking initiative in providing means of achieving them, and for giving group members the feeling of competence they need to work hard for them" (p. 263). Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991) concurred that individuals with a socialized power motive exercise power more for the benefit of the whole organization, as a means to achieve desired goals. Those with a personalized power motive are likely to use power for manipulation or as an end in itself. Bradford and Cohen (1984) spoke of the two faces of power as restrictive power and enabling power. The emphasis of restrictive power is on increasing the discrepancy between the amounts of influence people have. Enabling power seeks to "increase the ability of all to be influential" (p. 163).

Other authors have applied the concept of the two faces of power to different areas. Conger and Kanungo (1988) explored how these two faces of power relate to the construct of empowerment. "Essentially, control and power are used in the literature in two different ways and, consequently empowerment can be viewed in two different ways" (p. 472). In Waterman's opinion (1987), there is a need to apply the two faces of power theory to management. He issued a call for the enrichment of our management vocabulary on the good and bad uses of power without which "vacuums will continue to be created, then filled by idealistic innocents who can't get much done, and by manipulators who get themselves advanced but stand for nothing" (p. 10).

Historical Definitions or the Negative Face of Power

Historically, power has been defined as the ability to control others (Allen, 1990; Hagberg, 1984; Kotter, 1985; Pfeffer, 1981). Most social scientists have based their discussions on definitions of power as the ability to force obedience or as control or domination. The oldest source of power is physical coercion (Gardner 1990). Carroll (1984) explained that "feminist scholars have noted that power, as discussed in social science literature and practiced in contemporary American politics, has generally been equated with domination and control" (p. 140).

Whereas at one time the method of achieving control over another might have been through physical control, now it is control over accumulated resources that others need and want. The most common source of power in the modern world is organizational position (Gardner, 1990). In a review of the management and social influence literature, Conger and Kanungo (1988) found that power is primarily used to describe the perceived control that an individual actor or organizational subunit has over others. The relative power of one actor over another is a product of the net dependence of the one on the other (Pfeffer, 1981). "Power comes from having access to resources that others want" (Cohen & Bradford, 1990, p. 132).

The Positive Face of Power

The positive or socialized definitions of power emphasize the ability or capacity to produce results. Kanter (1979) explained that rather than connoting only dominance, control, and oppression, power can mean "efficacy and capacity. . . . It is the ability to mobilize resources (human and material) to get things done" (p. 66). Pfeffer (1992) defines power as "a potential force" (p.13). He observed that the keys to using power are "knowing how to get things done and being willing to do them" (p. 300). Jones and Bearley (1988)

defined power as "the ability to get intended effects, to get what you want" (p. 9). Covey (1991) went further and said, "power is the capacity to act, the strength and courage to accomplish something" (p. 4). According to Gardner (1990), power in the social dimension is "the capacity to bring about certain intended consequences in the behavior of others" (p. 55). Srivastva and Cooperrider (1986) distinguished power by stating that "power is treated less as an individual property and more as an evolving social process initiated in order to bring something new into the world" (p. 4). "Power is the basic energy to initiate and sustain action or, to put it another way, the capacity to translate intention into reality and sustain it" (Bennis & Nanus, 1985, p. 17).

The true sign of power in this light is accomplishment of goals. Organizational and management theorists, using this assumption, have written extensively on power, its sources, conditions that promote it, and strategies to accumulate it or block others from accumulating it. Although this definition of power (the ability to get things done) is very different from the historical definition of power (domination), it still does not go far enough in fostering our understanding of the complexities of power.

Emerging Definitions

At least two influences are encouraging us to go even further in reconceptualizing power. One is the paradigm shift literature and the other is in the work of feminist scholars and theorists. Allen (1990) traced the emerging themes of increased change and complexity which have affected our core assumptions or paradigms about organizations, power and leadership. She explained how the traditional paradigm depends on assumptions of hierarchy, simplicity, and linear causality. In contrast, the emerging paradigm sees organizations as complex, heterarchical in structure, and having multiple perspectives represented within. Therefore, traditional ideas

of power, which are used to gain control over decisions, actions, and people will not be effective. She stressed that "emergent concepts of power are responding to the change of assumptions about the world from a linear to a non-linear, dynamic, and turbulent system" (p. 37). Toffler (1990) also outlined this major shift. "We live at a moment when the entire structure of power that has held the world together is now disintegrating. A radically different structure of power is taking form. And this is happening at every level of human society" (p. 3).

Feminist scholarship is also reconceptualizing power at the core assumption level. Miller (1982) made the case that "women's views have not been taken into account in most studies of power, but they may contribute to emerging new concepts and future uses of power" (p. 1). Carroll (1984) proposed a new understanding of power based on the work of feminist scholars and theorists. These are women who, in defining power, have drawn on the collective experiences of women rather than the experiences of men. "There is enormous validity in women not wanting to use power as it is presently conceived and used. Rather, women may want to be powerful in ways that simultaneously enhance, rather than diminish, the power of others" (Miller, 1982, p. 5).

Enhancing rather than diminishing the power of others is a strong theme throughout the feminist literature. Carroll (1984) concluded that feminist theorists, in describing power, generally emphasize similar qualities: "Supportive and cooperative relationships rather than relationships based on domination are stressed. 'Power to' as characterized by energy, ability to get things done, and reciprocity takes the place of 'power over'" (p. 142). Astin (1989) explained that "if power resides within each one of us, a leader does not have to exercise power over (read control), but she can mobilize power and

engage in leadership activities that empower others—that is, power with others, or shared power" (emphasis in original, p. 9). Elaborating on this point, Graham (1991) described women's ways of leading: "Power-with is interactive, has its own dynamic, and increases the total power of the group (p. 154).

Sherrod (1991) outlined the debilitating effect of the "one UP-one DOWN" power positions (people in the one-up position have all the authority and control to make the rules, people in the one-down position feel powerless and at times, victimized.) She contrasted this debilitating dynamic with the energy which could be directed toward constructive change when power was shared and all people were strengthened.

These days it is vital that we strive to get rid of arbitrary UP-DOWN power relationships. . . . Instead we need to find ways to stand side-by-side, so that as we look at the world together, we can eliminate the barriers that keep us from building a vibrant human community. (p. 4)

Several authors have begun to apply a feminist perspective to studies of leadership (Astin & Leland, 1991; Carroll, 1984; Rosener, 1990; Sherrod, 1991). Carroll (1984) pointed out that a reconceptualization of power suggests a new view of leadership as well. Astin and Leland (1991) believed that women have a different view of power.

A study of women leaders offers an opportunity to enhance knowledge and behavior involved in transformational leadership and specifically in empowerment. The definition of power as empowerment treats power as an expandable resource that is produced and shared through interaction by leader and followers alike. (p. 1)

Rosener (1990) observed the difference in leadership styles between men and women in the work place. She found that men displayed the more

traditional command-and-control style while women displayed a more "interactive" leadership style.

The women leaders made frequent reference to their efforts to encourage participation and share power and information--two things that are often associated with participative management. But their self-description went beyond the usual definitions of participation. Much of what they described were attempts to enhance other people's sense of self-worth and to energize followers (Rosener, 1990, p. 120).

Burns (1978) also spoke to this issue.

The male bias is reflected in the false conception of leadership as mere command or control. As leadership comes properly to be seen as a process of leaders engaging and mobilizing the human needs and aspirations of followers, women will be more readily recognized as leaders and men will change their own leadership styles. (p. 50)

The Paradox

In the traditional paradigm, the nature of power is such that if one person has more, the other must have less (McClelland, 1975). This is a zero-sum mentality or a scarcity mentality. The underlying belief is that there is only a finite amount of any item and therefore if one entity accrues more of that item, the other entity(s) must lose an equivalent amount. In political science this is the balance of power theory. Kouzes and Posner (1987) provided an illustration of this belief: "Traditional management thinking promotes the idea that power is a fixed sum: if I have more, then you have less. Naturally, people who hold this view are reluctant to share power" (p. 162).

In the underlying principles of the emerging paradigm, however, power is not a zero-sum commodity. In fact, the more power a person shares, the more power that person can accrue overall. In the new paradigm, the use

of power is a paradox (Cameron & Quinn, 1988) or "a statement that seems contradictory, unbelievable, or absurd but that may be true in fact" (Webster's New World Dictionary, 1988). Many authors have observed how power multiplies when it is given away (Allen, 1990; Bradford & Cohen, 1984; Block, 1987; Covey, 1990; Hagberg, 1984; Jones & Bearley, 1988; Maccoby, 1981; Srivastva & Cooperrider, 1986; Tracy, 1990). In his study of six leaders, Maccoby (1981) found that these individuals increased their power resources because they were willing to share them with others. Tracy (1990) likened the principles of power to the principles of love, "the more one gives to another, the more one receives in return (p. 12). Power is an "expandable pie—power is not a zero-sum commodity, requiring that for others to have more, the leader must have less. The more everyone in the organization feels a sense of power and influence, the greater the ownership and investment they feel in the success of the organization" (Kouzes & Posner, 1987, p. 164). Srivastva and Cooperrider (1986) noted that the "key executive task is not so much to acquire power as to deliver power to followers" (p. 5).

Kanter (1979) observed how "organizational power can grow, in part, by being shared. . . . By empowering others, a leader does not decrease his power, instead he may increase it" (p. 73). Later she explored how only those leaders who feel secure about their own power can see empowering others as a gain rather than a loss (Kanter, 1983). Covey (1990) described the same phenomenon.

Empowerment takes an abundance mentality—an attitude that there is plenty for everybody, and to spare, and the more you share the more you receive. People who are threatened by the successes of others see everyone as competitors. They have a scarcity mentality. Emotionally they find it hard to share power. (p. 257)

Elaborating on this reluctance to share power, Bradford and Cohen (1984) wrote: "Leaders who sense they are in low-power situations are hesitant about giving their subordinates increased influence . . . yet giving power begets power" (p. 285). Sensenbrenner (1991) found that middle-level managers were the ones who balked most at sharing power.

Thus, the two sides of power (possessing it and sharing it) are closely connected. This reciprocal nature of power as empowerment was described by Bennis and Nanus (1985). "It puts the duality in motion—power to empowerment, empowerment back to power. . . . This reciprocity creates its own rhythm, its own vitality and momentum" (p. 80).

Power and Leadership

The concepts of power and leadership have been juxtaposed in many different ways in order to clarify the meaning of both (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Burns, 1978; Carroll, 1984; Gardner, 1990; Hollander, 1985; Janda, 1972; McClelland, 1975; Pfeffer, 1992). If power is the basic energy needed to initiate and sustain action, then leadership is the "wise use of this power" (Bennis & Nanus, 1985, p. 17). Janda (1972) has argued that leadership must be viewed as a "particular type of power relationship" (p. 45). Gardner (1991) distinguished leaders from powerholders by the fact that leaders always have a measure of power but powerholders do not have a trace of leadership. The mutuality of purpose is the crucial factor that differentiates leadership from power wielding according to Burns (1978). Unlike power wielding, in which a person uses power to achieve his or her own purposes only, leadership is "leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and motivations . . . of both [emphasis in original] leaders and followers" (p. 19).

In hindsight, Pfeffer (1992) offered these thoughts about power and leadership: "If leadership involves skill at developing and exercising power

and influence as well as the will to do so, then perhaps one of the causes of the so-called leadership crises in organizations in the United States is just this attempt to sidestep issues of power" (p. 12). For the future, Burns offered this:

Our hope lies in having a more realistic, more sophisticated understanding of power, and of the often far more consequential exercise of mutual persuasion, exchange, elevation, and transformation—in short leadership. . . . We must see power—and leadership—not as things but as relationships. (p. 11)

He emphasized our need to see that "the most powerful influences consist of deeply human relationships in which two or more persons engage with one another" (p. 11).

Participative Management

Involving employees in the decision making and operations of the organization is a concept that had its beginnings in the 1950s and 1960s and has been gaining momentum in the 1980s and 1990s. The early writings of Argyris (1957), Drucker (1954), Likert (1961), and McGregor (1960), for example, provided a number of arguments favoring a widespread movement toward participative management (Lawler, 1982). As early as 1954, Peter Drucker discussed the advantages of employee involvement: "It [motivation] requires that any decision become 'our' decision to the people who have to convert it into action. This in turn means that they have to participate responsibly in making it" (p. 356).

This fundamental shift from a control-oriented management philosophy to an involvement-oriented philosophy has become a common theme in recent studies of management and organizations (Anthony, 1978; Bailey, 1988; Blanchard, Carew, Parisi-Carew, 1990; Bradford & Cohen, 1984;

Buchholz & Roth, 1987; Burke, 1986; DePree, 1989; Kanter, 1983, 1989a, 1989b; Kouzes & Posner, 1987; Lawler, 1982, 1988; Naisbitt & Aburdene, 1985; Peters, 1987; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Spencer, 1989; Waterman, 1987; Weisbord, 1987). The need for new organizational models which would fit the new and changing world was heralded by Peters and Waterman (1982). Blanchard, Carew, & Parisi-Carew (1990) pointed out that "there has been a movement toward participation and involvement so strong that it's called the Third Revolution in management practices" (p. 6). Elaborating on this point, Burke (1986) observed that "there is clearly a movement in our country's corporations towards greater delegation of authority and participative management--that is, subordinates, at least to some extent, influencing decisions that directly affect them and their work" (p. 52). This shift was described by Naisbitt and Aburdene (1985) as a fundamental part of reinventing the organization of the future. Companies that are shifting away from a top-down, authoritarian management style and beginning to create environments for employee involvement and growth will be the corporations of tomorrow. Several chief executive officers drawing on their personal experiences, have written about this shift. Stayer (1990) stressed that the very things that had brought him success in the past, "my centralized control, my aggressive behavior, my authoritarian business practices," (p. 67) were creating the environment that stifled his current satisfaction and the future growth of his company. DePree (1984) believed that "the most effective contemporary management process is participative management" (p. 24). Roy Pederson (1989), a city manager at the time, said "obedience as the basis for organizational success has given way in my mind to the need for trust. . . . When blind obedience is the operative concept, the 'boss' gathers all the

power. In the trust relationship, the boss shares power with everyone else" (p. 2).

The impact of implementing this new involvement-oriented management philosophy is increased organizational effectiveness, in both performance and results. Evidence that caring for and involving people was the critical ingredient in "excellent" companies - "the root source of quality and productivity gain" (p. 14) was provided by Peters and Waterman (1982). Waterman (1987) went further and said, "when managers guide instead of control, the sky's the limit on what people can accomplish" (p. 79). He cited increases in creativity, motivation, quality, and commitment to implementation as a result of involving and empowering people. At the same time he warned, "unless we do this, our ability to restore high productivity and growth in this country is in doubt" (p. 81). Lawler (1982, 1988) believed that an organization that provides its employees with a high degree of involvement could expect above average organizational performance and operating results. Quantum leaps in quality and output are gained when people are involved in improving the whole system (Weisbord, 1987). "The more people believe that they can influence and control the organization, the greater organizational effectiveness and member satisfaction will be. In other words, shared power results in higher job satisfaction and performance throughout the organization" (Kouzes and Posner, 1987, p. 163). Jones and Bearley (1988) saw not just increased productivity but intangible benefits to the organization as well. "Meaningful participation leads to a sense of involvement that evokes a feeling of influence that generates psychological ownership that results in commitment" (p. 9).

Authors describe and define participative management in various ways. Cotton, Vollrath, Froggatt, Lengnick-Hall and Jennings (1988) outlined

multiple forms that participation in decision-making takes in organizations. These forms include: participation in work decisions, consultative participation, short-term participation, informal participation, employee ownership and representative participation. The forms of participative management vary in their properties of formality and directness and level of influence. Participative management "involves workers in the planning and control of their own work activities" observed Sashkin (1982, p. 227). He described important differences in the various types of work planning and control. The four major types are participation in setting goals, in making decisions, in solving problems, and in developing and implementing change. Kanter (1983) emphasized the team aspect of participative management in her definition: "The building and nurturing of a collaborative team that is more fully consulted, more fully informed than the ordinary. One that shares responsibility for planning and reaching outcomes" (p. 22). According to Spencer (1989), a new understanding of participation is emerging. She described it as an ongoing, integrated, dynamic, structured process which requires a commitment to openness from everyone involved.

Concurrent with the shift in how organizations view their human resources is a similar shift in the role managers play in these organizations. Kanter (1989a) wrote that "managerial work is undergoing such enormous and rapid change that many managers are reinventing their profession as they go" (p. 85). Managers are having to rethink their bases of power and sources of motivation and exercise more leadership. She added, "rank, title, or official charter will be less important factors in success at the new managerial work than having the knowledge, skills and sensitivity to mobilize people and motivate them to do their best" (p. 92).

In his description of the modern jobs of managerial leaders in organizations, Vaill (1989) included the need for more leadership, more emphasis on teamwork, more intense involvement of people, greater ambiguity of authority, greater emphasis on people's individuality, and more involvement of the whole person. Morgan (1988) also suggested several key managerial competencies needed for meeting the challenges of a turbulent world. Included in his key competencies are (1) developing managerial and leadership abilities that will empower employees to be innovative and self-organizing, and (2) learning decentralized styles of management. Ludeman (1989) called for new managers who have a "Worth Ethic." These managers "take a new approach to leading people. They acknowledge the legitimate human desire to make a difference as well as the tremendous stake business has in supporting this inner motivation" (p. 5). The basic processes of managerial success are no longer controlling, arranging, demeaning, and reducing, but rather unleashing energy, building, freeing, and growing, according to Peters and Austin (1985). A manager needs to be more like a coach, cheerleader, mentor and teacher than "cop, referee, devil's advocate, dispassionate analyst, naysayer and pronouncer" (p. xvii). Buchholz and Roth (1987) echoed this shift as they documented the need to manage through participation, influence and example rather than through traditional authoritative styles.

The current management and organizational literature makes a strong case for shifting to the involvement-oriented paradigm and outlines the manager's new responsibilities. The styles and strategies suggested, however, are still focused only on helping managers get better at management. The theories fall short of informing the practice of leadership and empowerment. As Burke (1986) explained, "the sharing of power, then, creates conditions

whereby people involved may be empowered. Participation as such does not mean empowerment. Participation may create or lead to empowerment" (p. 53).

I agree with Burke's assessment. Participation may create processes and structures that facilitate empowerment but participation by itself is not empowerment. Management can use participation as a strategy to maintain organizational performance. Empowerment involves participation and much more. Leadership must embody participation and empowerment to create fundamental change. Benson (1991) illustrated this point.

Leaders who approach empowerment as a tool to boost profit margin and nothing more will find a work force that responds like wind-up dolls to a mechanical order. But if you intend to tap into the reservoir of creative energy, drive, and fulfillment that you and your work force represent, the way will be more arduous. . . . If the organization is truly committed to the idea and the dynamic of empowerment for its own sake, and not in order to make something else happen, its initiatives are more likely to bring lasting change. (p. 52)

Involvement from a management perspective is a strategy that increases organizational effectiveness. From a leadership perspective, involvement is a fundamental dynamic of the relationship. Involvement and empowerment are means values for management. They are end values for leadership.

Empowerment

Definitions

Empowerment is being cited frequently in current management and organization behavior literature. It has become the 1990s buzzword in the

same way that "excellence" and "vision" were buzzwords in the 1980s. Empowerment is defined in multiple ways. A review of the dictionary definitions shows clearly how these various perspectives have developed. In The Oxford English Dictionary (1989), to empower means "to invest legally or formally with power or authority, to impart or bestow power to an end or for a purpose, to enable, to make powerful." Webster's New World Dictionary (1988) has a similar definition, but adds "to give ability" and directs the reader to the word enable. To enable means "to make able, provide with means, opportunity, power, or authority, to make possible or effective." The Oxford English Dictionary defines enable: "to give power to a person, to empower, to strengthen, make proficient, to make competent or capable, to supply with the requisite means or opportunities to an end." The definition of each word contains the other word within it. The element of shared meaning between to empower and to enable is "making one able to do something." The difference lies in the ways the concept is activated.

Recently authors have begun to examine this difference and take a stand on which path they believe empowerment should take. Burke (1986) first discussed this difference and suggested, "both empower and enable mean 'to increase another person's ability to do something'. . . . To empower, however, implies the granting of power—the delegation of authority; to enable implies providing the means or opportunity to do something" (p. 51). Choosing to use empowerment in the sense of delegation of authority, Burke dismissed enabling as a comparable construct. Conger and Kanungo (1988) observed how empowerment has been framed in two ways. The first way is seeing empowerment as a relational dynamic: "a process by which a leader or manager shares his or her power with subordinates" (p. 473). The emphasis is on the notion of sharing authority, delegating, and decentralizing decision-

making. The second way they viewed empowerment is as a motivational dynamic: "creating conditions for heightening motivation for task accomplishment through the development of a strong sense of personal efficacy" (p. 474). Conger and Kanungo differed with Burke and chose to favor the view of empowerment as a process of increasing efficacy rather than a process of sharing power.

Another framework for making sense out of the burgeoning literature on empowerment was offered by Tymon (1988). He observed three major perspectives prominent in the literature on empowerment. These perspectives are: (1) the individual (or self-empowerment) perspective, (2) the structural perspective, and (3) the leadership perspective. This framework makes sense to me in light of my review of the literature. I have seen a range of writings on empowerment—some focused on how to increase an individual's sense of personal power through psychological approaches; some focused on organizational, operational, or management strategies and practices; and some that linked empowerment and leadership. The individual authors do not describe their work in these ways but their underlying assumptions are evident. I have used Tymon's framework in organizing this chapter.

Many of the authors integrate more than one perspective into their theories of empowerment. For example, authors who are describing how to increase an individual's confidence and abilities may also describe ways to institutionalize these as managerial practices (Benson, 1991; Block, 1987; Conger, 1989b; Macher, 1988; Neilsen, 1986). Some of the writings based in the managerial or structural perspective are so thoughtful and sophisticated that they offer insights useful for the leadership perspective as well. McClelland (1975) included all three perspectives in describing the process of social

leadership. He started by defining a vision which would be desired by the group, and then he provided them with the means of achieving the vision and made sure all the participants felt strong, competent, and effective in working toward the vision.

The Individual Perspective

Empowerment theories that reflect the individual perspective offer ways in which individuals can be developed, supported, motivated, encouraged, and stimulated so that they feel a sense of empowerment. These theories tend to have an intrapersonal or psychological base and see an increase in the individual's effectiveness as a resulting benefit.

As I pointed out above, Conger and Kanungo (1988) proposed that empowerment be viewed as a motivational construct. Enabling implies motivating people to action through enhancing their sense of personal efficacy. They describe empowerment as "a process whereby an individual's belief in his or her self-efficacy is enhanced" (p. 474). The purpose of empowerment is increased effectiveness; "creating conditions for heightening motivation for task accomplishment" (p. 474). The theory behind this approach can be traced to the work of Alfred Bandura. Bandura (1977) conceptualized the notion of self-efficacy beliefs and their role in an individual's sense of personal power. He observed how people who are persuaded verbally that they possess the capabilities to master given tasks are likely to mobilize greater sustained effort than if they harbor self-doubts and dwell on personal deficiencies when difficulties arise.

In a more recent work, Conger (1989b) continued to define empowerment in psychologically-oriented terms as "the act of strengthening an individual's beliefs in his or her sense of effectiveness. In essence, then, empowerment is not simply a set of external actions; it is a process of

changing the internal beliefs of people" (p. 18). This same philosophy was incorporated in Conger's (1989a) work on charismatic leadership.

Empowerment was the final of four stages of charismatic leadership he proposed, the others were visioning, communication, and trust-building. He said that "motivational energy has to be deep and persistent if the organization is to succeed. The leader must continually make subordinates feel powerful and capable in order to sustain their effort and willingness to persevere" (p. 107). Conger further stated that "charismatics rely largely on a psychological process called empowerment to stoke the fires of motivational energy" (p. 108).

Tymon's (1988) work put forth the notion that empowerment was based on the individual's ways of thinking or cognitive styles. He focused on "the intrapersonal processes through which individuals empower themselves" (p. 6). His approach emphasized intrinsic motivation and rewards, and he documented how different cognitive styles could enhance or dissipate a person's intrinsic motivation in work situations. Studying the concept of intrinsic motivation, Macher (1988) focused on the nature and characteristics of persons who could empower themselves in the midst of bureaucratic institutions. He proposed that people with certain specific characteristics could "make a fundamental shift from a passive to a creative orientation concerning their roles and responsibilities" (p. 41) and thus be empowered. He said, "that is what true empowerment is all about; to be a leader to oneself; to do the uncommon--and often difficult--thing because it is in keeping with one's own values" (p. 44).

Neilsen (1986) traced the contributions that group development technologies have made to the understanding of the "psychological empowerment" of individual group members. He explained that empowerment involves "giving persons the resources, both psychological and technical, to

discover the varieties of power they themselves have and/or can accumulate, and therefore which they can use in another's behalf" (p. 80). This psychological empowerment, in turn, enables members to discover and use the power they have. A developmental process for becoming an empowered person was outlined by Hagberg (1984). She presented six developmental stages for gaining personal power: powerlessness, power by association, power by symbols, power by reflection, power by purpose, power by gestalt. Jaffe, Scott, and Orioli (1986) observed how empowering beliefs ("the belief that one can make a difference or an inner sense of capacity to act," p. 99) played a key role in their model of inspired performance.

Several authors have described empowerment as encompassing both the individual and structural perspectives. Block (1987) viewed empowerment as "both a state of mind and a result of position, policies, and practices" (p. 3). He observed how our state of mind is based on the psychological contract we make with our work. Part of the process of empowerment is recreating that contract from a patriarchal to an entrepreneurial agreement. He saw the structural aspect of empowerment as the management practices and policies that are supportive of partnerships between managers and employees. These partnership-based systems are important because they are symbolic expressions of a manager's intentions to share power.

Conger and Kanungo (1988) outlined a five stage process for managers to use in empowering the individuals in their work force. The process includes providing psychological information as well as implementing managerial practices. Stage 1 is identifying the conditions which foster powerlessness in a situation. Stage 2 is using managerial strategies and techniques designed to remove the conditions responsible for powerlessness. Providing self-efficacy information to the people involved is Stage 3. Stage 4

is the empowering experience being felt by the people. Stage 5 is the behavioral effects being demonstrated as a result of the empowerment process.

Similar to theories of participative management, empowerment theories based in the individual perspective feel to me like a means to an end; the more empowered a person feels, the greater the quantity and quality of his or her output. Having a strong sense of personal efficacy is empowering. I know that from personal experience. I think, however, that this perspective does not fully explain the dynamic in the leadership relationship that mobilizes people to undertake fundamental change. The attractiveness of the individual perspective is that the actions or behaviors it requires are focused and tangible and thus easy to understand and apply. The empowering actions required from the structural perspective and especially from the leadership perspective are more complicated and intangible.

The Structural Perspective

The structural perspective of empowerment focuses on organizational and managerial mechanisms or processes rather than on processes within the individual. Authors writing from this perspective talk more about human resource systems, supervision practices, decision-making strategies, accountability parameters, and communication patterns than about enhancing the individual's self-efficacy. This perspective is most closely linked--and often seen as synonymous with--the concept of participative management. "This manner of treating the notion of empowerment from a management practice perspective is so common that often employee participation is simply equated with empowerment" (Conger and Kanungo, 1988, p. 473). Although there is a lot of overlap, the literature on empowerment seems to offer a broader umbrella under which participative management falls.

The work of authors writing from the structural perspective seems to fall into three subcategories: (1) empowerment and organizational culture, (2) models for thinking about empowerment as a construct, and (3) lists of behaviors that empower people. The first group are those who see empowerment as part of what makes a healthy or excellent organizational culture (Block, 1987; Hickman, 1990; Kanter, 1983, 1989a, 1989b; Peters, 1987; Peters & Austin, 1986; Waterman, 1987).

One of the first authors to write about the components and benefits of empowering work environments ("environments that stimulate people to act and give them the power to do so," p. 18) was Kanter (1983). She believed that for organizations to respond to the increased complexity and rate of change they are experiencing, they must empower people to innovate. One of the ways to create empowering work environments is to make organizational "power tools" widely available (Kanter, 1983). These tools include "information (data, technical knowledge, political intelligence, expertise); resources (funds, materials, space, time); and support (endorsement, backing, approval, legitimacy)" (p. 159). To aid this access to power, she said, "three clusters of structures and processes are necessary" (p. 160): open communication systems, network-forming arrangements, and decentralization of resources.

Peters (1987) and Waterman (1987) picked up on the theme of empowering the organization to thrive on chaos or stay renewing and competitive. Peters (1987) made five "prescriptions" for responding to a "world turned upside down" (p. 1). One of those was "achieving flexibility by empowering people" (p. 281). Operationally this means: involving everyone; having self-managing teams; providing recognition, training and development; incentives; reducing structure and eliminating bureaucratic rules; and reconceiving the mid-manager's role. In the introduction to

another author's book, Peters claimed, "thriving on change demands empowerment of every person in the organization--no ifs, ands, or buts" (Manz & Sims, 1989, p. xiv).

In a similar framework, Waterman (1987) presented eight themes for organizational renewal. One of these themes is offering "direction and empowerment" (p. 7) to the work force. He argued for a style that "balances management and control with freedom and empowerment" (p. 81). In practice this means: giving people the "what" of a project but not the "how"; giving up control to get control; allowing people space to take risks; and providing opportunities for individual growth and renewal.

Block (1987) was one of the authors whose ideas integrated both an individual and a structural perspective. He explained that a manager's task is to empower him/herself first and then to create conditions under which others can do the same. He suggested two keys for empowering organizations: "being political in a positive way and being entrepreneurial" (p. xv). Being entrepreneurial means breaking the "bureaucratic mentality" that stifles organizations and creating policies and practices that are supportive of vision, autonomy, initiative, commitment, responsibility, self-expression, and partnerships.

A second group of authors writing from the structural perspective expressed their ideas about empowerment in the form of models (Burke, 1986; Covey, 1990; Jones & Bearley, 1988). Jones and Bearley (1988) contended that "empowerment is a process of enabling people to do what they are qualified to do and for which they are being held accountable . . . and involving them in matters for which you need their understanding and commitment" (p. 9). They presented a "Dimensional Empowerment Model" comprised of eight

interconnected dimensions. The dimensions are climate, control, influence, resources, personal strengths, involvement, centrality, and autonomy.

According to Covey (1990, 1991), empowerment is one of the fundamental principles that should guide leaders in their managerial roles. He emphasized the importance of principles because "individuals are more effective and organizations more empowered when they are guided and governed by principles" (1991, p. 3). He outlined "Six Conditions of Empowerment" which provide the framework in which empowerment becomes possible (1990, p. 197). The conditions are character, skills, win-win agreements, self-supervision, helpful structures and systems, and accountability. Covey added trust as a prerequisite condition: "you can't have empowerment without first having trust. If you don't trust the person you are working with then you must use control rather than empowerment" (1990, p. 65).

Whereas Covey saw empowering management as a subset of leadership, Burke (1986) saw leadership and management as two distinct processes—each equally responsible for empowering the organization. He proposed five possible empowering processes and described how leaders and managers differ in the ways they use them. The processes are providing direction, stimulating, rewarding, developing and appealing to follower or subordinate needs. Managers empower via involvement, they stimulate with action and accomplishment, they use formal incentive systems to reward, they provide feedback for developmental purposes, and they appeal to people's need for autonomy and independence. In short, managers empower "via action and participation" (p. 75). Under the leadership perspective section I discuss how Burke saw leaders empowering people.

A third group of authors have focused on specific managerial behaviors and practices that empower people in organizations (Ackerman, 1983; Adams & Spencer, 1986; Astin, 1989; Conger, 1989b; Tracy, 1990). Some of these writers have taken the popular or applied (nonacademic) management literature route and written handbook type works to help managers develop empowering practices (Byham, 1988; Ludeman, 1989). Ackerman (1983) encouraged "transformational managers to focus on empowering others" (p. 252) by seeking opportunities for others to make a contribution, facilitating higher levels of performance, encouraging others to act on their best intuition and skill, delegating responsibility and authority, demonstrating trust, and becoming an advocate for what others want to do.

Using a story format, Byham (1988) conveyed his theories about how to become an empowering manager. The characters discovered through trial and error which practices "zapped" people (gave them power) and which practices "sapped" people (took power from them). Sharing managerial power is what Ludeman (1989) wrote about as well. She concurred that "the essence of empowerment is sharing your managerial power to create a productive partnership with your employees" (p. 70). She proposed that managers should empower their employees by "training every person to maximize potential, offering challenges at each level of responsibility, and managing every employee with a flexible organization and caring system" (p. 5).

The Leadership Perspective

Another perspective represented in the literature on empowerment focuses on how leadership and empowerment are related. Definitions of leadership found in the literature range from traditional definitions based on the industrial paradigm to progressive definitions based on the postindustrial paradigm. Some of the definitions of leadership are the more popular and

superficial versions and therefore the authors' conclusions about empowerment are equally as shallow. On the other hand, there are also works that are asking fundamental questions about the nature and processes of leadership and empowerment and these are exciting to study. For example, Benson (1991) described the characteristics of empowerment as personal mastery, reciprocal relationships, and unconditional support. She adds: "A relationship in which learning occurs in both directions--regardless of which party holds authority--involves the reciprocity so critical to the concept of empowerment" (p. 46). The implications for our understanding of leadership from this idea about empowerment and reciprocity are exciting.

Other authors have written about leadership as a liberating and empowering dynamic (DePree, 1989; Hickman, 1990; Tracy, 1990). Tracy (1990) believed that leadership is empowering people by "learning how to release the hidden potential of people . . . freeing people so that they can be all they can be" (p. 12). DePree (1989) as well used liberating language to describe leadership. "The art of leadership is liberating people to do what is required of them in the most effective and humane way possible" (p. 1). He added, "the art of leadership lies in polishing and liberating and enabling those gifts that people bring to organizations" (p. 10). Hickman (1990) explained that "empowerment can unleash the energy necessary to take the organization beyond its current position. Leaders empower people, systems, structures, strategies, and other variables by opening the way for their expansion, enhancement, and evolution (p. 127).

Empowerment has been described as a task, function, or competency of leadership by other authors (Burke, 1986; Bennis, 1984, 1989, 1991; Campbell, 1991; Kiefer, 1986). Campbell (1991) identified seven tasks that must be achieved for leadership to occur; empowerment is one of the seven. He

described empowerment as dispersing decision-making, power, and responsibility throughout the organization. This activity is necessary "both to accomplish current tasks and to prepare those who will be responsible for future leadership" (p. 2). He noted that empowerment requires cooperation and trust. "Turning power over to others requires trust in both directions. The leader must trust followers before relinquishing control, and followers usually will not accept power unless they trust the leader to support them when they exercise it" (p. 2).

In Burke's opinion (1986), empowerment is a responsibility of both leaders and managers. He pointed out, however, that "the empowering process must differ as a function of whether one is in a leadership or a management role" (p. 74). The five empowering processes that managers and leaders use, and specifically how managers empower people, were described in the structural perspective section. Leaders empower by: providing clarity of direction that encompasses a higher purpose and requires collective effort; stimulating and energizing people with intellectually exciting ideas; rewarding through informal and spontaneous processes; developing people by inspiring them to do more than they thought they could; and responding to real desires on the part of the followers. Burke summarized his thesis as follows: "leaders empower via direction and inspiration; managers via action and participation" (p. 75).

In the opening paragraphs of his article, Kiefer (1986) said that "great leadership isn't a function of behavior and technique. It is the . . . genuine commitment of leaders to their vision" (p. 186). He then explained three leadership functions which could also be described as leadership tasks or competencies. First, "the leader is the custodian or steward of the organizational vision" (p. 186). The second function of leadership is

"empowering and enrolling people" (p. 189). He described empowering others as evoking their enrollment in the vision; eliciting commitment and personal responsibility to and ownership of the organizational vision; and encouraging them to mobilize their resources to pursue those results (p. 190-191). The third role of a leader is to design and create structures (beliefs, values, hierarchy, norms, habits, rewards) which are conducive to creating change.

A review of Warren Bennis' work through the years reveals a similar focus on empowerment as a leadership competency. In 1984, Bennis suggested that leaders must possess five competencies: vision; communication and alignment; persistence, consistency, and focus; empowerment; and organizational learning. He noted that "empowerment is the capacity to create environments--the appropriate social architecture--that can tap and harness the energies and abilities necessary to bring about the desired results" (p. 66). In 1991, Bennis proposed that "leadership is all about innovating, initiating, and creating" (p. 5). He described six things that leaders create within organizations: a compelling vision; a climate of trust; meaning and purpose; a safe environment for risk taking; a healthy, empowered work force; a flexible and adaptive organization. An empowered work force means "one that's committed, that feels that they're learning, that they're competent. They have a sense of human bond, a sense of community, a sense of meaning in their work. People feel that they're at the very heart of things. Everyone feels that he or she makes a difference to the success of the organization" (p. 6).

Finally, another group of authors have written about empowerment as an integral part of the nature of leadership (Astin, 1989; Astin & Leland, 1991; Bennis, 1989; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Carroll, 1984; Foster, 1986a, 1986b; Grob, 1984; Humphrey, 1991; Kowalski, 1989; Nanus, 1989; Perreault, 1991). Empowerment is portrayed as a key dynamic in the leadership relationship--

part of the process of influence, partnership, and change. As part of her doctoral research, Kowalski (1989) interviewed successful leaders and concluded that the leaders who empower their work force "view this intervention as an integral part of leadership. . . . Empowerment is a relationship between leader and follower, a relationship of trust" (p. 8).

Perreault (1991) suggested a friendship model of leadership. The basic assumption of a friendship model of leadership is one of "connection or of interdependence in our relationships" (p. 8). The friendship metaphor changes the commander-troop relationship to one of shared interests and reciprocity. "The goal is mutual empowerment and self-actualization. The structure derives not from hierarchical positions but from relationships, it is a web (of interdependence) and a network (of connections)" (p. 9). Perreault believed that this model of leadership would ultimately contribute to the development of more ethical leadership.

"Leadership is not so much the exercise of power itself as the empowerment of others. Leaders are able to translate intentions into reality by aligning the energies of the organization behind an attractive goal" explained Bennis and Nanus (1985, p. 225). They identified four critical dimensions of empowerment that leaders must create in the organization: significance (people feeling that they are making a difference), competence (people feeling an increasing sense of mastery), community (people experiencing a common purpose), and enjoyment (people having fun). In separate follow-up books, Bennis (1989) and Nanus (1989) continued to describe empowerment. Bennis (1989) said that empowerment is "the collective effect of leadership" (p. 22). "Leadership is making people into effective collaborators in the important work of organizations, institutions, and society" agreed Nanus (1989, p. 52).

Stimulating others to take part in a leadership relationship is one form of empowerment. Empowerment supports expanding leadership at all levels of the organization. Humphrey (1991) noted that organizations are finding that they must rely on the "personal leadership of individuals at every level" (p. 17) to accomplish necessary changes. He saw that "a key requirement for creating broad and deep leadership within an organization is a high degree of work force alignment and empowerment" (p. 17). "Empowerment in this context denotes a strong feeling of authority, power and ownership that motivates all employees to take initiative, responsibilities and risks" (p. 17).

Building on this notion of empowerment as encouraging others to participate in the leadership relationship, Carroll (1984) suggested that "an effective leader is one who empowers others to act in their own interests, rather than one who induces others to behave in a manner consistent with the goals and desires of the leader" (p. 142). She said that leadership has both educational and empathic functions. Leaders have a responsibility to educate, inform, and develop people, to be sensitive to the feelings and desires of others, and to act in ways that reflect that sensitivity. In addition, she believed that "leaders should nurture the potential of followers and help to build their confidence so that they, too, will attempt leadership" (p. 143).

Brian Fay's educative model for social scientists was applied to leadership studies by Foster (1986a). The educative model means critically analyzing and teaching people about the conditions of their surroundings and the possibilities for change; "raising the consciousness" of people so that they themselves can decide to create change. Foster carried the model further and stated that "the educative use of leadership results in the empowerment of followers. The leader here is truly concerned with the development of followers, with the realization of followers' potential to become leaders

themselves" (p. 185). In his closing comments, Foster described the essence of leadership.

Leadership is the desire and attempt to change the human condition. It is a political and a courageous act to attempt to empower followers. . . . Empowerment shares power by modifying those hierarchical structures that set up false distinctions among their members: empowerment enables unrestrained discourse. . . . Leadership is the process of transforming and empowering. (p. 188)

The concept of critical dialogue that Foster (1986a) described was also described by Grob (1984). Grob used Socratic teachings in his search for a philosophical perspective on leadership. He explained that "it is the very presence of what I have called the critical spirit in the work of the leader which opens up the necessary 'interval' within which choice can be exercised and activity undertaken which is creative in nature" (p. 276). Through dialogue people are challenged to see their responsibility for shaping and influencing new and effective action. "The leader-follower relation . . . is one which empowers the follower--and indeed, both members of the relationship--to that creative activity in which the horizons of meaning surrounding the issues at hand are perpetually stretched" (p. 276).

Astin (1989) wrote that "we view the process of empowerment and collective action as the cornerstones of leadership" (p. 10). Later, Astin and Leland (1991) went further and stated that "leadership is a process by which members of a group are empowered to work together synergistically toward a common goal or vision that will create change, transform institutions, and thus improve the quality of life" (p. 8). The leader is someone who plays a catalyst role and who manages to empower and mobilize others to collective

action towards accomplishing the vision. Astin and Leland emphasized the need for further study of this interaction:

To understand the leadership process we need to design studies that identify the mechanisms by which people become empowered. Unless group members believe in themselves and feel powerful, it will be difficult for them to participate collectively--a necessary condition to achieve change in organizations or society. (p. 159)

Genesis of Empowerment

A question remains for me: Does the leader empower the group or does the individual choose to be empowered? Is empowerment something that can be done to someone or something a person must choose? The answer to this is not clear in the literature. Some authors use these two origins of empowerment interchangeably. They say that it is the leader's responsibility to empower the organization or the collective, and then they say leaders must create the climate in which people can choose to feel empowered. For example, Pederson (1989) said a manager/leader must "create the climate in which employees will choose, by their own volition, to be empowered" (p. 3). Then he said that managers/leaders "now see the empowerment of others as a more likely avenue to success" (p. 3). Neilsen (1986) also struggled with this dilemma. He phrased the two choices as self-empowerment and collective empowerment and documented how an overemphasis on either leads to negative effects. His solution is an ongoing process of balancing both forms of empowerment.

If a choice must be made, I would see empowerment as an individual's choice. Miller (1976) wrote the following about psychotherapy but I believe it can be applied to leadership also.

Participation in another person's growth is one of the major satisfactions in psychotherapy. To be part of the experience of another person's struggle to break through to a new and satisfying way of seeing, feeling, or acting is extremely gratifying. Good therapists know that it is the client's own effort, but they also know that they can play an important facilitating part. (p. 40)

In a similar vein, Bennis and Nanus (1985) pointed out that the "leader's style pulls rather than pushes people on" (p. 80). The leader creates such a compelling environment that people enroll themselves as partners. I believe that in a leadership relationship the primary catalyst (the leader) does create the conditions for empowerment by involving people in the creation of the vision and providing them with tools for accomplishing change. But I also believe that in the leadership relationship each person must choose to share power and create change. The leader can create the space for collective empowerment; the individual must choose to engage fully in that relationship.

Progression of empowerment

Several authors describe empowerment as a process of leading people out of dependency to autonomy (Allen, 1990; Blanchard, Carew, & Parisi-Carew, 1990; Block, 1987; French, 1985). Blanchard, Carew, & Parisi-Carew (1990) wrote that "empowerment involves gradually turning over the responsibility for direction and action to the group. It's managing the journey from dependence on the leader to interdependence" (p. 85). The progression Allen (1990) suggests is from "power over" to "power to" and then to "power with." Power over is the traditional view of control and dominance. Power to is the distribution of power in an effort to develop the capacity of individuals. Power with, which is the sharing of power with other members, allows the power resources and energy of the whole to be more than the sum of its parts. The

journey from dependency to partnership was described by Block (1987). I think that this last phase, power with or partnership, is the interactive dynamic involved when mutual influence occurs within the leadership relationship.

Conclusion

The four concepts reviewed in this chapter--leadership, power, participative management, and empowerment--are all interrelated. Each has been viewed as a subset of the others or as a dynamic inherent in the others. Leadership is accomplishing change through mutual influence; power is inherent in that. Power is the ability to get things done, and in organizations, participation is an effective method of tapping employees' commitment and motivation to accomplish things. Participative management does lead to a certain sense of empowerment for people. And, when people are truly empowered they are participating in a leadership relationship. Critical work in the leadership, power, and participative management literature have stimulated the focus of attention on empowerment.

Despite the increased attention on the topic of empowerment, our understanding of the construct and its underlying processes remains limited. "Most management theorists have dealt with empowerment as a set of managerial techniques and have not paid sufficient attention to its nature or the processes underlying the construct" (Conger and Kanungo, 1988, p. 471). Most of the literature to date has examined empowerment from either the individual or the structural perspective. The individual perspective stresses the use of the principles of psychology to increase a person's sense of efficacy and mastery so that he or she feels empowered. The structural perspective uses management systems and behaviors to increase a person's sense of

ownership, initiative, and effectiveness. There have been few, and mostly superficial, attempts to explore empowerment through the leadership perspective. Mostly these have consisted of listing empowerment as a function or competency of the leader.

Missing from the literature are in-depth case examples of the ways in which empowerment interacts with leadership in organizations. This study will investigate that interaction by closely examining empowerment as a dynamic of the leadership relationship.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to examine empowerment as a dynamic of the leadership relationships operating within local governmental organizations. I focused on two municipal organizations in which I believed leadership and empowerment were present. My research questions focused on the beliefs and values of the members of the management teams of these organizations, their relationships with each other and the larger organization, and their strategies and systems for empowering themselves and the workforce. The questions, and the resulting data, were meaning and process oriented. This study therefore, was designed for discovery, insight, and understanding rather than for hypothesis testing. My intent is to provide a rich and comprehensive description of the practices of empowerment in two municipal organizations. This type of investigation necessitated the use of a qualitative method of inquiry.

Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative methodology is a comprehensive term used to cover an array of descriptive and interpretive techniques which seek to "decode, describe, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency of, certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world" (Van Maanen, 1983, p. 13). Qualitative research is grounded in the naturalistic paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Knowledge, in the naturalistic paradigm, is viewed as socially constructed rather than as universal, enduring truth.

Merriam (1988) explained that traditional or quantitative research is based on the assumption that there is a single, objective reality that we can observe and measure. In contrast, qualitative research assumes that there are multiple realities and that the world is not an objective thing but "a highly subjective phenomenon in need of interpreting rather than measuring. Qualitative research is exploratory, inductive, and emphasizes processes rather than ends" (p. 17).

Several authors have discussed key characteristics of qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Merriam, 1988; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984; Yin, 1984). Lincoln and Guba (1985) used the terms "naturalistic inquiry" and "qualitative research" interchangeably. They outlined fourteen key characteristics of naturalistic inquiry, a few of which include: research that is based in a natural setting, use of a human instrument, use of tacit knowledge, use of qualitative methods of data gathering, purposive sampling, inductive data analysis, grounded theory, emergent design, and negotiated outcomes or findings (p. 39-43). Summarizing their key elements, Marshall and Rossman (1989) described qualitative research as a process "that entails immersion in the everyday life of the setting chosen for study, that values participants' perspectives on their worlds and seeks to discover those perspectives, that views inquiry as an interactive process between the researcher and the participants, and that is primarily descriptive and relies on people's words as the primary data" (p. 11). The key characteristics of naturalistic inquiry which are reflected in this study are immersion in the natural setting, using a human instrument for data gathering, working within an emergent research design, and using inductive reasoning to develop findings grounded in the data.

Immersion in the Natural Setting or Context

Naturalistic inquiry is based on the premise that sufficient experience with or immersion in a group or organization will produce descriptions that accurately reflect the setting. This process of immersion in the natural setting is usually referred to as "fieldwork." Merriam (1988) noted: "One must physically go to the people, setting, site, institution ("the field"), in order to observe behavior in its natural setting" (p. 19). Schatzman and Strauss (1973) stated that the investigator "must get close to the people whom he studies; he understands that their actions are best comprehended when observed on the spot—in the natural, ongoing environment where they live and work" (p. 6). The researcher must be in the natural setting to watch, to listen, and to feel all that characterizes the participants' world.

Human as Instrument

A key characteristic of naturalistic inquiry is the use of the researcher as the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Data are gathered through a human instrument rather than through laboratory equipment, an inventory or a questionnaire. Merriam (1988) explained:

Naturalistic inquiry, which focuses on meaning in context, requires a data collection instrument sensitive to underlying meaning when gathering and interpreting data. Humans are best suited for this task—and best when using methods that make use of human sensibilities such as interviewing, observing, and analyzing. (p. 3)

The benefits of using the human researcher as an instrument for data collection are cited by multiple authors (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Merriam, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Yin, 1984). Benefits include: the researcher can be responsive to the context; the total context can be considered; the researcher can adapt data gathering techniques to the

circumstances; his or her sensitivity to nonverbal clues can contribute to more complete understanding, data can be processed immediately, and the human researcher can clarify and summarize as the study evolves. Perkins, Nadler, and Hanlon (1981) cautioned, however, that "the use of the observer and the choices that the observer makes while collecting data constitute both the major strengths and the most critical weaknesses" of the method (p. 224) .

Yin (1984) described the commonly required skills and abilities of a naturalistic researcher: to be able to ask good questions and to interpret the answer; to be a good listener; to be "adaptive and flexible so that newly encountered situations can be seen as opportunities, not threats" (p. 56); and to have a firm grasp of the issues being studied (a theoretical orientation). A researcher must be unbiased by preconceived notions, including those derived from theory, and should be sensitive to contradictory evidence as well as to corroborating evidence (Yin, 1984).

Emergent Design

Another key characteristic of naturalistic inquiry is that the research design and the specific lines of inquiry evolve and unfold in response to what emerges from the data gathering and analysis processes. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) explained: "Once the decision has been made to inquire into some social process in its own natural context, the researcher creates much of both his method and the substance of his field of inquiry. Method is seen by the field researcher as emerging from operations--from strategic decisions, instrumental actions, and analytic processes--which go on throughout the entire research enterprise" (p. 7). Lincoln and Guba (1985) posed and answered the question: "How does a design emerge? On site, the investigator must engage in continuous data analysis, so that every new act of investigation takes into account everything that has been learned so far" (p.

209). Although researchers may "have a methodology to follow and perhaps some general interests, the specifics of their approach evolve as they proceed" (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p. 16).

As the research design emerges, so too will the hypotheses as the study unfolds. The naturalistic researcher avoids a priori hypotheses about data and concepts and remains open to concepts and categories as they emerge in the field and during analysis. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) explained that, "in contrast to most methods in which researchers' hypotheses and procedures are determined a priori, the research design and hypotheses in participant observation [naturalistic inquiry] remain flexible both before and throughout the actual research" (p. 16). Van Maanen, Dabbs, & Faulkner (1982) described the process as the researcher observing the phenomena in the natural world without prior commitment to any specific theoretical model. The aim of this kind of inquiry is to generate an accurate and full description of a phenomenon rather than to test previously generated hypotheses with the intention of producing valid universal generalizations. Although most researchers do have some general questions in mind when they enter the field, they allow general themes to emerge from the setting before they pursue specific lines of inquiry.

Inductive Findings

The use of inductive reasoning to draw findings from within the data is another key characteristic of naturalistic inquiry. Discovery of new relationships, concepts, and understanding, rather than verification of predetermined hypotheses, is the goal of this type of study. Merriam (1988) observed: "Generalizations, concepts, or hypotheses emerge from an examination of data--data grounded in the context itself. Occasionally one may have tentative working hypotheses at the outset . . . but these expectations are

subject to reformulation as the study proceeds" (p. 13). "Purely inductive research begins with the collection of data--and builds theoretical categories and propositions from relationships discovered among data. In contrast to deductive researchers who hope to find data to match a theory, inductive researchers hope to find a theory that explains their data" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 4).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) explained that this inductive process was one of the background assumptions of naturalistic inquiry. "Naturalistic inquiry prefers to have the guiding substantive theory emerge from (be grounded in) the data because no a priori theory could possibly encompass the multiple realities that are likely to be encountered" (p. 41, emphasis in original). While Lincoln and Guba saw grounded theory as an assumption of naturalistic inquiry, Glaser and Strauss (1967) went further and have proposed grounded theory, on its own merits, as an approach to qualitative research. My study is based on the key characteristics of naturalistic inquiry (discussed above) in combination with the analytical approach of grounded theory methodology.

The Grounded Theory Approach

The grounded theory approach was developed by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in the early 1960s. Glaser and Strauss (1967) believed that "the discovery of theory from data--which we call grounded theory" (p. 1) was a major task confronting social researchers. They perceived an overemphasis on the verification of existing theory and a lack of emphasis on the prior steps of discovering the concepts and hypotheses relevant to new areas of study, especially in social research. The grounded theory approach has been developed through the years as a "qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an

inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 22). The purpose of the approach is to build theory that is faithful to and illuminates the area under study.

Strauss (1987) was more specific and explained that the grounded theory approach is more an analytical or interpretive approach to qualitative data than a separate qualitative methodology. He said: "It is not really a specific method or technique. Rather, it is a style of doing qualitative analysis that includes a number of distinct features" (p. 5). The distinct features of the grounded theory approach include: tapping the theoretical sensitivity of the researcher, using theoretical sampling rather than representative sampling, using comparative analysis, using systematic coding procedures to ensure conceptual development and density, and looking for theoretical saturation as an indication of when to discontinue data gathering (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Hammersley, 1989; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Theoretical sensitivity refers to a personal quality of the researcher. It is the ability to recognize what is important in the data and to give it meaning. Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggested that it "refers to the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't" (p. 42). Theoretical sensitivity comes from, and is increased as a result of, a thorough review of the relevant literature and the prior professional and personal experiences of the researcher. At the same time, the researcher must enter the setting with as few predetermined ideas as possible. Theoretical sensitivity is enhanced during the research process through continual interactions with the data.

The second distinct feature of grounded theory is theoretical sampling. Hammersley (1989) contrasted theoretical sampling with representative sampling and noted that it "involves choosing cases in such a way as to most

effectively develop the emerging theory. There is no population specified at the outset of the research. Rather, the sampling is determined by what is required for further development of theory" (p. 175). Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggested that initial sampling should serve to generate as many categories as possible by covering a wide range of pertinent areas. Later, sampling should concentrate on developing the density and saturation of categories and thus should be more specifically focused.

Comparative analysis or the constant comparative method is another distinct feature of the grounded theory approach. Continuous comparison of incidents, sites, categories, and emerging themes is performed throughout the data gathering and analysis process. Strauss (1987) explained that "by making comparisons of indicator to indicator the analyst is forced into confronting similarities, differences, and degrees of consistency of meaning among indicators" (p. 25). The comparison process results in a more accurate and complex description of each category. Hammersley (1989) noted that it "involves comparison of multiple data segments judged to belong to the same category, in such a way as to identify the central features of that category" (p. 175).

The coding procedures are the core of the analysis process in generating grounded theory. Strauss and Corbin (1990) explained: "Coding represents the operations by which data are broken down, conceptualized, and put back together in new ways. It is the central process by which theories are built from data" (p. 57). Open coding is the first level of coding. It begins with taking apart an observation, or a transcript, and giving each incident, idea, or event a name or label that stands for a phenomenon. After the phenomena in the data are identified and labeled, similar concepts are grouped together to form categories. Categories are named and then further developed in terms of

their properties and dimensions. A second level of coding (axial coding) focuses on specifying each category in terms of the conditions that give rise to it, the context in which it is embedded, the action or interactional strategies by which it is carried out, and the consequences of those strategies. The third and final level of coding (selective coding) focuses on how major categories are related and integrated with each other.

It is recommended that the researcher generate memos and diagrams throughout the coding process in order to keep a written record of the process and findings of the analysis (Strauss, 1989; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). "Code notes" are memos containing the actual products of the coding procedures. "Theoretical notes" are memos that capture the insights and hypotheses emerging from the data. "Operational notes" are memos containing follow-up actions which the researcher wants to take regarding sampling, asking questions, and making comparisons. Diagrams are the graphic representations or visual images of the relationships developing between concepts. To point out the benefits of this process, Strauss and Corbin (1990) wrote: "Memos and diagrams help you to gain analytical distance from materials. They assist your movement away from the data to abstract thinking, then in returning to the data to ground these abstractions in reality" (p. 199).

Modifications of Grounded Theory

In this study I utilize features of the grounded theory approach in analyzing the data and developing a conceptual model to describe how empowerment and leadership are practiced in organizations. An significant adaptation was made in the sampling procedures. Ideally, data gathering should continue until complete saturation is achieved regardless of time or location constraints. I have modified the grounded theory approach by

limiting the number of locations and participants and predetermining a time frame under which the study occurred.

Site and Participant Selection

The primary characters in this study are the city managers and the members of the management teams of two local governmental organizations; the City of Carlsbad, California, and the City of Scottsdale, Arizona. The city manager of Carlsbad is Raymond (Ray) Patchett. The city manager of Scottsdale is Richard (Dick) Bowers. The cities are relatively similar in size; Carlsbad employs approximately 600 persons and Scottsdale employs approximately 1,000 persons. Both cities operate under a council-manager form of government and are responsible for the delivery of a full range of city services.

Site Selection

Marshall and Rossman (1989) described the characteristics of an "ideal site" as a place where:

- (1) entry is possible; (2) there is a high probability that a rich mix of many of the processes, people, programs, interactions, and/or structures that may be a part of the research question will be present; (3) the researcher can devise an appropriate role to maintain continuity of presence for as long as necessary; and (4) data quality and credibility of the study are reasonably assured by avoiding poor sampling decisions (p. 54).

The City of Carlsbad and the City of Scottsdale both meet these criteria for suitable sites. These two sites were selected based on their reputation among public administrators as thriving and progressive organizations with forward thinking city managers. This perception is shared by several

independent consultants whose expertise is in working with governmental organizations. In addition, the City of Scottsdale has been highlighted in publications from the International City Managers Association (ICMA) and from the management and organizational behavior field. The City of Scottsdale was featured in Robert Waterman's (1987) book, The Renewal Factor, as an example of an organization creating a shared purpose, a sense of commitment, and a spark of enthusiasm throughout the work force. Because of the reputation of the two cities, I believed that there was a high probability that a rich mix of many of the processes, people, interactions, and structures that are a part of leadership and empowerment were present in these two organizations.

The selection of these two sites was also based on the expressed willingness of both Ray Patchett and Dick Bowers, the two city managers, to participate in the study and to trust me with relative freedom to move about their organizations as I saw fit. Part of the ease in gaining access to these two sites was based on my professional position as an organization effectiveness supervisor at the City of San Diego. My professional work involves gaining access to and rapport with members of an organization, gathering subjective and objective data, asking questions and listening, synthesizing information and presenting findings, and respecting political protocol. I believe that because both city managers knew of my professional work, they trusted my competence in conducting a study of this nature.

Part of Dick Bowers' willingness was due to our professional acquaintance which had developed as a result of his involvement in the City of San Diego's management development program. For three years I was The Management Academy facilitator and he was a key presenter. During that time, we had on-going discussions about leadership and my growing interest

in empowerment. Twelve times I had the opportunity to see Dick present a two day educational session on "Building High Performing Teams." In listening to his stories, examples, and explanations, I heard a person who was committed to leading and empowering his organization on a daily basis. Bowers had offered his assistance with my studies--I asked him to let me study the City of Scottsdale.

Part of Ray Patchett's willingness was due to the recommendation of a person who currently serves as a management and organization development consultant to Patchett and the City of Carlsbad. This person is a professional friend and former colleague of mine. We have discussed leadership through the years and he contended that Patchett was practicing the things we were discussing. My friend spoke with Patchett about the study and scheduled an introductory meeting for the three of us.

Both Dick Bowers and Ray Patchett indicated their enthusiasm for "co-researching" leadership and empowerment. They felt that their organizations would ultimately benefit from participating in this study.

Conducting the study in two different organizations was helpful in two ways. First, I was able to look for similarities, differences, and cross-case patterns between the two sites (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles, 1983). Seeing the similarities and differences forced me to go beyond initial impressions and check out my perceptions more fully. Secondly, due to the time between my visits to Carlsbad and my visits to Scottsdale I was able to review the initial data and as a result fine tune my data collection plans. I expanded the scope of the data gathering procedures I was following to include more interviews and more time for formal and informal participant observation. I revised the interview questions to focus more specifically and more critically on the general themes that were developing. Yin (1984) proposed that after some

early data collection and analysis, an investigator has every right to modify the initial design. Going back and forth between the two sites caused me to make refinements which made the study stronger overall.

Contracting

The agreements and arrangements were made through several iterations of meetings, telephone conversations, and written correspondence and proposals. In our initial discussions I explained the general concepts of the study and outlined the proposed methodology including the logistics and the time frame. I gave each city manager a copy of the proposal I had submitted to the University of San Diego's Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects. Our agreement regarding confidentiality was that the names of the city and the city manager would be used but all other participants would not be referred to by name. A letter of understanding and approval from Ray Patchett from the City of Carlsbad is contained in Appendix A; a similar letter from Dick Bowers from the City of Scottsdale is contained in Appendix B.

The discussions with Ray Patchett during this contracting process were my first indication of a dilemma I would be facing. The dilemma was a pull between two different roles; one (with which I am quite familiar) is as a consultant to managers and organizations, and one (at which I am a novice) is as a researcher of organizations. The consultant role carries with it an expectation to provide specific feedback and assistance in responding to whatever is uncovered. The researcher role is to serve the field of knowledge and not necessarily the client. I took the advice of Taylor and Bogdan (1984) who suggested that "one way we have found useful in explaining our research interests is to let people know that we are not necessarily interested in that particular organization or the specific people there. In all studies, the researcher's interests are broader than a particular setting and concern the

general type of organization" (p. 25). I explained to Ray Patchett that the purpose of my study was not to determine whether he personally was empowering but rather to look conceptually at the overall picture of empowerment.

The city managers informed their respective mayors and city council members of this study and made any necessary arrangements with them. The city managers also informed their management teams of the study and encouraged their participation. Dick Bowers encouraged each person to be candid with me and assured them that he would not be receiving any follow up report or any of the raw data that I had collected.

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) wrote: "The process of gaining access to a setting also lends insight into how people relate to one another and how they process others" (p. 28). Gaining access to the City of Carlsbad and the City of Scottsdale was a welcoming and stimulating process. Data gathering on the practices of the organizations had begun.

Participants

Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed the use of "purposeful sampling" for naturalistic inquiry. Key elements of purposeful sampling are the number of participants is not predetermined but is guided by the point of informational redundancy, initial data are analyzed and additional participants are selected to extend information already obtained or to obtain contrasting information, and the sample is refined over time to focus on emerging conclusions.

Although the positional levels of the participants was predetermined (upper level managers), the number of participants and perspectives they offered evolved during the data gathering phase of this study. Specifically, as a result of my experience in Carlsbad, I requested that I be able to interview more participants including some who would represent a critical view of the

organization when in Scottsdale. The participants were full-time municipal employees. Overall, the study participants included the 21 persons interviewed and numerous other persons with whom I interacted in meetings, casual conversations, and observations. Out of the 21 persons interviewed, 18 were white men and 3 were white women.

In the contracting discussions with the city manager of Carlsbad, he recommended six persons for interviewing in addition to himself. At the City of Carlsbad I, therefore, interviewed a total of seven persons representing four different levels of the top management team: the city manager, the assistant city manager, two deputy city managers, and three department directors.

I also interviewed two principals of a consulting firm that has provided on-going management and organization development consulting to the City of Carlsbad and other cities for the past five years. I thought this third source of data would enhance the triangulation of the data. From past professional experience, I had seen these two consultants be critical and insightful about organizations and managers and their management style. I do recognize however, that there is potential for bias on the part of the consultants based on the fact that they were working closely with the city manager of Carlsbad at the time of this study. Because the intent of this study was not to be comparative, there was not a need to replicated this source of data for the City of Scottsdale.

In Carlsbad I interviewed only the persons whom the city manager suggested. Because these participants were hand picked, they were for the most part supportive and "on board" with the manager's philosophy of leadership. Although interviews with them were informative, I became aware that I also needed to speak with persons who were critical about the

organization. In Scottsdale I asked to interview a wider range of participants to ensure diverse perspectives. Also, I went out of my way to avoid the appearance of collaborating with or siding too much with the city manager when I was working with the other participants. Van Maanen (1982) had warned: "One of the ironies of observing organizations is that once researchers have obtained access from gatekeepers, they typically must disassociate from them" (p. 108).

In Scottsdale I interviewed 12 people who represented four levels of management and who also represented various perspectives on the organization and its operations. The participants included the city manager, two assistant city managers, all seven general managers, and two department directors. The benefit of interviewing all seven general managers was that they reflected a diversity of opinion about the organization and its practices.

Ideally, the researcher should develop rapport and a sense of trust with all of the participants in the study to ensure that open and honest information is generated (Murphy, 1980). In Scottsdale, I developed a comfortable rapport with most of the participants in the study; there were two who kept a cool distance throughout my visits, and three participants with whom I developed a close working relationship. This type of close and ongoing relationship is referred to in the research methodology literature as a "key informant" (Merriam, 1988; Murphy, 1980; Taylor & Bodgan, 1984; Yin, 1984). Taylor and Bogdan (1984) suggested that "field researchers usually try to cultivate close relationships with one or two respected and knowledgeable people in the early stages of the research" (p. 41). The persons with whom I developed close relationships were a tremendous source of information. They provided a fuller and deeper understanding of the setting, people, relationships, structures, programs, history, and culture of each organization. They were

also willing sounding boards for me to check out hunches I had and the themes I saw emerging.

Data Gathering

Naturalistic inquiry calls for the researcher as a human being to serve as the instrument for data gathering. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that as a result, data gathering techniques should be "inclined toward methods that are extensions of normal human activities . . . interviewing, observing, mining available documents and records, taking account of nonverbal cues, and interpreting inadvertent unobtrusive measures" (p. 199). This study used a combination of these data gathering methods.

Multiple Sources of Evidence or Triangulation

A key principle of data collection in naturalistic inquiry is the use of multiple sources of evidence (Murphy, 1980; Yin, 1984). The word triangulation means having multiple sources of evidence and/or methods of data gathering combined in a single study. The rationale for using triangulation is that by drawing on multiple types and sources of data, researchers gain a deeper and clearer understanding of the context and phenomena. The benefits of triangulation include: greater clarity and accuracy of the data (Merriam, 1988; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984; Yin, 1984), reduced influence of researcher bias (Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984), and compensation for weaknesses of data gathering methods (Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Merriam, 1988).

Regarding the compensation for weaknesses in methods, Merriam (1988) wrote: "The rationale for this strategy [triangulation] is that the flaws of one method are often the strengths of another, and by combining methods, observers can achieve the best of each, while overcoming their unique

deficiencies" (p. 69). On the other hand, Fielding and Fielding (1986) cautioned the researcher not to believe optimistically that combining the data from different sources would be unproblematic. They did believe, however, that "the differences between types of data can be as illuminating as their points of coherence" (p. 31).

The triangulation in this study is reflected in both the multiple sources of evidence and the multiple methods of data gathering that were used. Data were obtained from the members of two different organizations plus two external consultants, and the multiple methods of data gathering were one-on-one interviews; participant observation; field notes which captured casual conversations, nonverbal communication, personal reflections, and descriptions of settings; and review of organizational documents. The data were gathered between August and November, 1991.

Entering the Organizations

Schatzman and Strauss (1973) suggested a "mapping operation" as the first step in entering the setting. I followed their suggestion and collected organization charts, schedules of internal and public meetings (i. e., city council, Planning Commission, Parks and Recreation Commission, etc.), maps indicating the locations of the offices and job sites around the town, and all the pamphlets and printed materials available. I drove around each city to get a feel for the character of the community. I wanted to see where the city hall was located in relation to the city, where the libraries and parks were located and what they looked like. I wanted to see how the streets and facilities were maintained around town and the design of the public spaces. This orientation helped me understand more about the context in which these organizations functioned. Knowledge of the city also helped me later when I talked with participants and listened at meetings.

Interviews

Interviewing is one of the primary data collection methods in a naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Merriam, 1989; Mishler, 1986; Spradley, 1980; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Murphy (1980) proposed that interviewing is the best method for examining issues of process or for examining the reasons for complex events, the context of a situation, or what an issue means to people. Marshall and Rossman (1989) described qualitative interviews as "much more like conversations than formal, structured interviews. The researcher explores a few general topics to help uncover the participant's meaning perspective, but otherwise respects how the participant frames and structures the responses" (p. 82). My approach to the interview process was to treat the interviews as conversations. I wanted each interview to be a dialogue between two people trying to understand more about leadership and empowerment in the organization.

Interviews were conducted with selected persons in the following positions:

Carlsbad and Scottsdale

- city manager
- assistant city manager
- general manager or deputy city manager
- department director

Consulting Firm

- president
- vice-president

The interviews in Carlsbad were conducted over a two-week period during August, 1991. The interviews with the consultants were conducted in September, 1991, and the interviews in Scottsdale were conducted

over a one- week time period in October, 1991. The interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to two hours. Because the interviews were conducted at the participants' offices or work locations, I was able to see multiple city facilities in different parts of the town and also to observe each person's office decor, memorabilia, and bookshelf materials. Casual conversations with secretaries and co-workers were also a benefit.

Each interview began with an overview of the purpose of the study and a thorough reading of the consent form (see Appendices C and D). After the participant had asked any initial questions and signed the form, I began asking questions. Although I had a series of prepared questions (Appendix E), each interview took its own course. Once the participants started talking I would: encourage them to say more about topics they touched upon that I wanted to know more about, ask them to clarify points that were ambiguous or inconsistent with other things they had said, and let them know they were being heard and were being helpful to me. I would also summarize points they had made and ask them if my understanding was accurate. Some of the participants displayed an increased sense of excitement and insight about the concepts of leadership and empowerment. In these interviews I was able to ask more critical and probing questions--they also took much more time.

Over the course of the interviews, my questioning became more focused on the themes that were emerging. The questions I was asking in the final interviews in Scottsdale were significantly different from those with which I had begun in Carlsbad. In the later interviews, I tended to follow up on things mentioned by previous participants and to pursue themes I saw emerging. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) talked about this dynamic: "Once themes and perspectives have emerged, researchers begin to round out their knowledge of the setting and check out information previously gathered" (p. 49).

At the close of each interview, I tried to do as Murphy (1980) suggested and end the interview by not really ending it but by leaving open the possibility of continuing the discussion. I asked the participants to make notes or give me a call if anything else occurred to them. I told them I would call if I had any further questions after I had reviewed the interview, and I said that I was looking forward to returning with the findings so we could continue the discussion. Also as Murphy (1980) suggested, I avoided leaving the interview space too soon. With the official interview over, several participants relaxed and opened up in ways they hadn't while the tape was running, and the conversations sometimes turned to personal thoughts and stories which were more critical of the organization.

Each interview was audiotaped, with the prior permission of the participant, to insure that all the information was captured, and to allow me to be as involved in the conversation as possible. I would have found it impossible to take everything down on paper, listen, digest, probe effectively, and think of the next question simultaneously. Using the tapes ensured that everything said was preserved for analysis. Having the interviews on tape also allowed me opportunities to listen to them between my visits to Carlsbad and Scottsdale and, as a result, improve my questioning techniques. The tapes are carefully stored in my office in my home.

Upon my return home from the visits to Carlsbad and Scottsdale, I sent each person a thank-you note with a reminder that I would be sending a transcript of the conversation. The transcript would allow the participants to make sure that the words recorded accurately reflected their views and experiences.

Transcription

Merriam (1988) emphasized that "the verbatim transcription of recorded interviews provides the best data for analysis" (p. 82). Each recorded interview was transcribed. Slight editing was done on the transcripts. The "umms" were not typed, for example and long thoughts were turned into shorter sentences. The transcripts ranged in length from 20 to 45 pages.

Each participant's transcript, accompanied by a letter of appreciation with a request to review the transcript for any substantive changes, was mailed out. In enclosed a stamped postcard with a place for their signature indicating approval of the transcript with no changes. A stamped manila envelope was enclosed for the participant to return the transcript containing any necessary corrections or clarifications.

There was a wide range of responses from people as they sent their approval and/or corrected transcript. Several people edited their comments carefully and added additional thoughts in the margins. Several people included notes indicating that they had enjoyed the interview itself and also going back over the conversation. Several people also said that they looked forward to reviewing the findings.

Participant Observation

Participant observation has been deemed a mainstay of qualitative data gathering methods (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Murphy, 1980; Perkins, Nadler, & Hanlon, 1981; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Participant observation necessitates immersing oneself in the day-to-day life of the organization. Marshall and Rossman (1984) said participant observation "demands firsthand involvement in the social world chosen for study. Immersion in the setting allows the researcher to hear, see, and begin to experience reality as the participants do" (p. 79). This immersion in the

activities of the organization "allows the researcher to build trust, to overcome reactions to his presence, to observe a range of activities and, in the process, to gain an excellent first hand knowledge of what is happening and why" (Murphy, 1980, p. 112).

Over the course of my visits in Carlsbad and Scottsdale I was able to attend, observe, and in some cases participate in, many formal and informal meetings and events. I gained access to these meeting in several ways. First, I had planned to attend several public meetings on my own (i.e. city council meetings). Second, the assistant to the city manager arranged for me to "shadow" the city manager for the first two days of my visit in Scottsdale. This meant I followed him around through the day attending each of the meetings and events he had on his calendar. We were able to informally visit as we walked to and from these meetings. Third, during the interviews with participants they would invite me to accompany them to other settings. The meetings and events I was able to participant in included operational meetings such as regularly scheduled staff meetings and fiscal strategy, economic development, and employee relations meetings. They also included politically oriented meetings such as a meeting between the mayor and the city manager, an agenda bill review meeting, and City Council meetings. I had the opportunity to attend two special events. One was an organization-wide meeting to kick-off a new service enhancement effort. The other was a two-day off-site retreat for the top management staff.

In both cities I started out with a schedule of meetings and events I planned to observe. During the interviews and casual conversations, people continually invited me to additional events and activities around the city. These invitations were to birthday celebrations, lunches, breakfasts, happy hours, and the opening of the new stadium.

Field Notes

Field notes are the place where the raw data of participant observation and personal insight and reflection are stored. They include "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 79). Taylor and Bogdan (1984) noted: "Field notes should include descriptions of people, events, and conversations as well as the observer's actions, feelings, and hunches or working hypotheses The fabric of the setting is described in detail" (p. 53).

During the day I recorded field notes as soon after an interaction or observation as possible. The interactions ranged from telephone conversations, to chance meetings in the halls or lunch room, to casual conversations with people in social settings. The small talk with secretaries and receptionists and with the participants outside the interview setting offered some of the clearest insight into their perspectives and actions.

In the field notes I tried to capture each person's thoughts and ideas, his or her nonverbal communication, descriptions of the setting, and the tone of the interaction. I also noted my reactions to the data, feelings about what was said, thoughts about what else to ask and of whom, and ideas about which I wanted to do more thinking. As per Murphy (1980), I distinguished between my personal comments and the descriptive data, and looked for evidence of the influence of my own assumptions in the descriptions.

In larger meetings I attended, or in ones in which I was not highly visible, I took notes during the proceedings. For example, in Scottsdale at the Top Staff Weekly Meeting, Simply Better Service Kick-off Event, Council Meetings, and Top Staff Retreat I took notes while I observed. At the end of each day, either at home or in my hotel room, I would go over my notes and fill

in any gaps or blanks, elaborate on any shorthand I had scribbled, and add any reflections or insights not already noted.

Documents

Written documents, materials, and records are important sources of data in a naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Murphy, 1980; Strauss, 1989; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984; Yin, 1984). Yin (1984) emphasized that "this type of information can take many forms and should be the object of explicit data collection plans" (p. 79). He added that the most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources. Murphy (1980) expressed another use for documents: "A thorough reading of available materials might fill important gaps in the data caused by your not knowing enough to ask all the right questions" (p. 121).

During my visits in Carlsbad and Scottsdale, I picked up any and every document that was available. In the lobbies of the two cities there were general publications about the city, such as annual reports, resident's guides, and speakers bureau directories. I asked for copies of the organization's goals and values, newsletters, activities calendars, and training plans. Participants provided copies of meeting agendas and minutes, outlines of new programs they were creating, proposal submittals for awards they were seeking, news clippings of city events, copies of draft budgets, and administrative action plans. The documents provided general background information about the organization and specific insight into its programs and strategies.

Theoretical saturation

"Theoretical saturation" is Glaser and Strauss' (1967) word to describe the point at which data gathering activities should be discontinued. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) described this time: "When additional observations do not yield additional insights" (p. 18). Lincoln and Guba (1985) described this as a

time when "the research yields redundancy without useful reinforcement or produces seriously diminishing returns" (p. 100). Although I had modified the grounded theory methodology and used a predetermined time frame and number of participants, after three weeks in the cities, the themes and issues people were raising started to sound familiar.

Data Analysis

In qualitative studies, data collection and analysis occur simultaneously (Eisenhardt, 1989; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Merriam, 1988; Murphy, 1980; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Merriam (1988) stressed that "data collection and analysis is a simultaneous activity in qualitative research. Analysis begins with the first interview, the first observation, the first document read" (p. 119, emphasis in original). Data analysis begins with data collection in order to facilitate the emergent design and grounding of theory. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that data analysis be performed on a daily basis, so that insights, elements of theory, hypotheses, questions, and gaps can be identified and pursued beginning with the next day's work.

After the first interviews in Carlsbad, I listened to the audio tapes repeatedly while I was driving in the car and sitting in the office. I made notes on key points the participants had made and on questions I wanted to ask differently or additionally in the next interview. During the latter interviews the questions asked for more contrary data and probed more into certain areas.

When the transcription process was complete, I started the open coding process (which was described in the grounded theory methodology section above). This meant going through the transcripts line by line and identifying discrete concepts and giving them names. My coding techniques improved

considerably between my first and last coding sessions. At first I was pulling out, with no analysis, the words and phrases as they were expressed in the paragraphs of the transcript. At some point I shifted into seeing and labeling abstract concepts rather than just summarizing each participant's words. Towards the end, when I was working with approximately 50 labels, I went back through the first few transcripts and recoded them in light of the full range of concepts.

During the coding process I frequently wrote theoretical and methodological memos. As insights about the data occurred to me I wrote the notes in a stream of consciousness form and dated them. Later I sorted through the memos and traced my lines of thinking. The methodological notes have been helpful in writing this chapter. The theoretical notes were helpful in writing the data analysis chapters. The diagrams helped me integrate the data and then display them in several different ways so I could see them from different perspectives. I used diagrams and sketches to depict the relationships among the categories and the categories' dimensions.

Although San Diego was not an official research site, my knowledge of and daily experience at the City of San Diego acted as another source of data. I used it for the constant comparison process which is a part of grounded theory methodology. As a concept would emerge, I would consider how it was demonstrated or not demonstrated by the City of San Diego.

After much reflection, I began grouping the concepts into categories. Devising the categories required both convergent and divergent thinking (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Convergent thinking is determining what things fit together in a single category. Divergent thinking is fleshing out the categories once they are formed. Glaser and Strauss (1967) stressed that the categories in grounded theory should be both "analytical--sufficiently

generalized to designate characteristics of concrete entities, not the entities themselves, and sensitizing—yielding a 'meaningful' picture abetted by apt illustrations that enable one to grasp the reference in terms of one's own experience" (emphasis in original, p. 39). The process of developing the categories in terms of their characteristics, parameters, dynamics, and relationships required going back through the transcripts again. Finally, I integrated the categories into a comprehensive diagram or model.

The model as a whole continued to evolve each time I interacted with it. The discussions with the participants during the member check phase (described below) added tremendous insight and clarity to the diagram. Each iteration helped to clarify the core elements of leadership and empowerment found in the organizations used in this study.

Member Check

The member check is an opportunity to test the credibility of the inquiry as a whole with the participants at the study sites (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Merriam (1988) believed that member checks were "taking data and interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them if the results are plausible" (p. 169). The purpose of this check is to test for factual and interpretative accuracy.

In the City of Scottsdale, six months after the data gathering phase, a two-hour meeting was scheduled for all the top staff in the organization for the purpose of data feedback and discussion. An agenda from that meeting appears in Appendix F. The group included persons whom I had interviewed and with whom I had visited informally, and many who had not been a part of the study. The feedback to me from the group was encouraging; the participants said that the model reflected what they had said, and other persons said that the model fit with how they experienced the organization.

After the larger group meeting I followed up with one-on-one interviews with each of the original participants and asked them for more specific feedback on the model (see Appendix G). Although each participant's first response was very positive, each one also asked for clarification or suggested a little twist which added to the completeness and accuracy of the model.

In the City of Carlsbad, I first met one-on-one with the city manager to walk him through the conceptual model. His questions, feedback, and additional insights helped me clarify and modify my thoughts. I also presented the conceptual model to the top management team at one of their weekly director's meetings. There were not many questions from the group. Their comments indicated a general sense of understanding and identification with the aspects and descriptions of the model. I enjoyed the experience of offering both organizations an insight into the practices of leadership and empowerment. I felt that the member checks were an appropriate and symbolic closure to the research process.

Reciprocity

Marshall and Rossman (1989) believed that because qualitative studies require people to give of themselves and their time, the researcher must plan to reciprocate. The researcher "is indebted and should devise ways to give time, feedback, coffee, attention, flattery, tutoring, or some other appropriate gift . . . within the constraints of research and personal ethics, and within the constraints of researcher role maintenance" (p. 69). Schatzman and Strauss (1973) concurred: "In accord with our model of field research, the investigator is a guest and will leave a gift in the form of abstracted information that is of value to the host" (p. 31).

I believe that the participants from the City of Carlsbad and the City of Scottsdale offered a great deal of themselves in participating in this study. As a gift of myself in return, I offered my professional expertise and time. I spent an afternoon with the newly created Organization Effectiveness Department in Scottsdale. During that time I talked with its members about my experience with the City of San Diego's Organization Effectiveness Program. I look forward to spending a morning with the City of Carlsbad's Organizational Excellence Committee talking with the members about how they might apply the concepts contained in the model. As a thank you to Ray Patchett and Dick Bowers, I gave them each a book on leadership.

Treatment of Potential Concerns and Limitations

As was discussed in Scaff and Ingram (1987), the question that must be asked is not whether concerns, assumptions, and theories influence what we see, but rather how they influence our observations. Peshkin (1988) went further and contended that just acknowledging subjectivity as an invariable component of research is not enough. He suggested that researchers should seek out their subjectivity during the data collecting, analyzing, and writing process in order to see how it may be shaping the inquiry and its outcomes. I tried to recognize and manage my subjectivity during the course of this study.

When I entered into this project I knew that my subjectivity was playing a role because I began with the assumption that leadership and empowerment were occurring in the two organizations. I assumed that the processes of leadership and empowerment would be discoverable during the course of this study. On the other hand, because objectivity is important in a study of this kind, I approached the study with the "concept of objectivity" which is "the willingness to take an intellectual risk, the risk of being

demonstrably wrong" (Kirk & Miller, 1986, P. 10). Although disappointing, I felt that discovering how and why leadership and empowerment were not present would also be a contribution to the field.

A second concern was that the ease with which I established a connection with the top leader of the organizations during the contracting phase would influence me towards a positional focus of leadership rather than towards a relational focus. I was also concerned that, because of this connection, I would not want to offend the participants should I discover any data of a critical nature. During the study I was vigilant about framing the study in a way that highlighted my desire to understand the leadership occurring at every level in the organization. The interview questions asked about each participant's own practices as well as those of the city manager.

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) pointed out: "One might also tend to limit what is written in research reports in the fear that friends will be offended" (p. 20). There are some points of critical analysis contained in this study. I talked these points through with colleagues to confirm my thinking and the rationale for including them. The critical analysis is an important part of understanding the two organizations and the resulting conceptual model.

A third concern I had was that if I began the study by explicitly describing empowerment, then I would predispose or limit the participants' description of it. I wanted the participants to be co-researchers with me in this study, so that through our dialogue we would gain clarity about the processes of empowerment and leadership. I intentionally refrained from offering my definitions of leadership or empowerment. Some participants were readily able to verbalize their theories and practices. Others required probing and encouragement during the interview. I collected a wide variety

of interpretations and, as a result, formed a fuller description of leadership and empowerment.

Protection of Human Subjects

Designing methods to protect the rights of the participants was an important consideration in this study. A summary of the purpose and methodology of this research was submitted to the University of San Diego's Committee on the Protection of Human Subjects. The Committee requested letters of understanding and consent from both city managers, and then approved the proposed study.

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) counseled that although a research proposal has passed the scrutiny of the committee, it "does not let the researcher off the hook in making ethical decisions on the spot" (p. 30). Merriam (1988) observed that ethical dilemmas were likely to emerge at two points: during the collection of data and in the dissemination of findings. As a result, the two areas I monitored most closely were the informed consent of the participants and the confidentiality of the data.

Informed consent means that participants have been told about what they are going to be involved in and that they have freely chosen to participate. Prior to my visits in Carlsbad and Scottsdale, the city managers informed their mid and upper level managers of my presence and of the purpose of the study and emphasized the voluntary and confidential nature of their participation. During my visits the city managers introduced me (or I introduced myself) at the beginning of the meetings and functions I attended as an observer. Before each individual interview, I explained the purpose and methodology of the study, walked the participant through the consent form (Appendices C and D), answered any questions, and asked the interviewee to

sign the form indicating his/her consent. Additionally, each participant later had the opportunity to review his/her transcript and make any deletions, clarifications, or modifications the respondent felt to be important. The corrected transcripts were used for all quotations in this document. In addition, each study participant had the opportunity to review and amend the quotations that were attributed to them in the final document prior to its publication.

Confidentiality is the second ethical consideration. With the city managers' permission, the names of the cities, Carlsbad and Scottsdale, and the names of the city managers, Ray Patchett, and Dick Bowers, are used in reporting the data and findings in this document and in verbal presentations. Other participants are not referred to by name, only by their position. I will disguise, without altering the meaning, any data which might reveal the identity of a participant. No person other than the transcriber, the researcher, and the participant has or will read any transcript. The data were given in an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect and will be treated with the same trust and respect by the researcher.

CHAPTER FOUR

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction

An appreciation of the context, organizational structure, processes, and relationships operating in the City of Carlsbad and the City of Scottsdale provides a basis for understanding how leadership and empowerment are practiced there. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the two cities in such a way that the reader will be able to see and sense these dynamics and practices. Lincoln and Guba (1985) used the term thick description to describe this important part of a qualitative study. A thick description includes a thorough description of the context or setting within which the inquiry took place, and a thorough description of the transactions or processes observed relevant to the issue.

I will describe each organization separately beginning with the City of Carlsbad, followed by the City of Scottsdale. I will tell each organization's story by highlighting the points that are unique or stand out most significantly from my perspective. First, however, I will give a brief definition of the form of government under which both cities operate.

Council-Manager Form of Government

Under a council-manager form of government there is an elected body consisting of one mayor and multiple council members. There are council seats equivalent to the number of districts in the city. The mayor is elected on a citywide basis. Council members may be elected on a citywide basis (at-

large) or on a district basis. The mayor and council members each have one vote. A simple majority constitutes a quorum and a quorum is required before formal action can be taken and/or direction given to the city manager and staff.

The role of the elected officials is to set the policy direction for the community and the city work force. A professional manager is hired to run the day-to-day operations of the organization. There are sections in most city charters which clearly delineate the responsibilities and parameters of the elected officials and the professional city manager. The city manager serves at the pleasure of the council and operates similarly to a chief executive officer of a private company. Although policy direction comes from the mayor and council, the employees of the organization see the city manager as their leader/manager.

The City of Carlsbad, California

The Community

Carlsbad has a population of over 63,000. The city encompasses 42 square miles in North San Diego County, including 6.5 miles of coastline and three lagoons. The discovery of natural spring water along the railroad route led to the beginnings of this community. Carlsbad is a young and affluent community, the resident's median age is 32.2, with a median household income of \$45,739.

According to the Chamber of Commerce's promotional literature, Carlsbad prides itself on being a quiet seaside village. The Chamber's literature also announces that Carlsbad "is open to economic growth while sensitive to the city's ecological position as a coastal city. . . . The city is dedicated to the adherence to a growth management plan. A model of

cooperation between the public and private sectors, Carlsbad prides itself on an effective long-range land use plan . . . and enjoys a strong local economy because of planned industrial development."

The Mayor and City Council

Carlsbad was incorporated in 1952. The city has one mayor and five council members who are elected at large. City council meetings are held on the first four Tuesday evenings of the month beginning at 6:00 p. m. in council chambers at City Hall. There are approximately 20 boards and commissions for citizens to exercise an advisory role in city government (e. g., Planning Commission, Parks and Recreation Commission, Traffic Safety Commission, Arts Commission, etc.)

The mayor of Carlsbad was elected mayor in 1986 after having served on the Council for 18 years. He taught U. S. history and government at the local high school prior to entering politics. The people I interviewed spoke respectfully--even fondly--of the mayor. The city staff refers to the mayor as "Mr. Carlsbad." He is perceived by the staff as having the best interest of the community at heart rather than a personal agenda or one that promotes the self-interests of a few. One department head said: "He does what he really believes is best for the city, which is what a mayor is supposed to do." A general manager agreed: "The mayor constantly says, 'I don't care what it is, but we're going to do what is best for Carlsbad. If I don't like it, that's fine, if it's what is best for Carlsbad.'" One of the consultants agreed saying he was "a mayor who is humble and is constantly asking not what is best for me, not what is best for the council, but what is best for Carlsbad."

The city staff's positive feelings towards the mayor and council members was contradictory to the feelings of many Carlsbad residents. Newspaper accounts of the community's sentiments about the current elected

officials and their policy decisions indicate serious dissatisfaction. A primary issue has been a public art project that has dominated public discourse for over a year. Out of 54 newspaper articles clipped from the Blade-Citizen, covering a 12 month time span, 26 articles focused on the community's negative response to the art project commissioned by the city council. Additional critique was levied at the mayor and council members for reversing a prior policy direction regarding a commuter rail station to be located downtown. The remainder of the articles surveyed represented isolated issues. The tone of many of these articles was critical of the city's position or work, however, many were supportive of the city's position. There was relatively little focus on the inner workings at City Hall with the exception of coverage of the employee contract negotiations and an age discrimination complaint filed against the city. The primary data for this study were collected from people within the organization and therefore the information presented may seem contradictory to some of the sentiments expressed by community residents.

One of the consultants who has worked closely with the mayor for several years reported that the mayor is pleased with the current council members and their ability to put their egos aside and work for the City of Carlsbad. The consultant acknowledged: "They have all, with a few exceptions, been able to put aside a lot of the petty stuff, and really see themselves as wanting to make a difference in that city, and wanting to work with the city staff." The consultant also noted that the mayor has wanted to do workshops with the council for years and could never get the council to agree. Two workshops have been held with this council. The members were very pleased with the results and plan to continue these periodically.

A top level manager reported that the Carlsbad city councils, for the most part, have been very supportive of the staff and its efforts. "There is kind of a norm on the council that you don't attack the staff. The council enforces it. It is wonderful. In fact, the members at times are a little reluctant to criticize when it would be appropriate to make some critical comments about something." As I observed the council meetings, I saw the council listening intently to the staff, the members were asking thoughtful questions, they called staff by name, and said "Thank you" after each report. The interaction was pleasant and fairly informal. A department head described the basis for this comfort level: "Culturally our council members see themselves as positive forces accomplishing major things for the city, as opposed to people standing in the way or having to block, or having to accuse, or having to lay blame, which is very different from other cities."

City manager Patchett spends a lot of time working with the council members to maintain this collaborative environment. Over a three or four year period he has been able to get the council and the staff to see each other as partners. One of the consultants said: "He has done a lot of that work behind the scenes and got the council to see that there is a partnership there between the council as the leaders of the city and he and the department heads and their staffs as the support. It takes them all together agreeing on the goals to achieve them." The consultant described Patchett's style of working with the council: "He makes himself very accessible. He is a good listener. He is extremely sensitive to human issues. He supports the council members, responds to requests, acts as a buffer. He sees that the staff respond to the council's needs, and he makes the council members feel very important. At the same time, I think he often makes his staff members feel like they are very important." Patchett, the managers, and the consultants noted the sizable

amount of time and energy Patchett devoted to responding to and guiding the mayor and council members. I felt this was a strength. I also felt this level of attention upward meant the city manager was not able to spend much time interacting with the employees.

There is a sense of shared leadership at the top of the City of Carlsbad. Unfortunately, there seems to be a temporary feel to this leadership dynamic. Several people spoke of their concern about either the mayor leaving, the council members and their support changing, or the city manager moving on to another job. One of the consultants expressed admiration and concern: "This doesn't happen very often and its really special to have it all come together at one time like this. I don't know how long it's going to last. If Ray were to leave, I don't know what would happen. Or, if the mayor leaves . . . I don't know what would happen." The consultant hoped that the mayor and the city manager were leaving a legacy in terms of how to involve people and get them to help create a vision and then to support what they've helped create. The consultant added, "I think it is a wonderful opportunity to see a good city manager and a good mayor and council all come together and work together. It is kind of like a golden age of Carlsbad."

Direction-Setting Process

Decisions about the direction the city government will take are typically determined at two levels. First, the policy direction is established by the council and second, the city manager develops an operational direction in alignment with that. Patchett explained how this process had evolved in Carlsbad.

There are at least two levels of where we are going. One is the community and where it is going and the other is the organization and its process. What we have done here is to spend a lot of time getting the

council and the staff to articulate the values which guide this organization. We have identified those values and made the quantum leap to suggest that the values that are represented in the eighty or so people that we surveyed are also the values which drive the community with respect to the city.

He emphasized that, "around the values—which are what drive the way we make decisions—are the policies that the council sets." The council uses the values as the underlying principles upon which to make decisions regarding philosophies and policies which frame the council's vision of what it wants Carlsbad to be.

The city manager has spent considerable time with the council on creating a vision of what they want Carlsbad to look like/be in the twenty-first century. In addition, the council has developed a five year statement or plan. Each year the city staff develops specific goals in line with the vision, takes them to Council, and upon their approval, takes that goal and creates a series of definable and measurable objectives to be achieved. The staff members report to the council quarterly on the progress in completing the adopted objectives. Patchett described the process as: "A complete full-loop system. We go through that every year, hopefully, contributing to and driving back to the values of the city and/or the community."

When I asked what it took for the council to work with the staff in this way, I discovered Patchett had a strong hand in guiding them in this process. He commented that the mayor and this council are very principle-centered, value-oriented people, and when he suggested identifying values and visions of the future the council members weren't quite sure about the process but the members had faith and are now starting to think globally about Carlsbad's future. This has allowed the city manager and the staff to define the specific

objectives consistent with the vision. One department head said: "All the books will tell you that council makes the policies and they hire a city manager to manage the city. That's what happens in this city. It's the only city that I know of that it happens in."

Carlsbad did a Values Analysis Project to identify the key strategic values that would contribute to the organization's future success. The council and the entire management team were asked to respond to a questionnaire aimed at identifying the key organizational values. There was consensus on what values are critical to the success of the organization. The strategic values are:

1. Financial stability - sound policies in a balanced revenue expenditure base;
2. Quality of life concerns - creating a living environment which is environmentally sensitive, free of pollution, noncongested, aesthetically and architecturally pleasing, and offers well-rounded cultural, recreational, and enhanced quality of life opportunities;
3. Top quality services - delivering the highest quality social, recreational, cultural, infrastructure, community development, and public safety services;
4. Timely response to citizens/customers - providing as immediate and practical a response as is possible to the citizens; and
5. Employee excellence - having the highest possible level of efficiency, effectiveness, and talent in the employee group.

In addition, tactical values were developed. These values are meant to guide the behavior of the city staff as they conduct their work: integrity, open communications, team orientation, flexibility and adaptability, positive attitude, innovation, and freedom to manage. Several of the department heads

I interviewed explained that the city was values oriented and spoke of these values as integral to their work. It is my understanding that there are certain managers in the city who have not bought into these as a philosophy for their personal performance or for a new style of management.

Sense of Pride

There was a sense of pride that emerged in most of the interactions I had with the city managers. Each person felt that Carlsbad was doing well as a city and they were doing well as an organization. The city manager said: "Every community thinks it's the best community since sliced bread. This one's no different. The only difference is this one is one of the top cities in the state. Having worked in four cities, that's my observation based on experience, not based on wishful thinking." One department director indicated that his position was a "very sought-after job in California. It is one of the top two or three jobs in California." Several other department directors spoke proudly of their staffs and their work or the condition of the city facilities and projects. They added that, of course, they had their share of problems but were proud of what they were doing well.

One of the consultants recently told the council and city manager that based on experience, one "could put Ray, the city council, and Ray's staff up against any private sector or public sector group." The consultant feels that Patchett would be a good manager in any setting and thinks that this city council has been "extraordinary."

City Services and Work Force

The spectrum of services offered in Carlsbad include: full-service police and fire departments, library, planning, engineering, parks and recreation, housing and redevelopment, and utilities/maintenance. Carlsbad does not supply refuse pick-up or disposal but does provide water and sewer services.

Carlsbad has approximately 550 full-time and 200 part-time employees. The police department has 109 officers and office personnel, the fire department has 81 firefighters and paramedics at 6 fire stations. The library employees 30 full-time and approximately 100 part-time persons. The library has a main library and one branch. A new main library is currently under development.

Carlsbad has a Personnel Advisory Board but does not have an independent commission that has final authority over personnel issues. There is one employee labor union. The recent contract negotiation process turned into a long, drawn out battle between the organization and the labor union representative. The local newspapers played a significant role in escalating the conflict. Negotiations between the city and the union reached an impasse and had to be taken to the city council for resolution. Several disgruntled employees came to the council hearing to speak and brought up the amount of time and money top management has spent on retreats and outside consultants.

At the time I was gathering data in the City of Carlsbad this issue was just beginning to surface. Since that time I have had feedback from the consultants and have had a conversation with the city manager about the experience. The process has left the organization and members of top management polarized, battered, and bruised. As a result of this experience, Patchett has begun monthly meetings with groups of employees to stay more in touch with their issues and concerns. One of the consultants felt Patchett had been willing to interact with employees in the past, "he just needed permission and a structure."

Decentralization

The physical location of the different departments has a significant impact on organizational communication patterns and processes. Carlsbad has,

in the past five years, had to expand out of one central city hall. The city built a Safety Center (fire and police complex) and a Community Development Complex (engineering, planning, building, and utilities/maintenance) at different locations because the departments had outgrown city hall. As a result of this expansion and decentralization, many people experienced a loss of the "small city feeling" they once had. One department head's concern about the decentralization is captured in his question: "Where is all the contact with all the rest of the organization that is so important in getting things done?" One of the consultants reflected: "They don't know quite how to work with the spread. They dream about the past and think they can recapture it. The new communication patterns are there, but they're not organized."

The hiring process is significant to Carlsbad. It seemed very important to them to get "good hires" because they were a pivotal piece in having an empowered organization. There were several references made to situations that had turned out poorly because of "bad hires"—people who either did not fit with the values of the organization or were not as professionally competent as they claimed. Recruitment and selection are based on an open process. Persons from within the organization must compete for the position with persons from outside. The key is hiring someone who shares the values of the organization as well as having the technical competence required for the position.

Organizational Culture Change

Carlsbad's top management style has changed over time. One department director explained that it has been a process of growing into this new management style. "Here at Carlsbad, it is always changing. If you don't like the way it is now, wait 20 minutes and it will change. I don't mean that in

a bad sense. I mean that in the sense that I've never gotten bored. We are continuing to grow."

Patchett has brought a new management philosophy to the city and is attempting to shift the culture of the organization to reflect it. One department director observed that: "Traditionally, our culture has designed systems for us that dictate what it is we should do, what our goals should be, or what the limitations are. We were told versus empowered. It's a real cultural shift that is going on in the organization." The director explained that, coming into this established organization, Patchett has encountered pockets of resistance to this new philosophy and noted that some people are not comfortable with the new way of doing things—they don't want to be empowered—they just want to be given a job to do.

Patchett has focused primarily on empowering the top management team first. He expressed frustration that this philosophy has not extended further out into the organization beyond the department director level. This group is key to "translating it or not. Even though the top manager creates the environment, it doesn't necessarily flow down like I've created it." He also expressed frustration regarding "the amount of time it takes to work [the philosophy] through the whole organization. It takes a lot of time, hard work, and patience to grow the system." He added, referring to the labor representative: "A negative wizard can come in and within months destroy all that has been built up." A department director acknowledged: "The concept Ray has used, whether consciously or unconsciously, of making you responsible and empowering you to accomplish what you need to do, I think has worked really well with the management group. You tend to get people into the management group who are more inclined to work that way. But I'll

bet if you stepped down into the employee ranks, there are a lot of people there who don't feel that way at all."

Organization Development Efforts

In an effort to reach the larger organization, Patchett has convened the Organizational Excellence Committee and implemented a professional development program. Carlsbad's Organizational Excellence Committee is charged with employee and organizational development. The fifth of the five strategic values--employee excellence--was the driving force behind the creation of this committee. All levels of the organization are represented on the committee which is chaired by a department director and reports directly to the city manager. A key person commented: "He (Patchett) wanted a committee of a cross-section of the city staff, not just management, but a whole cross-section of people to sit down and look at the organization and how to improve it." Patchett wanted the committee "to make sure we play at a championship team level."

Once the strategic and tactical values of the organization were defined, the Organizational Excellence Committee was created to function as the vehicle for focusing the organization and each individual on the vision and values. The committee is responsible for creating programs which will educate people about the vision and values and then constantly reaffirm them. One of the first projects that the committee undertook was the Investment in Excellence Program. Another of their projects was developing a statement of "Carlsbad as the ideal organization." The statement was unveiled at an annual Christmas Breakfast for city employees and then enclosed in employees' paycheck envelopes along with a letter from Patchett. The department director chairing the committee said there hasn't been any follow-up since its initial introduction. Because of that, he felt there was still much to be done in

enrolling people and getting them excited about this vision. They were preparing to do that when the labor negotiations turned acrimonious. The city manager asked the committee to put things on hold until the negotiations were resolved. The department director feels that the effort is salvageable but it will take longer than originally planned. The committee had been planning a Re-Investment Day for everyone who has participated in the program to come back for a review and reunion. A key person said, "we like to think that will be part of the healing process of getting back on track and getting over this [labor negotiations] hurdle."

One concern of the chairperson about the effectiveness of the committee is that there is not anyone who has primary responsibility for moving the work forward. The committee members all have other jobs and responsibilities that take priority, and there is no staff person assigned to implementation. The rationale behind this arrangement is that the city manager did not want the committee to be a human resources department project. He wanted it broader-based and not something coming out of personnel because it would be perceived as coming from management only. He wanted it to be a grass-roots effort. A key person confirmed that the Carlsbad as an ideal organization statement was indeed grass-roots based: "I know it is because I participated in its development and it was everybody there who created the final product. That's a form of empowerment!" The committee has high hopes for the statement. The person described it as "like a mission statement--it says: 'This is what we want to be.' If you get everybody on the bandwagon for that, you've really got a powerful organization. That's our goal."

Professional Development Program

The cornerstone program of the Organizational Excellence Committee is the Pacific Institute's "Investment in Excellence Program." The purpose of the Investment in Excellence Program, which was introduced to city employees in the fall of 1988, is personal and professional development. The fundamental premise of the program is that as the individual improves, the organization improves. The program teaches participants how to create a strong vision of what is wanted (the desired end result) by using visualizations and affirmations. A department director explained: "People work themselves through a series of concepts around vision and current reality, identifying where they are currently, where they want to be, and how to close that gap. . . . It is really a gift, I think, that Ray has allowed this to be organizationally sanctioned—a time to really focus on us as individuals. The offshoot is you get this wonderful spin-off from that person as a whole. The people are going to apply that to their work life."

Investment in Excellence seminars have been scheduled throughout the year. Each video-based seminar is facilitated by a team of two city employees. There are fifteen participants in each five day seminar and each class consists of a cross-section of the organizational departments. The facilitators, who have been specially trained to run this program, include mid and upper level managers. On one of the last evenings of the program, the city manager invites the participants over to his home for wine and cheese and informal conversation.

About 200 people have participated in the program or roughly one-third of the city's work force. Employee response to the experience has been very positive. The Committee has considered offering the program on the weekend so that employees' families could participate also. The people I

interviewed felt that the philosophies taught in the program were not yet a way of life in the organization but that they were definitely a growing part of the culture. One of the consultants described managers that had developed greatly as a result of this management philosophy and program. The consultant noted "Patchett's style plus those kinds of programs have made a difference."

History of Prior City Managers

The topic of prior city managers was frequently raised in the interviews and informal interactions. People in Carlsbad explained the organization's management philosophy and its impact on them by describing past city managers. During the administrations of the past three city managers, Carlsbad has experienced a gradual shift toward a more trusting, empowering atmosphere.

The two city managers prior to Patchett were very different as both had traditional management styles. The first city manager was a man who maintained a tight control over the departments and their work. A department director described his style:

He kept everything very close. The city was smaller then, and he was very close to every department. He didn't want department heads coming to the council meetings. He handled every question. He had faith in his department heads, but he had a lot of department heads that had grown up through the system and were not performing at the level he wanted. So there was some frustration. I think that was part of his hesitancy to have staff come to the council meeting. They were apt to say something he didn't want to hear.

The city manager that followed also focused the majority of his time and attention on the council but had a very different management style. A department director described his style:

He expected you to be at the council meetings and he expected you to be a pro in your field, but he also expected you to have told him every last detail of everything that was going on prior to the council meeting. . . .

One of the reasons he was so successful was he knew how to ask a question. By the time he was done grilling you on an issue, there was absolutely nothing the council could ask that he wouldn't be able to respond to, or he didn't know how you were going to respond to. He then had confidence. . . . This need for full disclosure on every subject didn't mean he didn't like or trust you, it was the way he felt most comfortable.

The department director went on to describe the impact this management style had on his work with his own subordinates. He insisted on knowing that same level of detail on all his staff's projects as well. This department director contrasted Patchett's attitude about the department director's role with the prior city manager. Patchett expects to be informed--there is no change there. But, "he expects you to understand what the key issues are and raise them. He expects you to have already covered that in your staff report. He expects you, as the expert in your field, to be able to respond appropriately in public. . . . He has put a great deal of faith in me and the other department heads."

One of the dynamics which several managers felt had changed in the organization from the previous city manager was the importance of interpersonal relations. The prior city manager was more concerned with the "results-orientation. He was not particular with how you got there, but with

what you got done." This mentality tended to cause a lot of conflict among the staff members in the organization. One of the department directors observed the same difference:

What Ray does differently from [the prior city manager] has to do with people skills. [The prior city manager] had very little people skills internally, and he showed his frustration to a lot of staff people. He created an environment among department heads that wasn't very good. But, bottom line, this city was in damn good shape when he left. Look at the results. The staff doesn't have to be happy, this city was in damn good shape, so he gets credit for that.

Another difference that was highlighted was in the decision-making process. A department director described the change: "Now the decision-making is more collegial and participatory and so the processing and the interpersonal transactions are more important." I observed one decision-making process in action. Patchett framed the issue and then asked the group "What options do you see?" He wrote down the ideas as people brainstormed and concluded by synthesizing what had been suggested into a plan of action.

Over time the management style has begun to be more inclusive and empowering. A department head reflected: "As you go along and the atmosphere you work in begins to open up, you begin to think differently. Quite honestly, under [the prior city manager] I probably wouldn't have had the same attitude I have now about management. It wouldn't have been safe. It would not have been the appropriate way to manage in that environment." Patchett's approach is that he is the city manager and has certain responsibilities. The department heads are experts in their fields and should not expect him to manage their responsibilities. The result was summed up by one department head: "If you're a person who takes ownership, who feels some

responsibility for the tasks that are assigned, and wants to accomplish the things you promised, then that works real well here and now."

Key Players

City manager. Raymond R. Patchett joined the City of Carlsbad in 1985. Prior to his appointment as city manager in 1990, he served as assistant city manager for two years. Ray has worked in local government since 1974 with the Cities of Manhattan Beach, Redondo Beach, and Burbank. He has a B. S. in Public Administration from the University of Southern California and has completed course work toward a M. A. at California State University, Los Angeles.

One of the consultants spoke very highly of Patchett's leadership ability and style:

He is one of the best leaders I think I have ever seen. He is a good manager too—he is both. Of course, he is called the city manager but I think he displays a lot of leadership skills. He can articulate what he wants, he is very human, he acknowledges his own weaknesses or vulnerabilities and is O. K. with sharing them and asking for help. He knows that he needs help in order to achieve the vision. He really values the input of everybody. . . . He lets other people come up with the ideas in a collaborative and participative kind of approach rather than telling. He is selling concepts and getting people to "enroll" in his dream or his way of looking at how to run the city—and it's working. People are excited and they are participating.

A department head praised Patchett's management style: "He knows where he wants to go. He has established this vision statement from the council and what he is trying to do is to get everybody going in the same

direction through goals and objectives." He says Patchett empowers his department heads to do their jobs--never looking over their shoulder to make sure they are doing the right things.

One of the consultants has watched Patchett change over the last four years. Patchett used to believe that setting a positive climate was all it took. Over time, he has recognized that he needed to be more directive about what he did and did not want from his managers. Patchett said himself, "I used to be an optimist, now I am a realist." Both Patchett and the consultant felt that Patchett's intentions of being more honest and candid in confronting people were being misconstrued as him centralizing power again. Patchett's long term remedy was "to keep trying to hire people who you can confront honestly and who want to thrive in that kind of climate." He was frustrated by the constraints of being in a public organization where a new chief executive officer coming in from the outside was not able to bring in a loyal team of managers and where any dismissals of existing staff would make the newspaper headlines. One of the department directors observed this about Patchett's style: "Ray has been through it all. It's not just rhetoric, he believes in the staff and fully trusts the staff. But, don't ever, ever violate that trust. I'm sure that it would be the end of all time for you, and it ought to be. That is his message: 'Don't ever violate that trust.'"

Top management team. On the top management team in Carlsbad there are a wide range of personalities. The team has some managers who I would consider leaders; they have vision and passion. The team has technical experts who use traditional managerial styles and managers who are long term, loyal people and who tend to say what is on their mind in a straightforward, almost blunt, manner. The top team has many new members; some were promoted from within, some were hired from the outside. Despite all of these different

personalities and abilities on the team, one of the consultants says Patchett "sees people's shortcomings but works hard to get the best out of them. He is willing to go with their strengths without beating the hell out of them. That's empowering."

Of the department directors I spoke with, each wants to change the way his/her department does business in order to be more responsive and service-oriented to the customers. One example is a strategic approach one department director developed to manage the "back-log" of recruitments that had accumulated as a result of a fiscal year-end hiring freeze. The director has worked with a committee of top management staff to prioritize and create aggressive timelines for the recruitment process. The director encouraged other department heads to offer input along the way. This was significant because it was the first time that department had openly shared its processes with other departments. The vision of another department head has been to increase community outreach and to be able to respond more fully to the unmet needs in the community. "I want us to be cognizant of the community, involved in the community, aware of the needs, and meeting the needs that are there. That's number one."

In many city organizations, there are key management personnel who report directly to the council and not to the city manager. Carlsbad is not an exception. Independent managers' actions have a significant impact on the city's operations, but the city manager can only influence versus control the activity of the other manager. If the other manager is adversarial, for whatever reasons, this creates a dilemma for the city manager. Frequently, the city manager chooses not to take on the other manager because it would result in a bloody political battle. This was the case in Carlsbad during the time

I was gathering data. This manager has since taken another position and left the city.

Team Interactions

The department heads seem to work together well. There is a sense of camaraderie among the top and middle management personnel. The people I interviewed pointed out that the top management team is able to trust one another and have fun together because Patchett is informal, brings his human side to work, and encourages them to have fun. An assistant director told me that "this type of camaraderie is encouraged here." Frequently after council meetings a group of city staff members will adjourn to a local bar to socialize. One of the consultants confirmed that "there is a strong informal network there. It feels like a family." However, in one consultant's perspective, this camaraderie only applies to the people in the inner circle. There are several people who are on the outside and would not feel this same sense of family or fun. Another downside of this closeness is that there is an active grapevine through which gossip is spread and where opinions and reputations form quickly and stick with a person for a long time. Some of those opinions are not based on the full story.

The team's positive interactions are attributed to: sharing core values and trust. One of the consultants acknowledged that trust is a "big word there." I wonder if this success is because the organization is fairly homogeneous. When an organization brings in people with diverse backgrounds, will success rest on the same factors? Would trust that is based on "fitting" the organization's norms and values be as significant or as easy to come by if there was increased diversity in the group? One of the consultants believes that to have trust, a group must have the ability to manage conflict effectively. The consultant did not feel that the top management team in Carlsbad was

currently managing conflict well. "They would have enough trouble with their own group, let alone with people with genuine differences." The consultant believed that being more inclusive of gender differences will be their next challenge.

Meetings and Retreats

Carlsbad has a series of Wednesday morning top staff meetings. First, the city manager meets with the people who report directly to him. Next, the Agenda Bill Committee meets, and finally the city manager meets with all the department directors.

Several people said these weekly meetings were a holdover from the prior city manager; he used them to hand out assignments. Patchett has turned them into something different. Managers described them now as "consensual, problem-solving meetings." One department head described the symbolic importance they have assumed. There is "a religious adherence to the weekly staff meeting for all the department heads. It is the one day of the week for one hour where everybody is together in one room."

These meetings begin with a lot of laughter and banter--mostly among the men. The city manager initiates and participates in this humor. The meeting typically includes a review of the action items from the council agenda from prior meetings and the upcoming agenda, the key things Patchett needs to follow-up on, and any important items the department heads have to share. Finally, they go around the table and find out what is going on in all the individual departments. A department head admitted: "At first, this struck me as kind of silly, but when you get down to it, it is the only time I ever hear what's going on in some of those places." One of the consultants said he feels like the meetings are more for ritual than for getting any work done, but they do serve the purpose of having the department heads connect as a team.

The city manager holds management retreats twice a year. The retreats have broad management involvement. Participants include the manager's top staff and the department heads. In addition, each department head brings one of his or her staff members. Each time a management retreat is held they are encouraged to bring a different person. One of the consultants said the retreats are considered team building sessions. The practice of including different levels in these sessions is supported by the department heads. In this way the boundaries around management levels are permeable. The consultant said Patchett is not an elitist and, in fact, part of his value system is championing the underdog. "He has hired some people that are like that too--that don't have those traditional needs for boundaries or limits."

In describing the management retreats, a department head explained how each department head shared in the responsibility for the success of the session. Each department head was either in charge of activity, coordinating the logistics, or working with the external consultant on the program.

The City Manager's Leadership Philosophy and Behaviors

Ray Patchett said his guiding philosophy of leadership is based on his basic philosophy which is based on "a strong belief that people, in the right environment, want to do the right thing." He believes that people want to make a difference and that they need a purpose. He believes that people are constantly trying to regenerate themselves and that this leads to a natural curiosity. His goal is to tap that curiosity. "I believe that people are really curious and that curiosity is something that I constantly try to find ways to tap, to pull on, to get people pursuing because that energizes them in terms of making a difference and regenerating themselves."

Patchett frequently uses models and concepts from current management literature. For example, he used the visionary leadership materials from Innovation Associates and the Atlanta Consulting Group to develop his vision and current reality model. This model has been woven into the mission of the Organizational Excellence Committee. One of the underlying assumptions of this model is that organizational change is predicated on individual change. Carlsbad's programs reflect this underlying assumption about change. Patchett has also adapted the organizational universe model by John E. Jones for use in the City of Carlsbad. Patchett has customized it by adding the city's strategic and tactical values to the framework.

Patchett has introduced two additional concepts: 100% responsibility and the win-win approach. By committing to 100% responsibility, Carlsbad's management team advocates a climate in which each employee is encouraged to accept full responsibility for their jobs, successes and failures. This practice is aimed at ensuring that all actions, decisions, and conduct reflect the strategic and tactical values of the organization. A department head said: "that's a principle [Patchett] operates on in his interactions with the department heads. Making us 100% responsible for doing whatever it takes to make sure that what we are working on is successful. . . . There is no finger pointing. I have to insure that we, as partners in this, succeed. That is being 100% responsible for me and also for whatever the outcome is."

Another key concept Patchett advocates in Carlsbad is that of creating a win-win approach to problem resolution. The approach advocates a deliberate and conscious identification of areas of potential conflict between individuals and then offers a specific process for dealing with that conflict in a productive manner. The city manager expects that parties to the conflict will search for resolutions that are positive and productive for all parties involved.

In my initial meetings with Patchett, I found him to be quite eager to learn more about his organization. In his letter of agreement, he said that "as a manager I find these questions [of leadership and empowerment] particularly interesting and always challenging, and anything I can learn about this organization through outside reviews can only help us become yet a more effective, high performance organization." He added that he and the organization are "constantly seeking feedback, particularly objective feedback, and would very much appreciate whatever information you learn about this organization as well as any insights that we can find useful that you glean from the other organizations you are studying."

One thing that interested me was a belief that Patchett expressed in our initial meetings. He felt that studying people at different levels in an organization would offer very different perspectives of leadership and empowerment. He wrote:

As a city manager, although you work for a city council, you have a great deal of autonomy in determining the tone of an organization. As an assistant city manager, you still have a great deal of authority to empower and lead but within the constraints of the city manager, to a great extent, and your assignment. As a department head, these concepts apply only as it relates to your department. As a result, the position being surveyed and its place in the structure seem to me to have an effect on one's true ability to fully empower and provide leadership.

Conclusion

The City of Carlsbad seems to be experiencing positive times. There is a confluence of a strong mayor, a council that is willing to work together, a competent city manager, and a progressive organization. One of the

consultants noted, "The more I have worked in different organizations in the private sector as well as the public sector, the more I see that this (coming together of positive elements) doesn't happen very often. It is really special to have it all come together at one time like this." Indeed, there has been a tremendous amount of work done by the mayor and city manager to create this type of climate. And, although the organization has recently weathered internal and external challenges and the empowering climate has not reached all managers or levels of employees in the organization, a positive effort is underway.

The City of Scottsdale, Arizona

The Community

Scottsdale has grown from a 2,000 person farming cluster to a current population of 130,000. In 1951, the city occupied one square mile. Today, Scottsdale encompasses 185.2 square miles, stretching 32 miles from north to south. Scottsdale is a young and affluent city. The residents' median age is 37 years, with a median household income of around \$45,000.

Scottsdale's motto is "The West's Most Western Town!" This theme is carried out in the southwestern theme in the downtown streetscape, architecture, signage, graphics materials, etc. Scottsdale has just undertaken a major renovation and beautification effort downtown adding an Old West flavor to sidewalks and streetscape. Tourism is Scottsdale's number one industry with retail sales following closely behind it. The Scottsdale Resident's Guide boasts that the city "offers some of the finest recreational, shopping and dining experiences in the country." Scottsdale has a very strong arts community as well. The city boasts over 120 art galleries, 2,500 shops and

boutiques, 16 golf courses, and 47 tennis courts, and 5,321 hotel, motel, and resort rooms.

The Mayor and City Council

Scottsdale was incorporated on June 25, 1951, with the Charter being adopted on November 16, 1961. It is a 40 year old municipality. Scottsdale has one mayor and six council members elected at large to serve four-year terms. Richard A. Bowers was appointed city manager in July 1991.

The Scottsdale City Council convenes on the Monday preceding the first and third Tuesdays of each month at 5 p. m. in the City Hall Kiva, to study agenda items and take action on routine business. The council also holds public hearings on the first and third Tuesdays of each month. Citizens may address the council on any item. The city council holds policy study review/work study sessions following the Monday night meetings. This gives the council an opportunity to discuss with the staff matters relating to future council agenda items and issues.

The City of Scottsdale has created 19 boards and commissions to allow citizens to take an active role in city government. Members are typically appointed by the council to three-year terms. Citizens have the opportunity to meet informally with elected and appointed city officials and hear a variety of guest speakers at Scottsdale's Mayor/Council Breakfasts. The programs are free and open to all citizens.

The people I spoke with in Scottsdale only mentioned the mayor and city council briefly. The city manager commented that the council was fairly "divided" at present and was preparing for an election in a few months. The mayor has held office for more than 10 years and has "watched Scottsdale grow from a town of just over 900 to a city of nearly 132,000" (1990 Performance Report, p. 3). The city staff generally felt positive about the mayor and

believed that he ordinarily supports and trusts the staff. One department director indicated that "the mayor goes out of his way to let you know if you've done a good job, to compliment people." As I watched the mayor come and go during my visit, he was always smiling and stopping to interact with people. Presiding at council meetings, he was gracious and responsive to the citizens and staff.

A general manager commented on one aspect of the council's decision-making process that affected the staff. He believed that the city council makes decisions for the good of the community as a whole. He indicated that city staff greatly appreciates this fact. He felt the council's city wide perspective was a result of the elections being at-large versus district only. He said as a result: "You can make recommendations that you feel are appropriate and you don't have to worry about the politics as much. For the most part, our council recognizes the necessity of looking at the city as a whole." Another dynamic mentioned was the degree to which the council remained focused on the policy issues and left the operational issues to the city manager. One department director felt that the council does permit the city manager to make whatever staffing arrangements he feels are appropriate for accomplishing the goals the council has agreed upon. He feels that a major reason that the council members don't get as involved as they might is because council membership is still only a part-time position. "That makes a lot of difference." One department director captured the theory and the reality of this fine balance. "Obviously, the council imparts policy to the city manager. We work for the city manager. But, it is easy if you're at council meetings or you meet with the council members, to see where they are coming from, how closely involved they are with the actual day-to-day running of the city. Some council people

like to have their hands on and some don't. I think you can get a general impression from them, but we work for the city manager."

Direction-Setting Process

As in the City of Carlsbad, there are two levels of direction setting in Scottsdale which are important: first, the visions and goals for the community or city as a whole and second, the visions and goals for the municipal organization or work force. The city council has initiated a Community Visioning Process as a way of opening new channels of communication between the citizens and city government. Through a variety of meetings and surveys, citizens are invited to help shape the Scottsdale of tomorrow by addressing several long-range community priorities including urban development, economics, transportation, community and leisure activities, health and human services, and arts and culture. The process is being facilitated by an external consultant who briefs the city manager weekly on project issues and plans. He, in turn, briefs the mayor and council. The mayor has said: "It could well be the single most important thing we do in 1991. Our challenge is to look beyond 1990 and create a vision of what we want Scottsdale's future to be." (1990 Performance Report, p. 3).

Internal to the organization, the directions, visions, and goals are developed and published in several formats. One format is the Proposed Financial Plan. The city manager prepares a recommended budget for the fiscal year and indicates the goal and specific strategies that will be taken to meet the goal in that year. Priorities and concrete actions are outlined for departments across the city. A second format is the Administrative Work Plan which consists of two parts: the "City Manager Performance Plan" and "Departmental Key Objectives." There is some overlap between these two

documents but the latter is a more comprehensive document of the organization's goals and objectives.

Bowers said that he and the top management team put together specific areas of focus that the council can agree upon. Then, the top team articulates the values and creates the excitement around the goals for the organization. Bowers said: "We've got a council that has some difficulty being seen as unified because it isn't always and there is dysfunction in the council. One of my first goals was to come up with a document that will represent the members' 7-0 support of a game plan. It is not a visionary statement. It is about 10 or 12 basic key focus areas which we will then weave into something a little bigger than life."

Of the city manager's ten goals in the 1991-92 Administrative Work Plan, the first was organizational development. He wrote: "During 1991-92, we will focus on an organizational commitment to quality and continuous improvement." A few of the measures of this goal were: (1) work plans for each department focusing on quality, (2) executive training program emphasizing service and leadership, (3) open dialogue with the entire organization on expectations and organizational issues, (4) examination of organizational needs and alignment of structure, strengths and staffing for maximum benefit, (5) pursuit of city manager personal development, and (6) fostering creativity, innovation, and achievement by city work force.

Community Orientation

A high value is placed on the education and involvement of citizens in their local government. The city provides many forums and processes for citizens' input into policy direction and feedback on service delivery (e. g., the Community Visioning Process, and service satisfaction surveys). The city also focuses a lot of time and resources on keeping the community informed about

what is happening at the city. One of the methods for keeping citizens informed is the Scottsdale municipal cable channel on which city council meetings, and meetings of the boards and commissions are televised live. It also has information and video programming on other events, activities and functions of city government. Another method is neighborhood meetings. These are informal gatherings without specific agendas, designed to inform citizens about current city issues and projects that affect the neighborhoods. The meetings take place in convenient neighborhood locations throughout the city. The city also publishes a "What's News in Scottsdale" page every other Wednesday in the Scottsdale Progress, the local daily newspaper.

The communications and public affairs office produces quite an array of educational and public relations materials. A Resident's Guide describes the city and its governmental services and amenities to newcomers. The annual Performance Reports are very high quality. The city produces an annual color brochure with photos, graphs, and descriptions of accomplishments from the year. This office also coordinates a speakers bureau which offers talks by city officials and staff on every possible city topic as well as tours of city facilities.

The City of Scottsdale does a good job of selling itself to its constituents and visitors. Other cities may be doing similar programs and initiatives but by putting them all together in one place and displaying them in a professional format, Scottsdale appears impressive.

Professional Reputation

Scottsdale is a city recognized nationally for its innovative and progressive programs. Several people I interviewed spoke of their experience of attending conferences and seminars around the country during the 1970s and 1980s and being approached with the question, "What's new in Scottsdale?"

One innovative program Scottsdale has undertaken is its bikeway system. With over 36 miles of bike paths, it has one of the most extensive bikeway systems in the country. Scottsdale was the first Arizona city to hire a bicycle coordinator to design a user-friendly system.

Scottsdale's reputation also includes being fiscally sound. Scottsdale's bond rating is the highest in Arizona, according to Moody's Investor Services, a rating agency. It received the highest rating of the top ten cities in Arizona for general obligation bonds (Scottsdale Resident's Guide). Scottsdale was recognized by the Government Finance Officers Association in 1990 with a distinguished budget award for "Excellence in Financial Reporting."

City Services and Work Force

The citizens of Scottsdale seem pleased with the city's reputation and service delivery as well. "A 1990 Citizen Survey showed that 93 percent of our citizens are pleased with the level of city services" (1990 Performance Report, p. 5). "A 1991 citizen survey indicated that 97 percent of Scottsdale residents rated our services as good or very good" (1991 Performance Report, p. 6).

But Scottsdale is not willing to rest on its laurels. "Since Scottsdale's goal is not only to maintain, but to improve service levels, we implemented a 'Simply Better Service' campaign in October 1991. The campaign emphasized the concept of KAIZEN, a Japanese term symbolizing small, gradual improvements over time involving every member of a work force" (1991 Performance Report, p. 6).

The services the city provides include: water and sewer, sanitation, airport, stadium, transportation, public facility construction and maintenance, planning, zoning, and economic development, parks and recreation, library and human services. The city police force is comprised of over 200 sworn

officers. Scottsdale purchases fire protection from the first privately contracted fire department in the United States.

Scottsdale has 1,167 full-time and 297 part-time employees. This equates to 8.6 full-time employees per 1,000 citizens (1991-92 Financial Plan, p. vi).

Scottsdale has an operating budget of \$158 million.

The Merit System

Scottsdale operates under a merit system as opposed to a civil service system. A department director acknowledged that the merit systems gives them "quite a bit of flexibility." The city has a lot of unclassified positions, so people can be moved around to different positions without an examination process which accompanies classified positions. The city does have a personnel board, but the director felt it has not been a detriment or a barrier to the programs and initiatives that the human resources department has proposed. The board hears appeals submitted by city employees relating to dismissal, demotion, or suspensions; and submits its recommendations to the city manager. The City of Scottsdale does not have any employee labor unions. The managers work on keeping the trust and satisfaction of the employees at a level where they will not feel the need for union representation.

Vision and Values

When city manager Dick Bowers first started teaching at the City of San Diego's Management Academy, he would illustrate the power of organizational values by talking about the City of Scottsdale's management expectations and the ways in which they were practiced. These expectations were: (1) do right by others, (2) do right by yourself, (3) be the best source of information, (4) plan for accomplishment, (5) support policy, and (6) be fiscally responsible. In his book, The Renewal Factor, Robert Waterman described how Roy Pederson, a former city manager in Scottsdale, introduced these values and a

significant organizational culture change to the city. Waterman indicated that the then deputy city manager, Bowers, was one of two people who "turned out to be key lieutenants" for Pederson and his new vision and values (1987, p. 326).

Over the years the words have changed slightly but the core concepts of the city's values have remained constant. The City of Scottsdale's 1990 Performance Report was entitled: "The FACE of Scottsdale." FACE is an acronym for the four core values:

Fiscal responsibility and innovation

Actions based on integrity

Commitment to quality service

Environment that embraces change

Prefacing these organizational values was a statement about their importance and meaning: "A person's character often depends on his or her core values--those beliefs that stand for every word spoken and every action taken. The same is true of an organization" (p. 4). Following the values, in the same report, was the city's overarching goal: "Scottsdale wants to be recognized as an innovative, environmentally sensitive, service-oriented city with an international perspective--one where the city's values define performance and performance defines excellence" (p. 5).

Between 1990 and 1991, when Bowers became the city manager, the wording of the values and goals again changed yet still retained similar concepts at their core. The 1991 Performance Report acknowledged the enduring message: "While the words have changed through the years, the message has remained the same" (p. 1). The words read:

Our Vision: Scottsdale . . . Simply Better Service. On our way to the year 2000, City of Scottsdale employees will be recognized as innovative,

environmentally sensitive and committed to quality service; members of an organization in which leadership, teamwork and respect for the individual are valued, and employees take pride in everything they do.

Our Values: Respect the Individual

Be a Team Player

Commit to Quality

Risk, Create, Innovate

Listen, Communicate, Listen

Take Ownership

In his second week as city manager, Bowers sent an Inside Scottsdale news-gram to each employee in which he shared his values and expectations for the organization. He asked for their enrollment: "Everyone has their own personal set of values and beliefs that drive their action. I hope we can find linkages between yours and mine for the benefit of organizational performance, quality, and teamwork." Bowers proposed and described the following values and expectations: (1) respect the individual, (2) live the mission, (3) commit to quality, (4) be a team player, (5) blend the systematic with the social, (6) continually improve, (7) be professional at all times, (8) be fiscally responsible, (9) risk, create, innovate, stretch intellectually, (10) enjoy it!

Organizational Culture

The City of Scottsdale has a strong sense of history and a strong organizational culture. The strength of the culture has developed over time, in part because, as one department director remarked: "Many of the managers were born and raised here and all they know is Scottsdale." Another director added: "Some people honestly believe we probably do everything the best. . . .

You do kind of grow up thinking Scottsdale is probably the best. You can get kind of elitist if you are not careful."

One general manager disclosed that one of the ways he measured the strength of the culture was the fact that despite the discontinuation of the pay for performance program, the employees continued to perform at the higher level. He described how it happened: "Depending on how they performed their actual job, or found ways to provide efficiencies to their work area, they would be compensated for that. The last city manager stopped the program, however, the ideas never stopped. The performance never stopped even though the program was taken away."

I experienced the commitment to innovation as being one of the cornerstones of this strong organizational culture. Bowers wrote in a memo to employees: "The hallmark of this organization has been the willingness and preference of all to innovate, take appropriate risk, and make things happen." One of the department directors confirmed: "Innovation is really more than anything, I think, one of our real core values." Similar mottos, testimonies, and examples were frequently part of my interviews and are prominent in all the printed materials I read. The brochure for Scottsdale's speakers bureau announced: "Scottsdale and innovation are virtually synonymous" (Speaking of Scottsdale, p. 3).

This organizational culture should continue to be a source of strength for the City of Scottsdale. The organization is "very stable," according to the city manager. He thinks the organization will face externally driven issues over the next year but currently there are not any internal, systemic, or relationship issues that are challenging the stability or health of the system.

Employee Orientation

Employees are seen as a valuable resource in the City of Scottsdale. This is communicated through: the organization's vision and values statements, the focus of the city manager's attention, the operating philosophy and resulting variety of programs offered by the human resources department, and the commitment to frequent communication with all employees.

In addition to its public relations work in the community, the communications and public affairs office manages the major communication linkages between the organization and the employees. The office is responsible for the monthly employee newsletter, Newsline, periodic informational, educational, and instructional videos for employees called Videoline, any Inside Scottsdale news-grams published, coordination of citywide employee forums, and broad organizational communication themes throughout the year. Each month a different theme is emphasized, for example, a "Simply Better Service Month" and a "Bond Project Month."

At the end of the month in which the organization focused on simply better service, the city manager held an All Employee Forum. The agenda included comments from the city manager and a review of the service activities of the month. The financial services general manager updated employees on the city's year-end financial report. Next, the city manager talked with the group about employee relations issues and the conclusion was a performance by the "Not Ready for Private Sector Players."

The human resources department in Scottsdale follows the rest of the organization in its innovative approaches to employee benefits and programs. The department conducts regular employee attitude surveys, develops programs to respond to changing work force needs, and coordinates the work of multiple employee task forces looking at personnel issues. They have

conducted surveys to assess employees' attitudes about different organizational policies and practices every other year since 1982 and in the last two years they have done one each year. The information is used to modify existing policies as well as stimulate the development of new ones.

Employees from across all city departments are frequently involved in task forces convened to study certain issues and make recommendations. A department director acknowledged: "We use a lot of task forces. We do a lot of Scott's this and Scott's that. We do our whole benefits program that way--the ScottsBucks and ScottsFlex task forces." Each year a ScottsFlex task force studies and develops the city's benefits package. The department director added that the involvement of the employees has contributed to their buy-in to the final product. It has also contributed to their professional development because being on a task force offers non management people visibility and exposure to larger city issues. Another committee that plans special employee activities, ScottsPeople, sponsored a presentation by Stephen Covey (the author of The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People) for city employees. The public was invited also.

Scottsdale has implemented a number of quality work life programs. Some of these include: a pay for performance program, a day care program, job share program, conflict resolution program (RESOLVE), corporate wellness program (ScottsLife), and an extensive orientation program. The human resources department also runs The Company Store which offers sweatshirts, tote bags, hats, etc. complete with the city logo.

The city invests heavily in new employee orientation. Prior to her/his first day of employment, the new employee receives a letter of welcome and benefits information from human resources, followed by a call from the immediate supervisor who briefs the person on where and when to report and

makes arrangements to take the person to lunch the first day on the job. On the first day, the employee is greeted by a person from human resources and his/her department. The employee is shown a video that introduces the city manager and departmental general managers, overviews the city's many functions, and describes the city's values and expectations. After a tour of City Hall and review of a comprehensive orientation checklist of information, a "buddy" is assigned to the new employee. This is a co-worker who will assist the employee in settling in. Once a month, new employees are invited to a breakfast with the city manager and general managers. Quarterly, new employees are invited to participate in a tour of the city. The group meets for breakfast, again with the city manager and general managers, who share stories about their career with the city. The group then boards a motorcoach with tour guides from city departments who explain major city projects along the route. The final phase of the orientation process occurs after six months when the employees' general managers meet with them to discuss perceptions, progress, and values. The city's intention is to make sure the employees are given clear and numerous messages at the beginning of their employment regarding organizational expectations and values and to make sure they feel like an important part of the team.

This focus of attention on employees began over a decade ago. In the early 1980s, over 300 employees participated in the Scottsdale Professional Development Program. This was a series of educational seminars given by city employees for city employees. A consulting firm conducted the sessions for the top staff and then trained the trainers (internal managers) who continued it throughout the organization. Bowers conducted several of the program's modules. The program was two days a month for ten months. Three groups

went through per year. The program has been discontinued; but people remember it fondly.

A new era in employee and organization development was beginning during my follow-up visit to Scottsdale. The city manager combined the human resources department with the quality resources management section to form an organizational effectiveness department. Bowers and the newly appointed department director had grand new visions of what this department could offer the organization. This effort will be exciting to monitor over time.

Management Development Programs

Scottsdale has developed a partnership with The Center for Executive Excellence at Arizona State University (ASU) in Tempe. The city has worked with the center to make it possible for Mark Roberts from Harvard School of Business to come to the city and do case studies with the top managers on a periodic basis. A department director remarked: "I guess he is sort of our adjunct professor, our professor at large. We call him back every six months." Soon, ASU will be offering graduate courses in public administration at city facilities. In addition, Dick Bowers is in the doctoral program in public administration at ASU.

There are two in-house training programs for supervisors and managers. The "undergraduate" program is called the Management Academy. It focuses on fundamental skills of supervision. The "graduate" program is the Leadership Institute. It emphasizes the development of leadership skills and abilities. The program includes sessions on quality (a new framework for thinking about the organization), emergent leadership (using an experiential learning technology), service, systems thinking, organization design and transformation, teams and team learning, and implementation.

History of Prior City Managers

The people I interviewed spoke frequently about their experience of the city managers for whom they had worked and the impact these executives had on the organization. Under the last few city managers, Scottsdale has experienced very different managerial styles. Roy Pederson was city manager for eight years (1980-1988). People describe him as a very people-oriented and nurturing manager. He was a down to earth person and the employees loved him. One general manager explained: "He came up through the ranks in the city, went out with the employees, and attended their functions. They could relate to him." Another general manager commented that: "It was a series of actions and behaviors on the part of Roy Pederson during his tenure, that brought about a very high degree of empowerment in the organization. These included things like getting our sanitation drivers their own business cards." In The Renewal Factor, Waterman (1987) attributed the significant organizational culture change at Scottsdale to two things: first, an intensive and personal communication effort on the part of the city manager and his two lieutenants, and second, their encouragement of a multitude of small and simultaneous actions so that everyone across the organization could participate in some manner.

The city manager who followed Pederson was a more task-oriented manager. An assistant city manager reflected: "What was most important was the task. He had an autocratic leadership style. We kind of got away from that caring aspect." One general manager did not feel that the same level of organizational empowerment was present during his administration. The general manager felt the city manager's style, which was more centralized, was based on his experience as a city manager of a larger city. As a result of this more controlling and directing style, "People throughout the organization

felt less trusting." Another general manager described this next city manager as:

A centralist. He liked to have the strong central staff and watch what was going on all the time. That style has a tendency to make people defensive and it doesn't provide the incentive for people to take risks and to try to accomplish things on their own. On the other hand, Roy's philosophy was always take risks, allow people to expand, do things, and give them a lot of space. Obviously the city manager is ultimately responsible but he allowed people to take those kinds of risks.

The general manager went on to say that this city manager, "was not like that (a risk taker), although I have to say, he was a good leader. He made decisions really quickly and was incredibly astute. He could understand situations very quickly. I don't think he empowered people as much as maybe he should have, but he had to make some hard decisions, economic decisions, fiscal decisions for the city when we were going through some hard times." Another general manager said of this city manager, he was "a tremendous change agent. He said he was not challenged in a stable environment. He put this organization through some tremendous changes."

One general manager described the impact of these changes in managerial style on risk taking and innovation in the organization. "Risk taking is a value that we have always felt we've had here. But I would say that between about 1988 until Dick became permanent city manager, risk taking, while we still talked about it a lot, took a dive and people drew back. The managers were concerned that they would not be supported if something didn't work." The staff was not getting the support from the city manager nor the prior city councils for the staff's initiatives. Although risk taking was still being supported through rhetoric, this manager said: "I think you really, as

they say, have to walk the talk, and you have to be it. Do it. Say it. You have to really live those values." Otherwise, people will believe the city manager's behaviors over his words.

One of the assistant city managers felt that having these distinct managerial styles was actually a benefit. "We had an opportunity to learn from both. We were able to see how both work. We've had discussions about this as an executive team. Some people have said they realize that this was too loose and this was too tight and that there is a happy medium. We can take from both to make us the best we can be now." In his Inside Scottsdale letter to employees, Bowers spoke to these feelings about the past: "There's no need to toss out, compare, judge, enshrine, or condemn the past. It behooves us all to continue to grow, drawing from the best of our experience and leaving behind what doesn't work to embrace new ideas. We are an evolving organization. Get comfortable with it! It is what keeps Scottsdale vibrant and successful." (Inside Scottsdale, April 30, 1991, No. 370)

Key Players

City manager. In 1978, Dick Bowers began his employment with the city of Scottsdale as personnel services manager. One year later he was promoted to field services director, followed by a second promotion in 1982 to deputy city manager. Bowers served as assistant city manager prior to being appointed city manager in July 1991.

In 1986 Bowers was awarded the Outstanding Management Innovator Award by the International City Managers Association (ICMA). The award, described in Public Management (September, 1986, p. 3-4), recognized members who have consistently initiated innovative programs in local government that have contributed to the improvement of professional management techniques.

Members of the top management team. Scottsdale calls its top management group "top staff." It consists of the city manager, the assistant city managers, the general managers, the police chief, the human resources department director, the communications and public affairs office director, and the assistants to the city manager (intergovernmental relations, administrative, and environmental).

One way the importance of an area is conveyed is by whom the functional area reports to in the hierarchy. The human resources director reports directly to the city manager. A department director said: "Dick doesn't have too many people reporting to him, but he has such a strong HR bent to everything he does—an employee relations bent—that he wanted to keep it that way." Bowers had originally worked together with one of the current assistant city managers and the human resources director in the personnel department. "The working relationship has blossomed and strengthened through the years. They all see the value of HR." The communications and public affairs director is also included in top staff meetings and discussions. This function is seen as key in keeping the organization and community informed and on-board.

Top Team Interactions

On the top management team there are a wide range of personalities. The team has managers who demonstrate leadership behaviors, managers who have vision and passion, and technical experts who use traditional managerial styles. The team has managers who are long-term, loyal people and who tend to say what is on their mind in a straightforward, almost blunt, manner. One general manager acknowledged that "I try and support other managers as much as I can. I am not as much of a team player with the rest of the general managers as my directors are with each other. Anytime they need support or

help, we will offer it . . . but I am also a person who can say no. I think I am a check and balance for the rest of them." The city manager indicated that he appreciates the candor from this general manager. All types of personalities and styles go into making up a strong team.

One assistant city manager observed how the team does a good job of keeping each other informed about important issues and situations. "But that has taken a lot of years to develop. Those are things that we have worked real hard on to try and implement in the organization. It is funny, I haven't thought back about the early 1980s and how we did business then in a long time. How we do business today is really much different. We have evolved a lot." One downside of this sense of team that has developed over the years is the level of comfort with each other that accompanies it and the complacency it fosters. Bowers expressed this concern as he was preparing for their semi-annual, off-site management retreat. He wished that the team would "scrapple more" over the issues.

Managerial Processes

There are three processes which I feel indicate strong organizational priorities at Scottsdale: employee issues meetings, fiscal strategies team meetings, and issues management. Bowers has a weekly employee issues meeting with three or four key people from the human resources department and the communications and public affairs office. The purpose is to keep the manager briefed on potential or emerging employee problem areas and concerns. This group determines who is managing the issue or assigns someone to do so. As I watched this meeting, Bowers frequently pressed the group for more issues saying, "Surely there is something hot going on." These meetings used to be every third week but Bowers has made them weekly.

Scottsdale has appointed its first internal Fiscal Strategy Team to track changes in the local economy and forecast any significant trends which could impact future financial plans. The Issues Management Team is the newest proactive process the city has implemented. This will be a committee of people from each department who will meet regularly to look at general issues facing the city so they can better anticipate and manage these issues before they become crises. One of the assistant city managers said: "In Scottsdale, we tend to be more insulated than maybe a major city like Phoenix. We don't always keep track of those external issues as well as we might. I think this will provide us a real opportunity for that."

City Manager's Personal Leadership Philosophy and Behaviors

As I spoke with the managers and employees around the city, and with Dick Bowers himself, I heard references to his leadership behaviors. People saw him focused on managing issues in the external environment and focused internally on empowering the organization. One assistant city manager said about Bowers: "He has, in my mind, a strong vision of the future and those external items on our periphery that impact the organization from a community sense. . . . He has had the knowledge of the internal structure for a long period of time and is able to balance both of those. I think this is a healthy balance."

Translating these visions of the future into organizational change requires the support of the council and new ways of thinking and acting from the work force. One department director said that Bowers "doesn't strike me as the kind of individual that is looking for the normative, standard practice. I think he is genuinely looking for new ideas, better ways of doing things, and I think he gets that message across to the council too." This person acknowledged that past councils have been more supportive of innovation

than the current one. "So the challenge is to get acknowledgement from the council that innovation can be a dirty business. This is a much more challenging position for him to be in than before. But, I think he exudes enough of that desire that council has bought into it. It is just a process that the council members are going to have to work with, that's all."

Bowers indicated the priority he places on the council-manager relations by including this as a goal in his performance plan. He committed to keeping the council informed on all issues impacting organizational success. He also committed to having the city manager and staff remain apolitical and professional at all times. Bowers commented on his interaction style with the city council: "My dialogue with council tends to be very straight and up front. . . . I am apolitical in the purest sense of the word." He offered an insight into his personal feelings about this: "My biggest discomfort with the council relationship is that politics is a different game and the rules are so different that I am not always having a good conversation even though I think I am. I could be having a conversation that fits into something else." Bowers wants to have an organization ready and able to effectively respond to the policy directions of the council.

One general manager described the skills and behaviors Bowers brings to his focus on internal operations. "He is an extraordinary public manager with a tremendous grasp of what it takes to empower a group, and he has tremendous tolerance, which I think is very important. You cannot pretend to empower people if you are not willing to tolerate mistakes." Another general manager explained that Bowers "recognizes that the work is done in a decentralized fashion, the work is done out in the field, it doesn't get done in the office. Dick is a firm believer in letting the people who are out there be able to do whatever it is that they need to do." An assistant city manager

confirmed this style: "I think he spends a lot of time trying to let the organizational members know that he is relying on them for many of the answers to the projects, problems, and issues. He lets them know that people are important--their ideas and input are important to the organization. I think that is how he came to the team framework. That is empowerment."

One department director defined empowerment as "enabling people to make critical decisions, providing them the space to be able to do that." He added: "I think that is Dick's philosophy of empowerment." A general manager described Bower's management philosophy as "leading by following." He said: "it would be very difficult to get him (Bowers) to make a decision for you. When you bring an issue to him, his question is always going to be: 'What do you think we ought to do about it?' And then he'll nod." Another department head added; "Dick is really good at asking: 'What do you really think?' He will call and say, 'Can you come over for a minute?' and he'll say, 'Now, what do you think?' or 'Are you comfortable with this?' His questions are always more on the emotional side versus what the numbers say or what the bottom line is."

An assistant city manager reflected on another dimension of Bowers' style: "In terms of his leadership style, he respects the individual yet realizes there is an organization goal that we need to achieve. When those are in conflict, he tends to find a win-win solution. When there isn't one, and we have exhausted all the alternatives, he will make the right decision that he needs to make. But at least he goes through those thought processes to try and look at all the options for win-win."

One general manager was looking forward to Bowers' influence on the top management team's interactions. He said that to have a good team, people must lose their:

Protect your own turf mentality. Dick is going to be a significant impetus toward that. One of the reasons he can do that is, simply because he is not a threatening sort of person. . . . He gives the managers the ability to figure out what it takes to get done what we need to get done. . . . Dick is just much more decentralized in the way he thinks about things. Dick prefers the decisions to be made by other people. He is a facilitator that makes sure that happens.

In addition to the top team, Bowers will be focusing on influencing employees in the larger organization. Bowers told me that he was committed to "getting face-to-face with all the employees in small group settings at least once a year." A general manager characterized Bowers' current reputation as already headed in that direction: "Dick's got a pretty good reputation for getting out with the employees."

Bowers has a strong commitment to learning and ongoing development for himself personally, as well as for the other managers and employees in the organization. He frequently distributes articles and books for his top staff to read. During my first visit, the assistant to the city manager had just ordered reprints of three articles from the Harvard Business Review for distribution to all top staff members. They had just received a copy of Stephen Covey's book, The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People and Peter Senge's book, The Fifth Discipline.

Bowers said there are two reasons he feels that this focus on learning is critical. First, the mind needs to be exercised. One of his favorite quotes is by Oliver Wendell Holmes: "The mind once stretched never returns to its original shape." He feels it is important to have the conceptual ability to see issues from many different perspectives. He feels that the bigger the organization gets the easier it will be to focus too narrowly on individual turf. In part, the

reading and discussion he encourages are simply for the mental exercise of expanded thinking. The other reason is the search for new knowledge. He expressed the desire "to consistently raise the knowledge level of this organization." He added that: "Sometimes I talk about what I am doing in the doctoral program for just that reason—to let them know that I am trying to push out. I am trying to learn something I didn't know yesterday, and I think that, as an organization, we ought to be perceived as the best and the brightest and on the move intellectually."

I asked Bowers about his private life and his personal practices of leadership. He replied: "It is all one and the same for me. It all fits together. My leadership here is part of my personal growth and fulfillment. If it wasn't, I would not do it. I have the same M.O. (method of operation) in my private life." He said this applies to boards of directors he sits on, at his church, and with his children. He revealed: "I am just living my life here in a way that is very consistent with what makes me feel good. . . . If there was a leadership goal that I would have, it would be that all the people that work, particularly directly for me, have the ability to be the same human being here as they are anywhere else and to be able to expose the same fears and weaknesses, and ask for help. . . and then at the same time, contribute here the same as they would contribute on the outside. Life energy could flow through work and flow out. This makes sense to me."

Bowers' leadership mission is "to create an environment in which people will feel good about themselves as people, and feel good about committing to the goals of the organization." He feels it is important to make that connection between the systematic and social aspects "so that people will know that we have a job to do and that it is a very important job." He adds that people's "ultimate success is going to be largely dependent on their

willingness to get involved. My role is to try and make them willing as well as focused."

Conclusion

The City of Scottsdale focuses a lot of attention and resources on its organizational vision and values and the role employees play in achieving that vision. There is a strong sense of pride in the organization's history of innovation and service. It seems that the top managers are looking forward to the opportunity to balance their focus on people and task. People seem encouraged about the leadership that Dick Bowers has brought to the city. I believe Bowers acknowledges the things that are working well, but he has much higher expectations for what the organization can be in the future.

CHAPTER FIVE

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF EMPOWERMENT

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to study empowerment and leadership operating in two local governmental organizations. In this chapter, I will portray the data, which have emerged from my study of the City of Carlsbad and the City of Scottsdale, using a conceptual theory displayed in a model format. A conceptual model is an outcome that naturally flows out of the research methodology I used. Grounded theory methodology is a style of doing qualitative analysis which is aimed toward the development of theory. During the analysis process, core categories were developed and integrative diagrams were drawn which reflect the breadth, complexity, and interactive nature of the data. I have synthesized these core categories and diagrams into a conceptual model which captures the key aspects and dynamics of empowerment in the two organizations. And because empowerment and leadership are closely linked, the model portrays some of the dynamics of leadership as well.

My initial intent was to discover how empowerment is created and sustained in an organization and then show how leadership is related to that. My research has shown that the processes that contribute to a sense of empowerment are an integral part of the practice of management as well as leadership. At this point I will focus on the aspects of the model that relate to empowerment. In Chapter Six I will explore the relationship between

leadership, management, and empowerment and how leadership is an integral part of the model.

Dynamics from both the City of Carlsbad and the City of Scottsdale are blended together in the conceptual framework. I describe the aspects of the framework by using events, programs, strategies, and behaviors drawn from both organizations. My purpose is to depict the range of actions that contribute to empowerment, not to critique or assess whether or not either organization lives up to every aspect described here.

Aspects of A Conceptual Model of Empowerment

There are a wide range of components that contribute to empowerment in an organization. Empowerment is the action of empowering-- a process of mobilizing people's beliefs, commitment, motivation, and ability to intend real change. Empowerment is also the state of being empowered--a feeling of self-efficacy, responsibility, purpose, power, and ability to create change. The concepts presented herein incorporate both of these connotations.

The factors, actions, and interactions that contribute to the process and the feeling of empowerment are synthesized into five aspects: (a) contextual, (b) personal, (c) managerial, (d) organizational, and (e) relationship. Each aspect has some degree of influence on the individual, team or the organization's sense of empowerment. Some of the aspects have a more significant and immediate impact, some are less visible and have a more intangible influence. I will describe each aspect and how it contributes to individual, team, or organizational empowerment illustrating the points with stories and examples from the data.

I have included in the model a discussion of the challenges or dilemmas which are inherent in the practice of empowerment. Current literature tends

to play up the positive and transformational dynamics of empowerment and down play the chaos, conflict, and dilemmas that are also part of the phenomenon. The relationships among the five aspects are explored in a final section. How each aspect interacts with the others and how the aspects combine to empower the individual, team, and organization are discussed.

The Contextual Aspect

There are factors impacting organizations which set the tone or the atmosphere within which they must function but over which the managers do not typically have direct influence or control. These are such things as the political nature of external relationships, and the history, culture, and structural aspects of the organization. These contextual factors affect the organization's corporate sense of well-being and vitality. Although not at the core of empowerment, these factors do create an overall backdrop and ongoing atmosphere within which the organization must function. How the organization perceives itself influences how its members feel about themselves as members. An organization operating in a positive and supportive environment will likely have a corporate sense of self-esteem and self-efficacy, and staff members will feel that it is possible to act in empowered ways. In an organization that feels beleaguered and under attack from political, external, and/or historical forces, empowerment will be a challenge.

Three categories of contextual influences are explored here: (a) politics, (b) organizational history and culture, and (c) organizational size, budget, and sector.

Politics

The nature of the relationships and influence patterns between elected officials, the community, and city staff; the involvement of the citizenry; the

portrayal of the city's actions in the media; and the organization's standing vis-a-vis other jurisdictions all influence the organization's sense of empowerment in subtle yet powerful ways. Key stakeholder groups include the: (a) mayor and city council, (b) community, (c) media, and (d) professional peers. The perceptions that these stakeholders hold about the organization, and the nature of the relationships between the stakeholders and the city staff influence the organization's self-image.

The mayor and city council. The political tone that the mayor and city council set and their perceptions of the city staff significantly influence the organization's corporate sense of self-esteem, efficacy, and empowerment. Top level managers confirmed that the mayor's and council's actions and their interactions as a leadership and decision-making body, the level of political influence attempted, the individual personalities and platforms, and the values and principles (or lack there of) of the mayor and council had a significant impact on how the managers did their job.

The agenda that the council members define for themselves as a body also affects the organization. In some cases, council members see themselves in an adversarial or monitoring position relative to the city staff. One department head noted that council members frequently get elected by taking the stand that they will be responsible for cleaning up city hall. Another department head recalled a series of innovative proposals that were shot down because the incumbent council members felt that risk taking was basically inappropriate for government. At other times council members see themselves working in a partnership with the staff toward implementing the best decisions for the community. One department head spoke about the current situation in Carlsbad: "They [the council members] are very dedicated and very aware. They always do their homework and know what is going on,

but they are very trusting of staff. People aren't afraid to make decisions because they know they aren't going to be killed if it isn't exactly right. We have had individual differences of opinion, but they never staff-bash." An assistant city manager indicated that as a result of the consistent and positive climate that a council sets, it is easier to attract and retain high quality staff members who have innovative, professional agendas and initiative.

It is possible for individuals and teams to feel empowered within a highly political environment--whether or not the mayor and council members are positive role models of leadership or are supportive of the city manager and city staff. It is much easier, however, for empowerment to flourish within the organization if a positive climate is set by the mayor and city council. An assistant city manager confirmed: "I would say that the mayor and city council are critical to empowering the employees. I think an ideal situation is to have those people be supportive and willing to take risks and make the tough decisions that they need to make. But realistically, you don't always have that luxury."

The community. The citizens' perceptions and expectations of the city work force also influence the city staff members' self-image and therefore the corporate sense of empowerment. Critical or adversarial interactions with community groups, special interest groups with political power, or citizens who have unlimited access and influence with top management undermine the staff's motivation and initiative. On the other hand, positive and productive interactions with community members can encourage city staff members to go the extra mile on a project. One assistant city manager felt that the community had a beneficial impact on the organization's ability to empower its work force. In Scottsdale, the community's expectations of the city are high and the citizens are very involved in governmental affairs. He

felt that these factors drive the organization to respond in even more inclusive and innovative ways.

The media. The treatment of the city in the newspapers and on television also impacts the city staff's sense of esteem and willingness to take risks. Bowers talked about the factors in the local environment that supported his ability to empower the organization and stressed that "there needs to be good press in the community. I personally need good press." He meets with the newspaper editor regularly to "try to keep the press fair and to try to keep the city from getting attacked inappropriately." The city manager used the media, lots of printed materials, and speaking engagements to proactively increase visibility, credibility, and communication linkages with the community to foster as much goodwill as possible towards the organization and its proposals.

Professional peers. The general reputation that a city enjoys in professional networks and among colleagues contributes to the corporate sense of empowerment as well. A healthy sense of competition and pride in the organization's achievements can stimulate the desire to expand even further.

The City of Scottsdale has received national awards and recognition for its innovative programs. When managers from the city attend conferences around the country, people are curious about what Scottsdale is doing because of its reputation for being progressive in its policies and programs. These interactions with professional colleagues reinforce the organization's norm of innovation and stimulate the commitment to creativity, initiative, and change.

Organization History and Culture

Most of the people I spoke with had been in their respective organization for many years. References to key events and times in the

organization's history, prior city managers' leadership styles, and "the ways we do things around here" were abundant throughout the interviews. Specifically, organizational veterans spoke frequently about the impact of the city manager's or the positional leader's style.

The people I interviewed framed their definitions of leadership and empowerment by referencing the managerial styles of prior managers under whom they had worked under. They described the beliefs and behaviors of the prior managers and compared how the different styles influenced their sense of individual empowerment. The city manager's style especially impacts the top staff members' comfort levels with risk taking and innovation, their level of involvement in team meetings, and the level of shared trust. One department head described the level of trust that exists currently between the top management staff and the city manager by contrasting it with the lack of trust experienced under the prior city manager. He also described the humor and interaction that were a part of the interactions of the top staff and added that these didn't happen under the former city manager. He explained that the prior manager would "put you down. So when we would have a meeting, it would be nothing but the manager's agenda--just bang, bang, bang. There would be no interaction or jokes."

Organizational culture also influences an organization's corporate sense of empowerment. Culture is the norms and values (spoken and unspoken) that people in the organization hold dear. These are things that people typically hold as "the way we have always done things around here." The cultural norms that subtly guide people's behavior may be positive and supportive of empowerment or they may be rooted in more traditional, control-oriented styles of management. A department head highlighted a cultural norm that has had a positive impact: "When I first began with the City of Scottsdale over

twenty years ago, the city had a tremendous reputation as an innovative city. I think it still does, but it was really touted nationally as being extremely innovative then. I think some of us who started back in those days have never really lost that feeling. It is really our responsibility to continue that." This commitment within the organization has continued despite interim city managers and councils who focused primarily on increasing the centralized control over operations and eliminating nonessential costs.

Cultural norms can be influenced by individual managers, but they are typically embedded in the ongoing nature of the organization and transcend any one city manager's tenure. One department head described the relationship between organizational culture and the influence of the city manager: "The city manager is obviously a part of creating this environment and if the city manager doesn't share that view, it is going to be rather difficult. But I think it goes beyond that. Once it is instilled in the culture, it is part of the on-going organization. I have seen several city managers come and go now. Some were a little more risk-takers than others but throughout that there was certainly a continuing sense of the organization and the importance of the organization culture."

Organizational Size, Budget, and Sector

Three logistical factors indirectly influence the organization's corporate sense of empowerment: (a) the size of the work force, (b) the financial situation of the organization, and (c) being a public sector versus a private sector organization.

Size of the organization. The size of an organization indirectly influences the members' sense of empowerment. Specifically, size tends to dictate the sphere of influence the staff members have on the issues and projects they are assigned and thereby decrease their sense of ownership and

responsibility. The larger the organization, the greater the specialization and compartmentalization tends to be. An assistant city manager remarked that in a smaller organization there is "the ability to put your arms around issues" and therefore have more of a sense of ownership in them. Based on personal experience in several cities, one department head felt that in a smaller organization a person can follow his or her work farther along the process and are more likely to see the results of the person's efforts. The director added that in a larger organization there is more specialization and decentralization, and it would be harder to feel a sense of ownership for a project.

Size also influences the accessibility (real and perceived) that the city staff has to the top managers. One of the consultants observed how, because of its small size, the city manager in Carlsbad is visible to the employees and is therefore perceived as being accessible to them. In Scottsdale, a department head indicated because the city is still at a "manageable size, the city manager is still able to be visible to all the employees." The visibility of the top managers fosters a sense of connection to the key power sources. In a large organization, the staff members that are in outlying operation stations often miss this connection to the key power sources.

Real access, as well as perceived access, contributes to people feeling empowered. A department head explained that in a smaller organization it is feasible for a wider range of people to have access to the decision makers and be involved in the meetings and events in which key decisions are made. The director described meetings in which project leaders and analysts heard the city manager's directions first hand rather than filtered through multiple layers of management.

Although it seems that having a smaller work force makes it easier to have a sense of ownership over issues and to connect with people in executive positions, empowerment is possible in all sized organizations. Both city managers strongly believed this. Bowers and Patchett said that change efforts in large organizations take more time and resources, and a greater degree of strategic thinking and ingenuity, but there is no reason why these same empowerment actions could not be undertaken. Bowers said: "I think size has an impact--the greatest impact is that it is a more difficult strategy. I believe it is every bit as doable with 10,000 employees in San Diego as it is here. It's a matter of strategy." One of the consultants agreed that doing this work in a larger organization takes more time and added that it also takes committed people in key positions that will support and champion the effort. The consultant said that, as a city manager, "you must have top-notch people working for you that share your vision and are just as committed to it as you are. They must be willing to take it all the way down in the organization. I think you have to have all the right people working for you. If you don't, it slows empowerment down."

Financial situation of the organization. The financial situation or budget picture of the organization has a slight impact on the ability of the top managers to empower the organization. Similar to the influence of size, it may be easier to practice these behaviors under abundant times but it is possible even under fiscally tight situations. Finding ways to develop, motivate, reward, and celebrate takes more strategy, creativity, and resourcefulness when in tighter budget times. One assistant city manager noted that "a sound budget, or one that is more flexible, is helpful because then you can work on rewards and compensation as empowerment tools--rewarding those people who take risks and achieve success." The manager explained that in the early

1980s Scottsdale had a strong economy and budget and were able to do a lot of rewarding and celebrating. In the last three years they have been in the budget-cutting mode. "We've had to learn to be more resourceful. That's part of our jobs as executives. But having a sounder budget or more flexibility in the budget can make that job easier so you're not always hunting for the resources."

The nature of public sector organizations. There are many organizational dynamics that are the same whether the organization is in the private sector or public sector. There are however, certain dynamics that are specific to the public sector. The features specific to the public sector that influence the organization's corporate sense of empowerment are the: (a) policy-making process, (b) public scrutiny and accountability, and (c) inherent pride in city service.

The managers I spoke with felt that the differences between public and private sector organizations were significant. The public managers felt that their ability to empower their people was less than their private manager counterparts. The differences lay primarily in the policy-making and direction-setting processes. Rather than having rational, bottom-line driven goals, cities must resolve competing, and sometimes mutually exclusive, needs and desires into a city policy or goal using the messy political process. One assistant city manager said: "I think the main difference would be that usually in the private sector there is a common policy, a unilateral goal, and that is to make the best car. The goal is the same and everybody wants the best car they can get for the money. In the public sector, you can actually be challenged with sets of clients who have fundamentally different goals. It becomes very complex in trying to manage that." A department head agreed: "As we involve citizens in the process, one single notion of what is the best solution is

probably very rarely going to be the final product." In these cases, the assistant city manager reflected that it is important to encourage staff members to do their "best professional work based on their experience and training and to let the political arena do what it is supposed to do in a democracy, that is, to make those decision where there are key differences in the goals." The manager felt that communicating these parameters to the staff members is very important so they can feel empowered to do their best despite what may occur in the political arena.

Another dynamic of public sector work is the inherent public scrutiny. References to the organization being in a fishbowl or a glass house were prevalent. One department head said: "We clearly operate within a fishbowl. People are very aware of our every move." Another described this experience: "In the public sector you not only have your city council, but you have your entire citizenry looking over your shoulder. The media like to point out things that didn't work out quite right and that may make it [empowering people] more difficult, but it certainly doesn't dissuade you in any way from trying, or it shouldn't." Patchett felt the public scrutiny did impact his management style: "In some ways being in a public organization can be a bit of a block because you have to balance some of the really neat things you can do that get people's attention, against how it would look to the community if you were reading about it in the newspaper."

The perception of being under constant scrutiny included being "accountable to the citizens and having to answer for everything you do." People spoke of being accountable to the taxpayer and therefore having to justify each action taken. One of the consultants felt managers had to "do everything very thoughtfully and very deliberately because they are being held accountable to the taxpayers." "Cities bend over backward to do things in

a way that they don't get caught with their fingers in the cookie jar." A general manager added: "Our public will take the auditor's approach that says 'well, you should have checked it, you should have tested that'." The manager felt he was cautious about fully empowering his people because of these constraints.

Several department heads commented on the positive influence of being in a public sector organization. They felt employees could see the results of their work in a well functioning and well maintained community and there was pride inherent in that. One department head described the higher degree of integrity engendered in the work force as a result of holding the public's trust. The director said: "The public has entrusted us, it is a trust relationship." This pride seemed to perpetuate the desire of the organization to deliver for the community.

The public nature of these two organizations seems to both constrain and stimulate empowered behavior. Bowers noted that typically, being a public organization is "another one of those universal cop-outs that we use in public management." While agreeing that "there are always limitations somewhere," he stressed that "we sure have a lot more capability than we exercise."

The contextual aspect is shown in Figure 1. The factors that make up this aspect--external relationships, organizational history and culture, and organizational size, budget, and sector--indirectly and directly influence the organization's corporate sense of empowerment. These dynamics set the tone under which the organization operates. It is easier to empower people under positive and abundant circumstances; it is still possible when these factors are not supportive.

Figure 1. The contextual aspect.

The Personal Aspect

Individual organizational members--employees, managers, and executives--bring many ingredients with them to the organization which influence the processes and feelings of empowerment. The unique and varied ingredients all these individuals bring must be taken into account, blended and balanced together, for empowerment to blossom. The personal aspect of the model has three key areas: (a) individual factors including personal readiness, (b) the genesis of empowerment, and (c) leader's behaviors and responsibilities.

Individual Factors

The individual staff person brings a complex set of personal beliefs, values, experiences, attitudes, habits, talents, and goals to the work place. Some combinations of these dynamics contribute to a person feeling more intrinsically empowered than other combinations. Persons whose belief system includes a strong sense of self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-efficacy tend to be intrinsically empowered. One department head spoke of the

self-confidence that is necessary for a feeling of empowerment: "Confidence in yourself is a large part of it. I can have all the confidence in the world in you. You are bright, intelligent, you can do anything you want, you've got strength and power. But, if you don't think you've got that power, then you will not be able to take over those tasks and succeed with them." An assistant city manager described the differences in people's outlook: "Some people feel naturally empowered and effective as people. They are positive and say, 'I can do a lot of things if you give me room, empower me, let me do them.' Other people feel victimized."

People's feelings of empowerment are also based on their talents and the experiences they have had in the current and in prior organizations. If a person has been successful and effective, or if a person has been challenged, developed, encouraged, and rewarded he or she tends to feel more empowered than if he or she has been unsuccessful, stifled, controlled, and chided for his or her efforts. In addition, an assistant city manager described empowerment as people's "willingness to step outside of their box." The manager felt this willingness is affected by the management style of past and present bosses as well as by the individual being "internally and personally willing to go that extra mile and step out and challenge the system." A department head recounted a story about internally generated empowerment: "Something Dick told me many years ago is that in every position he's ever held, he has always defined his job more broadly than the job description or what his supervisor told him when he took that job. And no one has ever called him on it. He pushes the envelope." For some people, empowered behavior comes naturally, for others it does not.

Empowerment Readiness Continuum

As a result of the infinite possible combinations of individuals' belief systems, talents, experiences, and willingness, there is a wide range in the states of readiness for and acceptance of empowerment that people bring to the work place. I have depicted the range of personal readiness for empowerment by using a continuum with five markers (see Figure 2). First, at one end are the people who are so intrinsically empowered that at times their initiative and enthusiasm must be tempered. These people will empower themselves regardless of the organizational or managerial environment. Second, are the people that have the willingness and abilities to act in empowered ways but who need to be tapped, nudged, or given permission to act in that way. Third, are the people who have the potential but need education, development, and coaching to be able to perform in empowered ways.

Fourth, are the people who do not want to be responsible for acting in empowered ways. They are more comfortable with the manager providing direction and maintaining accountability for the work. It is hard to get these people to accept responsibility, to take initiative, and to participate in change efforts. A department head described this type of person, "They would feel much more comfortable in a structured work environment where you slide the work assignment in and you get the work assignment out. It might be totally accurate, a good job. But they want none of the risk that comes along with being your own boss or taking serious ownership." Fifth, and at the other end, are the people who will actively try to undermine or work against any movement toward an empowered work environment. They are not willing for the system or the balance of power to change.

One of the consultants described the first group of people: "I've seen people in lots of organizations empower themselves regardless of the

Figure 2. The readiness continuum

environment." The consultant described the opposite group: "I don't care what you do, none of it [empowerment] is going to happen." The third and largest group "just needs help in seeing that they can do it." A department head described these different states of readiness in staff: "There are employees in my department that are highly motivated and others who require a bit more direction. They want to know specifically what you expect them to do. Other people just take the ball and run with it." Unfortunately, as one department head acknowledged, there are times when a person would rather leave the organization than accept the responsibilities that come with empowerment. "There are people who are in certain situations that even if you empowered them with the authority and the responsibility to do what they need to do, might, for whatever reason, not accept that challenge, and move on."

Based on the existence of intrinsically motivated people and people who resist empowerment, the hiring process becomes a significant leverage point for an organization. One assistant city manager felt that "the most important thing that we do anymore in an organization is select people for the top management positions." Although hiring new people offers an excellent opportunity to increase the critical mass of people who are inherently empowered, most of the people who will need to be empowered in an organization are already in their positions. One of the consultants observed: "The vast majority of the people that have got to be empowered won't ever be hired, they are already there, and for it to work, it has to work with that group."

Genesis of Empowerment

Can people "be empowered" or is it only the individual who can choose to be empowered? Does the individual choose to be empowered or does the leader empower the individual? Where is the genesis of empowerment?

Invariably people responded: "Both. It is a combination of the individual's and the leader's beliefs and actions." City manager Patchett believed that it takes both the leader's and the individual's participation to create a sense of empowerment. It is the leader's responsibility to create an environment that is empowering. It is the individual's choice to experience empowerment (see Figure 3). Patchett said: "I think a leader can empower people depending on where they are in their development. However, ultimately I believe the empowered individual is primarily responsible for his/her own maturation and empowerment. All you [the leader] have to do is create an environment and turn on the light. It depends on the person."

The leader creates the conditions and may create them as contagious, as compelling, and as inviting as possible. A department head described the role the leader plays in fostering empowered people: "It depends a lot upon the leader's ability to create an environment that cultivates, sanctions, and encourages empowered actions." City manager Bowers also described the leader's capabilities and responsibilities: "I don't believe that a leader can motivate or empower anybody. I think a leader can create an energy vacuum, a desire or something that people choose to fill. I think a leader has everything to say about whether people will be fulfilled and empowered in the organization, but I don't think we 'do' it. I think everybody, or at least most people, will do it. We just have to create the conditions for it."

Ultimately, it is the individual who makes the choice to be empowered or not. An assistant city manager clarified this point: "People have to choose to be empowered. You have to be willing to empower yourself or to accept power, responsibility, and accountability for your actions." A department head added: "You can not instill motivation or empowerment in others. They can only do that for themselves, it needs to come from within them."

The relationship between the leader and the people in the process of empowerment is one of mutual interdependence. A department head said that empowerment "has to be a symbiotic process between the individuals or the organization and the leader. There has to be some dynamic process going there." Another department head said: "It's a combination of both. I think the leader gives you the parameters and creates that environment and then you have to go for it."

Leader's Behaviors

The leader's role in creating the conditions under which empowerment can flourish requires specific behaviors. Many of these behaviors are documented in the leadership studies literature. The ones that are highlighted here are behaviors which my data suggest especially contribute to people feeling empowered: (a) seeing the big picture, (b) articulating a vision or direction, (c) enrolling people in that vision, (d) modeling the vision and values, (e) communicating clearly and directly especially about process, and (f) demonstrating openness, humor, and humanness.

Seeing the big picture. Being aware of what is happening in the external environment and using a systems perspective in looking at the organization are behaviors which the city staff look to the city manager and top staff to exhibit. Having this broad and integrated perspective means focusing inside and outside the organization. One assistant city manager explained looking outward: "Leadership means being aware of what is in the external environment and its impact on the organization so we are able to guide the work force in the best direction for the community." One of the consultants explained looking inward: "They [the leaders] have to be able to see how all the pieces fit together and to use the systems view that says you can't do something over here without it having an effect over there and

therefore you have to think about how something impacts everybody. They must grasp that big picture, that way of integrating."

Articulating a vision or direction. Articulating a vision or direction for the organization is another behavior that staff members look to the city manager for. The city manager takes into account the needs and goals of the community, the mayor and council, the top management team, the organization's employees, and his or her own dreams and crafts a vision that he or she then asks the whole organization to support. A department head emphasized this important leadership behavior: "The city manager must set the agenda with a vision or a clear statement of direction. They must really believe it and enthusiastically, clearly, and unambiguously articulate it, and the best leaders live it. The leaders that have really got it, understand that this is the primary thing they do." He feels the city manager must "continually and repetitively articulate" the mission of the organization in clear and simple terms.

A key behavior for the city manager is to continuously articulate the vision and values in as many different forums and formats as possible. Bowers does this using all of his formal organizational communication channels. For example, he writes a full page column for each monthly employee newsletter in which he talks about some aspect of the vision. He uses any employee forum to touch on it in some fashion. I observed a more subtle, but equally as effective method that Bowers used to continually focus on the vision and that was through the questions he asked during project or issue discussions. He asked people to contemplate how the principles or the values of the vision impact on the issue. He has ingested the principles so much that any question he asked led back to "How does this relate to where we are headed." It seemed

like second nature to him to connect the two when any issue was being discussed.

The positional leader's ability to craft a vision and inspire people to join in that vision contributes to the individual's and the organization's sense of empowerment. It is motivating and mobilizing to be touched by a grand vision—a larger purpose—which reflects people's personal goals and dreams within it.

Asking people for commitment. The city manager creates a compelling vision and then asks for people's commitment and enrollment in it. A department head said: "Unless you can make everybody see the goal and want to get there, there is no way you are going to move that team. The leader seems to be able to create within the group the desire to get there. If I don't want to get there, there is no way Ray [Patchett] or anybody else can lead me there. You can manage me there, but that is more like pushing me from behind." One of the first communiqués that Bowers sent out to all employees was a letter in which he outlined his values and expectations for the organization. He asked each person to review his or her personal values and goals and to find where there were "linkages" with his.

Modeling the vision and values. One of the ways people demonstrate leadership behavior is by being the best model—the best example—of the vision and values they are advocating. A general manager reflected upon this fact: "Modeling what you want from others is a very powerful form of leadership that has been well-embodied here over the years." The manager told the story of a former city manager who was introducing an intimidating new electronic technology to the organization. The city manager "wasn't particularly comfortable with the technology either, but he forced himself to use it. He started sending speed mails to the rest of us and by golly, we didn't

know how to use that machine. So we jumped in a hurry." The city manager was "walking the talk" and not just "talking the talk."

Speaking from a more personal perspective, one department director talked about the need to be the best example of what you are asking from others. "In terms of being a leader, if you want to change the culture . . . you have to model it. You absolutely have to be a perfect, model/example because in this day and age, you are not allowed to trip. Everybody else around you can, and certainly your first line people can and do all the time, but you are not allowed that luxury. You've got to model the values of the organization that you've set up--in the department, in the entire organization, and in the community. That is a big responsibility, and it is one that I think about all the time." A general manager who worked with blue collar workers talked about being an example of what he wants from his employees: "I don't expect the employees to do anything that I don't do myself."

One of the reasons that modeling the values is so important is because, as one department director said: "If you aren't going to buy it, they aren't going to buy it. Those that don't want to play with the program will use that against you and try to pick it off." If the leader does not model the values, people will use that as an excuse not to live by them either. The director commented: "Your credibility and what you do is vital. I never, never realized the importance of that." One of the consultants said that one of the most consistent critiques he hears from lower level managers when they are talking about leadership and empowerment issues is: "So and so [the manager] doesn't live the values." If the manager doesn't live the values, they don't feel like they can or should have to.

Communicating clearly and directly especially about process.

Communicating clearly and directly, especially about process, is another

leadership behavior people found empowering from the city managers. People found it reassuring and empowering when they could trust that the city manager would tell them honestly and directly the good news and the bad news. Other specific actions that the directors mentioned were: (1) when the manager would clarify his need or expectations, and be up front in delivering feedback to them; (2) when the city manager would call the group on its process; and (3) when the manager would put words to what was happening in the group or the organization rather letting it go unspoken and therefore unchallenged. One department director talked about a time when the group had experienced a breach of trust by one member and the city manager initiated a group discussion to process it. "It was his feeling as a leader that something went awry here and 'I need to talk about it. I need to process that with you as an individual and with us as a team.'"

Demonstrating openness, humor, and humanness. Sharing humanness and humor was a leadership behavior that people talked about frequently. Sharing humanness is key because when people move into positions of power, there is typically a shift in how others will treat them. The manager can use humor and humanness to combat the aura that accompanies the position. A department director observed how Patchett creates an environment of trust by sharing parts of himself: "I think it is Ray, risking his own vulnerability. If it's O.K. for him to do that, it's O.K. for us to do that too." People said Patchett was very open about the importance of family in his life. He talked about "daddy duties" and the trade-offs that come with that. A director described coming into his office when he was on the phone with his daughter. Instead of hanging up and immediately jumping into business, he would talk about the conversation with his daughter and the latest funny story or calamity that had occurred and then get down to business. "He'll talk about what matters to him

in his life. Maybe it's just a simple model, but it is carried out in a lot of who he is in this organization."

I observed Bowers telling a story to his top team about a time he had made a big goof. The display of humanness allowed them not to stick him on a pedestal or solely in the role of hierarchical leader. A general manager agreed: "Yes, Dick's use of humor takes him down off the pedestal. It says: 'Yes, I'm your city manager but I'm really just Dick, so we can talk.'" Bowers confirmed:

I use humor, not because I think of myself as a humorous person, but I think that there is a risk in this job. I saw it the day I came into it. There was suddenly a glow, a whole different thing happened. I would tell people, "You need to allow me to be part of the discussion team at times and not the leader." The idea is to free yourself up within the team to work as a team, to debate, to have real dialectic. The openness, the sharing of my own personal life with them to some degree is so that they know the human being in me. Those are part of my character, I think I do it intuitively because it is an equalizer. It is me saying, "Look, I'm just me."

Both city managers used humor as a way of equalizing themselves in the group. The banter at the beginning of meetings was a way of breaking the ice and establishing rapport.

When I asked the directors what the city manager did to foster empowerment among the top executives. "Well, he behaves like he really enjoys the job. And that to me is critical." A general manager felt the same way when I asked for any final thoughts on leadership. "We've covered a lot of ground, but I think it certainly helps to enjoy what you are doing and have fun with it."

Leader's Personal Responsibilities

Patchett and Bowers specifically spoke of the personal responsibilities they experienced as leaders in a way that was different than the leader's behaviors described above. Leadership is both a public and a private dynamic. Both men felt these personal principles contributed to their ability to practice leadership and empowerment in their organizations.

Maintaining personal mental health. This is an important piece in maintaining a positive atmosphere in the work place. Patchett said: "I think our mental health or illness affects how well we lead or don't lead at any given time. . . . People who are in key public positions get a lot more scrutiny than people who aren't. If I don't feel good one day, they all know it and react to it. If I feel great, they all know that and react to that." Other people confirmed that the mood the city manager comes into the office with each day sets the tone for the rest of the people. If the city manager is in a positive and upbeat mood, then other people are fine and work proceeds. If he is in a grumpy or depressed mood, the rumor mill kicks into high gear, the word travels quickly, and lots of other people are affected by it. One of the consultants confirmed that they are frequently asked "Is Ray in a good mood today?" Patchett has expressed frustration about this organizational norm and has asked his secretary not to share with people how he is feeling each day.

Continuous learning. The city managers cited continuous learning as another personal responsibility that was important. They felt that keeping up on the body of knowledge, new theories, and practices in the leadership, management, and city government fields was imperative. A department director agreed with the importance but also acknowledged the inherent challenge: "A leader needs to keep up on a body of knowledge. We are never fully educated, so we need to keep learning. It's hard to do that. There is a

tendency to think that you have yourself a job and now you are in it and you just have to run with it. It's important that all of us in this government business keep up on a body of knowledge."

Personal growth work. Both managers talked about the need to be aware of where they were in their personal development, to be aware of their strengths and weaknesses. Patchett noted that a manager or leader must honestly assess and develop his or her own strengths, weaknesses, and abilities. He felt that trying to compensate for his weaknesses is a constant challenge "because you don't get as much help in compensating for your weaknesses as the people around you. That is part of the constant personal development work that you have to do with yourself."

Dealing with ego. Patchett emphasized this responsibility. He said that executives have to have enough ego to think that they can do this job and then they have to be able to totally let go of that ego and share the responsibilities and credit with others. One of the consultants suggested that Patchett's ability to manage his ego is because: "he has what he calls 'got the core.' He is solid inside. He knows who he is. He's his own person." The consultant went on to describe a time this strength was demonstrated. As part of a team-building process, data had been collected about the functioning of the group and the manager. There were some issues regarding Patchett as a manager. The consultant described his response: "We fed it back to him and he stood up in front of that group and talked as openly, honestly, and non defensively about the data he had gotten on himself as I've ever seen anybody do. He was vulnerable and without ego." The consultant described the balance of ego and egolessness: "He owned that he screws up and yet he's got this other ability to know that he is good. He wouldn't be doing as well as he is if he didn't have some real belief in himself, some solid self-esteem."

Integrity--living consistently with a personal philosophy. Bowers and Patchett talked about wanting to be the same person inside the organization as they are outside. Both men want to be congruent and consistent in living their values and principles. Patchett said: "Leadership is my philosophy of living. I don't consciously sit down and decide that this is what I am supposed to do because I'm at work. I try to live with these philosophies in the normal course of events, whether it is in dealing with my son and daughter or my wife, or you, or the organization. . . . I try to constantly keep myself balanced and principle-centered. I constantly develop myself and then I try to use those understandings and skills in leading and living."

A strong belief in people. Another deep personal commitment of each city manager was his strong belief in people. Both of them held a fundamental belief that people want to do the right thing, that they want to make a difference. This translates into a basic trust of people which makes it much easier to share power with them. One director added that this belief and trust "must be from the heart" because people are able to tell if it is authentic or not. A department head said that one of the things that has been most valuable to him in his effort to empower his staff was, "to recognize and believe that these are bright, intelligent, and capable people."

The factors in the personal aspect are displayed in Figure 3.

Figure 3. The personal aspect.

The Managerial Aspect

The third component of the conceptual model is the managerial aspect. Included in this aspect are the policies and practices that managers use to foster feelings of empowerment within staff members. Typically when people hear empowerment, they most often think of these managerial practices which the current literature portrays as participative management. As a result, empowerment and participative management have been seen as synonymous. Managers practice empowerment not just by involving people but also through delegating responsibility, offering opportunities for development, and supporting risk taking. In a comprehensive model of

organizational empowerment, the contributions of managers are a very important piece. This aspect is divided into three areas: (1) individual or one-on-one interactions, (2) team interactions, and (3) general management practices.

Individual or One-on-One Interactions

When a manager and staff person are working together, there are beliefs and behaviors a manager can use which increase the staff person's sense of empowerment on that particular task and in their jobs in general. Bowers said: "Empowerment is the side of leadership that allows the individual to surface and to deliver what they are capable of surfacing and delivering. It is finding the ways to do that and letting the organization use the full ability of the work force." Some of the key behaviors described by the interview participants included: (1) the use of questions, (2) the use of encouragement, support, and recognition (3) the use of clear and direct communication to discuss performance, give feedback, and confront hard issues, (4) the use of opportunities designed to stretch the person, and (5) listening to and hearing the staff.

The use of questions. One of the most often described empowering behaviors was the use of questions by the manager. When a staff person comes to the manager with an issue, instead of giving the staff person the answer, the manager asks the person his or her ideas and perspective on the issue. The key aspect about the use of questions is that it allows ownership of the issue to remain with the staff person. A general manager said about Bowers, "He will almost always ask the questions and he will very, very rarely make a decision for you." Bowers described how he facilitates people retaining responsibility for issues: "There's a style I guess I'd call the Columbo style. The closer you get to the top, the more you have to be like Columbo, you know, kind

of walking around saying, 'I don't know what's going on around here.' Even though you may know what you want and where you're going--let things surface. Strategically, the point is to avoid having the right answers and to pop things out, but rather to play Columbo a little bit."

One department head explained, "I find good managers use a lot of rhetorical [not the correct usage of this word] questions. When I say, 'What should I do?' they will respond, 'What do you think you should do?' Then they will process that with me if I need to. But rather than say, 'What are you going to do about this?' and put me on the spot, they use more of a rhetorical [sic] question." The wording in these two questions is quite similar, the tonality and intent with which they were said make the difference between the person feeling defensive or empowered to take ownership of the solution. The result is, as this department head described, "they let us run our operations because of that, and yet, at the same time, they're always willing to brainstorm and talk about options." An assistant city manager highlighted the powerful use of questions from the manager's perspective:

Sometimes they'll [staff members] will come to you with a question or an issue. It's not shifting the responsibility because maybe they want your insights, but if they would think about it in their own mind, they could probably come up with a better answer than I could certainly. So operationally, if they come with a question, rather than answering the question even if I have an answer, I try to ask them the question back and try to encourage them to use their thought processes to come to the best conclusion.

Another function of asking questions leads to well thought out professional recommendations. A general manager explained that he will always ask the staff, "Why are we making this recommendation?" because he

wants them to give their best professional advice and then be able to stand up and defend their recommendation. He does not want the staff playing the political game: "Gee, what answer do we think the city manager or the council want and let's give them that answer." In this way, the manager empowers the staff members to bring their best thinking to the table and then buffers the impact that being in a political environment might have on their work.

The use of encouragement, support, and recognition. Support and encouragement contribute to people's sense of self-esteem and confidence and results in a greater willingness to take responsibility and initiative. A department head stated emphatically: "You have to tell your people that they are doing a good job and that they have your support." One department director described the process for preparing staff members to present their ideas to the city manager. "They know I support them in their work. They know we will work on any aspects they are uncomfortable with before we go in as a team. I ask, 'What is it I can do to support you in that meeting?'"

After a successful project, managers use many forms of recognition to reinforce the positive feedback for the staff member. Acknowledging and celebrating things done well reinforces the desire to do them again. This includes recognition on a grand and a small scale. In the last sentence in the cover letter attached to the 1991-92 Proposed Financial Plan, Bowers wrote: "I would like to thank the City Council, the General Managers, all the staff, and the dedicated Financial Services Group--their expertise and hard work made this plan possible." On the other hand, managers indicated that Bowers sent personal notes, mentioned to other top level managers the good job someone did, and developed small, fun, and meaningful awards. One general manager described a "Walk on Water Award" that one department developed to acknowledge people meeting the extremely high standards set by their boss.

The use of clear and direct communication to discuss performance, give feedback, and confront hard issues. These behaviors serve to keep the standards of excellence and accountability high. When the manager's expectations of a person are high, the person typically is energized to rise to the challenge. When staff members see issues of poor performance being dealt with rather than ignored, it helps maintain their motivation because they see effort and action do matter. People can trust that issues will be handled in a direct, up front, and professional manner. Stamp books are not being accumulated but dealt with on the spot. When managers let things slide, it may feel comfortable for the short term, but it will backfire in the long term. Honest feedback and communication lead to long term learning, growth, and development.

Department heads have observed Patchett developing his ability to directly confront hard issues, specifically related to his top managers' performance. A department head noted about Patchett: "We've talked about his being totally honest and confronting the issues, and it is really hard for him. It's hard for all of us. That's what we do worst. It's the hardest thing to tell somebody, 'You're not cutting it.'" Confronting issues is critical for the team to function in a healthy and effective way no matter how hard it is to do.

The use of opportunities designed to stretch the person. Patchett said: "In empowerment, you are looking at the development of the individual and the organization. To use a sports analogy, you have got to get people in there and get them some playing time." Giving people projects that are a challenge for them gives them a chance to learn and develop. Patchett described these opportunities as "having someone take care of an issue that is a little above their head and going with it even when you know it is not quite O.K., but is very energizing for them and their development." A department head

believed that Patchett had taken a chance when selecting this for the position and then has helped "in terms of my developing as a manager and a leader more than anybody else ever can or will."

Listening to and hearing the staff. The process of listening to and truly hearing the ideas, perspectives, opinions, and concerns of the staff leads to a feeling of importance and influence. This contributes to the staff's sense of self-worth and feeling of involvement and commitment to the organization and thus their sense of empowerment. An assistant city manager reflected: "When someone raises an issue, I try to follow up and make sure the issue that's raised is seen as important and they get some feedback on it. I think responsiveness is very important throughout the organization when people raise issues."

One department head regarded listening as one of the most important things a manager can do to empower staff. Unfortunately, the director acknowledged: "Managers are famous for not listening. It's so easy to do, to fall into that trap because you are the boss. . . . The bigger the job you have, the more it is violated. We don't listen enough." As for Patchett, "He really listens. He knows how to say no, but he talks and he listens too." When I asked how he knew Patchett was listening, he answered: "Well, for one thing, I've seen him change his mind after hearing you out. You don't have to do it his way."

An atmosphere of candor and truthfulness can be kindled between manager and staff when the staff perceives that the manager sincerely listens. A department head described an interaction with a staff person. "I had a person sit here and tell me something yesterday that I didn't want to hear, but I listened. I think that's the key. I didn't react to it and say that's a bunch of bullshit. I listened to it because I want to hear those things rather than not. I'll have to work it out later so he will know that what he was telling me isn't

the right way to think but I listened to what he had to say." An assistant city manager explained that one way of fostering trust with staff was by listening: "I think what I do is show an interest in people's ideas and thinking, and then we can work through it together and so there is a trust that develops. . . . I am playing the long game with employees." From time to time there are short games that must be played in crisis situations, but this manager has found that "if you are always operating at that level, to any significant extent, it's been my experience that it will come back to haunt you."

Team Interactions

In addition to one-on-one interactions, the nature and tone of the interactions of the team directly influence an individual's sense of empowerment. The team can offer an environment of support and challenge that will encourage the person to stretch, take risks, learn, grow, and behave in other empowered ways. A workplace that is made up of empowered teams is truly an empowered organization. Several behaviors and dynamics contribute to a team feeling and acting in empowered ways. These include: (1) dialogue, talking thoroughly and candidly about issues; (2) critical thinking, asking "Are we doing the right things?" and "What should be done differently?"; (3) communication, staying in touch with and conscientiously sharing information with team members and others; (4) support and care, expressing concern and offering help to others; and (5) fun, enjoying the team and celebrating its accomplishments.

Dialogue. The responsibility for dialogue amongst the team resides with both the manager and the team members themselves. Bowers talked about the importance of the team being able to truly work through issues together. He feels his role is to stimulate this type of dialogue in the group. He said, "My role, more than anything, is to get those 10 to 12 people that work directly with

me to come forward and to fight and scrapple and to share opinions and not to defer to me anymore than they have to." One of the ways he does that is to let the pauses lie between thoughts in meetings and not jump in and fill the silence. He added: "That is not something I do by my nature. I'm a talker-talker, not a talker-listener." Empowering practices may not always be a manager's natural responses, but they may need to be developed as a skill.

A department head confirmed that Bowers' behavior facilitates group dialogue. "He doesn't dominate it. He provides the structure for it, but he doesn't dominate it." Conversely, the style of a former city manager "inhibited people from talking, unless you were very articulate and could stand up to some fairly rigorous criticism which he would hand out pretty freely. He could be pretty hard on people." A general manager agreed with this assessment of the impact of the city manager's behaviors on the group's discussions. The manager noted that: "As soon as the leader shuts off an opinion, or meets with an employee who shares a divergent opinion after the meeting and says: 'Gee, that really ticked me off when you brought that up. I was trying to head in this direction and you headed me off with that opinion and I really didn't appreciate it.' As soon as that happens one time, you've shut down the whole thing for many meetings. We've had leaders who have done that, and it took a good eighteen months before the team was back together again."

Critical thinking. One of the ways the positional leader stimulates and renews the feelings of responsibility, desire for change, and empowerment within the team is by consistently encouraging critical thinking and discussion. Bowers and an assistant city manager talked about the importance of the team thinking critically--wanting the team to "scrapple" with each other. I frequently heard Bowers point out key issues that needed additional

discussion time. One department head described Bowers' team meetings: "I don't think there is anything that is not open for discussion. It's really an open framework. It's like a process, not a product, where we can always make things better."

One department head emphasized that the team emerges stronger for having had the opportunity to critique and challenge: "We get challenged, in a very friendly, safe setting to explore all sorts of new ideas that otherwise wouldn't happen in a council or public hearing where the atmosphere tends to be a lot more focused and restricted." The director added: "It's that kind of support that gives you the fuel to keep moving forward." A general manager saw this as an organizational norm: "As long as I have worked for the City of Scottsdale, there has been a real emphasis on team orientation, sharing ideas and different perspectives. When I first came to work here people that were in senior positions would have screaming matches with one another and then they'd go out and have a few beers together afterwards. You could see that the ideas that came out of that kind of process were really tested and better than might have been achieved if they had just been written individually."

One result of a group functioning in an empowered way is a closeness and trust that builds up between the members. Unfortunately, this closeness may also lead to a comfort level that makes it difficult to challenge each other by asking hard or critical questions. A department head said: "Maybe we're too comfortable with each other. Many of us have been here 12, 13, 14, 15 years, and yet we're not 65. Most of us have grown up together. Maybe we're too comfortable, and we don't take each other on as much as we should." A general manager agreed: "One of the things that we need to be able to do is to challenge ourselves. If we can feel comfortable doing that, then we probably really are

empowered. If we're not willing to do that, then we're probably not going to be able to accomplish as much as we could."

Communication. I frequently heard Bowers ask people if they had checked with the other parties involved in an issue or if they had touched based with other managers or employees. Through these questions, he conveyed his expectation that part of the responsibility of the team is to make sure that they keep others informed and involved. One department head agreed that "keeping people informed and making sure that our lines of communication stay open" become even more important as decision making is decentralized throughout the organization.

Support and care. When team members are able to give and receive help and support from each other, it is a sign that there is a foundation of trust within the group. Individual team members are able to draw upon this shared resource to supplement their personal energy and effort. An assistant city manager observed that a supportive team "thinks about things from an organizational perspective more. Because then we will be more understanding of another person's problems or issues and can offer help and assistance." A general manager described an empowered team as one in which the members are able to freely ask each other for help.

When people feel comfortable enough to share their opinions and ask for advice. For example, if I'm willing to expose myself by saying: "Gee, I need some help on this" or "I'd appreciate the guidance of this group" or "What do you think about this problem?" then you know you have a group where each individual is secure in his or her own right. The group members are not afraid to expose themselves to harassment, ridicule, or undermining in some way. . . . In a weak organization where people are struggling to protect turf, or where it's a real

dogmatic kind of organization, people will look for opportunities to make the other person look weak or bad.

Having fun. Enjoying work and co-workers and being playful and having fun are important parts of a team sustaining a sense of empowerment. These activities sprinkle levity and humanness throughout the business of change. A department head recounted one of Patchett's mottos: "'Work Smart and Have Fun.' The 'Have Fun' has really got to be there." I asked her how this happens. "It happens in the halls, it happens with our humor, it happens with not taking ourselves too seriously. It's the ability to see our own humanity or humanness. . . . We can be human with each other and just kind of have fun." One of the consultants noted that Patchett was trying to find the balance between structure and no structure so "he can get the best out of the managers versus keeping it real chummy."

Based on my observations, I would add a caution regarding the use of the kind of humor that results in people feeling excluded. Teasing and bantering at the beginning of meetings is commonplace in organizations and was present in both cities. If this humor is focused around topics that consistently include some team members and exclude others (e. g., golfing stories), then no matter the positive intent of the humor, it works against rather than toward a cohesive and empowered team. Although humor can be a double edged sword, having fun as a team is important.

Management Practices

The key areas all managers must deal with include hiring, delegating, and evaluating. The ways these management functions are conceived of and performed vary greatly from manager to manager and organization to organization. Some ways of implementing these management functions are more empowering than others. A department head described the extremes:

"There's a tendency that some people have to either over control or over delegate. Some people think that if you delegate almost to the point of abdication, you are a good delegator, but that is not right. Nor should you be controlling." The director went on to describe the empowering manager: "If you have really good communications with each individual person you supervise, and you define the parameters of their job well, and you give the staff members all the resources and support they need, and then you stand back and just have check points--then you are really empowering them." The practices I found that most influence empowerment include: (1) responsibility and accountability; (2) decision-making authority; (3) levels of involvement; (4) risk taking and mistakes; (5) training and development opportunities; (6) performance goals and measures; (7) the hiring process; and (8) hygiene factors.

Responsibility and accountability. These are at the heart of how managers foster a sense of empowerment. The empowering manager gives the staff person primary responsibility for the work so that he or she feels a sense of ownership and accountability. A general manager described this feeling: "The staff members should feel responsible for what they do, own it, feel good about it, and be applauded for it." One department head spoke of the importance of shifting the responsibility for a project to the key staff person. "It became clear early on in the process that she must really feel like it was her responsibility, and it was something she was going to have both responsibility for and control over from beginning to end." The director explained that this shift didn't happen overnight but, "all of a sudden it became her palette to paint on, not mine. I think when she realized that, she was much more interested in doing it, although she was good at it anyway, but it became her project."

One way of demonstrating the shift in ownership and responsibility is allowing staff members to create the methods and practices by which their work is done. A department head illustrated this: "They craft or create much of the texture of what they are doing. I don't dictate to them what it has to look like anymore. There is room in there to be creative if they want to be. There is room in there to create new projects, to create different internal structures, different staff structures, different allocations of resources." A department head described the manager's role: "I delegate responsibility and make it real clear that the project is their responsibility. My role is to help them to successfully complete the work but not to do it for them. My role is not to critique it, or to monitor the timelines or the phases, or to tell them how to approach it or do it, that is what I hired them to do."

Another way for people to feel a sense of ownership and responsibility is for them to be involved in a project from beginning to end and not just have a piece of it in the middle. I discussed this point when I looked at the impact of the size of the organization on empowerment. When people are only involved in a portion of a project and are not able to see where it came from or where it is going, they are not likely to feel a sense of commitment or responsibility for it. An example of staff members being responsible for the full life of a project are the project managers in the City of Scottsdale. The general manager of that area noted: "They do everything from consultant selection, design, right-of-way acquisition, condemnation, construction, public informational and neighborhood meetings--the whole shot. . . . They map out their project schedule and budget. They take ownership of the whole job."

A general manager offered one of the most powerful stories of ownership I heard in this research. The manager worked with a group which is not typically highlighted in the literature on empowerment--the blue collar

labor force. In this department, however, motivation and initiative were high and all the employees have business cards.

If somebody forgets to put their garbage out, the garbage truck drivers will just leave them a little card in the door with their phone number on it saying "Call if there is a problem." The custodians also have their own cards. If there is a problem with somebody putting something in the garbage can that shouldn't be there they just write a little note on the back of it and leave it out for them. The cards give them something to identify with, they give them a little bit of pride. You know sanitation is not a really nice job, but probably the highest pride level in the city is working in sanitation. . . . They have their names on their trucks, they wash their own trucks, and they paint their own trucks. . . . The operators take a lot of pride, they have the same type of equipment as the surrounding cities, but they pick up about 400 more homes a day on the average with no back-up equipment. They have the opportunity to excel. We just turn them loose.

Decision-making authority. Another way for people to feel a sense of responsibility and ownership is for them to have decision-making authority over their areas of responsibility. Exercising one's judgment and influence kindles a feeling of empowerment. An assistant city manager explained: "Empowerment is allowing persons to have the power or control to make the decisions that impact them and to feel responsibility regarding those decisions and the ownership of them."

A department head emphasized the importance of communicating to people that they can make decisions. "You must let people know that they can do this by meeting with them and telling the people in top staff meetings: 'This is the way we operate, you can make those kinds of decisions.'" The director

noted that this is Bowers' style: "We brief Dick on all of the major issues and in those meetings it's always clear, or becomes very clear, that he's allowing you to make those decisions." The director contrasted Bowers' style with that of a former city manager who "after listening fairly carefully, would say, 'This is the decision.'" A general manager agreed that the manager's style determines the ownership of decision making: "If the city manager wants to be in charge of everything, to be on top of and controlling everything, you won't get your staff people to be creative. They will say, 'We will let the boss decide.' But if you empower them to make the decisions, they will say, 'Uh-ho, they have given me the authority, I better do the right thing. How am I going to do the right thing? Am I going to ask people, conduct a survey, analyze the plans, or am I going to have a community meeting?' As soon as you empower the right people to make the decision, you usually get the right decision."

A department head summarized his feelings on empowered decision making: "It has always been my feeling that we hire capable people to run the different parts of the department. They know what they are doing. My view is we have all these meetings, we read the mission statement, we know generally where we are going and how we want to get there and then it is up to them to do that. I feel they are empowered to make decisions on a daily basis on how they are going to get their job done."

Levels of involvement. If roles and responsibilities are such that managers must retain decision-making authority, the level of involvement staff members have in core issues and the access they have to key information greatly influences their sense of empowerment. Being informed about or connected to key organizational issues gives staff members a sense of power and importance. One way of sharing information and access is by including lower-level people in meetings with higher-level people when policy is being

made. A department head described how this was modeled by the city manager and management team. "There is access to decision makers—or policy makers for that matter. Even if you are the decision maker on an issue, you have to have access to the policy makers and to their information. We have broken down the lines of a hierarchical organization. Whoever needs to be in a meeting is empowered and enabled to be there. That way they don't have information filtered to them through a vertical organization."

One benefit of involving staff members in key, formative discussions is that they may then choose to join in, contribute to, or take initiative in their areas for moving the effort forward. On the contrary, if an idea is the manager's alone and it is autocratically announced and controlled, employees will comply but empowered behavior would not be likely. A general manager talked about the process of "sowing the seeds of new ideas versus giving people direct to-dos. In that way, people can choose to act on their interests and become involved. For successful accomplishment of any idea, a leader must make it theirs also. . . . This takes strategy and patience."

Risk taking and mistakes. Challenging people and giving them ownership and responsibility leads to people taking initiative. Frequently, this initiative looks like risk taking. One assistant city manager said: "They spread their wings and rise to the occasion because they know you trust them and they have the latitude to try new things." How an organization perceives risk taking and, more importantly, how it handles the mistakes that come with taking risks has a significant influence on how empowered people will feel it is safe to act. Another assistant city manager confirmed: "Probably the most disabling thing for people is direct or inadvertent punishment for mistakes. How we deal with the misadventure is probably more important than how we

deal with the adventure that they go on." He joked: "What is the saying—it takes one 'oh shit' to wipe out 29 'atta boys.'"

Along with the permission to take risks must come the assurance of support. An assistant city manager noted, "They know they are accountable for the risk they take and yet there is no expectation that if somebody makes a wrong decision the hammer is going to fall." Turning mistakes into positive learning opportunities is a skill empowering managers have mastered. A department head noted: "Sometimes people's first failure is their only failure because they'll never try it again. . . . I'll sit right here and say: 'Hey, that was a dumb thing you did but that's O.K. I want you to keep doing it, as long as you learn from it.'" An assistant city manager suggested: "Rather than say 'you screwed up,' I say 'if you were going to do this again, how would you do it?'" One note of caution, the scrutiny inherent in a public sector organization makes the support and encouragement of risk taking a tricky area for managers. If the mistake ends up in the newspapers or before the city council, it will be harder to frame the experience as a learning opportunity for the staff member.

Another way to support risk taking is to champion proposals the staff members are making. The manager can use his or her influence to move forward the innovative idea or change proposed by the staff member who will then feel more capable of influencing the system. A general manager explained how he had "gone to bat" to get another governmental agency to change its regulations in order to accommodate an innovative idea his staff wanted to pursue. Another general manager felt it was his job to find ways to say "yes!" to the staff's proposals: "We're not in the business of saying no, we're in the business of helping people find a way to make it happen!"

Training and development opportunities. One of the foundations of empowerment is feeling that individual persons have the ability to make changes or influence outcomes. Assuring that people have this feeling may involve providing the necessary educational experiences and opportunities. An assistant city manager felt that it would be disempowering to ask a person to do a job he or she was not capable of doing. "If the person is not up to speed, it is my job to help him or her to get up to speed--train, develop, or coach the person." Bowers indicated that he was sending one of his key managers to an external leadership development program to develop this person's "big picture perspective." He also sent a "project manager to spend time with the arts people so that an appreciation of the aesthetic might be incorporated into his technical and strictly functional work" so that he could design grander plans.

Performance goals, measures, and feedback. Goals and measures of performance may either be empowering or disempowering depending on the intent behind their use. The traditional performance evaluation sessions that are perfunctory in most organizations are not empowering. Feedback mechanisms which give people information that they can use to grow and become more effective in their work contribute significantly to their sense of confidence and competence.

Contracting with a team regarding the goals it is trying to achieve and then providing data that track movement toward those goals can be empowering as well. The goal-setting process, accompanied by clear measurable criteria, helps people evaluate and adjust themselves and retain a sense of ownership over their performance. A general manager talked about one of his departments and how the staff members have "captured their vision and created a plan. . . . They started talking about how to define what they wanted to accomplish during the year and then put together this plan. It was

very exciting and fun for them. It's an outstanding document--very measurable and very challenging."

In another section, project managers have developed a monthly report format which documents their workload goals and progress with a high degree of accuracy. The project managers generate the report themselves so "they can see their own progress, they can track it against their schedule, and they can make adjustments." The general manager commented: "They created the document--and they own it. That's how you get commitment. Commitment is not something you can demand. It's something that is freely given and it is only thoroughly given if people feel important, feel ownership, and feel responsibility for getting the project done."

The hiring process. The selection, hiring, and promotional processes are real and symbolic ways in which managers communicate their expectations regarding the type of person the organization rewards. The staff watches carefully to see what message is communicated about the type of person the organization supports. Many of the people I interviewed spoke of the importance of the hiring process in perpetuating the commitment to empowerment within the organization. The managers articulated the need and intent to hire people who were already on the positive end of the readiness continuum. The hiring process in Carlsbad includes assessment centers, peer and employee introductions, and close scrutiny around the "fit with organizational vision, values, energy, enthusiasm, commitment, and work ethics." One of the consultants confirmed that Patchett has hired, "people that fit with what he wants for the organization. Making sure there is a marriage between the values of the organization and the style of the person being hired." A department head echoed this goal: "We are looking for people to add

to our team who will mesh with the organization, not just from the skills perspective but really from a values perspective."

Hygiene factors. These include all the technical things that must be in place for empowerment to be sustainable. It is hard for people to sustain a feeling of empowerment over time if they feel like their work resources, compensation, benefits, or work environment are less than they need or deserve. Bowers said: "To me that's part of empowerment as well—to really pay attention to the hygiene factors and motivators—the basic stuff. Don't let salaries get out of whack. That's the technician side of empowerment." One of the consultants agreed: "You have to pay decent wages to get some of those good people. In Carlsbad, the council has been very supportive of keeping the salaries high, keeping them real competitive, so that they can get quality people. That's definitely a key."

The factors in the managerial aspect are depicted in Figure 4.

Figure 4. The managerial aspect.

The Organizational Aspect

Up to this point, I have discussed the personal and managerial aspects that have a direct impact on people's feelings of empowerment. The dynamics that are clustered under the organizational aspect are not as tangible as the dynamics in the personal and managerial aspects, however these dynamics create and maintain a climate of support and significance throughout the organization. This is the type of environment in which empowerment flourishes. The dynamics which contribute to this type of environment are: (1) council-city manager relations; (2) vision, values, and purpose; (3) the

ripple effect; (4) communication linkages; (5) organizational programs; and (6) community-making events.

Council-City Manager Relations

How the city manager defines, negotiates, and manages his or her relationship with the mayor and city council has a significant impact on the city staff's feelings of empowerment, especially at the top management team level. The relations between the mayor, council, and the city manager were one of the most frequently mentioned dynamics in my interviews. The majority of the managers I spoke with felt that the nature and intensity of the politics played out at the top levels of the organization had the power to enable or stifle their personal sense of empowerment as well as their ability to empower their employees.

The city manager must play a strong role in managing the politics which are inherent in public sector organizations. Bowers offered his approach to this responsibility. He stressed that "a very clear, observable distinction between the role of the council and the role of the city manager" was a critical element that needed to be in place for him to be able to empower his staff. He added: "I'm working real hard to demonstrate the difference between the city council and the city manager. I'm showing the difference both to the council and to the staff so they know who to look to for what's going on here. That has to be there or I don't think the system works." Although it is a risky proposition for a city manager to press for this distinction if the mayor and the council members aren't amenable, it is essential that organizational staff members have a consistent source of direction and accountability and not feel direct political pressures impacting their decisions and recommendations.

This distinction is critical because, as many people I interviewed explained, the city manager will set the tone for the treatment of whole organization based on how he is treated by the mayor and council members. These managers felt strongly that feelings of mistrust and narrow windows of latitude are passed down from the city manager to the staff if that is how the city manager is treated by the council. A department head explained: "The tone of the city comes from the top. The city manager is going to set a tone based on what the council is doing with him. If I were to tell you, 'I am hiring you, but I don't really trust you, and I am going to tell you that every week when we meet; if I am going to challenge everything you say, and if I can get two other votes you're out of here, what kind of freedom of action do you think you are going to have? A very narrow window.'" This mentality is translated by the city manager to his or her direct reports, and these managers pass it on down, and so on throughout the organization. It was apparent to me that the city staff closely watched how the council treated the city manager, especially in public meetings, to get a reading on how things were going at the top. One department head confirmed that when anyone in the organization can turn on the television and watch the council members publicly challenge and deride the city manager or the staff, "it does not give you a lot of trust in your organization."

Another role that the city managers played was that of buffer between the council members and the organization. The general managers and department heads reported that they felt they could do their jobs in more responsible and empowered ways if the city manager acted as a buffer for them. One department head felt the department heads should not "be out there focusing on individual council member's agendas." He felt that as far as he

was concerned, the most important and empowering thing Patchett has done is to "take that burden off of me so I can focus on what's best for my department."

I heard a frustration, that seemed to be disempowering, expressed by staff members who put long hours of work and thought into recommendations only to have the council members take quite a different stance on the issue. One assistant city manager described it as, "dealing with the contextual issue that your clients have different goals and different political processes." The manager added: "I have discovered many times that the largest impediment to empowerment is when you have the policy makers who take a lack of agreement with their position on the staff's part as incompetence. It becomes a real struggle for a leader in an organization trying to create an empowering environment." Public sector staff members need to be cognizant of the political process—that the decision-making process continues in the public arena—and not allow this to be disempowering or demotivating. A general manager reflected on this point:

We certainly experience [disappointment] from time to time. Those of us who work in this kind of environment understand that's how the process works. I think people understand our job is to bring those issues forward, and to express our professional opinion. We understand there is a continuation of the process that is in the political arena and it sometimes comes to different conclusions, but not to feel badly or disappointed about it. It could be a problem if there wasn't a sense that we were having some impact on the council's thought process, but we do see that we influence their thinking.

Vision, Values, and Purpose

A feeling of empowerment is based on a sense of purpose and efficacy. When the organization has a corporate sense of purpose, an individual can

draw upon that and be moved and motivated into action. When a critical mass of organizational members is committed to a shared vision, it creates a sense of energy and alignment that sparks feelings of empowerment for individuals and for the organization as a community of people. One of the consultants described this as: "Being able to articulate broad agendas. Creating a sense of place and a sense of purpose." A department director talked about how Bowers has been "building a vision. He is creating a concept that is wide enough for the organization as a whole to participate. Whether you're in meter reading, sanitation, or planning and zoning, he must get the whole organization involved somehow. . . . Dick looks for those themes that can get the entire organization involved in a direction, like 'simply better service.'"

Vision can be a source of empowerment at the department level as well as the organizational level. One department head described a visioning and planning process that had been used in the department for over a year. All the people in charge of the main areas of the department met together regularly to talk about their mission and to plan for a very big project they were undertaking. Each division head had been integrally involved in the research, design, and implementation of their area based on the collective vision of the overall project. As a result, there was a strong sense of excitement, ownership, and responsibility for the success of the project. This is a good example of the difference between the what and the how of future directions. Offering staff members a clear statement of what the organization is trying to achieve and asking them to be responsible for how this is accomplished is empowering. Telling staff members what the goals are and how the organization is going to achieve them and asking the staff to follow those directions is not empowering.

The Ripple Effect

If a feeling of empowerment is to exist throughout an organization, empowering beliefs and behaviors must be embodied at every level of management and supervision from the office of the city manager to the first line supervisor. Although it is feasible to have pockets of empowerment within a traditionally hierarchical and authoritarian organization, these areas are few and far between and depend heavily on an extraordinary manager. Typically, the way a manager or supervisor is treated is, in turn, how he or she tends to treat staff members. I call this the ripple effect.

At first I had labeled this dynamic "cascading," meaning that empowerment must cascade from the top levels down through the organization to the lower levels, because this is the imagery people used to describe it to me. Lately, however, I have become frustrated with the top-down mentality which assumes that people in higher levels of authority are more important and people in lower positions in the hierarchy are less important. Using the words ripple effect is another way of communicating the concept that empowerment must permeate all the relationships within the organization but the image conveys more equity and multidirectionality.

If, at the core of the organization, empowerment is practiced between the city manager and his or her direct reports, the ripple effect is those people practicing empowerment with their staffs and those people, in turn, practicing it with theirs. The consistency, authenticity, and broad reach of this behavior is critical for the organization to feel an overall sense of empowerment. A department head illustrated how the ripple effect works: "I know I can go in and say, 'Ray, this didn't work; I want to try it this way.' And he says, 'O. K.' I therefore feel safe in going to the next level and saying, 'Go for it.' Ray creates that environment for me, I can then create that

environment safely for my people, who then can create it for their people."

In both cities there are some departments where the philosophy of empowerment reaches out to the employee, some departments where it does not reach beyond the top level manager, and many departments where it reaches varying levels inbetween. When I asked how far out in the organization the practices of empowerment extended, there were varying responses. An assistant city manager said the level of empowerment is not consistent across departments: "It is based on what part of the organization we are looking at. I can think of some areas where it goes down all the way to the front line or some areas where it skips and is down there. The difference is the management or leadership style of those people involved." One of the consultants acknowledged he has seen Patchett working on this issue with one of his key managers because the people below this manager "aren't feeling as empowered as they could or should be." His message was that "you can't have all that stuff working for you up front if your arteries are clogged down below." Another department head commented:

I think we still need to find successful ways to trickle it out. I think that there are some people who have really grasped this and thrive on it and love operating under that premise. There are others who, even at the departmental head level, may prefer to be told what to do or when to do it--more of the old style. They are used to working in more autocratic management structures. I think it has definitely "taken" with the majority of department heads. I'm not sure how much the mid-management group are involved. . . . On the flip side, there are some departments that I would say it's all the way down to the lowest paid employee.

Communication Linkages

Having systems in place for getting people information about what is going on and how it impacts them is essential for people feeling connected to and valued by the organization. An organization must have mechanisms for communicating with all employees for a corporate sense of empowerment to develop. When people feel "in the know," they are more likely to feel committed to the organization and more likely to take the initiative in getting involved and contributing in empowered ways. The City of Scottsdale has multiple mechanisms for communicating. For example, the city's cable channel is used to produce a video focused on internal issues called VideoLine and an externally focused video called CityLine. Electronic mail systems are used to communicate information to managers throughout the city—a computer is located on the desk of each upper level manager. A monthly employee newsletter called NewsLine is published and, in addition, a special memo format is used called Inside Scottsdale. The city manager distributes this memo to communicate about special issues. All of these avenues help keep the organization linked together and up to speed on the vision, goals, events, and issues affecting its members.

These communication systems become more important and more difficult to maintain as the organization becomes more dispersed among various locations and specializations. The people working at remote physical locations or working on isolated special projects that tend to divorce them from the hub, lose a great deal of the connections and support that are available for taking initiative and making changes. On the other hand, in a small organization, a strong informal communication network has the possibility of turning into a gossip mill under the guise of rapid, quick, and open communication. In these instances, managers may form judgments, and

make decisions with long-lasting implications for the individual and the city, about people whom they have no first hand knowledge.

An essential communication linkage is having the city manager communicating directly with employees, whether that be through personal memos, by spending time with employees at their worksites, through large gatherings or events, or through other means. Bowers talked about his commitment to this type of communication: "I also communicate through electronics and memos—I'm the first manager who's ever written his own communiqué to the organization. I sign it 'Dick.' It's because I want them to have a personal link with what is inside of me. Since I can't do it face-to-face with each one, I do it this way." Bowers felt that this not only positively impacts on the employees, it also models what he wants from his managers: "I think if I wasn't somehow making myself visible from the top to the bottom, that my immediate reports would not have any kind of model to understand this business of alignment." One of the consultants commented that as a result of the last labor negotiations process, Patchett has "learned that he has to do a better job of listening to people beyond his immediate reports to lead his organization." Since the resolution of the negotiations, Patchett has gone out and met with all the departments--speaking with and listening to employees. "It has blown him away with all the things he didn't know, that had gotten filtered or left out." Linkages that provide for two-way communications--from top managers to employees and employees to top managers--are critical to a corporate sense of empowerment.

Organizational Programs

Educational and/or developmental programs sponsored by the organization can contribute to staff members' sense of empowerment. Programs include personal, professional, supervisory, management, and

leadership development opportunities or organization development efforts. I am not including training programs that are strictly for the acquisition of job-based skills like computer training or hazardous materials training. If the developmental programs are effective, participants leave these experiences with more information, motivation, connection and commitment to the organization's vision, plus the skills and abilities to take action. When the number of graduates is sizable, a feeling of empowerment can pervade the overall organization.

In the City of Carlsbad, Patchett introduced the Investment in Excellence Program into the organization in an attempt to reach a broad range of employees with the empowerment message. The program's purpose is to help employees develop the ability to create and accomplish their vision for their personal and professional lives. A manager remarked: "It teaches employees about personal empowerment—how you empower yourself, how you break out of old mind sets or old perceptions of yourself or your limitations, how not to be a victim."

Patchett also formed the Organizational Excellence Committee and asked the committee members to create a strategy for developing the organization as a whole. The committee is made up of people from all levels, department heads to front line employees; a woman custodian is one of its strongest members. It seems that Patchett is committed to involving employees in the process. Putting the assessment of this committee's effectiveness aside, there is merit in the intention. Frequently in organizations there is a schism between the managerial and the employee level with the supervisory level caught in-between. There are assumptions and expectations of the other groups made without verification, and communication is frequently poor. Inclusion of all levels of staff members on important organizational change efforts is

symbolically empowering for employees who are watching and individually empowering for those employees who participate.

There has been an evolution of organizational programs in the City of Scottsdale. In the past, the City of Scottsdale had a Scottsdale Management Club and the Scottsdale Professional Development Program. The Scottsdale Management Club, a chapter of the National Management Association, sponsored sessions with many well-known authors and speakers from across the country. It was open to city management and professional personnel. A department director characterized the Management Club as "a communing opportunity." For new members there was "a special feeling of 'Gee, now you've made it to management and get to be a member of this group.'" On the other hand, one critique of this group was that although it was heavily subsidized by the city, it excluded about two-thirds of the employees. During tight budget times, the prior city manager dissolved the club. The program that replaced the Scottsdale Management Club was Scottspeople. Scottspeople sponsors similar type speakers and sessions, but the sessions are open to all employees and community residents as well.

Another prior organizational program was the Scottsdale Professional Development Program. Groups of about thirty people would meet two days per month for sessions that included lecturettes, exercises, small group work and presentations. These were presented by city employees or managers. One department head described the program as a "tremendous team builder" for managers and employees across the city. Over time, the Professional Development Program "ran it's course" due to budget constraints and different city management philosophies. Currently, the city is developing the Scottsdale Leadership Institute. Its purpose is to challenge managers to think and behave in new and empowered ways and to practice leadership throughout the

organization. The city manager and his top staff have piloted the program and the next two levels of managers are scheduled to attend. One manager felt that by having the next two levels of managers participate, the ripple effect of these philosophies would increase.

An assistant city manager affirmed the importance of these types of organizational programs:

Having a proactive corporate development program or corporate leadership program that touches everywhere in the organization is important. I think that's one of the things that can help develop and empower people. The past couple of years we haven't had a lot of funds for those types of things, and you can see the loss in terms of organizational communication. We aren't as good at that as we used to be, nor at providing leadership opportunities to continue to develop our work force. If we want to be on the leadership cutting edge, we have to have competent people throughout the organization ready to meet the challenges we are facing.

A department head confirmed: "We lost some momentum, definitely. We didn't commune together. Some of us did, but not as a group. Those were really organizational development programs more than they were training programs." In addition to developing individual staff members, these programs tend to develop a sense of camaraderie or community among the participants across the organization.

Community-Making Events

Fostering a sense of community among staff members and across the functions and levels of the organization is a powerful way to contribute to a corporate sense of empowerment. This is getting the whole organization, or significant parts of it, together to reconfirm its commitment to each other and

to the vision and to build a sense of community. There is an overlap between this category and the communication linkages and organizational programs categories, but this one adds a symbolic aspect. There is power in symbolic, community-building actions. Peck (1987) described a community as "a group of individuals who have learned how to communicate honestly with each other, whose relationships go deeper than their masks of composure, and who have developed some significant commitment to rejoice together, mourn together and to delight in each other, and make others' conditions our own" (p. 59).

The City of Scottsdale has a history of and a commitment to these type of events. One example of a powerful community-making event is the employee forums Scottsdale has every three or four months. All employees are invited to these forums which are held first thing in the morning. A general manager remarked that, "there is enough interest in these forums that they could be held even before normal working hours or after and attendance would be very good." A department head explained that the socializing which occurs in the first hour is an important part of the forum's success. It's an opportunity to connect with people from other parts of the city--"an opportunity to rub shoulders with people you normally wouldn't see." "He'll (Bowers) get up there on center stage and do his schtick in terms of what's on his mind, the concepts that are important to him, what he wants the organization to be thinking about. It is a person-to-person kind of a contact that you can't find through the chain of staff meetings, and you can't find it in a newsletter or through a video. The guy is standing up there and has got the guts to answer any question the audience asks. That has an impact!"

A corporate sense of empowerment develops when the members of an organization see themselves as a community of people who are committed to

making a difference through the work they do and to being the most effective individuals and teams they can be.

The factors in the organizationas aspect are displayed in Figure 5.

Figure 5. The organizational aspect.

The Relationship Aspect

The prior aspects are important when dealing with a whole organization, its members, and the mechanics of an atmosphere that support empowerment. The relationship aspect addresses the fundamental nature of empowerment and how it is nurtured and sustained. These were the dynamics about which people became reverent as they talked about them or their eyes shone brighter as they discussed them or they sat up taller and talked in tones of conviction and inspiration. They were displaying nonverbal indicators of empowerment while talking about them. In discussing these dynamics, the people I interviewed did not use words that indicated positional hierarchy such as employee, manager, or boss. They included themselves in the center of the action. Without consciously knowing they were describing leadership, the interviewees identified the key interactions that make up a leadership

relationship. The key pieces in this aspect are: (1) making a difference, (2) mutual influence, (3) respect and care, (4) trust, and (5) shared purpose, power, responsibility, commitment, and action and are displayed in Figure 6.

Making A Difference/Creating Change

Making a difference in the quality of life for the organization and for the community it serves is both a catalyst for empowerment and a result of it. People spoke of the sense of power and fulfillment that results from working toward a common goal of creating change, transforming an organization, or improving the quality of life for the community. A department head exclaimed: "I get to help build this place. It is rewarding to be able to do this work. . . . A lot of the things you see happening now in the community reflect the principles I've believed in all my life. . . . That's what keeps me here--not only the fact that I'm treated well both in ego satisfaction and my financial situation--but the fact that we're managing change. We're creating the culture of the department." Another department head expressed similar feelings: "We've set up goals, but we're not just driven towards accomplishing those goals. We're acting as change agents in the organization. We are changing our own culture and as a result changing people's perception of us as being a regulatory department to being a real resource to people--a resource they can turn to and rely upon. That is a change in philosophy!"

A feeling of accomplishment reinforces a feeling of empowerment in the short term and may energize further change in the long term. A department head acknowledged: "If you can make a difference professionally in the organization and in the community, you've really accomplished something. . . . It's really a privilege to work in the public sector--we have an opportunity to make a difference. If we don't take advantage of that, we're missing a lifetime, professional opportunity." The director added: "And then,

when you've redefined new parameters, maybe the next person can go even further."

Mutual Influence

Mutual influence is present when the ideas and input for direction and change flow multidirectionally; the city manager listens to and incorporates the input of staff members, and staff members are stimulated and guided by the city manager and their peers. Two-way communication is present when minds are being swayed from all sides. People talk openly with each other up and down the hierarchy, and they influence each other's thinking and decision making. Feelings of efficacy and power--empowerment--are elicited when people feel they can influence or have some control over the direction or outcome of an issue or situation.

A portion of the influence process flows from the city manager to the organization. It is important that the city manager's visions be perceived as invitations to action rather than commandments to perform so that people feel they are making a choice. Bowers described one of the first memos he sent out to all employees upon becoming city manager:

The first thing I did when I was appointed was to let people know my values. In the last sentence it says, "I hope we can find linkages between yours and mine for the benefit of organizational performance, quality, and teamwork." I have tried not to say: "Here are my values, now they are yours." But rather: "Here are my values. Is there some way we can talk about linkages?" I would say that's a positive approach for creating the environment for empowerment.

An assistant city manager talked about another key to the mutual influence process. The manager has to believe that the staff members have valuable information and insights to contribute. The manager observed: "To

empower others, you have to truly believe that they have the answers. That's where a lot of leaders have difficulty it seems. They can't empower people because they don't truly believe that somebody else has the answer." And added: "Where relationships do have a lot of candor, a lot of give and take, people seem to have balanced egos. It's usually the folks that think they have all the right answers who usually have less of an ability to accept candor from others."

I asked what day-to-day ways of interacting with people foster a sense of empowerment. Several department heads described behaviors that Bowers modeled. One department head noted: "In top staff meetings he really encourages differing viewpoints, and almost in a sense, demands it. He will even take a different position deliberately to have that position heard, but he would prefer that someone else do that." The department head added: "He will show real deference to you too, even if it is a minority opinion. He will say, 'Wait a minute, he's making a point here' or 'Let's listen, he is in a position that he would have a good sense of that.'"

Another manager noted about Bowers: "One of the ways he is open to influence is by just laying himself open in a sense. Every week he asks 'What is working? What is broken? What is not working?' He not only is willing to hear it, but wants to hear it. Sometimes it feels like he is saying, 'Come on, there's got to be something.' He pushes us a little bit if we don't come up with something." Another manager agreed: "He is willing to listen to an opinion that doesn't agree with his. I've spent hours fighting with him in the old days. After the discussion he may see your point and change, but I think that once a decision has been made either way, you can go on about your business."

Most strengths taken to excess become weaknesses. This is true of mutual influence. Staff members do value having a degree of influence with

their manager. But, if the manager is so open to influence that he or she seems to be overly responsive to anyone with a strong opinion or request, the value of the influence decreases and can be experienced as disempowering rather than empowering.

Respect and Care

As I listened to the top managers in the City of Scottsdale describe Bowers, each other, and their work, there was a tone of respect and care in their voices. As the managers in the City of Carlsbad talked about their top team and their organization, there was camaraderie, pride, and again care in their voices. It is possible to work side by side with or to delegate responsibility to someone without caring for that person. It is possible for managers to accomplish the work of the organization without caring for their staff members. On the other hand, these teams seemed to share a spirit of respect and affection that made their relationship different. Participating in relationships that involved trust, mutual influence, and the sharing of power fostered a sense of care and concern for each other's well-being.

A sense of belonging to an organization that cares about you is an important aspect of empowerment for the larger organization also. An assistant city manager talked about balancing the focus on task with the expression of care: "Certainly we have a task to do, but the human side is so important. You can just see people much more willing to work toward the vision if they know that people really care about them." Many of the people I interviewed in Scottsdale spoke of the feeling of being a family. One general manager spoke of the "honest, bone deep caring" felt for the staff. "This sense of caring and family allows a person to be all they can be in the office as well as home."

Trust

Trust is the most fundamental dynamic involved in the process of empowerment. Trust, like empowerment, is both an action and a result. Managers must be secure in their belief that people are competent and dependable so they will feel comfortable enough to relinquish power, control, and responsibility to others. A department head said: "I think that trust is the key ingredient--trusting and then delegating." The message from most of these managers was: "If I don't trust you, I won't share power with you."

The people I interviewed spoke of several ways in which trust is developed and maintained. The way people mentioned most often was the amount of time spent working together. Over time people are able to see first hand each other's credibility and competency. An assistant city manager noted that to develop trust, "knowing who you are working with is really important. Especially having past experience with people; having seen their demonstrated competency." A general manager explained how trust developed between himself and his work crews: "I've worked side-by-side with them through the years. I can find the end of a shovel, so I'm not a threat to them as far as being management. They realize that for the most part, I am here to help them get the job done." One department head remembered the time it took for the organization to develop trust in a prior city manager: "It probably took him three years before people began to really recognize that he really did put the employees first when he was making decisions. Once people finally recognize that and you get their trust, then you can even make mistakes and they cut you slack."

Another way people indicated that trust developed is by follow-through on promises. People watch to see if people will do what they say they will do. A department head stressed that "trust and integrity are the most important

things between people and in an organization. The bottom line is that a person's actions must be consistent with her or his words." One of the assistant city managers said one important piece in the development of trust is "for people to stand up for their commitments--to do what they say they are going to do. Keep that emotional bank account at a good level."

A third way people talked about maintaining trust was a two-way flow of information. People were up front and honest about the things they were working on; there were very few hidden agendas. Conscientiously making sure key people have all the important information so they don't get caught off guard is key to maintaining trust. A department head described the trust relationship between some department heads and Patchett: "We talk to the council a lot. Ray knows that whatever we talk about with them, he either knows about or will know about shortly so there is a lot of trust there." Bowers described how the city manager maintains the trust between managers and employees: "Another thing that is so important to me is being up front with people. If budget times are tough, if things are looking crummy, the first thing I do is tell all the employees face-to-face, person-to-person, because trust is everything. I think what employees react to is the sense that we, in some ivory tower, are making foolish decisions with inadequate data."

Bowers explained that a manager can work at increasing the trust relationship with staff members. He said: "I think you can create trust by finding opportunities to display your trust in other people and to respect the trust that they have in you. I think it can be orchestrated to a degree. I can find times when I can call in a department head and say, 'I have a real problem with something and I want to share it with you confidentially, because I want your advice. I want to talk to you about it.' If you do that

sincerely, and risk that, they will feel significant and trusted." Sharing confidential information with people displays trust in them.

Another way that trust is fostered and maintained is through effectively engaging in and resolving conflict. One of the consultants felt that trust was: "living up to expectations and the ability to manage conflict." The consultant added: "I see trust break down when there is a difference in expectations and one of the people in the pair or both of the people lack the ability to cut through that miscommunication and say 'look, I need to talk to you about this so we can clear it up.'" In the interviews I conducted, the managers did not talk about confronting and resolving conflict as a key variable in maintaining trust. The consultant was quite surprised by this. The managers attributed trust to years of working together, socializing and playing together, or experience in knowing the total person, but only one talked about being able to resolve conflict as a means of maintaining trust. The consultant suggested that this may be "buried" in their thoughts on communication. "When people talk about good communication, they may include resolving conflict in that." The consultant cited an example of a struggle two managers were having and their ability to talk it through openly and "because of that, the trust was maintained. Maybe they take that for granted." One department head did describe "honesty and integrity" as key ingredients for a trust relationship. "It is the ability to risk with another person--to know that you can tell them the truth, to know that people will be open to hearing what you have to say. It is knowing that you can confront behaviors without feeling like you are confronting the person. The person knows that the confrontation is directed at their behavior and not them personally. It is how we deal with each other as people with a mutual respect."

When trust exists between the city manager and staff, ego needs are no longer a driver of behavior. Honesty can be shared between the two without fearing a loss of respect. For example, one department head spoke of the agreement to work together as a team between herself and the city manager. The director recounted one way this was demonstrated. When the city manager stops in the hall and asks about an issue which this person has delegated to a staff member, this person is comfortable saying that it is somebody's project and the three of them may discuss it. "I guess if I felt fragile being confronted by Ray and not being able to answer that question, or if he had another intonation or demeanor I would feel like I had disappointed him in some way. But Ray doesn't make me feel that way, and I don't feel that way." The director acknowledged that "there are some people who feel the need to know everything that is going on in their departments in detail so that they can explain it and not be put on the spot because they don't want to embarrass themselves in front of their boss." The level of mutual trust between people contributes significantly to their sense of empowerment and their ability to extend that sense of empowerment to others on their staffs.

Trust is both a hearty and a fragile state. A trust relationship can offer a lot of latitude for mistakes and conflict if at the core there is a good faith commitment to the relationship. On the other hand, if at any time in the relationship that trust is damaged at the core level, it is very, very hard to gain it back. The loss of trust is quite devastating to a relationship. Bowers expressed this sentiment: "The most important are the character trust issues. If somebody violates a trust relationship with me they are in really deep ----. Emotionally, it is hard for me to see much good in a person after that." One of the consultants felt that: "In organizations, once trust is gone I'm not even

sure that resolution of the conflict is enough to clean up the past and move toward empowerment."

Shared Power, Responsibility, Commitment, and Action

A collective sense of direction and action empowers leaders and followers. A department head observed: "A leader is one who has been able to create shared ownership of where we are going. If the leader can pull like a magnet, not push, can share that vision, and gain the joint ownership of the team--then you can't hold them back."

Scottsdale has frequent meetings that serve to facilitate this sense of shared responsibility for organizational issues. A general manager declared: "So why are we going through the visioning process? Why do we have council retreats? Why do we have our own retreats? Why do we have these fiscal strategy meetings? Or economic development task force meetings? Or employee relations meetings? These are multidepartmental meetings to make sure that we are on track and going in the same direction." Another general manager described Bowers' style: "I think Dick works in a loose-tight type situation. He knows there has to be alignment and some kind of controls. But on the other hand, he wants everybody to have as wide a parameter as they can have in order to get their own job done in their own way."

Shared decision-making can involve people outside the organization as well as inside. One department director included persons from the community, other department directors, elected officials, as well as staff members on a committee to direct the building of a new building. The director confirmed: "Everyone has been involved. I made it as participative as possible on a whole broad basis so that we have all of the key players in the city involved with as much input as possible." As far as the success of the process is concerned, "The proof will be when the project is complete and we got what we wanted. . . .

We aren't going to be able to say 'so and so did that to us' because we did it to ourselves. It is our project."

Delegating responsibility to staff members gives them power. Sharing responsibility with staff members involves them in a leadership relationship. A department head explained this mutuality factor: "A leader is only as good as the followers; there are two sides to the issue of leadership. It is sort of an interactive kind of chemistry that has to be there. That is my own approach to this. The more power I can give the staff, the more interaction we will have and the better leader I can be."

A department director said it well.

The notion of empowerment has to come because one person can't do it all. The executive team in Scottsdale needs to work as a team, needs to have trust in each other and a true sense of city so that I don't have to worry about protecting my bailiwick over here. I need to think about the economic development of the community. I need to be thinking about the quality of life in the community. I need to be thinking about future growth. I need to be thinking about the concerns of our citizens. So does the finance director, so does the police chief. We all need to be thinking of the total community, not only our own problem areas in our own departments. To get to that point takes time and it takes trust. When I have experienced being empowered, when it happens, it happens within the executive team.

The factors in the relationship aspect are displayed in Figure 6.

Figure 6. The relationship aspect.

Challenges to Empowerment

As I interviewed people and observed behaviors related to empowerment, I became increasingly aware that the positive interactions and results which are inherent in an empowering environment or relationship are only one side of the story. There are negative reactions, downsides, costs, and challenges associated with empowerment as well. There are very few clearly right or wrong choices. Each time I asked an either/or question, people answered "both are true." No wonder empowerment is an art—it is a balancing act and complexity rules. It is important that managers and leaders be aware of these challenges so they can prepare for, manage, or circumvent the pitfalls if possible. The challenges to empowerment are: (1) ego, (2) ambiguity, (3) diversity, (4) time and energy, (5) pockets of resistance, (6) conflict, (7) letting go, (8) relations with labor unions, and (9) the influence of politics. They are depicted in Figure 7.

Ego

A top level manager must have a strong ego or sense of self-confidence to believe she or he can lead an organization. The manager must also have a

strong sense of personal security and self-worth in order to empower others. The manager must also be able to let go of that ego in order to support, encourage, develop, and share power with others. The managers I interviewed talked about the importance of having a strong self-esteem; they also spoke of the difficulty and struggle involved in setting that ego aside. Patchett explained: "As a leader you have to have enough ego to believe in what you are doing and hold onto it. In order to be effective, you also have to deal with that ego and to be largely ego-free." A department head acknowledged:

To be a leader, the one thing that has to be managed is ego. On the one hand you have to have an ego to be sitting here, on the other hand you have to let that ego go. You have to have a lot of security in yourself and you own self-worth to be able to empower people, to be able to do bottom-up decision making. You have to let your people be successful and not need that personal glory for yourself. You have to be sure of yourself. You have to learn to take the hits that are going to come along from time to time. You have to learn not to need the strokes. When we win, the individuals that were responsible get the credit. When one of those people screw up, it is my fault. I am accountable and I believe that.

Patchett agreed that a manager must share the credit and assume the blame: "All those successes are everybody's successes. It is a team effort and you largely sublimate yourself and hold the staff up." He believed that "the more you find successful accomplishments and the more you reinforce them, the more you paint the picture in people's eyes and the more people will believe in themselves and be empowered."

Typically, a manager has gotten to his or her position by demonstrating some decision-making ability and competence at various skills. An

empowering manager must shift from being the person with all the answers to being the person who draws answers out of other people. He or she can no longer derive a sense of identity and job satisfaction solely from direct delivery of service or accomplishment of the task. A general manager confirmed: "The hardest challenge for me in becoming a manager was not doing things directly but letting others do those things. I liked that sense of accomplishment." Indeed, the question becomes: Where does an empowering manager's reward, acknowledgment, and sense of satisfaction come from? The manager answered: "I can tell you that as a general manager, you absolutely need to get your sense of satisfaction from watching the satisfaction of others. Their success becomes mine." An assistant city manager agreed. This manager's satisfaction came from "seeing that person come to be best decision possible. As long as we have the best decision for the organization, then that is what is satisfying for me."

A department head reflected on a resource that was helpful in the struggle to let go of ego. "It is good to have someone in your organization that you talk with that understands the process of holding on and letting go so that you don't feel like you have to hide that process. It is a growth process and something that we all go through." An assistant city manager noted that a balanced personal and professional life helps in being able to put ego needs in perspective inside the organization. "Sometimes you see people that get so focused on their work life that they have to be right all the time or they have to be the one in charge and in control all the time."

Ambiguity

For some staff members there is a frustration with the ambiguity that comes with empowerment. A manager who is working towards empowering staff members expects them to determine their goals and objectives; a high

tolerance for ambiguity is important. Some staff members do not want the responsibility of determining these goals themselves, they ask for concrete direction. People would say, "Just tell me what you want me to do and I will do it." A department head noted: "If you are in an autocratic system where you demand response, then you create the hierarchy and everything is known. Here you deal with a lot more ambiguity. I think people who are not used to ambiguity may become frustrated by that. Sometimes the offshoot is that there may be more tension and distrust initially."

For some staff members, acting in empowered ways is uncomfortable for them. Another department director confirmed: "It's a mixed bag in our shop. Many of the people who work at the technical level are not comfortable when you take away all the dotted lines and the things that guide them. They feel really exposed. As soon as they feel there is a risk, they become uncomfortable." A manager spoke personally: "I am having a difficult time adjusting empowerment as a style of management because I don't get much direction in terms of what it is the city manager is looking for. My tendency is to like to have everything in boxes." Bowers acknowledged: "Yes, people say, 'Tell me what you want.' I have been so purposeful about not defining it because I want people to own their work. The other way you just cash in all the opportunity for that person to surface what is in them and they just get into the response mode."

Diversity

Having a group of people who share values, visions, and power is part of having an empowered organization. People, wanting harmony and peaceful working relationships, may make it hard for anyone who is not like them to become part of the group. People mistakenly see homogeneity as equaling harmony. It may also seem easier to have a feeling of trust for people who are

more like you than they are different. If there is too much emphasis placed on only having people who "fit" the organizational norms and values, there is a danger of cloning or having a team of people who are so much alike there is no diversity in people or thinking.

Time and Energy

The time it takes to work through an issue as a team or to develop a staff person's decision-making skills is longer than the time it takes for a manager to give directions on exactly how something should be handled. The process of empowerment takes more organizational time than the process of top-down command and control. At times, the short-term investment of managerial and staff time for the long-term benefits of empowerment seems like a high cost. One department head explained: "There's the syndrome of measuring effectiveness in too short of a time frame. To bring about real change you need some time. To really bring about change you need to empower the people in that department and that is not going to happen overnight." Another department head agreed: "Yes, it is awkward and it takes a lot of time. It may be neater and cleaner if I just made the decisions, but I don't think that operating that way pays off over the long haul. Over the long haul, if you have everybody in the organization, as much as you can expect, supporting what you are doing and where you are going, even if it takes you longer to arrive at some of those decisions, it is still worth it."

Empowerment may also come at a cost of personal energy. People who are constantly leading change may do so to the point of feeling burned out. A department head who had been working on several organization wide initiatives as well as several within the department said: "I've gotten heavily involved in things outside my department and to some extent that has been a problem. There are only 24 hours in a day and I only have so much energy."

At a certain point I recognized that I had gone beyond my limit in terms of what I could accomplish." This manager was balancing the time devoted to being the leader of a department and also being a team player and leader in the larger organization.

Pockets of Resistance

As contagious as empowerment is, there will be people for whom change comes slowly if at all. A general manager explained: "The natural human being resists change because we don't know what is going to be, we just know what is now. Yet change is one thing we can count on for certain." There will also be people for whom this is too great an imposition and/or change. They will say, "This extra initiative and responsibility is not in my job description" or those who say, "Just leave me alone and let me do my specific task as assigned. I do not want to participate." A department head explained that at times you will "get somebody within the organization that develops a feeling that she or he does not like what is going on. The person is not going to take ownership and not going to participate. You need to be careful because a negative attitude is something that is very easy to spread around."

For some people, the demands for change may be so great that they choose to leave the organization rather than adjust to the new philosophies. Managers must accept the possibility that some staff members may choose to leave. Bowers explained: "I used to think I would experience a struggle: What am I going to do with the people who just refuse to play? I thought that would be a struggle, but now I am very reconciled that if they don't want to play, they are in the wrong game. I try to create a vacuum that they will want to fill but if not, I am O.K. with letting people go if I have gone through a proper process for it." A department head echoed this sentiment: "I feel that if this is not what you want to do, go find the kind of situation that suits you. I

personally would not be bitter if someone left. I had a long time developing that attitude, but now I can tell people, 'Good luck to you. Go work in San Diego because that may be right for you.'"

Conflict

Empowered people and teams are encouraged to have their own thoughts, ideas, and opinions. As more people begin to express their thoughts and ideas, the amount of conflict will likely increase also. Mutual influence means issues will be raised and communication will not be only top-down. One of the consultants observed:

You want people to support and be aligned with your vision. You also want them to be comfortable in challenging and asking the tough questions and not going along with it just for show. The manager must get people to be supportive and also to stand up for what they believe in and challenge the philosophy or the process when it is appropriate.

An organization must have healthy or effective skills for managing conflict or empowerment could mean chaos.

Relations with Labor Unions

When I asked what contextual factors enable the City of Scottsdale's ability to operate with a philosophy of innovation and empowerment, a department head responded: "I think being union free makes a lot of things possible." The people in the City of Scottsdale proactively works at keeping the City union free. The department head explained: "We believe that people join unions because they are not communicated with, not heard or responded to. We actively try to do all the right things so we don't have to worry about unions." One of the consultants felt that relations with the labor union was a factor that significantly affected the City of Carlsbad's ability to function with a philosophy of empowerment. Patchett expressed this same view. "Dealing

with the labor association is something that I am struggling with. It is a dilemma in terms of our vision because it does not fit. I am trying to figure out how to enroll the employees into a high performance organization." While most managers felt that the city government was "one of the healthiest, most employee-concerned and employee-responsive organizations around," union representatives felt it was appropriate to strongly challenge management's policies. At times it is important for the union representatives to demonstrate to their constituency that they are actively fighting for their rights and welfare. This has the potential to turn productive relationships into adversarial and acrimonious ones.

The Influence of Politics

The policy direction for the city is determined by the community, mayor, and city council. There are frequent changes in the policy direction they propose for the organization. The city manager has the ability to outline for the organizational staff his or her key goals and themes, but the changing political winds do affect the organization. When there are frequent shifts in the policy direction, these shifts impact the organization's sense of continuity of direction and as a result the sense of empowerment. Bowers explained: "Every election is a crossroads here. The tones of the candidates are so different—it is pro- or anti-city government. The council will shape an agenda that, if it is not the quasi-positive agenda we have got now, from the work force's perspective it will be unsettling." At the time I was in Scottsdale, Bowers was dealing with a highly volatile situation involving a council member. His comment was: "it could just change the whole character of this community for many years to come." Bowers noted that these political situations have a significant effect on his ability to empower the organization: "If we were insulated, internally we would be able to accomplish a great deal."

At the same time, he also is quite articulate about his loyalty and commitment to carrying out all of the council's policy directions to the best of the organization's ability.

A final challenge to empowerment that the city manager must manage also results from being in a political or governmental organization. Patchett described it as:

Balancing the council's goals and programs with the professional staff's efforts to creatively develop alternatives for council consideration. On the one hand, you attempt to empower and energize the staff, but that must be balanced against the council's goals and objectives. . . . The city manager has more data and information than anyone else because the council members are individually providing information and the manager can see where they are trying to get and how they are trying to deal with things. That knowledge, contrasted against what you see in a staff report outlining alternatives by which to deal with something is where the city manager must balance the need to empower staff with the council's desires. One of the constant dilemmas is . . . how we support the staff's professional opinion or assessment and bring the report into conformance with what it needs to address. It is something we are always working with.

The factors that make up the challenges to empowerment are displayed in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Challenges to empowerment.

Relationship Among the Aspects

The events, programs, strategies, beliefs, and behaviors that contributed to empowerment within the City of Carlsbad and Scottsdale have been synthesized into the five aspects just described: (a) contextual, (b) organizational, (c) personal, (d) managerial, and (d) relationship. Figure 8 is an integrative diagram of these aspects, together with the challenges to and the indicators/outcomes of empowerment. Each of the five aspects have varying degrees of influence on the individual's, team's and organization's sense of empowerment. Taken as a whole, all of these factors together may seem overwhelming. One of the consultants commented: "I don't see how a city manager does it all. The relationship aspects are so important but everything else is important too. I don't know how they do it all." During a follow-up interview, one department head said: "For empowerment to truly work, each aspect needs 20% focus of attention, otherwise there will be a drag on the system." Another manager observed that: "They [the aspects] are all part of an

Figure 8. A conceptual model of empowerment.

interrelated system. Empowerment will not work without all of them working together. You can't separate them."

I believe that all of the aspects contribute to empowerment in some way. It is important to note, however, that all of the aspects are not necessary all of the time. The data suggest that there are some aspects which have more immediate and/or fundamental influence on a sense of empowerment than do other aspects. The model is intended to portray the full array of the factors that influence empowerment, not just the most critical factors. It is possible to create a sense of empowerment by enacting only a few key aspects. The use of shapes, symbols, and weighted labels and arrows on the model conveys the relative importance of the different aspects. The relationship among the aspects is the focus of this section.

The contextual aspect includes factors which influence the tone or the environment within which the organization functions. The shaded background of the model represents the contextual environment within which the other aspects operate. The politics around the key stakeholders, the history and culture of the organization, and the structural and situational features of an organization subtly--maybe even unconsciously--affect people's sense of empowerment. The contextual aspect is pervasive. It indirectly yet powerfully affects the organizational, managerial, personal, and relationship aspects. Executives get the message whether or not empowering administrative styles are acceptable or not. Managers sense the politics of the situation and adjust their behaviors accordingly. Employees sense from their contacts with the community whether empowered actions are appropriate or not. One general manager agreed: "The work force definitely feels the impact of external relationships. They are in the community every day delivering services."

The contextual factors affect the organizational and managerial aspects in similar ways. The existing state of affairs within the contextual factors determines whether internal empowerment strategies and practices will be discouraged, tolerated, supported, or called for. Although the contextual factors affect the organization's corporate sense of self-esteem and well-being, managers do not have direct influence or control over them. There are no arrows indicating direct influence between any of the aspects and the contextual aspect. However, over the long term, a city manager can affect some changes in these areas. Staff members who interface with the external stakeholders have opportunities to influence these factors over the long term as well.

The next aspect also has a subtle yet powerful influence on the organization's sense of empowerment. Factors in the organizational aspect--council-manager relations, organizational vision and values, how these are carried throughout different levels of supervision, communication systems, development programs, and events that create a sense of community among organizational members--create and maintain a climate of support and significance within the organization. These factors are strategy level versus behavioral level actions. They communicate symbolically to employees how they are viewed within the organization's priorities and commitments. Within any organizational climate, individual managers can create pockets of empowerment within non supportive cultures, but these factors are pivotal if empowerment is to transcend individual work groups and infuse the whole organization with feelings of value and inclusion.

The organizational aspect specifically influences the personal aspect and the managerial aspect as the arrows indicate. The city manager's and other top managers' philosophies and demonstrated actions on the

organizational level determine the time, energy, and commitment that will be devoted to empowering practices on the personal and managerial level. Mid-level managers and employees take their cues about how important vision, values, communication, and connection are from watching the top executives and the tone they set in the organization. From the personal aspect, managers and employees are motivated to individually practice the norms and values of an organization if there is strong commitment from top management. From the managerial aspect, formal and informal management practices, which communicate the manager's intentions to staff members, are directly affected by the tone and expectations set by the organizational aspects.

Factors in the relationship aspect are supported by the organizational aspect. The small, one-way arrow characterizes that support. An organizational climate which values vision, alignment, communication, and connection enables the factors in the relationship aspect to flourish.

The personal aspect includes two levels of personal responsibility. The first is the individual organizational member and the second is the top executive or the leader. Individuals--employees, managers, and executives--bring to the organization a complex set of personal beliefs, values, experiences, attitudes, habits, talents, and goals. Based on the combination of these individual ingredients, a person is at different stages of being ready for empowerment. Depending on the character of the staff member, he or she will either be passive--awaiting empowerment--or active nudging the manager toward empowering managerial practices. An individual's readiness directly influences the way the person will participate in the interactions that make up the managerial aspect of the model whether they are an employee or manager. The darkened arrow flowing from the personal to the managerial aspect indicates this influence.

The personal aspect also includes behaviors which are the leader's responsibility. It is primarily the leader's behaviors and responsibilities which influence empowerment. These behaviors create the conditions under which empowerment can flourish, for example, seeing the big picture, articulating a vision, enrolling people in that vision, modeling the values, communicating clearly and directly; and demonstrating openness, humor, and humanness. The greater the ability of the top executive or manager to model these behaviors, the greater the likelihood that individuals will respond in empowered ways. In addition, as the top executive or manager demonstrates these qualities, it has a direct impact on the practices in the managerial aspect. The arrow leading to the managerial aspect is heavily weighted to portray this direct influence.

The managerial aspect includes the policies and practices that managers use to foster feelings of empowerment within staff members. In this model, the managerial aspect is one of the two most important factors (with the relationship aspect) as it relates to the organizational member's sense of empowerment. The current literature and theories about empowerment focus primarily on these factors as well. The factors in the managerial aspect could be enacted alone and would definitely affect a staff member's feelings of empowerment. Bold and capital letters, and the proximity to the indicators/outcomes, characterize the importance of this aspect. The context could be shaky, the organization could be unfocused, the personal agents could be less than ideal, but through the use of these managerial factors, some degree of empowerment could develop.

The one-on-one interactions which are important are: using questions, encouraging, recognizing, communicating directly, providing opportunities, and listening. Dialogue, critical thinking, communication, support, and fun

are team interactions that lead to empowerment. The general management practices that most influence empowerment are: responsibility, decision-making authority, involvement, support of risk taking, training and development, performance feedback, hiring procedures, and hygiene factors.

The managerial aspect also has an arrow indicating influence on the personal aspect. When a manager uses the behaviors mentioned in the paragraph above, it has a significant effect on the individual staff members under them. The individual's experience of encouragement and support will likely increase his or her comfort level with experimentation and risk taking and thus stimulate a sense of empowerment.

As demonstrated by both cities, a feeling of empowerment could be experienced by managers and staff members based on the effects of the contextual, organizational, personal, and managerial aspects alone. A sense of alignment, productivity, effectiveness, and energy was created and maintained because these aspects were working in tandem in both organizations. On a couple of occasions I experienced glimpses of another, deeper level of empowerment. While observing the work of the economic development task force, during a meeting to review plans for construction of a new facility, hearing people describe the culture change underway in their department, seeing an off-site staff retreat, I encountered a significantly different form of empowerment. In each of these instances, the relationship between the manager and the staff members had been transformed. They worked side-by-side to create change and make a difference; they used multidirectional influence; they respected, cared for, and trusted each other; and they shared power, responsibility, commitment, and action. These are the factors in the relationship aspect. This form of empowerment made the empowerment that resulted from the other aspects pale in comparison.

The interactions that comprise the relationship aspect became apparent when the group was focused on a project or direction that required substantive change and when the underlying assumptions of authority and control—power—were different than traditional ones. In these instances there was a sense of shared power and collective action that wasn't present in other interactions in the organization. This sense of empowerment resulted as these people participated in leadership relationships.

In the model, the relationship aspect is portrayed at the center of the action, in a bold manner, and at a raised level (indicated by the shadowing). The organizational, personal, and managerial aspect create a foundation upon which the relationship aspect must rest. The practices in the managerial aspect are the most significant in their ability to create an environment in which the dynamics of the relationship aspect can flourish when the need arises. The organizational and personal aspects contribute although to a lesser degree to creation of a leadership ready environment.

In summary, and in very simplistic terms, the contextual aspect represents the conditions under which empowerment can occur; the organizational aspect represents the strategies that the city manager and top management team engage in order to foster empowerment; the personal aspect represents the agents (organizational members and manager) who are the doers of empowerment; the managerial aspect represents the tactics that managers use on a daily basis to stimulate empowerment; the relationship aspect represents the core interactions that produce empowerment; and the challenges and indicators/outcomes represent the consequences of engaging in empowerment within organizations.

Conclusions

I embarked upon this study to understand empowerment as it relates to leadership. In the end, I have discovered more about how good managers empower people than about how leaders empower people. Although the study participants used leadership language as they described the behaviors and beliefs depicted in the conceptual model, most of the factors they described, and which I captured and displayed, are based on a definition of leadership as good management (Rost, 1991). The participant's descriptions of the responsibilities and interactions of leaders parallel Rost's (1991) industrial paradigm definition of leadership: "Those great men and women with certain preferred traits who influence followers to do what the leaders wish in order to achieve group/organizational goals that reflect excellence defined as some kind of higher-order effectiveness" (p. 95).

The data and model do depict a focus on the leader. This is represented by the importance placed on the executive's personal responsibilities and behaviors. Many people in both cities felt that one of the most significant contributors to empowerment was the top person's commitment to this philosophy. Also reflected in the data and model is a structural-functionalist view of organizations. This is represented by the importance of the organizational strategies and the managerial tactics through which empowerment is seen to be fostered. An individualistic, male perspective is represented in the data and model through the focus on what the individual agents bring to the organization and through the desire for clear distinctions regarding responsibility, autonomy, and decision-making authority. Finally, the essence of the paradigm of leadership as good management is evident when the purpose of empowerment is the development of the work force so that the organization will be more capable of achieving its full potential.

Empowerment is a product of good management. Empowerment is also a product of leadership. The city managers and top management teams from Carlsbad and Scottsdale were primarily empowering people through good management practices. There was also evidence of leadership relationships sprinkled among the interactions of the organization. In a few instances in both cities, people were engaged in interactions which would be described as leadership from a postindustrial paradigm perspective. The center (core) of the model represents the nature of these relationships as: including active members (leaders and followers), influencing each other through means other than positional power (some influence more than others); trusting and respecting fellow participants; working toward a purpose to which they shared a common commitment; and engaging in shared power, responsibility, and action while focusing intently on creating fundamental changes.

The relative prominence that the empowering managerial practices take up in this model reflects the popular or current state of understanding of empowerment. For example, one of the most recent references on empowerment, Fisher (1993), wrote: "It [empowerment] is a function of four important variables: authority, resources, information, and accountability. . . . Only when all four elements are present do people feel responsible and act responsibly. . . . Empowerment gives people more control over their own destiny" (p. 14). The influence of leadership is not a part of Fisher's equation. The evolution of our understanding of empowerment might look something like Table 1.

Table 1

The Evolution of Our Understanding of Empowerment

<u>Concept</u>	<u>Expectation of Employees</u>	<u>Approach to Power</u>	<u>Intent/ Outcome</u>
Management	Dependence	Power over	Production & consistency
Good management	Autonomy	Power to	Goals & effectiveness
Leadership	Relationship	Power with	Change & transformation

Current work place conditions, internal and external, demand that organizations empower people through good management principles. Future organizational survival will demand that we empower people through leadership relationships as well. One of the consultants (RR) captured the paradigm shift needed: "I used to think of empowerment as me handing it off to you. I am beginning to now think of it more as a dance."

CHAPTER SIX

LEADERSHIP AND EMPOWERMENT: SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to respond to the call for better and more exacting studies regarding the nature of leadership. One area that holds potential for contributing insight into the interactive nature of leadership is the process of empowerment. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to develop a better understanding of the empowerment processes operating within organizations and to theorize about the relationship between empowerment and leadership. My hope is that this information will inform and inspire practitioners' work.

This study has focused on empowerment in public sector/governmental organizations. Local governmental agencies have been underrepresented in leadership and management research. The two organizations which participated in this study were the City of Carlsbad, California and the City of Scottsdale, Arizona. I interviewed the city managers and members of both management teams (assistant city managers, deputy city managers, general managers, department directors, and management assistants) and spent several weeks as a participant observer in the organizations including shadowing the city managers.

This final chapter reviews the original research questions and the findings generated. The findings point to a few conclusions about the nature of empowerment. Also included in this chapter are a discussion of the

strengths and weaknesses of the study and recommendations for practitioners and future researchers.

Research Questions

Five research questions initially guided the process of inquiry. These questions were based on my familiarity with current literature and reflected what I thought were the key ingredients for understanding more about empowerment and leadership. As I engaged in the emergent design process, the answers and insights I gathered did not match up neatly with the questions I had originally asked. For one thing, the people I interviewed did not have the same definitions of empowerment or leadership as I had presented at the beginning of this study. They were operating under the "leadership is good management" paradigm (Rost, 1991). Their definition of empowerment was progressive although oriented toward participative management. The participants' interview responses--the majority of the data--reflected their personal perceptions and definitions. I did not impose or explain my definitions to the participants during the interviews. As a result, I learned more about empowerment vis-a-vis management than I did about empowerment vis-a-vis leadership. My conclusions about empowerment vis-a-vis leadership have grown out of my field notes based on observations and my journal notes during data analysis.

A final point before turning to the questions. I have found it very challenging to identify and study the practice of leadership in an environment that is primarily management oriented. Management must happen daily in large organizations for products and services to flow smoothly. Leadership, if or when it occurs, must happen within this framework. At times it seems like a miracle that the dynamics of leadership

come together for this to occur. The good news is that it is possible and it happens. I saw and experienced pockets of leadership occurring in both cities. The point is that even when conceptually I thought I had clarity about what good management versus leadership was, when faced with the messy reality of organizational life, it was hard to maintain that clarity. And now to the original research questions.

Does the Leadership Relationship Create and Foster Empowerment?

The answer to this question is yes and more. The intention of this question was to clarify the relationship between the concepts of empowerment and leadership. It might have been worded more accurately to ask: "How do the concepts of leadership and empowerment relate to each other?" I have come to believe that it is possible to be empowered and/or to empower others without it necessarily being within the context of a leadership relationship. Empowerment means mobilizing people's beliefs, desires, abilities, and opportunities to exercise influence and to create change. Multiple types of relationships are capable of producing these results—good education, parenting, coaching, therapy, policy making, good management and leadership relationships. Participation in a leadership relationship, however, is one of the most powerful sources of empowerment for an individual or collective. The process of leadership—a relationship among leaders and followers based on mutual influence, intending substantive changes that reflect their common purposes—offers an environment in which a person's or a group's beliefs, desires, abilities, and opportunities to create change are set afire. In studying the essential nature of the leadership relationship, we are also studying the process of empowerment.

Empowerment is interwoven with leadership—it is a precondition, a process, and a result of the relationship. It is a precondition because people must feel some sense of self-worth, purpose, ability, and inclusion—a sense of empowerment—so they can assume an active role in a leadership relationship. Astin and Leland (1991) explained that: "Unless group members believe in themselves and feel powerful, it will be difficult for them to participate collectively—a necessary condition to achieve change in organizations or in society" (p. 159). There were department heads in both cities who seemed to bring their own sense of efficacy to the organization. They were change agents within their departments and influential with their peers and the city manager. There were other department heads who seemed unsure of their power, direction, or responsibilities. It was difficult for these managers to fully participate in the dynamic relationships that Bowers and Patchett offered and expected.

Empowerment is also a process inherent in the leadership relationship. As people engage together in the actions of critiquing current conditions, shaping and articulating common needs and hopes, forging plans for substantive changes, and then generating and focusing the power required to accomplish the change, all those involved in that relationship will experience feeling empowered. Empowerment is a reciprocal process—one of the things that is mutually exchanged.

Empowerment is also a result of participation in a leadership relationship. A sense of power, efficacy, pride, and shared responsibility is experienced as a result of participating in efforts toward common purpose and fundamental change. The department directors who had influenced and lead changes in their areas expressed pride and confidence—a sureness yet not

arrogance--about their work and their visions for the future. Many of them spoke of plans for even greater changes.

The leadership relationship engenders empowerment. The possibility, process, and result of participation in a leadership relationship is empowering. Empowerment is the transforming part of transformational leadership. Participants' beliefs, abilities, and commitment to common purpose and substantive change are raised to higher levels as a result of their participation. Empowerment increases people's ability to be full participants in current situations and prepares them for creating future opportunities for leadership relationships.

What Contributes to and What Inhibits a Sense of Empowerment?

One of the purposes of this study was to discover the belief systems, behaviors, and interactions that contribute to a sense of empowerment and those that inhibit it. The participants and organizational activities in both cities provided some answers to this question. The data have been synthesized into the five aspects which influenced a sense of empowerment: contextual, personal, managerial, organizational, and relationship. In each of the aspects there are positions, policies, and practices that, if they are positive or performed well, lead to empowerment. If these policies and practices are implemented poorly, inconsistently, for a manipulative agenda, or not done at all, empowerment is very difficult to engender.

Within the contextual aspect there are factors that constitute the environment within which the organization will operate. These factors include the history and culture of the organization, the relationships the organization has with its internal and external stakeholders (the mayor, council, community, media, and professional networks), as well as the

structural and situational conditions affecting the organization (size of work force, budget, public sector). These factors contribute, albeit indirectly, to the sense of empowerment that organizational members experience. When the history is positive and the culture is healthy, when the relationships with stakeholders are active and strong, when the structural and situational elements are being managed well, an environment is created that promotes security, trust, and abundance. This meets the basic needs of people so they can focus on their interactions and their purpose. When there is a troubled history, an oppressive culture, strained relationships, weak structural or overwhelming situational conditions, no matter how strong the other aspects, empowerment is inhibited.

Somewhat similar to the contextual aspect, the organizational aspect sets a tone. It has more of an influence on how the general employees feel valued and included than on the person-to-person interactions which are at the core of empowerment. These factors shape the culture of the organization. It is possible to have pockets of empowerment within an organization whose culture is not inclusive and supportive, but for the organization as a whole to have a sense of empowerment, these factors must be a part of "how we do business here." The relationship between the council and the city manager, the vision and values, how each level of managers consistently carry out their responsibilities, the organization-wide events that reinforce the sense of identity and community, the communication systems that reach each employee with important organizational information, and the specific programs that are implemented to develop the organization's people and processes—all of these are the systemic factors that contribute to empowerment.

The personal aspect reflects what the individual players bring to the organization—who they are as people. There are two key players here, the

staff member and the manager. The staff member brings to the organization a unique combination of beliefs, talents, and experiences. A strong sense of self-worth and efficacy, a willingness to embrace change, positive experiences with risk taking, inherent motivation, and a commitment to making a difference all contribute to a person feeling empowered. The opposite of these beliefs and experiences--a poor self-concept, a hesitancy about change, negative experiences with risk taking--inhibits empowerment. There were people in both cities who represent the variations along the continuum between these two extremes.

The manager is the other key player whose personal beliefs and behaviors are critical to empowerment. The responsibilities and behaviors that contribute to empowerment are not what has been traditionally thought of as a manager's job; they have traditionally been deemed the responsibility of the leader. Using Rost's (1991) paradigms of management and leadership, these are the responsibilities and behaviors of good managers in the twenty-first century rather than leaders.

A good manager contributes to empowerment in two ways: through personal responsibilities and as a person in the role of manager. In order to be in the frame of mind necessary to empower others, managers must commit to maintaining strong mental health, to continuous work on their personal growth and learning, and to living with a strong sense of personal integrity. In the role of positional authority, managers foster empowerment by modeling the values of the organization, communicating openly and honestly, sharing humor and humanness, believing in people, asking for their commitment, and continuously focusing the organization on its mission.

The factors in the managerial aspect represent the policies and practices managers use to conduct business within the organization.

Depending on how these managerial functions are enacted, they can contribute to or inhibit empowerment. Working one-on-one with staff members, managers contribute to empowerment through the use of questions, praise and recognition, developing opportunities for challenge and growth, and providing feedback and coaching. With the team, empowerment is enhanced when the manager fosters critical thinking and dialogue; kindles a sense of fun, camaraderie, and spirit; maintains a commitment to support and help across turf lines; and inspires a sense of shared responsibility for the mission of the organization.

The management practices are what most people think of when talking about empowerment within an organization. These management practices have a significant influence on staff members' sense of empowerment. These factors include: how responsibility and authority are dispersed along the chain of command, how power and control are shared among managers and staff, the level of involvement staff has in the critical decisions of the unit, how risk taking--successes and failures--are handled, how available information and resources are, and how evaluation and development activities are managed.

If the beliefs and behaviors found in these first four aspects are all aligned toward empowerment, staff members feel empowered. Empowerment, then, is a combination of belief, power, and voice. People must believe in their own sense of worth and efficacy to be empowered. People must have access to the traditional tools of power (information, resources, decision-making authority) to be empowered. People must also have a voice in the organization--involvement in key decisions--to be empowered. If people have this belief, power, and voice, they will be empowered. However, there are other interactions which give rise to a deeper level of empowerment. That is

the sense of empowerment which is experienced as a result of participating in a leadership relationship.

The relationship aspect reflects the factors that contribute to this deeper sense of empowerment that results from participation in a leadership relationship. Empowerment is fostered by: sharing a common or higher purpose (wanting to make a difference); having a multidirectional flow of communication and influence; sharing a sense of community, responsibility, vision, and power; and not rely on authority to move things forward. The voice people have is not just input for consideration as in participative management, it is influential in forming mutual purpose. The inherent nature of relationships adds a dimension of connectedness and community that is important for shared commitment. The visions for change fostered in these relationships provide a sense of higher purpose. When these factors are a part of the interactions among organizational members doing leadership, a profound sense of empowerment results.

In each of the aspects there is the potential for the factors to be used to contribute to or to inhibit empowerment. In addition, there are challenges to empowerment which are a natural consequence of the interactions which foster it. These are: the ego needs of the managers involved, the ambiguity that is created as a result of shared power, the time commitment it takes to tend to these relationships, the attitude of members of the organization who choose not to engage in empowering relationships, the conflict that is a natural by-product of critical thinking and dialogue, and the changes and crises that confront an organization as part of its normal life cycle.

The research question asked: "What contributes to and what inhibits a sense of empowerment?" The traditional style of management--authoritarian, hierarchical, controlling--inhibits empowerment. The manager holds the

power over the subordinates. The subordinates are dependent upon the manager for direction, and the purpose of the group is to do a good job in maintaining the status quo. Good management--participative, progressive, motivational--contributes to empowerment. Managers delegate power to subordinates who in turn feel a greater sense of autonomy and ability to act. The purpose of the group is to increase its effectiveness and to attain its goals. On some occasions when significant change is involved, leadership (leaders and followers in an influence relationship) contributes to empowerment in a more profound and transforming way. Managers set aside their positional forms of authority and allow for multidirectional influence. Power is shared within the partnership of managers and staff members. The purpose of the group is to accomplish a significant change. These occasions of leadership are not the norm in how organizations operate. These processes are episodic (Rost & Smith, 1992) but are very meaningful to the organization and participants. Leadership relationships contribute to a sense of empowerment that is transforming for participants. As a result, they may be more likely to form future leadership relationships perpetuating the possibility of empowerment.

Does Empowerment Affect the Experience of the Group?

With this question I sought to discover what feelings and responses people experience as they behave in empowered ways. The empowering managers and empowered staff members in Scottsdale and Carlsbad demonstrated: a willingness to embrace change, spirit and enthusiasm, a propensity to proactively raise issues, the use of personal judgment, and a sense of responsibility.

Willingness to embrace change. Empowered staff members and empowering managers in the City of Scottsdale and the City of Carlsbad

demonstrated a willingness to do things in new and different ways, to innovate, to take risks; they demonstrated a willingness to embrace change. Phrases I heard running through the interviews included: "We don't do things in traditional ways," "I'm also willing to take some very serious risks to achieve our vision," "We've taken risks. We've won some and lost some, and we haven't been fired for losing them. We've created some exemplary headway because of that." One of the consultants noted that the language staff members used indicates their feelings about change. "They say 'we can do that' as opposed to 'I really wanted to do this but... ' or 'I couldn't because... ' They use language indicating motion and possibility rather than frustration and powerlessness." Empowered people believe they can shape their future and they want to do just that.

Spirit and enthusiasm. Several department directors expressed a deep passion and enthusiasm for what they were doing. Whether they were talking about their vision for their department or their relationships with other team members, the city manager, or the community, these managers were filled with animation and contagious energy. The tone of my conversations with these people was positive, optimistic, and fun. A manager who was fairly new to Scottsdale said he "could just tell that this place was special" by the energy and enthusiasm he felt from the employees. Bowers described how he identified empowered people:

They do things with enthusiasm and interest and a little extra flair. It is the value-added stuff that you will see them do. Or they'll stop by and say 'Hi.' They will say, 'I really appreciate something,' or send a note saying, 'I just want you to know this is a great place to work.' Those are some outward signs. The more subtle signs—you are lucky if you

happen upon them and see them. There is a spirit that comes through in the people: an energy, a pleasant smile, and good morning.

A propensity for proactively raising issues. The managers whom I felt were empowered seemed to unabashedly raise issues that needed attention. It appeared that they felt they had the right/permission/freedom to speak up about problems they perceived. In many other organizations, the culture is to keep quiet about issues unless asked about them and then share only a watered-down version of any bad news. In Scottsdale, part of the organizational culture is that it is acceptable and even encouraged for people to question and have group discussions regarding the practices of organization. Empowered staff members felt free to question the way things are done, suggest solutions to problems, and think and talk about new directions for the future.

The managers I observed were raising issues as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. They were not critiquing the organization to put another person down or just for the sake of complaining, they were raising to the discussion and action level things that they felt should be addressed in service of the mission of the organization. A department head said that being empowered meant that during these group discussions, he was "able to see how my work interconnects with the other department and not be overly competitive or turf-oriented--to understand how my work fits the larger goal rather than my own glorification."

Bowers felt that critique and dialogue are essential to sustaining an empowered team. He said empowered people:

Would proactively come in and say, "Hey, there is an organization problem. Let's talk about it for awhile." For example, they would say "I am the water person, but I want to get together with the capital project

management person because we need to talk about some issues." Or a person has a new idea, or is willing to criticize me, willing to come in and say, "In your interest, Dick, I think that if we did this, it would be better for you and better for the organization." That to me is the ultimate in empowerment!

Bowers felt that the members of an empowered team would be:

Willing to examine themselves, to criticize themselves. They would say, "We used to do this but it does not fit today." Holding a harsh light up to today's reality and seeing how they fit into it and willing to say, "not very well." Saying, "this no longer fits." To me, those are heroes. The key is having the courage to change.

Use of personal judgment. The majority of the people I spoke with believed that one of the important factors in empowerment is giving people decision-making authority in their areas of responsibility. I observed that in addition to the formal permission to make decisions, empowerment involves giving people the opportunity and freedom to use their own judgment in addressing issues. Empowered staff members experience having influence, adding value and making a difference when they are able to use their own thoughts, experience, creativity, and insights in service of the mission.

One of the general managers commented on the use of judgment and flexibility: "People who feel empowered and are comfortable with what they are doing, usually exude a certain sense of confidence about it. They do not hesitate to make the decisions versus somebody who is very uncertain. That person needs to do a lot of checking or plays it right out of the book without flexibility." Empowered staff members are not only willing to use their judgment, they demonstrate a high degree of flexibility in their decisions and actions. When people feel personally and organizationally powerful, they are

more likely to use judgment and flexibility in applying the rules. When people feel they have very little power, they are more likely to hold tightly to what they have and their decisions reflect this narrow scope. A department director added: "We want to build an organization where people exercise their judgment and use their God-given intelligence and not rely upon habit and past practice. [We want to] use all that as a guide, as something to temper our decisions, but not have total reliance upon that. [We want to] take a look at what is unique in the situation and remember our vision."

Sense of responsibility. Empowered individuals and collectives experience a deep sense of responsibility to their work and the mission of the organization. Patchett believed that the underlying theme in empowerment is accepting and demonstrating responsibility. He identified empowered staff members as those who assume full accountability for their work. With some of the managers I interviewed, there was a sense of dedication to a purpose even beyond the ones we spoke about.

Empowered staff members exhibit a sense of responsibility from the beginning of an effort to the end—from displaying initiative to follow-through. "Showing initiative" (a department head called this "seeing things and doing them without having to be told") and "going above and beyond" were two phrases the people in both cities frequently used to describe empowered behaviors. When people have a sense of efficacy, they feel capable and willing to take action.

I have avoided using the word ownership to describe this part of the experience of empowerment. On one hand, it does somewhat represent the experience I am trying to describe here. On the other hand, ownership has connotations of individual property rights—a personal responsibility to take care of what I own. What I am trying to capture here is not the feeling of

individual possession but more an inner feeling of commitment and dedication. A sense of responsibility and a sense of community--not ownership--moves people to challenge the status quo, go beyond adequacy and conventional thought, and take substantive action.

Organizational members who are empowered feel an overall sense of energy, initiative, latitude, and responsibility. They are willing to help shape the future rather than be shaped by it. They exude an essence of joy and hope, and a sense of caring. They are comfortable and confident in their ability to engage in critique and dialogue with peers as well as people in higher positions. They act as trustworthy team members--committed to full participation in accomplishing the group's mission. As empowerment affects organizational members in these ways, the work of the organization is affected as well.

Does Empowerment Affect the Outcome of the Group?

Whereas the prior question asked about the people's experience when acting in empowered ways, this question asked about the more tangible results of empowered actions. Some people with whom I spoke advocated for empowerment purely on the principle that it is an inherent human right and a critical part of leadership in the twenty-first century. The more traditional managers spoke of the measurable results as reasons for proceeding in this direction. Interviews and observations from the managers in Carlsbad and Scottsdale indicate that some of the outcomes of having empowered staff members include: innovation and change, completed staff work, and a strong service and quality orientation. My personal experience in the City of San Diego indicates that additional outcomes of empowered staff members include

more pressure on the system to respond quickly to issues raised and an initiative that goes outside the boundaries of what is thought to be acceptable.

Innovation and change. Interviewees spoke with great pride about the changes they had been shepherding. These wide-ranging changes included: a grand new library being built through the collaboration of employee, community, political, and building professionals; a shift in departmental philosophy and policy from a regulatory orientation to resource and support orientation; the implementation of a customer-oriented, one-stop planning and permit processing center; the completion of a beautiful downtown revitalization project; the commissioning of a community-wide visioning process to chart the future for local government services. In both cities, exciting changes were underway.

Completed staff work. "Completed staff work" is a phrase that I believe is common in governmental organizations. It typically connotes reports that are comprehensive, details that are nailed down, issues that are thoroughly explored, numbers that are accounted for, or a presentation that is professionally done. Patchett emphasized that one of the results of empowered staff members was completed staff work. He said: "So, be careful what you ask empowered people to do because they are going to do something with it. They will come back with more than you bargained for. I asked a manager a simple question and he gave me back a three page memo with a detailed answer. Be careful what you ask for--you may get it."

One general manager noted that an empowered person "takes an idea and comes through with a finished product. They say 'I will take responsibility' and then they do." Another general manager identified an empowered person "by the point to which they have carried a project or the quality of work that has gone into a project before they say it is done. On the

other hand, someone who does not take ownership does not understand the concept of completed staff work, or if they do understand it, they do not think they are the person responsible for completing it." The manager described a staff member who started by bringing in unfinished pieces and turning it over to him but who brought in the whole and completed project when she became empowered.

A strong service and quality orientation. The people in Carlsbad spoke of a prior city manager saying that he got things accomplished for the city-- buildings were built, streets were paved, developments were approved and so on. In that regard it was a successful administration, but the staff members did not feel a part of nor particularly proud of their accomplishments. They said that they didn't feel like the quality of the service was what it could have been. Things got done but at the expense of low internal morale and a low level of commitment to courteous service or doing the job right.

I asked the managers why they spent energy and time empowering people when the organization could get just as many streets paved, houses inspected, and meters read without it. Time after time they would answer "Because people get better service." A department head said: "It isn't just how many agenda bills get through council or how big the city grows, it is every single person-to-person contact with the citizens." There is a level and quality of service that corresponds to a sense of empowerment. One of the consultants gave an example of a department which had:

Suffered under the prior city manager's regime. He (the city manager) discounted and distrusted the people in the department. They had high turn over and a lot of pain. It is one of the beloved departments now. It makes me wonder as I think about the houses that citizens are sitting in that were built during that regime. Were those houses built as well as

they could have been? Were the public improvements as well thought out? I think it does make a difference.

A department head talked about the higher level of service the customers received from an empowered staff member:

I can tell when I observe people on the front line taking care of a particular issue. They will take it from A all the way to Z. Counter to that, if somebody is not feeling empowered and hooked into our mission, then they attend only to their segment of the widget. They do not take the next step to find out about another facet of service they are delivering. They stop at their boundaries and don't go over and ask for help or information. The customer suffers.

Every time something good happens in an organization, it does not necessarily mean that empowerment happened. Productivity happens under hierarchical and traditional management also. A general manager noted that many great things got accomplished under the prior management style but the difference is in service and quality. He put the difference into a story form.

Imagine that you are in Old England and you have a king--a beneficent dictator--that mandates certain things will happen, and therefore they happen and everybody lives and survives. It is not too terrible, right? Or imagine that you have a different kind of king later who is more democratic about the process. The same things happen and the same people are still there, but everybody is happier under the second king for no reason other than they had some say in the process. The first king had their best interests at heart. He was making sure that their health was taken care of and their animals were fed and the food was grown, but they were told to do their work without a choice. But the

second king asked: "What shall we do?" And the people said, "Let's take care of our health, and feed our animals, and grow the food. Isn't this wonderful?" Is there any difference in the output? Probably not. You probably would not see much from the outside. But if you deal with the people, their smiles are bigger. Our people are more willing to assist the public, more willing to go out on a limb, more willing to take on a project, more willing to work under King II. I think that is sort of what is happening here.

When organizational members are empowered, their output reflects it. They talk proudly of innovative accomplishments and pioneering efforts which are underway. Their work reflects their level of initiative and commitment; their results are thoughtful and thorough. It has been said that employees tend to treat their customers in the same manner as the organization treats them. A respectful and responsive delivery of services to the public represents the care and confidence people have as a result of feeling empowered. Empowerment affects the output of a group in ways that are highly beneficial to today's organizations. The indicators and outcomes of empowerment are portrayed in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Indicators/outcomes of empowerment.

What Would a Conceptual Model of Empowerment Look Like?

I have synthesized the participant's stories and responses to my questions, the consultants' views, and my own observations into a conceptual model. The model is an integrative diagram of the array of empowerment practices within two local governmental organizations. By using a model format, the systemic and interactive nature of empowerment can be displayed, as can its complexities. Contrary to current literature (Britton & Stallings, 1986; Byham, 1988; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Fisher, 1993; Neilsen, 1986; Jones & Bearley, 1988; Tracy, 1990), empowerment can not be reduced to a simple formula consisting of a few variables.

The systems perspective found in this model enables us to see empowerment as an interrelationship of multiple factors within a dynamic process rather than a linear cause and effect chain of events. This perspective allows for a holistic view of how empowerment is generated and inhibited; it encompasses history, the environment, institutional policies and practices, organizational culture, managerial style and attitude, personal

Figure 8. A conceptual model of empowerment.

qualities of the agents, and the nature of the interactions found within relationships that are formed. These elements are represented by the following aspects: (a) contextual, (b) organizational, (c) personal, (d) managerial, and (d) relationship. Figure 8 shows the relationships among these aspects.

In the complete version of the model, it may seem that practicing empowering management (the personal, organizational, and managerial aspects) and leadership (the relationship aspect) must happen simultaneously or not at all. This point of view results from "snap-shot" rather than "process" thinking (Senge, 1990). Empowering management and leadership only appear as either-or choices because we are thinking of what is possible at a fixed point in time. This dilemma appears in a whole new light once we see the processes of management and leadership as fluid over time.

In summary, this was an exploratory study. I hope the model presented will continue to emerge and develop over time as I engage in dialogue, reflection, practice, study, and more dialogue. This evolutionary process follows Glaser and Strauss' (1967) premise. They believed in: "theory as process; that is, theory as an ever developing entity, not as a perfected product" (p. 32).

Conclusions

Eisenhardt (1989) suggested that writing up the results of a qualitative study is as much a discovery process as it is a summary of what has already been discovered. I certainly experienced this phenomena. A few of my discoveries and conclusions are summarized here.

First, the essence of empowerment is both political and psychological in nature. Conger and Kanungo (1988) first wrote about two different ways that

empowerment could be viewed. Their distinctions were empowerment as a relational construct and as a motivational construct. Empowerment under the relational construct meant delegating authority. Under the motivational construct, empowerment meant motivating through enhancing personal efficacy. Conger and Kanungo concluded that increasing efficacy should be the focus of empowerment. I too have seen a duality in the meaning and practice of empowerment. The psychological component I have observed is similar to Conger and Kanungo's motivational construct, but the political component I noted far exceeds the scope of their relational construct. I believe that both components are important and that they are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they are mutually enhancing.

The psychological component of empowerment is an individual's own belief that he or she is a valuable, capable, and competent person. Families, friends, educators, spiritual leaders, coaches, scout leaders, therapists, and consultants--as well as managers and leaders--can contribute to a person's belief in his or herself. The psychological part of empowerment engenders feelings of self-efficacy, responsibility, purpose, power--feeling that one can and will take action and influence change.

It is easy to be seduced into thinking that the psychological component is all that is really needed to empower people. Helping individuals tap into that place of competence, uniqueness, personal power and joy within themselves is extremely rewarding. This is the belief system underlying Marilyn Ferguson's (1987) paradigm of societal and global change--one individual at a time. Although I feel personal and individual change is essential for societal and global change, I feel more strongly that collective change and change in the systems that we live in are at the core of where the shift must occur.

The political part of empowerment involves the inclusion of others in the tangible forms and forums of power. It means giving people, allowing people to have, structuring the system so that people do have a voice, a vote, a seat at the table. Being empowered in this manner means having input and influence in the system in a meaningful and on-going way. In a leadership relationship it means being an active participant who is engaged in shaping and accomplishing change. The political part of empowerment engages people in the process of visioning, committing to, mobilizing around and participating in the creation of fundamental change.

The political component of empowerment is more difficult to implement because people who have traditionally held power must release their stockpiles and disperse it. This involves a high level of trust either in the persons with whom the power is being shared or in the principles and process of sharing power. There is no fail-safe guarantee that the people with whom power is being shared will want to play by the rules already established. Truly including others in relationships of shared power may change the rules forever and send the system into uncharted territory.

It is possible to empower people psychologically without empowering them politically. Managers frequently help people grow and develop as individual professionals (and thereby feel more empowered) without actually sharing their organizational power with them. I believe that in Carlsbad the city manager has encouraged, challenged, developed, and supported the members of his management team so that many of them feel psychologically empowered. His intense focus on the vision and values of the organization has also contributed greatly to their sense of psychological empowerment. I believe that there is a greater degree of political empowerment happening

between the elected officials and the city manager than between the city manager and his staff members.

Having importance, involvement, and influence in the organization creates empowerment. If people have the opportunity to be included in the system in a meaningful way (political empowerment), they will more than likely develop a feeling of psychological empowerment. The reverse is not automatically true. If people have a sense of psychological empowerment, they may or may not be able to gain access and influence in the system. The political part of empowerment is the key.

A second conclusion I have reached is that there are different paradigms of empowerment operating in the practice of management and leadership. Another author proposed this differentiation as well. Burke (1986) wrote that "the empowering process must differ as a function of whether one is in a leadership or a management role. . . . Leaders empower via direction and inspiration and managers via action and participation" (p. 74). I agree wholeheartedly that there is a difference, I differ with Burke in the nature of that difference.

In the management paradigm of empowerment, the key interaction is giving power to people whether that be by giving people more decision-making authority, more permission to take risks, or more formal recognition and visibility. This means shifting a portion of the manager's power over to another person or persons. By permission of the manager, other people may assume greater responsibility and influence over their areas. There is a clear distribution of power and the manager and the staff members remain as separate and distinct entities each with a clear role. This power may also be retracted.

In the leadership paradigm of empowerment, the key interaction is sharing power with people. Leaders and followers are interwoven so that their power is flowing back and forth among all involved. Each person is contributing his/her positional and personal power to a common, higher purpose. The formal distribution of power becomes ambiguous rather than clear and distinct. There is a blurry line between the role of the leaders and followers and at times they switch roles. The power of the collective is increased as the mutual effort toward change unfolds.

The difference between power-to and power-with can be illustrated by the phrases that are used in the two different organizations I studied. In the City of Carlsbad, Patchett's favorite phrase is 100% responsibility--implying each person must assume full responsibility for their individual actions. In the City of Scottsdale, Bowers' favorite phrase is shared responsibility team--implying that each person must share the responsibility for the actions of the group.

How do these two paradigms--management and leadership--coexist within a single organization? Management sustains an organization over time. A good management environment provides fertile ground in which leadership relationships can emerge. Leadership emerges when, from time to time, substantive changes are called for. When a movement or an initiative for fundamental change which reflects a common yearning is awakened, the organization members can use the foundation of trust, communication, and influence they have already established and make a shift to a leadership-based relationship. When the changes have been realized or when the need or drive for the changes wanes, the leadership relationship will likely dissolve and move back into patterns of good management.

During his first off-site retreat as city manager, Bowers told his top management team his expectations of them as executives. He wanted them "to continually expand our capacity to create our future." Other expectations included: having the humility to challenge one's self and others to learn and grow, knowing and clearly stating our own value system, having the courage to stand up for principles and ethics, embracing change and being change agents, feeling personally responsible for the organization's success (he added, "we are a team of equals"), and being a model for others of the organization's values.

At that time in the group's development, the relationships were based on management assumptions. As the group was able to live these values, I believe a "leadership-ready" environment was created. As they looked together at the challenges the city faced, thought together about the opportunities that existed, and challenged each other to think beyond the status quo, I believe shared visions for change developed. At that point a process different from management had the opportunity to emerge.

My third conclusion is that trust and empowerment are parallel dynamics. Trust, similar to empowerment, is a process and a feeling. They are both a behavior we engage in and a feeling we have as a result of the behavior. The development of empowerment is parallel to the development of trust. As a precondition, a person must take a personal risk and extend a certain amount of trust to begin the relationship. The first leap of faith involved in trust and empowerment of others is at times based on a fundamental belief in the principle of shared power or the importance of the higher common purpose and a willingness to join with others to accomplish it. As a process, the initial trust and/or empowerment is either merited and mutually expanded or disappointed through on-going interactions. As a result,

a relationship based on the mutual give and take of trust and/or empowerment results in all parties feeling an increased sense of both.

Finally, most of our knowledge about leadership in organizations to date has been derived from the study of private sector entities. When I began this study I had an underlying assumption that the same models and theories that apply to private organizations or large public organizations also apply to local governmental agencies. So I want to conclude this section with a few thoughts on how empowerment is different in local governmental organizations than in private sector organizations.

A significant number of the people I spoke with likened the experience of working in a public agency to working in a fishbowl. Especially for local governmental organizations, the proximity of stakeholders—who have daily encounters with the services provided (streets, water, police, fire) and easy access to information about the organization—means that most of the work of the organization is a matter of public record. Most private companies do not have this same level of proximity, visibility, or accountability. As a result, many managers feel that there needs to be checks and balances in the organization to maintain the principles (and public image) of fairness and equity. For example, there are whole work units whose job it is to review contractual agreements to maintain a fair and equitable distribution of city business to all parts of the vendor community. This positive intention frequently leads to levels of bureaucracy that tend to stifle empowerment in governmental agencies in ways that do not affect private organizations.

Another difference between public and private organizations involves the nature of their purpose for existing. Most private companies are in business to create and cater to the needs and desires of their specific customers. Measures of their effectiveness include customer satisfaction and

bottom-line profits. Empowerment efforts can be focused internally in the organization. Local governmental organizations are challenged with balancing and serving the competing demands reflected in "the will of the people." Policies enacted and projects undertaken significantly affect the collective lives of citizens. This difference between public and private organizations affects the scope of empowerment efforts. Empowerment in local government organizations must be conceptualized to include the community. Municipalities must begin to involve citizens in meaningful and on-going ways so that visions for the future can be mutually shaped.

The theme running through the conclusions of this study is that good management practices are effective in creating empowerment which results in advantages for both the organizational members and the organization but they also maintain the underlying, traditional definitions and distribution of power. Leadership brings into being a profound level of empowerment for participants in the relationship. A different paradigm of power is operating. Positional power gives way to mutual influence and this shared power is used to shape visions and take action toward fundamental change.

Discussion

All research has inherent strengths and weaknesses based on both the research design used and the execution of the study by the researcher. Below is a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of this research as well as potential avenues for application and future research.

Strengths

The strengths of this study are that it represents a reciprocal relationship of inquiry, a dialogue; it displays the complexity of the phenomena being studied; and it holds truth value for the participants.

Represents a dialogue. Research should contribute to the dialogue between academicians and practitioners. This interplay nudges both theory and practice to higher levels. One of the major purposes of this study was to engage in the reciprocal relationship of practice informing theory and theory informing practice (Foster, 1986a). I believe that increased understanding is achieved through participation with and dialogue between the members of the organization and the researcher. The naturalistic inquiry methodology contributed to this reciprocity.

In the initial stages of entry I was able to quickly establish rapport by being knowledgeable about the nature of the organizational structure, mission, and culture. During the one-on-one interviews, this knowledge enabled me to ask deeper and more probing questions rather than simply asking exploratory interview questions. It seemed that as I demonstrated to the participants that I understood their world, they opened up to deeper, more complex levels of insight. Maccoby (1981) wrote that the dialogue process "is distinct from subject-object observation. Inquiry becomes a dialogue that raises the consciousness of the individuals studied by stimulating them to reflect on their experience and interpret it" (p. 62, emphasis in original). Prior to an interview, one of the participants said: "I told somebody this morning that the thing I'd be most interested in is what interview questions you would ask. It tells me what your observations have been and where your thinking is and then I can ask how I think about these things." In a follow-up interview, another participant said: "This gave me the opportunity to take an introspective look at leadership. Day-to-day we do not take the time to do this."

I also found that the research process itself was an empowering experience for myself and the participants. Mishler (1986) had proposed that

the interview process is empowering. He explained that participating in the research process facilitates people's efforts to make sense of what is happening to them and around them and "through their narratives people may be moved beyond the text to the possibilities of action. That is, to be empowered is not only to speak in one's own voice and to tell one's own story, but to apply the understanding arrived at to action in accord with one's own interests" (p. 119). Several of the study participants mentioned wanting to pursue something as a direct result of the interview conversation. Three participants intended to take action as a result of the presentation of my findings during the member check. In the end, the participants and I were co-researchers--we discovered together how empowerment is practiced in their organizations.

Displays complexity. Kotter (1990) suggested that at the surface level, the origins and processes of leadership are not obvious, therefore studies tend to make very simple attributions about leadership. In actuality, leadership is a very complex compilation of people and interactions. The same is true about empowerment. Leadership and empowerment are relationships and all relationships tend to be complex and dynamic. Initially, empowerment seems to be a fairly straightforward management practice. Upon fuller inspection, it is more complicated than that. A strength of this study is that it displays the multifarious nature of the practice of empowerment within an organization. It represents the complexity and is grounded in the data--the day-to-day practices of the managers and leaders in the City of Carlsbad and the City of Scottsdale.

The complex nature of empowerment that has emerged from the data of this study corroborates the systems perspective of organizations. There are multiple levels and leverage points for effecting empowerment. Each of the

aspects identified is unique in its contributions to empowerment and is linked to the other aspects. Actions in one aspect have ripple effects in the others. A strength of this study is that it attempts to encompass the whole of empowerment and not just individual parts of the pattern.

Holds truth value. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that one of the ways to establish the trustworthiness of a qualitative research study is to demonstrate its truth value. In order to demonstrate truth value "the naturalist must show that he or she has represented those multiple constructions adequately, that is, that the reconstructions that have been arrived at via the inquiry are credible to the constructors of the original multiple realities" (p. 296). When I had completed the analysis phase of this study and had crafted a draft model, I conducted member checks with the management teams in both cities. In Scottsdale, I also conducted one-on-one follow up interviews with the top team for their personal feedback on the model. I asked for corrections, challenge, and/or verification. Numerous participants asked questions for clarification and understanding. A few participants suggested changes that enhanced the model but mostly I received very positive feedback about how it "fit" with the participant's experiences. Comments ranged from: "It made great sense. It helps me understand what makes this organization tick." "It matched how this organization works." "It seems to fit what is happening today." "It had a sense of the familiar. I felt like 'yea, that is what we are doing'." I am confident that the model has credibility and truth value for the participants in the study.

Weaknesses

As with strengths, the weaknesses of a research study have to do with the methodology selected and the manner in which the researcher

operationalizes the methodology. The primary weaknesses of this study are a result of operational choices made in conducting the research.

Not longitudinal. The primary weakness in this study is that I was unable to observe these two organizations for a longer period of time. The participants were conscious of and articulate about managerial empowerment but not about how leadership fosters empowerment. My conclusions regarding empowering leadership were based on observational data. I am concerned that I did not spend a long enough time to fully understand how leadership and empowerment are mutually enhancing and are played out in organizational settings. A long-term, data-gathering phase would have also enabled me to see if the managerial beliefs and behaviors which foster empowerment weather the test of time, crises, challenges, and changes in administration. For example, watching how the philosophy and practices of empowerment fared after the acrimonious labor negotiations in Carlsbad would have contributed greatly to the completeness of this work.

A longer data-gathering phase would have also enabled me to interview and observe more levels of organizational members. I am concerned that the picture I got of the two organizations was what the managers wanted to do, thought they were doing, or knew they should be doing but were not necessarily doing. A longer study would have allowed time to talk with people in lower levels to validate that the managers were practicing what they preached and that it was actually having the intended effect. For example, I thought having lower level people come to the management retreat to build the larger team was an innovative and empowering practice. Greater clarity would have resulted if I had confirmed that the lower level people who attended the retreat indeed felt empowered as a result of their participation.

This weakness was a direct result of the modifications I made to the grounded theory methodology. I predetermined the time frame for gathering data and I limited the number of interviewees/informants with whom I talked. As a result, I have not produced the outcome which grounded theory methodology is intended to produce--an "elegant theory" with dimensions and properties and their intensity and duration specifically defined. This constitutes a major limitation to the model itself but not to the overall study.

Lack of diversity. Another weakness in the study stems from the fact that the top management teams in both organizations, and therefore the study participants, were predominately white men. Most of the men were between 30 and 50 years of age. The homogeneity represented in these top management teams has made it is easier for them to feel like a team, to trust, to empower, to be aligned than it would be for a diverse team. From my professional work at the City of San Diego, I know it takes new knowledge and skills and more time to build trust and a sense of team when the group is diverse. This study's key elements of "fit," "ownership," "shared values," and "trust" might have taken on different meanings or importance if the management teams represented gender and ethnic diversity.

Considering that I have drawn heavily upon feminist literature for some of my ideas about empowerment and the changing paradigm of leadership, it is rather ironic that I chose to study two organizations whose top management teams are predominately white men. The homogeneity represented in this study reflects the current situation for many smaller local governmental organizations, but it does not reflect the realities of larger cities or of the future. It is important to acknowledge the parameters of this study so other people may make adjustments as they contemplate or apply the findings. Merriam (1988) said of substantive theory: "These theories are restricted to

particular settings, groups, times, populations, or problems. This level of theory is closely related to real-life situations" (p. 57).

This effort represents preliminary work in mapping the territory. According to Merriam (1988), "A theory integrates pieces of information into a whole; it makes sense out of data; it summarizes what is known and offers a general explanation of the phenomenon under study" (p. 55). In that regard, this work can be considered a contribution to the field. However, much is left to be done. The next section suggests avenues for application and future study.

Recommendations

Bertrand Russell (1931) said: "The observer, when he seems to himself to be observing a stone, is really, if physics is to be believed, observing the effects of the stone upon himself" (p. 6). When I outlined the points in this section I thought I was being objective about what important points could be applied and what could be further explored that would legitimately move the field forward. Along the way I realized that these are all the things that had an effect on me and that I want to pursue further in practice and in future research.

For Practitioners

Engage in dialogue. If practitioners engage in dialogue about the findings and conclusions in this study, two positive benefits will result. First, the reciprocal relationship of theory informing practice and practice informing theory will be perpetuated. It is my deepest hope that practitioners will take these thoughts and test them against their experiences and perceptions--confirming things they have known all along and proposing new perspectives they have not yet considered. A conversation regarding the match or dissonance between the theory presented here and personal

experience within organizations will contribute to the development of knowledge and to the effectiveness of practitioner's work.

Second, engaging in reflection and dialogue will also help in developing new language that accurately reflects the experiences, dynamics, and relationships of empowerment and leadership that are necessary for the future. It is important to recognize that our current language is inadequate. We do not have a common language available in our culture to express experiences of shared power or multidirectional influence. Superior-subordinate, top-down, and decision-making authority each connote an individualistic, one way flow of information and influence. We need new words that describe the concepts of inclusion and influence in organizations. Dialogue between researchers and practitioners and among practitioners themselves can create new language for expressing our experience of trust, shared power, common purpose, mutual influence, and empowerment.

Develop action strategies. Strauss and Corbin (1990) indicated that "formulating theoretical interpretations of data grounded in reality provides a powerful means both for understanding the world 'out there' and for developing action strategies that will allow for some measure of control over it" (p. 9). Although this model was not designed as a diagnostic or prescriptive instrument, it could be useful as a guide for developing action strategies. For managers or management teams who are interested in assessing what they are doing or not doing, or who want to begin moving toward the empowerment of their organization, the findings of this study may be useful.

Generate management and leadership development. Many organizations have programs in place to develop their managers. These programs need to be teaching the concepts and skills that will be required of good managers in the future--participative and empowering managers. There

are many skill-based mechanics suggested in the findings of this study--communications systems, participative decision-making and delegation skills--which could increase the ability of managers to be empowering.

Most organizations do not have programs in place that develop leadership. Leadership requires a different set of assumptions and behaviors than management, therefore a different development experience is needed. Leadership development programs need to include learning activities designed to teach people how to participate in leadership relationships. The behaviors and beliefs described in the relationship aspect of the model in this study--common, higher purpose, mutual influence, respect and care, trust, shared power, responsibility, commitment, and action--provide some direction as to what type of learning activities a leadership development program might include. Mutual influence, for example, means knowing one's own wants and needs, framing issues in ways that clarify and communicate clearly, creating a sense of respect and inclusion which allows others to speak their needs and wants, using and being receptive to diverse forms of persuasion and influence, and synthesizing the best of what is put forth into a vision or direction that reflects the purpose of the group. Using the new paradigm of leadership and what is known about empowerment, practitioners need to design and offer experiences that help organizational members develop their abilities to participate in leadership relationships.

For Future Researchers

This study began exploring the complexities of empowerment. While it presents a starting point, I have just scratched the surface of what there is to be uncovered and discovered. Our understanding of empowerment can be expanded through several future research directions.

Focus on diversity. The model of empowerment presented in this study is a reflection seen through one set of cultural lenses. The participants in this study were mostly white men from higher levels of positional responsibility. That means that the managers doing the empowering behaviors and the teams that were being empowered were predominately white men. This homogeneity is not the reality for many organizations today and will definitely not be true for most organizations in the future. How will the processes of influence and arriving at common purpose be different when the participants in the relationship bring with them diverse backgrounds, values, and perspectives? Research is needed to learn more about how leadership and empowerment are enacted when the team and organization is made up of diverse members.

Leadership and empowerment are practiced by both genders and ethnicities at many levels in organizations. Typically however, people are deemed successful in organizations when they demonstrate individual ownership and responsibility for accomplishing a task. It is easy to view another leadership orientation as non-leadership when one judges it through a cultural lens. Women and people of color are not typically socialized to experience a sense of individualism, a single focus drive, or a notion of private ownership of ideas or projects. Another critical area for future research is in how women and people of color practice empowerment.

Many authors suggest that women's ways of relating are naturally empowering. Miller (1986) wrote: "Women value relationships a great deal . . . and also value the participation in other people's growth and grow a great deal from this participation and care about the person with whom they've participated" (p. 21). Rosener (1990) defines interactive leadership as a women's style of leadership. Her definition is similar to how I have described

empowerment. She said, as leaders, women "encourage participation, share power and information, enhance other people's self-worth, and get others excited about their work" (p. 120). More research must be conducted which captures the richness that a study of women's ways of empowering would illuminate. As the study of leadership shifts to a new paradigm, the values reflected in the voices and the beliefs inherent in the behaviors of women offers significant contributions to the development of the new paradigm.

Conduct longitudinal studies. This study captured a snapshot in time of two organizations. Since leadership and empowerment relationships unfold and evolve over time, research is needed which encompasses a long span of time. Longitudinal studies could provide information on the conditions, strategies, agents, challenges, accomplishments, consequences, and dissolution of these relationships.

Study how management and leadership coexist within organization. For their survival in the future, large governmental organizations must intend changes at the most fundamental of levels. Leadership must be able to emerge and operate within an on-going management environment. Do leadership and management operate simultaneously, in tandem, or are they mutually exclusive? Research that studies how leadership and management coexist within organizations would be very beneficial, especially for practitioners.

Include empowering the community. This study has focused on the empowerment of the internal organizational members of local government organizations. Carolyn Lukensmeyer said at an Organization Development Network national conference: "Empowered government needs, requires, empowered citizens. It is not enough to develop the employees and empower the staff. Internal organization development people tend to see these as two extremes and choose one or the other." She noted we need conceptual models

and new skills which see empowerment as one whole, integrated process. In the future, local governmental organizations will need to have a healthy link between citizens and the governmental process. We need to empower citizens to participate in the leadership relationships involved in governing.

Lukensmeyer said: "the essential task is linking government to the wider community. This must be the foundation for any meaningful change" (p. 82).

Lukensmeyer added: "In a democratic system, government must value process as well as outcome. That means a collegial, broadly inclusive process. People must really be heard" (p. 82). One of the general managers emphasized this point: "We have to find ways to sensitize our staff at all levels to the fact that we are a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. We have to find ways to listen and be more responsive to the community. We are beginning to focus on these things, to pave the way for an era when we have much more public involvement in the decisions that we make." Research is needed that would contribute to the knowledge of local government staff members for creating large group and community inclusion, dialogue, and change processes.

Concluding Remarks

There is a renewed sense of hope today as we watch a new president court a collaborative relationship with the American public, challenge the prevailing assumptions about the role of government, and call us all to higher common purposes and fundamental change. There are similar seeds of new thought and change within all our major institutions--local government, business, religion, and education. We are, however, at a significant choice point. We could move forward in bold new ways to create our future, or we could hold tightly to familiar paradigms and continue to bemoan our fate.

Nanus (1989) described this precipice: "There is nothing America needs more at this moment than a true renaissance of leadership at every level" (p. 199). But not just any form of leadership will ensure a positive future. Our historical conceptualizations of leadership are not what is needed. Our traditional views of leaders as special people who set the direction, make the key decisions, and energize the troops, Senge (1990) suggested: "Are deeply rooted in an individualistic world view. . . . At its heart, the traditional view of leadership is based on assumptions of people's powerlessness, lack of personal vision and inability to master the forces of change, deficits which can be remedied only by a few great leaders" (p. 340).

A new paradigm of leadership is required which is grounded in the next century, not in the past one. Unfortunately, as Rost (1991) cited, the crisis of leadership today is "that the leaders and followers—with rare exception—are still acting, choosing, and thinking on the basis of an industrialized leadership paradigm" (p. 101). The paradigm shift required was articulated by Blackmore (1989): "It is necessary to reconstruct a view of leadership which counters the emphasis on individualism, hierarchical relationships, bureaucratic rationality and abstract moral principles" (p. 94). A reconstructed view of leadership would include a relational world view based on inclusion, influence, and collective action. It would include a view of power which is multidimensional and multidirectional.

Empowerment—mobilizing people's beliefs, commitment, and ability to intend real changes—is a dynamic that is integral to this new paradigm. Empowerment prepares people for engaging in these new types of relationships, sets new assumptions and guidelines for participation by all members, and stimulates people's desire and ability to engage in further collective actions for change.

At the same time the future looks bright, it has also been said (Kotter, 1989) that leadership is becoming increasingly hard to practice. Bennis (1989) articulated the challenges of trying to lead people who have become disillusioned and highly distrustful of leadership. Empowering people so that they may actively participate in leadership relationships can go a long way toward mending this chasm. Trust, meaningful inclusion, and common purpose are at the core of empowerment and leadership.

Leadership is necessary in each of our institutions. Local governmental organizations are no exception. A general manager summed it up well: "I think that the city management profession needs to take a very strong leadership role. We need to be change agents. We need to promote change in the way we do our business and in the business that we do. We need to empower our organization so that we may embrace that change--that's why empowerment is so important."

Understanding more about the essential nature of leadership and empowerment continues to be an important piece in our ability to respond to the challenges we are facing in our collective lives. It is my hope that the stories of these two organizations will inspire others to examine the potential of empowering leadership for themselves. If we engage in these efforts in our institutions and communities, we can make significant progress toward creating a world we only now dream of. Our future depends on our continuing dialogue, discovery, and dedication to this mission.

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City of Carlsbad

Office of the City Manager

May 31, 1991

Danelle Scarborough
Organization Effectiveness Specialist
THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO
City-Wide Training Program
202 C Street, 8th Floor
San Diego, CA 92101

Dear Danelle:

This is to share with you the willingness of myself and the City of Carlsbad to participate in your Doctoral Research on Empowerment in Local Government. As a manager I find these questions particularly interesting and always challenging, and anything I can learn about this organization through outside reviews can only help us become yet a more effective, high performance organization.

As we discussed in our meeting and after having reviewed your May 3, 1991 memo, I still feel that in reviewing the questions of Empowerment and Leadership that it should be done on a common basis. As I understand it, you intend to work with a City Manager, Assistant City Manager, and Department Head in organizations that are very different sizes. In thinking about this subsequent to our meeting and after reviewing your memo, I have come to the conclusion that perhaps the concepts of empowerment and leadership apply regardless of position and structure. However, it seems to me that not comparing the same positions fails to recognize very important ingredients relative to Empowerment and Leadership.

First - Environment. As a City Manager, although you work for a City Council, you have a great deal of autonomy in determining the tone of an organization. As an Assistant City Manager, you still have a great deal of authority to empower and lead but within the constraints of the City Manager, to a great extent, and your assignment. As a Department Head, these concepts apply only as it relates to your department. As a result, the position being surveyed and its place in the structure seem to me to have an effect on one's true ability to fully empower and provide leadership. Recognizing that I don't understand your hypotheses completely, I view this in the context that whatever positions are being studied should probably be similar and the structures should be in alignment.

Danelle Scarborough
May 31, 1991
Page 2

Myself and this organization are constantly seeking feedback, particularly objective feedback, and we would very much appreciate whatever information you learn about this organization as well as any insights that we can find useful that you glean from the other organizations you are studying. Please let me know when you are ready to proceed and we will take the steps to make the necessary arrangements for your conduct your interviews and participate in a staff meeting.

Best of luck in your work, and I hope it results in significant insights that help all of us become better managers and leaders.

Sincerely,

RAY PATQHETT
City Manager

mhs

Office of the City Manager

September 9, 1991

Ms. Danelle Scarborough
3094 Olive Street
San Diego, CA 92104-5003

Dear Danelle:

This is to share with you the willingness of myself and the City of Scottsdale to participate in your doctoral research on Leadership and Empowerment in Local Government. I find these questions particularly interesting and always challenging. Anything we can learn about this organization through outside insights can only help us become yet a more effective, high performing organization.

I understand that the City of Scottsdale will be identified by name in your final document. As the primary leader of this organization I agree that it would be impossible for my thoughts about empowerment to remain confidential. Therefore I understand any of my quotes used will be identified by name also. Any other participant's contributions will remain anonymous.

I do expect that I, and other members of the organization who participate, will have the opportunity to review and amend transcriptions of our respective interviews so that it accurately reflects our point of view. I also expect that as quotes are used in the final document the interviewee will be asked for their approval before final publication.

As with any objective study, I realize there is always the possibility that information will surface that may be of a critical nature. I will rely on the professionalism of the researcher, in consultation with me, to present any such data in a way that it helps all of us become better managers and leaders.

Sincerely,

Richard A. Bowers
City Manager

3939 CIVIC CENTER BOULEVARD ■ SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA 85251 ■ PHONE (602) 994-2422

Appendix C

CONSENT FORM - CITY MANAGER

You are being asked by Danelle Scarborough, a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of San Diego, to participate in a study of leadership and empowerment in local governmental organizations. The following is an agreement for the protection of your rights in this research project.

1. The purpose of this study is to determine how empowerment operates as a dynamic of the leadership relationship. The intent is that a conceptual model of empowerment will be constructed from these data.
2. Data will be gathered through the use of interviews and observations. This interview will be audio taped with your permission. Your interview will be transcribed verbatim. Some time later you will be given a copy and asked to review and amend any statements so that they accurately reflect your point of view.
3. When quoting from your interviews in the final document, your comments will be attributed to you by name. You will have the opportunity to review and amend any quotes prior to publication.
4. Your participation is completely voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time without risk or penalty.
5. Please ask any questions you may have at any time during the study.
6. There is no agreement, written or verbal, beyond that which is expressed in this consent form.
7. Little risk, discomfort, or expense is expected as a result of participating in the study. A possible benefit from your participation is that it may clarify and enhance your understanding of leadership.

I, the undersigned, understand the above explanation and on that basis give consent to my voluntary participation in this research.

Signature of City Manager

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

Witness

Date

Location

Appendix D

CONSENT FORM - PARTICIPANT

You are being asked by Danelle Scarborough, a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of San Diego, to participate in a study of leadership and empowerment in local governmental organizations. The following is an agreement for the protection of your rights in this research project.

1. The purpose of this study is to determine how empowerment operates as a dynamic of the leadership relationship. The intent is that a conceptual model of empowerment will be constructed from these data.
2. Data will be gathered through the use of interviews and observations. This interview will be audio taped with your permission. Your interview will be transcribed verbatim. Some time later you will be given a copy and asked to review and amend any statements so that they accurately reflect your point of view.
3. If any quotes from your interview are used in the final document, your comments will be anonymous. You will have the opportunity to review and amend any quotes used prior to publication.
4. Your participation is completely voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time without risk or penalty.
5. Please ask any questions you may have at any time during the study.
6. There is no agreement, written or verbal, beyond that which is expressed in this consent form.
7. Little risk, discomfort, or expense is expected as a result of participating in the study. A possible benefit from your participation is that it may clarify and enhance your understanding of leadership.

I, the undersigned, understand the above explanation and on that basis give consent to my voluntary participation in this research.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

Witness

Date

Location

Appendix E

THEMATIC INTERVIEW GUIDE

- * What does leadership mean to you?
- * What does empowerment mean to you?
- * Do you think leadership and empowerment are related? If yes, how?
- * How do these definitions differ from really good, participative management?
- * Do you see empowerment as something a leader does to an individual or a group, or as something a person must choose for themselves?
- * Do you see yourself empowering your organization?
- * What are some of the ways in which you empower your people? Any specific examples?
- * What would you say are the blocks, challenges, and/or inhibitors to empowerment?
- * What are the contextual factors that must be in place in order to be able to empower people?
- * What indicators do you use to detect when an individual or group is empowered?
- * Do you experience any dilemmas inherent in empowering people?
- * Are there any downsides or negative effects of empowering people?
- * Does a person or a group that is seen as empowered work any differently than one that is not?
- * Does a sense of empowerment have any effect on the experience of the individual or the group?
- * Do you see any differences in a public versus a private organization's ability to empower its people?
- * Are there any other insights about empowerment and/or leadership that you would like to share?

Appendix F

Discussion of Conceptual Model: Leadership and Empowerment in Local Government Organizations

AGENDA

- * Introductions and Overview of the Work Session
- * Purpose of the Study
 - the call for leadership
 - understanding the nature of empowerment
 - studying local government organizations
- * Definitions
 - Power
 - Participative Management
 - Empowerment
 - Leadership
- * Methodology of the Study
 - a qualitative study using grounded theory methodology
 - interviews and participant observation
 - coding, categorizing, and diagramming
 - conceptual model
 - dialogue
- * Conceptual Model of Empowerment
 - the pieces
 - the interview data that supports the model
- ** Input and Discussion
 - see the attached questions
- * Next Steps and Close
 - meeting one-on-one to follow-up on your input
 - writing chapters, defending, and graduating
 - applying the knowledge

6. Can you think of any additional dilemmas or indicators of empowerment not included in the model?

7. Do you have any other thoughts or comments on the model?

8. Has anything become clearer to you about empowerment or leadership?

Thank you very much for assisting me with this study. I appreciate you sharing your experience and insights with me.

Danelle Scarborough