Foundations and Resources of Integral Leadership

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LiFT | Leadership for Transition

Contents:

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LiFT Foundations & Resources Book – Chapter 1

An overview of leadership theory, research and practice

Why and how have leadership concepts and ideals changed and do still change over time? And what are the driving factors behind these changes? This chapter introduces important developments in the areas of leadership theory, practice and research to provide some context that I think is helpful for understanding how the concept of integral leadership has emerged. I do not claim to offer a comprehensive account of the leadership field here. Instead, the focus is on pointing out **major trends in theory, research and practice** in a rather condensed manner, as well as discuss some of their contributions and shortcomings. I thereby wish to propose a **meta-perspective onto the field of leadership** which helps to frame what will be spelled out later in more detail as „integral leadership". This will illustrate how the latter can be seen as an attempt to transcend the limitations of each of the previous approaches while at the same time including their best experiences and achievements.

In a nutshell, this chapter will show how leadership theory and practice have started with rather simple, linear models and approaches, and how they have gradually developed towards taking more and more context and complexity into account while explaining and doing leadership. This trend is parallelled by similar developments in how leaders have understood, built and shaped their respective organizations in Europe's cultural, social and economic history, be it businesses, social associations, the family or the state. The chapter will offer an interpretation of these developments, drawing on the integral model and lens adopted here.

The chapter will also point out how more recent trends in leadership theory and practice bring to the focus important elements that integral leadership builds up on, such as context sensitivity (drawing on the situational leadership model), process orientation (as in the Center for Creative Leadership's DAC model), relations and interrelations (as in leader member exchange, so-called LMX theory), practices, distributed/shared/collective approaches to leadership, concepts of emergence and embodiment and other ideas.

On this basis, I hope the meta-perspective presented here will show in what sense integral leadership can claim to offer „next stage" leadership concepts and practices which go beyond what has been done before in several ways.

General introduction

So how have perspectives on leadership changed over time, and why do they continue to change? When trying to answer these questions, we also have to consider the **wider social context**, includig socio-economic, political, technological and cultural changes in the respective organizational environment, as well as in the larger society. Besides being interrelated between themselves in multiple ways, all of these factors are also subject to – and giving rise to – changes in the cognitive development of leaders, followers, societies and leadership researchers themselves. Cognitive capacities, cultural habits and systemic, contextual constraints all influence how groups of people organize themselves and **which conceptions and practices of leadership are considered as „good"**, desirable, adequate and/or effective in specific contexts.

In many cases, leadership takes place in larger organizational settings which, in turn, are embedded in socio-cultural contexts, interorganizational networks and international constellations, and these are part of political, legal, macro economic and technological environments. Good Leadership is about somehow taking all of these into account, either consciously or intuitively (see chapter 5 and Eigel & Kuhnert, 2016) while at the same time being subject to them.

As the world has changed, so have conceptions and practices of leadership. Moreover, since the beginnings of leadership research, all the factors mentioned here have been subject to significant transformations as a result of **cultural and political modernization, sectoral differentiation, technological innovation and cognitive developments**. The following chapter will highlight a number of core elements of these multi-level developments, focusing on their implications for leadership ideals, models and practices.

Without being able to present a detailed account of the complex societal macro processes that have played a role informing the emergence of leadership studies, we have to go back a bit further in history than the first systematic attempts to study leadership which started in the beginning of the 20th century. In order to understand important patterns and developments of leadership thinking and behavior that are still relevant today, I propose to distinguish **three essential phases** of change and development, which have been called „**traditional**", „**modern**" **and** „**post-modern**" **structures** in Ronald Inglehart's influential studies on value change (Inglehart 1970 und 1989). Each of these phases, as well as the transitions between them brought about substantial changes in the culturally dominant models and modes of social interrelation and organization, including the ways of building and leading (in) organizations and beyond. The Spiral Dynamics model which is increasingly popular in leadership contexts, proposes a similar view of how „value memes" have changed and how leadership evolves with them. it is based on the groundbreaking, yet less well-known research by Clare Graves (1974, see also Todorova, 2005).

In this perspective, the single most important macro development that has shaped leadership practices in the western world since the beginnings of industrialization is the **process of modernization** in all its manifestations. It includes scientific and technological innovations, changes in the existing economic and social systems from a mercantilist market orientation towards elements of social welfare states, as well as growing social differentiation, which, in turn, also promoted political democratization and cultural individualization. In result of technological modernization and economic growth, living conditions of large parts of the populations in western countries improved considerably as compared to the pre-industrial era. This also included considerable progress in education and opened up opportunities for social mobility. Technological developments have continuously improved communication and information infrastructures, leading to a constant acceleration, interrelation and competitiveness of social, political and economic activity. This was paralleled by important changes in values and cultural practices, which had considerable impact not only on questions of life style and political preferences, but also on leadership ideals and practices.

The following sections provide selective overviews of important features, ideas and practices in each of the **three macro phases (traditional, modern and post-modern)**. These will be sketched here **as ideal types** (after Max Weber), highlighting the structures and patterns that appear characteristic in each of them. At the same time, note that from an integral perspective (see chapter 3), traditional, modern and post-modern values, practices and structures can to some degree also co-exist. They can overlap in specific organizations or leadership contexts, even though their distinct patterns, „as archetypes", have historically emerged in a genetic way, one after the other. Given that (post) modern societies are always made up of very diverse groups, segments, subcultures, milieus etc., each with their own particular values, practices and action logics (Chilton 1988 Ross/Commons 2008), all three

ideal types of leadership thinking and practice remain equally relevant. This is why integral leadership needs to be aware of and work with all of them simultaneously.

1.1 Leadership inspired by traditional values and worldviews and its typical patterns of interaction and organization

Traditional models of leadership are still relevant in many organizations today, for instance in small and medium enterprises, especially in family businesses where ownership and leadership are the same. In those contexts, they appear completely functional. They are also increasingly relevant in global politics again, it appears, where leaders like Vladimir Putin, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Donald Trump and others enjoy considerable public support. Yet, the origins of traditional leadership go back way **before the 20th century**, whereas theories and research about them didn't really begin until the 20th century. The following sub-chapter first looks at the genesis of traditional modes of power and leadership. it then describes their essence and what they look like in practice, and finally presents a couple of examples.

Historical background

Historically, traditional forms of leadership have developed long ago, dating back to the European middle ages and beyond. They can also be found in present times, namely in all traditionally organized societies, as well as in contexts within modern and post-modern societies that share traditional values. The most famous characterization of the traditional power and leadership model has been developed by German sociologist **Max Weber** (1864-1920). Weber has distinguished traditional (patrimonial) from legal (bureaucratic) power. He has described both of them as ideal types along with their tpyical modes of functioning and the principles they hold for legitimizing power and generating leadership.

In a nutshell, traditional societies and forms of organization as described by Weber are **premodern structures** with a lower degree of cognitive and institutional differentiation as compared to modern structures. A typical feature of traditional structures in the Weberian sense is their lack of abstract categories and institutions. Also, public and private spheres are not (yet) clearly differentiated in traditional societies, and social life is less organized (in a modern sense). While medieval Europe did have social organizations such as guilds and crafts, those were not characterized by modern, abstract principles of organization. Rather, they were multifunctional social monopolies governing both the social and moral lives of their members in a somewhat totalitarian way. For instance, the medieval guilds had detailed and mostly very strict clothing rules, manners, symbols and rituals. It was practically impossible to change from one guild to another, since membership was tied not to abstract, but to personal and social criteria, thus being obtained at birth for a lifetime (see Deeg/Weibler 2008, p. 28f.).

In traditional contexts, **power and rule** therefore are and have been **concrete and personalized**. In other words, they are determined by the person and personality of the ruler or leader and lack the rational mechanisms of later, modern and bureaucratic structures. This is why traditional forms of exercising power and leadership are not defined by general norms or rules independent of the person of the leader. Nor are public and private roles of power holders clearly distinguished. The fact that traditional societies (as well as traditional contexts within modern societies) are strongly characterized by patronage, clientelism and other systems of personal (inter) dependance is often explained as a compensation for the **lack of efficient abstract institutions** (Engels 2010). Phenomena such as nepotism (favoring relatives when distributing offices and positions) and the exchange of gifts – which

are considered as „corruption" or „ bribes" in modern societies – are normal and perfectly legitimate means of doing politics and business in traditional contexts. This is also because there is no critical public able to question these practices. So what does traditional leadership look like in practice?

Traditional leadership in practice – past and present

As we have seen, „organizations" in traditional societies are no rational entities in the modern sense, but rather premodern social structures which have historically emerged in an organic way and which have not been subject of conscious reflection and active interventions or design by their members. In **traditional, „organizationless societies"** (Deeg/Weibler 2008, p. 27), problem solving happens through direct, spontaneous coordination or independent (often arbitrary) action of those individuals who were traditionally entitled to do so. Both leadership and the organizations within which leadership takes place are therefore justified traditionally in this perspective, namely by appeals to tradition, custom and/or good/old habits, sometimes also by pointing at certain personal qualities/traits of the leader.

Autocratic and asymmetrical hierarchies of power and influence are therefore typical traditional patterns of leadership. These hierarchies are led in more or less authoritative and repressive ways by elites who distribute leadership and power positions between themselves without the consent or participation of the subordinates. All decision-making power and competence is concentrated at the top, whereas the executive levels are mostly subjected to a more or less strict monitoring and control. Subordinates are expected to be obedient and to conform to what their superiors dictate. This practice is perceived as the natural and necessary order of things, corresponding to habitual roles in traditional social contexts. Historically, these have often also been legitimized based on religious values. Traditional leadership is thus exercised either in a patriarchal (patronizing) or patrimonial way (based on a mutual relationship of protection versus loyalty between leaders and superiors). In this perspective, leadership is not an object of critical reflection, which is why this conception is widely considered as outdated today. In fact, this model of leadership is not a conceptual model in a more theoretical sense (see section below). Learning rather happens through concrete experience, *by doing*, here.

At the same time, we can still observe traditional leadership practices in many contexts today. This has to do with both the developmental maturity of the socio-cultural and organizational context in which leadership happens, and with the developmental maturity of the leader him-/herself. Since leadership maturity ultimately is a function of personal growth and development, it is likely that **there will always be „traditional" leaders**, even if the culturally dominant standards and expectations have changed as a result of modern and post-modern values gaining support on a global basis. Therefore, integral leadership needs a solid understanding of traditional leadership values and practices as well.

Examples

Leadership styles that can best be described as *traditional* from today's perspective are **heroic, paternalistic and charismatic leadership**. At the same time, it has to be noted that these labels – as academic descriptions of certain patterns of leadership thinking and behavior – have only been shaped

later, in hindsight, with the beginning of leadership research at a time when the culturally dominant leadership styles started to develop beyond traditional patterns.

Among the three styles mentioned here, the paternalistic leadership style corresponds especially clearly to the traditional ideal type, whereas heroic and charismatic qualities can also be looked at in a more differentiated way from an integral perspective. This is because they are context dependent ascriptions which can change their content in post-traditional contexts (see below). The main focus will therefore be on paternalistic leadership here.

Note that the cognitive process of assembling certain characteristics and defining them to be „a leadership style" is in itself a reflective activity – which traditional leadership itself is *not*. This labelling process is thus not part of the self-understanding of traditional leadership. The latter should rather be seen as a *practical* activity, while a reflective academic understanding of it was absent at the time and is equally absent in today's traditional leaders (Deeg/Weibler, 2008, p. 32, Kocka, 1999, p. 145). Moreover, when leadership studies emerged in the beginning of the 20th century, „the notion that individual human beings can and do make a difference in the course of history" (Cliften & Harter, 2003. p. 4) and that the study of such individuals is a valuable contribution to leadership research, played an important role. In fact, when the so-called „**trait theories**" of leadership emerged as some of the first systematic attempts to study leadership then, the heroic model or **„Great Man" theory of leadership** was paramount. So let's start with this concept here.

Heroic leadership

Trait theory „posited that by identifying the innate qualities and characteristics possessed by great social, political, and military leaders, one could find appropriate kinds of people to hold the reigns of power". (Reams, 2014, Northouse, 2001) According to Crevani/Lindgren/Packendorff (2007), heroic leadership is defined mainly by **inflating the personal traits and characteristics of the leader** and present him (very rarely *her*) as very masculin. These traits and characteristics can be summarized as follows:

Heroic Leadership

- Individuals are the focus of leadership behavior
- One single leader
- All wisdom is concentrated with the leader
- Focus on leaders who make themselves visible and/or hold visible power positions
- Leadership is characterized by individualism, control, assertiveness and dominance
- The dominant logic and notion of efficiency is *doing* and *making things happen*
- Masculine behavior
- The leader keeps up his or her appearance
- Subordinates are seen as minors and interchangeable
- Vulnerability of the organisation in case of loss of leader
- Static role models

Sometimes, heroic leaders are also defined in opposition to post-modern or „post-heroic" traits which are described by Crevani/Lindgren/Packendorff (2007) as more participatory and relational, and qualified as more feminin. However, from an integral perspective, one might question whether these are in fact gender specific or rather developmentally specific.

Paternalistic leadership

Paternalistic leadership is related to **Max Weber's ideal type of patrimonial power** which he also describes as patriarchal (Weber, 1956). Weber holds this to be a component of traditional power, since the latter has its origin in the paternal household and is based on values such as loyalty towards the leader/father, authority, discipline and unconditional obedience in return for fatherly benevolence and protection (Weibler, 2012, p. 546; Weber, 1968). Pellegrini/Scandura (2008) characterize the paternalistic leadership style as follows:

Paternalistic leadership: A good leader

- is interested in all aspects of the life of his/her subordinates
- creates a familial atmosphere at work
- asks for his/her subordinates' opinion in technical matters
- is like an older family member (father/mother, older brother/sister) to his/her subordinates
- gives advice to his/her subordinates in various matters, including personal questions as if he/she was an older family member
- takes decisions on behalf of his/her subordinates without asking their permission in advance
- knows every subordinate personally (including their personal problems, family life etc.)
- shows emotions towards his/her subordinates like joy, sadness or anger
- shows up at personal occasions, for example weddings, funerals etc. of his/her subordinates
- tries his/her best to support his/her subordinates even beyond professional matters (for example with schooling of kids, building homes etc.)
- expects loyalty and professional commitment
- gives his/her subordinates the opportunity to improve when they have performed badly
- is convinced to know best what is good for his/her subordinates

Inspired by Pellegrini/Scandura (2008)

An early academic discussion of paternalistic leadership as a leadership style can be found in **Wunderer's typology of leadership styles** (Wunderer 2009, p. 210). Wunderer calls it a „benevolent" and „ authoritrian" leadership behavior of a patriarch or matriarch who cares about his or her subordinates more than a mere autocrat would do, but treats them like children, in other words like minors who cannot decide for themselves (Wunderer 2007, p. 170). Different from the more individualistic *heroic leadership*, paternalistic leadership is thus characerized by a strong social relationship between leaders and subordinates, as well as by a commitment of the leader to protect and support his/her subordinates. The leader-subordinate relationship in paternalistic leadership can be specified along the dimensions of authoritarianism, moral discipline and benevolence:
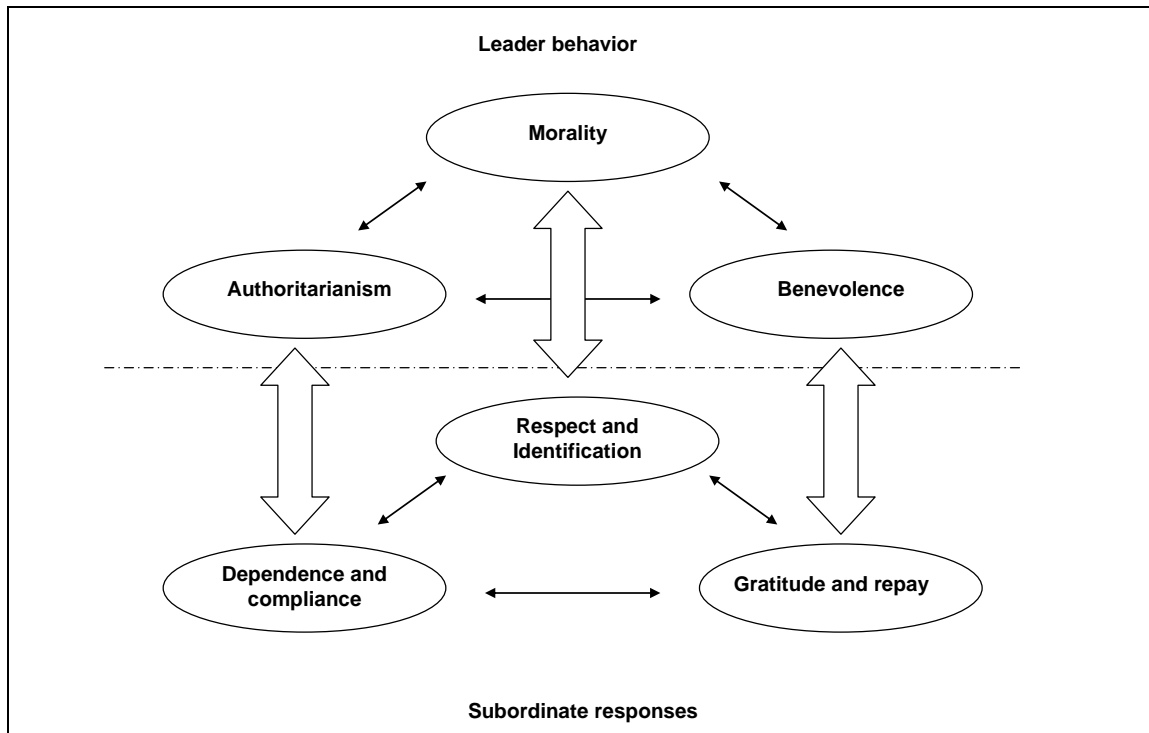
Taken from Farh & Cheng (2000)

An **example** of a high ranking business leader who represented this leadership style quite perfectly was German steel magnate and industrialist **Carl Freiherr von Stumm-Halberg** (1836-1901). He was engaged in social and political matters and contributed to the creation of the economic and social policy in Imperial Germany. As a representative of the auhoritarian state (Obrigkeitsstaat), he viewed improvements in the social condition of his workers primarily as a means to achieve social peace and better productivity. In return for social security benefits which he gave to his workers at his own discretion, he expected absolute obedience and strict, quasi-military discipline. In the „Stumm system", there was **no intermediate level** between himself and the workers. Rather, he considered a „personal working contract" as the precondition of discipline. The latter also included a system of spies informing him about political activities of his workers (Winterhoff-Spurk 2002, p. 160). The following quote highlights the combination of rigid social control and benevolence in paternalistic leadership:

C. F. Stumm: Address to his Employees

„If a manufacturing enterprise is to flourish, it mus be organized in a military, not parliamentary way. Just as the military class is comprised of all members of the army, the members of the in Neunkirch Works stand united as one man when it comes to battling competition as well as the dark forces of revolution. ... Once the worker has toppled the employer's authority, ... authority in other areas, in state and church, will quickly follow course.

Discipline is a necessary precondition. ... A worker who shows a sloppy moral conduct outside of his factory, won't be productive inside either. ... He who does not meet my demands in that matter will first be cautioned and then, if to no avail, be dismissed. ... Any master and worker shall conduct themselves outside of work in a way that gives honor to the company of Stumm Brothers. They ought to realize that their employer keeps an eye on their private lives at all times. ... With respect to the ban on marriages, I have [. . .] noticed that my work regulations give just as little mention to a ban on

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marriage as to one on litigation and complaints. The only requirement is: The employee shall give notice of his or her intentions, so that I am in a position – when I deem it necessary – to avert unnecessary complaints or prevent foolish marriages. ... The necessary correlate to such regulations is also obvious: If employees have entered a marriage and are unable to feed their children through no fault of their own, then I feel responsible on my part to support them – in other words, to draw the necessary conclusions from my system and say: If you meet my requirements and follow my advice, I will, accordingly, stand by you.

For my part, I would not continue as your leader for one more moment if I were forced to trade my personal relationship with each one of you for negotiations with a workers' organization under external leadership. [. . .] Such a relationship, like that to a foreign power, would be unthinkable, simply on account of my sense of moral duty and Christian convictions."

Compiled from speeches given by Stumm to his workers (1889-1895) and published in Hellweg (1936)*, pp. 289ff., online. Partly my translation*.

Today, paternalistic leadership is particularly successful in contexts where subordinates or followers of the respective leader share his/her authoritarian or paternalistic values. As a matter of fact, leadership can only be successful in gaining long-term support if it resonates with the culturally dominant values and practices of the respective followers.
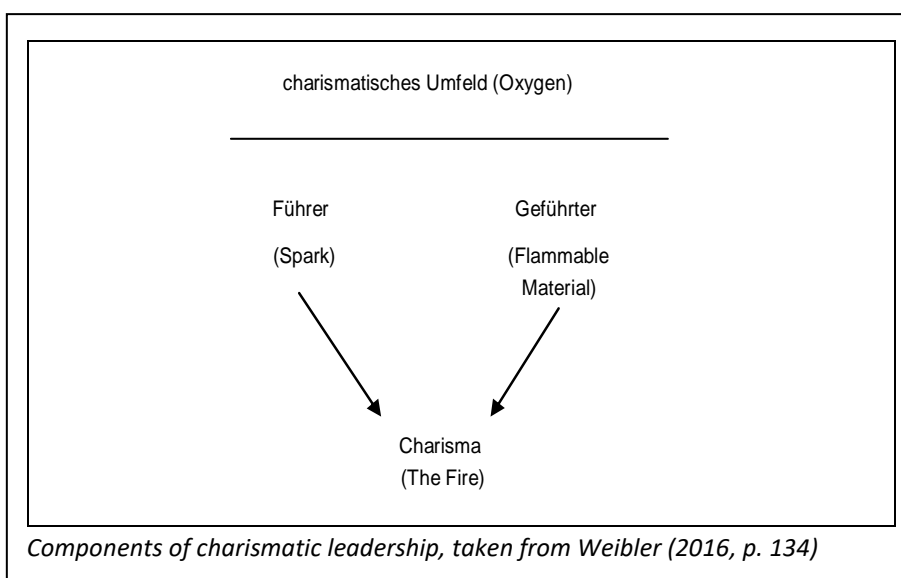
Charismatic leadership

Finally, charismatic leadership can also be counted among traditional leadership styles. Even though Max Weber has identified **charismatic power as a distinct type besides traditonal and legal power**, it has a number of commonalities with the above forms of traditional power and rule (heroic and paternalistic), namely the importance of the personality of the leader. Theories of charismatic leadership (House 1977; Conger/Kanungo 1988a; Conger 2011; Bryman 1992; Steyrer 1999) discuss which factors contribute to what followers perceive as a charismatic „aura" of a particular person. Max Weber (2015, 59-72) has defined „**charisma**" as:

„resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him".

Charismatic leadership is thus legitimized by **affective devotion to the leader**. In result of the charismatic leader's almost „magnetic" attraction on his/her

Components of charismatic leadership, taken from Weibler (2016, p. 134)

followers, s/he can sometimes cause their unconditional loyalty. The workings of charismatic leadership is often illustrated by the metaphor of fire, spark, flammable material and oxygen.

Even though the „exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character" mentioned by Weber are not bound to specific traditions, they have a similar impact on the followers as traditions do. In that sense, the relation between both is paramount again. For according to Weber, it doesn't matter how the respective personal qualities could be evaluated from an objective perspective; only the evaluation of the followers matters. Hence, this theory is about personality traits and their impact on the leadership relation (Willner, 1984).

Note that the **perception of charisma**, just as that of heroism is not static, universal or objective, but context dependent. It refers to qualities which are **subject to historical change and culturally specific values**. What is considered as charismatic in one context might be accepted as normal or even not be accepted at all in others. An integral perspective on leadership therefore has to differentiate and study how heroism and charisma are defined in the context in focus, depending on the culturally dominant degrees of complexity in meaning making (see chapter 5).

Differences in the structural complexity of meaning making exist, for instance, between Weber's ideal types of traditional (patrimonial) and legal (bureaucratic) power. Weber himself defines the latter as a consequence of the **differentiation of public and private spheres** that came about with the process of modernization. What has been inexistant in the traditional ideal type thus becomes the basis and precondition of the more complex ideal type of legal (bureaucratic) power and rule and its corresponding leadership patterns. While Weber has described and analyzed both ideal types, he unfortunately did not provide a similarly thorough description of empirical transitions between them (Volkov, 2000, Fein, 2012).

1.2 From traditional to modern values and worldviews – how have they changed and inspired leadership concepts and behaviors?

Considering that traditional perceptions and patterns of leadership are still relevant today, this is even more so for modern and modernistic ones, which have shaped western culture and lifestyles to a great degree.

Historical background

Historically, the transformation from traditional towards modern values and worldviews did not happen as a linear, consistent or ideal typical process. However, it has generally been driven by the **ideas and ideals of enlightenment and scientific rationality** which increasingly competed with religious rationalities. Weber called this socio-cultural transformation the „disenchantment of the world" (in: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 2013 [1905]; 1920; see also Kieser & Ebers, 2006, p. 67ff.). Also, ideas like political equality and participation, as well as social, political, scientific and technical progress gained increasing influence. These values incrementally replaced former, traditionally passed on certitudes about the good life and the „right" social order, as industrialization, cultural secularization and socio-political modernization progressed in most European countries. When politics, economics, law, science and religion began to differentiate as distinct social spheres, following separate logics, both traditional values, power hierarchies and logics for legitimizing them lost their influence. Instead, they were replaced by the enlightened belief that man himself was the master of the universe, called to design the social and political world according to his will, based on rational efforts and the use of his intelligence. I will now look at what these developments looked like in some more detail before analyzing what they implied for leadership ideals and practices.

Sociology and socio-economic history have extensively described the structural changes which occurred in all areas of life in result of the **process of modernization**. As indicated above, an important dimension of this change was that of consciousness, cognition and culture. These can be seen as both subject and object of developments in the socio-economic and political systems and their institutions. In this regard, Max Weber's analysis is again of high value. Modernity was the era in which science itself became the driver of social change. This is true primarily for the technical sciences, which brought about new inventions facilitating everyday life with ever greater speed since the beginning of the modern age. This, in turn, gave rise to continuous increases in welfare and living standards of growing portions of the population. At the same time, modernity is also characterized by a general **„scientification" of social and cultural life**, at the core of which was the process of **rationalization**. This includes cognitive differentiation and growing reflexivity as compared to – and in relation to traditional values.

Weber observed processes of rationalization in three areas: worldviews, life practices and institutions. With regard to worldviews and belief systems, he observed several phases of change. First, magical elements were replaced by religious ones. Then, concrete religious views gave way to more abstract ones, and finally, religious ethics lost its binding character alltogether (Kieser, 1999, p. 42). In result, concrete, non-reflexive traditional values and action logics were increasingly displaced by reflexive, modern ones. These transformations have also been studied in some detail by **Jean Gebser** who was one of the first to review the history of values, related cultural practices and social arrangements from a developmental perspective and has used the term „integral" for the most recent developmental trends, starting in the 20th century (Gebser et al., 1985).

The **reformation and the protestant ethic** developed by Luther and Calvin were important milestones in this process of value change. Based on asthetic ideals (especially in Calvinism), the protestant ethic considered professional work as the only way of life that was agreeable to God (Kieser, 1999, p. 44). Different from catholicism's focus on the kingdom come, protestant believers had to prove themselves in this world, which essentially meant they had to do their professional duty. The religious ideal of self-completion thus helped to generate a belief in progress that was focusing on worldly actions, especially in the Calvinist interpretation. From the relation to God and the ethically corrupt and irrational world followed the absolute and infinite task of **working towards an ethical and rational improvement of this world**: the rational dispassion of „**progress**". In this context, rationally taking possession of nature, society and econmy, as well as ruling, dominating, and controling them turned into some kind of religious vocation.

As indicated, this rationalization process went on even further though, finally subjecting religious patterns of legitimization to critical reflection themselves. Eventually, the **sphere of the economy** began to dissolve away from the context of religious embeddedness and theological justifications and established itself as an independent arena of life, not subjected to God's, but rather to man's will. It gave rise to specific institutions and action logics. **Rationalizing life practices** implied that individuals increasingly started to design their life methodologically and consistently, according to self chosen values and principles. The **rational, reflecting individual** (*cogito ergo sum*) thus turns into its own authority for justifying daily decisions.

As a consequence of **power starting to require secular legitimizations**, man started to design and organize social life himself – from private businesses to public affairs. Laws and social rules came to be defined by structures and institutions that had been created specifically for that purpose, mostly by the state. State administrations have emerged since the beginning of the absolutistic central state in France. At that time, collecting taxes was their only objective though. During the 19th century, the range of tasks of state administrations broadened, and so did their number. So **institutional rationalization**, based on fundamental changes of the notion of power, rule and leadership, was the third dimension (besides religion and social practices) in which modernization took shape.

Institutional rationalization can be traced back to the Middle Ages where **monasteries** existed as the first rationally organized and administered social „islands" in the midst of a traditional world (Weber 1976, p. 696). Their rules contained precises standards as to social relations and the work schedules of their members. The internal distribution of power and competences was equally defined by monastic constitutions (Deeg/Weibler, 2008, p. 27). Monasteries and spiritual orders also functioned as the hosts of theological faculties out of which later emerged the first **universities**, a second pillar of institutional rationalization (besides state administration, the **origin of modern bureaucracies**, Stichweh, 2005, p. 32). Both monasteries and universities were organized as corporations according to new, **rational principles**, namely those of purpose rationality and efficiency, and designed their structures accordingly. Other important principles included formalization, division of labour, scientification and thus, greater predictability, which eventually replaced former traditional ideals like honor, status and birth/ancestry. These corporations can therefore be seen as the antecedents of today's professional organizations.

However, both state and church corporations had to stand their ground in their respective traditional environments first. As a matter of fact, they stood in between old and new social orders and thus functioned as **agents of modernization** carrying the principles of rationality into the broader society.

The social and institutional transition towards modern forms of organization and leadership happened very slowly though. For instance, bureaucracies in Europe's absolutistic states initially, and throughout the 18th century, did not fully correspond to Weber's ideal type, let alone to „democratic" principles in the modern sense. Rather, they knew clientelistic and (from today's perspective) corrupt practices on many occasions (see Dipper, 1991, p. 208ff., and Kieser, 1999, p. 47f.). For institutional logics can only flourish to the degree that culture and cognitive action logics of those working inside the institutions (for instance, leaders, workers and clerks) have actually internalized and developed up to them, in other words if they actively practice or at least support them (see Fein, 2012). However, our main focus here is not on the transition between ideal types, but rather on the ideal types themselves and their relevance for how models and practices of leadership have transformed over time.

To sum up, among the most important innovations modernity brought about was rationalization bringing with it an increase in **formally structured, secular** organizations in all areas of social life. This is why modern society is often conceived as the „organized society" (Kieser, 1999, p. 46). This went hand in hand with a growing popularity of scientifically based approaches when it comes to **management and leadership**. From an integral perspective, this can be explained as an increase in complexity both with regard to man's structural environment and to his own self-understanding and perception in relation to his environment. Modern man is not embedded into his environment in an absolute sense (making him its object) anymore. Rather, (ideal typical) modern individuals have gained a reflexive distance towards their environment (including other people, traditions, institutions etc.) which allows them to actively design and act upon it/them. This illustrates an important insight of integral theory, namely that more complex ways of cognition, i.e. of perceiving and relating to the world, also give rise to more complex forms of designing, organizing and structuring it. As cognition became more complex, traditional structures and practices became the object of conscious reflection, allowing the subject to emancipate from them – and ultimately to transform and (re)design them (see Kegan, 1982, Graves, 1974. In modern thought, this historically happened – and still happens today – by trying to organize one's environment in a rational, ideally „scientific" way, which often implies the assumption that there is „**one best way**" to do things, which merely needs to be found and implemented. Now let's take a look at how these developments shaped modern ideals and models of leadership.

Modern style management and leadership in practice – past and present

Leadership clasically based on modern (modernistic) values is actually closely related with the idea of **(scientific) management**, which is why I use both concepts (leadership and management) in a related way here. The modern notion of management, i.e. of leading and managing modern organizations, can be illustrated by looking at three ideal typical kinds of **modern organization: bureaucracies, capitalist businesses and professional organizations**. Since the bureaucracy seems to be the most fundamental ideal type inherent in all of them, let's start there.

Max Weber has described **bureaucracies as the purest form of legal power**. Moreover, he clearly explains their emergence in relation with the values, patterns of thinking and action logics that are typically connected with modern processes of rationalization. In view of the modern objective to organize, coordinate and control various areas of social life in a maximum efficient way, Weber saw the bureaucracy as the most functional form for doing that. This is due to bureaucracy's precision, clarity, uniformity, promptness, continuity and discretion and its elaborate **system of hierarchies**

which he considered to be clearly superior to pre-modern problem-solving techniques, depending on the personal despotism of absolutist leaders (see Bea/Göbel, 2010, p. 63f. and Walter-Busch 1996, p. 99).

As the most important precondition of this historically new form of government/management and leadership, Weber identified the formal/factual rationality (*Sachrationalität*) which comes with **impersonal administration**. In this ideal type, offices and positions are not distributed based on personal relations and loyalties anymore, but exclusively based on professional competence and qualification (see Schreyögg, 1999, p. 34; Kieser, 2006a, p. 73f; Bea/Göbel, 2010, p. 63ff.). Hence, the clerk in Weber's modern bureaucracy does not serve the person of the leader or superior anymore, but rather the **system of rules** underlying his office and ultimately, the respective organization or the state as a whole. The independence of the clerk and his possibilities to deepen his technical expertise are strengthened by a full-time position with fix working hours, a long-term contract, a stable salary formally defined by tasks or position, as well as by clearly defined career options and rights to pension. This is why, according to Weber, bureaucracies allow for a maximum funcional, factual and, as such, also just administration. Not only do (ideal typical) bureaucracies operate in a technically efficient, and scientific, but also in a neutral way, regardless of personal preferences of either clients or clerks. Since management is governed by abstract, impartial mechanisms here, the (ideal typical) bureaucracy is often compared to a clockwork or machine which can be used for achieving various goals (Kieser 1999, p. 48f). In fact, it is hard to find leadership in this kind of organization, only management.

Its impersonal functioning, requiring **loyalty to abstract rules** rather than persons as a precondition of legal power, also makes requirements towards the clerks and office holders serving modern type power. It namely requires the cognitive competence to conceive and differentiate abstract rules and roles from persons. So let's take a more detailed look at the role which cognition and culture play for the emergence of modern institutions, practices and forms of organization. As a more complex and more differentiated system of governance than traditional/patrimonial power, modern management and leadership relies on individuals who are able to perform „without hate and passion, without love and enthusiasm" and thus, regardless of their personal feelings and emotions. In other words, in order to function properly, modern legal/bureaucratic power requires employees who have differentiated their personal interests from their professional roles, as well as their rational and emotional spheres, and who are able not only to distinguish between them but to act according to the former while doing their professional duty. Moreover, their sense of honor needs to have shifted from that stemming from service to a person to that based on service to a system of abstract rules.

In integral theory, this increase in **personal cognitive complexity** can also be explained based on developmental psychology research (see chapter 5) which can identify it as the move from an interpersonal to a rule-based way of meaning making and moral judgement (Fein, 2012 and 2016). According to Lawrence Kohlberg (1996), only the latter ensures that obedience to rules and laws is performed as an aim in itself, by inner conviction, and not merely as a result of personal dependence or interest. While the connections between bureaucratic virtues and developmental psychology have most probably been unknown to Weber, he does stress the importance of the „passion" of the official for his office, in other words, of the inner need to observe rules as an aim in itself. Only with this kind of „factual passion" can a professional ethos of strictly observing principles emerge and flourish.

Note that this ideal has also be criticized, even by Weber himself who was aware of the danger of congealment and depersonalization, turning bureaucratic institutions into cold mechanisms, which

could put those under tutelage whom they are supposed to serve (see Kieser 1999, p. 51). The German Nazi officer Adolf Eichmann, also known as the co-responsible of the „final solution of the jewish question" during World War II, is an example of **blind obedience to rules**, leading to mass murder (Arendt, 2006). The dilemma that Eichmann faced calls for the next level of moral development, namely post-conventional logics of moral judgement, which are ultimately guided by moral principles (for example human rights), rather than blind obedience to rules.

But before moving forward to that next level in the following sub-chapter, let's take a look at how the modern ideal of management and leadership took shape in the domain of business and economy. Weber considered the „rational way of life", described before at the example of the (ideal typical) public officer, as having also been an important precondition of the rise and success of **modern capitalism**. For the **modern individual** also plans and designs their economic activities in a rational way. Therefore, rational ways of organizing and management also became an important cornerstone for leading capitalist companies and businesses during the process of **industrialization**. They had a particularly strong interest in getting their business administration done in efficient, precise, uniform and continous ways. Moreover, the economic sphere saw similar developments as the public one. Weber even called „**capitalist enterprises** unrivalled models of tight bureaucratic organization" (Webe,r 1972, p. 562). Administrations in companies were designed according to similar principles, and its employees were even called officers. Sometimes, officers in business had a background in public service, whose organizational principles they transferred to their enterprises (Kieser, 1999, p. 39). Understandably, the ideals of purpose rationality and efficiency also came to shape everyday routines in business to a growing degree. **Adam Smith**'s narrative about the organization of a needle factory is a good illustration of this development:

> „One man draws out the wire; another straights it; a third cuts it; a fourth points it; a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business; to whiten the pins is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which, in some manufactories, are all performed by distinct hands, though in others the same man will sometimes perform two or three of them. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind, where ten men only were employed, and where some of them consequently performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day. There are in a pound upwards of four thousand pins of a middling size. Those ten persons, therefore, could make among them upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this peculiar business, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day; that is, certainly, not the two hundred and fortieth, perhaps not the four thousand eight hundredth, part of what they are at present capable of performing, in consequence of a proper division and combination of their different operations."
>
> *Quoted from: Smith (1776), chapter I, p. 8-9, https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Adam_Smith*

Another example for this management logic is **Taylorism**, the so-called „**scientific management**" which will be introduced shortly (see below).

The downsides of organizational rationalization fully applied also to the domain of business. It also experienced a depersonalization of work caused by the machine-like organization of processes, which Marx had started to criticize as „alienation" since the middle of the 19th century. Weber himself has put this observation into the metaphor of the „iron cage" of modern management, reducing every worker to „a cog within a bureaucratic machine and, seeing himself in this light, he will merely ask how to transform himself… to a bigger cog… The passion for bureaucratization at this meeting drives us to despair." (Weber, Max. Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology. University of California Press, 1978, p. lix) .

These tendencies therefore caused substantial social and political protest, and in particular gave rise to the movement of the **social democrats and labour parties** defending the rights and interests of the workers. These „collateral damages" of modern ways of organizing economic activity are also at the root of an eventual transformation in thinking and conceiving leadership. However, at the time (in early modernity), there was no leadership and organizational science yet. Rather, the practices based on rational ideals were considered as the only scientific solutions – and were thus not objects of critique and reflexivity.

A certain differentiation of modern management practices began with the emergence of professional action logics within bureaucratic organizations and with the emergence of **professional organizations** as such. They can be considered as the third variant of the modern management ideal and have been described by US sociologist **Talcott Parsons**. Actually, Parsons brought the concept of „professional organizations" into discussion in his famous footnote to his translation of Weber's classic „Economy and Society". Parsons holds that Weber's bureaucratic ideal type mixed up two types of authority, one based on expert knowledge (technical competence) and one based on the hierarchical position of one's office („incumbency of a legally defined office", Klatetzki/Tacke, 2005). While both forms do exist within bureaucracies, Parsons considered the „company of equals" based on expert knowledge as a unique kind of organization requiring specific forms of management. Professional corporations put a special attention on formalized training in a specific area, including both intellectual and practical competences, and usually draw specific authority from being anchored at a university and its cognitive rationality. They define criteria that their members and experts have to meet in order to use their professional competences in an optimal and socially responsible way (for example doctors or lawyers). (Klatetzki/Tacke 2005, 12)

Even though bureaucratic and professional forms and logics of management are both rooted in modernity, a closer comparison shows that the professional ideal type appears as yet more developed and sophisticated in several regards.

Bureaucratic and professional types of modern management and organisation

	Bureaucracy	Professional Organization
Primary function/task	Administration	Finding adequate, good solutions to concrete problems, innovation
Principles of structuration	Hierarchical system of offices, based on rules	Egalitarian, non-hierarchical system, based on members' competences
Authority	Based on office, defined by positions	Based on technical expertise, democratic decision-making
Values	Discipline, precision, accountability, predictability, speed, efficiency	Flexibility, dealing with individual cases, professional ethics, high quality work in service of clients and the larger public
Loyalty	Towards the respective hierarchical superior	Towards what is factually right/ necessary or towards a council of fellow experts
Motivational pattern of members	focusing on steady career on a well pre-determined path, secure old-age benefits	To do a good job, creativity, innovation (sometimes also social prestige)
Leadership rationale	Ensure good functioning of the system, distribute roles and tasks according to competences/rank/ qualification	Ensure best outcomes, based on high professional standards, support individual members in their otherwise independent problem solving

This comparison shows the differing **requirements** that each of these types of modern management make **towards the personality of their leaders and members**. Whereas Weber's bueraucrats are merely expected to strictly apply rules, i.e. to function within the given system, Parson's professional is characterized by independent thinking and problem solving. While the latter is also embedded within a system of technical and scientific rules and principles, it is not limited locally to a specific organization. Ideal typically, the professional is loyal towards his profession and its values, rather than to the organization that employs him (Gouldner, 1957). Parsons therefore calls professional action „cosmopolitain".

Despite those ideal typical differences, both of these types actually occur in various mixed forms. Namely, we find many professionals in bureaucratic organizations which, according to Parsons, results in the latter's subtle transformation due to the professionals' not primarily bureaucratic action logics. Sometimes, „importing" professionals into bureaucratic organizations also causes problems, because their independent, self-determined professional thinking counteracts the objective of meeting the local system's needs and demands (Klatetzki/Tacke, 2005). Based on its structurally transformative

quality, Parsons holds the professional ideal to be „the most important single component of modern societies. It has displaced the ‚state', in the relatively early modern sense of that term, and, more recently, the 'capitalistic' organization of the economy. The massive emergence of the professional complex (…) is the crucial development in 20th century society" (Parsons, 1968, p. 545). A good example for this was the rise of the US and global health care and pharmaceutical industry.

As far as the sociological discussion of these ideal types is concerned, Parson's observations mainly refer to the 20th century, while Weber's work has its origins in earlier decades. Weber has well anticipated the importance of professional action logics and its egalitarian forms of organization, even though he was skeptical as to their counteracting the inherent logics of bureaucracies. For instance, he suspected they might threaten the promptness, clarity and uniformity of leadership and decision-making and the „maintenance of discipline" (Weber 1972, p. 164, zit.n. Klatetzki/Tacke, 2005, p. 11f.). Ultimately, Parson's concept of professional organizations appears to be an enhancement of the bureaucratic ideal type which started to emerge and to gain more widespread relevance only several decades after Weber had formulated his model. In some sense, the continuous differentiation and diversification of management logics and organizational life beyond bureaucratic logics, including an increase in reflexive awareness, can be considered as the **transition towards post-modern ideas** which will be described in some more detail in the third sub-chapter. But before, let's take a closer look at the **leadership concepts and models connected to the bureaucratic ideal type**.

As illustrated before, the process of rationalization implied significant transformations of values, worldviews and social relations in many areas of social life, including structural advancements in personality development and patterns of legitimization. Weber himself expected traditional, patriarchal and charismatic power and leadership practices to „turn irrational" and more and more irrelevant in the eyes of the contemporaries, as modern institutions and ways of thinking took over (Weber, 1972, p. 43). Of course, this was a slow and steady process, which in some sense is still ongoing today, and in result of which we can also observe **multiple overlaps between traditional and modern forms of management and leadership**.

Given modernity's striving for scientific progress in service of efficiency and perfectionism in all areas of life, includdng the organization of work, it put a strong emphasis on abstract, rationally organized mechanisms for regulating production and problem-solving. Therefore, the same is true for the (ideal typical) modern leadership. In some sense, modern leadership can be characterized as „**leading through effective organizations/proccesses of organization**". In fact, as observed earlier, leadership in the more traditional definition of exercising an influence on subordinates through the leader's personal relation with his/her subordinate has no systematic place at least in the bureaucratic ideal type. For it aims at designing bureaucratic organizations in a way that allows „smooth processes leading towards attaining organizational goals" (Deeg, 2010, p. 95). In other words, the nature of bureaucracies lies precisely in structuring all essential work processes through rules, procedures, forms etc. in a way that makes clear to the individual member/officer how s/he is expected to behave. Put still differently, it is the rules, procedures and normal channels which „lead" the employee (rather than the subordinate; ibid., p. 97). In sum, both the organizational frame and the professional attitude of the officer replaces traditional leadership activities. **Formalization and depersonalization** of the work flow tend to make workers/employees/officers interchangeable and traditional type leaders superfluous, as the following quote of the Swiss industrial entrepreneuer Charles Bourcart-Grosjean illustrates:

„Die Angestellten, die Gehülfen wechseln, ein Verwalter folgt dem anderen; aber das Geschäft soll nicht darunter leiden, das Erfahrene nicht vergessen, seinen Gang fortgehen und immer verbessern. Die Tendenz der Angestellten ist: unentbehrlich zu werden, wenn sie auch nicht mehr nützen. Stirbt oder geht morgen ein Angestellter fort, so läuft das Geschäft dann dennoch seinen ruhigen Gang fort. Deswegen ist das schriftliche Verfahren in der Industrie von so großer Wichtigkeit" (Bourcart, 1874, p. 101).

In this perspective, inferiors start to align their behavior with the given rules all by themselves, motivated by career opportunities offered in return for rule-based behavior (Deeg, 2010, p. 97). So in an ideal typical sense, **well functioning bureaucracies do not need leadership** which is substituted and performed here by organizational steering. Leadership is neither really relevant nor present in the common definition here. People are rather managed by the rules and principles or the organization. However, mechanistic steering is rarely perfect and fully successful in real life. Moreover, „real typical" organizations often fail to adequately or sufficiently define rules and standards for their members' behavior – and if they do, fail to achieve full compliance. Therefore, they are often „overmanaged, but underled" (Deeg, 2010, p. 95). As a matter of fact, Weber has already voiced the danger of bureaucratic freezing and anticipated that only charismatic leadership with demagogic qualities might solve this dilemma – a solution that took a questionable shape in Nazi Germany.

This is where the newly emerging field of **management studies** stepped in, beginning in the 1930ies, in particular in the US. Based on the modern ideal of scientific management, it has developed sets of rules, principles and practices which continue to shape modern leadership (strongly identified with the idea of management, rather than personal leadership), stressing values such as technical efficiency, performance, competence and rational organization. As a rule, the need for leadership in a more traditional sense decreases with an increasing degree to which the members/employees of modern organizations are specialists (experts) in their respective areas (Deeg, 2010, p.103). The following **examples of typically modern forms of management and leadership** illustrate the correlations described above. They also illustrate the diversity and facets of modern ideals of leadership, as well as their transformations and enhancements. I will now look at three leadership theories paying tribute to the modern ideal in various ways: Taylorism, Fordism and the Human Relations movement.

Examples

Taylorism

Taylorism probably corresponds best to the classical ideal type of modern leadership (in the sense of implementing effective management). It is a very functionally oriented approach and therefore often also called „**scientific management**". At the beginning of the 20th century, it provided the basis of a new kind of formalization and rational optimization of work processes as described earlier with the example of Smith's pin factory. Developed by the American engineer Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1915), this concept essentially tries to scientifically explore the most efficient ways of leading and organizing companies through experimentation. It thus presumes that there is *one best way* **in management** which can be scientifically discovered by substituting science for the 'rule of thumb' throughout the mechanical arts.

A short glance at Taylor's biography highlights the experiences his leadership concept is based on. After an apprenticeship as a tool maker and machine operator, he made a quick career at Midvale Steel Company's chief engineer. This is where he conducted his famous behavioral and motion economy studies searching for more efficient ways to operate tunery. Later, he tried to implement his concept of **rationalization of production** at the Manufacturing Investment Company in Philadelphia and other companies.

Taylor's most important innovative achievement was to propose a **scientific method for solving leadership and organizational problems** which could, in principle, be used flexibly in changing conditions. In his multiple behavioral and motion studies, some of which date back to his youth (see text box), he showed how companies could find the most adequate workers, ideal courses of motion at work and perfect sysstems of remuneration. This was achieved by experimental methods allowing to systematically isolate individual parameters in order to explore their relative importance. In result, he was able to design work processes out of building blocks that were functionally optimized and put together in the most efficient way.

Frederick Winslow Taylor grew up in a wealthy protestant family where he was socialized into the ascetic ideals of the Quakers. As a child, he suffered from nightmares which, as he observed, only occurred when he was sleeping on his back. Therefore, as a twelve year old, he constructed a sleeping harness („machine to prevent nightmares"), consisting of wooden sticks and suspenders which would wake him up as soon as he turned to his back asleep.

He also loved ball games, but spoiled his companion's fun of playing by exaggerating the use of rules. First he exactly measured the playground. Then (at crocket, for instance), he tried to measure the exact angle and necessary power of strike to put the ball to the right direction. When running, he experimented for finding the right path that would allow him to cover most distance with least energy. During his studies in engeneering, he found out that he was fittest when he studied after work until midnight, then went running and got up again at 5 am. Later, he determined the „optimum shovel load" for earth works by undertaking carefully designed experiments over several weeks.

Over his lifetime, Taylor had applied for approximately one hundred patents for his various inventions, even though these habits made him a bit of a nerd until the end of his life.

(Taylor, 1911, p. 68).

In this context, Taylor also characterized the **optimal worker**. Similar to Weber's ideal officer, he was portrayed primarily by how he achieved certain tasks and thus, as experiencing fulfillment through completing his duties as a member/part of a rationally organized functional system. Taylor's ideal worker possessed all the primary virtues (such as soberness, austerity, diligence, honesty and ambition) that are also typical of Weber's bureaucrat and which the latter identified as features of the protestant work ethic. In some sense, Taylorism can be conceived as **secularized protestant ethics**, because it combines the duty to effectively perform one's work with the legitimate self-interest of the worker.

At the same time, **Taylor's Shop Management** also worked with external incentives, such as salaries or other gratifications, for motivating workers to increase their performance. The most extreme example of this practice is probably the Soviet Stachanov movement (named after the most productive worker). Note that Lenin himself had been an enthusiastic follower of Taylorism which he used to

increase socialist production (Kieser, 1999, p. 85). On the other hand, Taylor imposed penalties such as deductions, lock-outs, fines, etc. to maintain work discipline. So although Taylorism emphasizes the importance of the internal attitude of the organization's members to the functioning of the organization, he also demonstrates a rather one-dimensional idea of man. It is mainly inspired by the idea of the *homo oeconomicus.* Robert Musil has critically caricatured the modern worker as the „man without qualities", whose „stopwatch rushes or stands still" and who fills his life „with a maximum of attainment and does not need more to his happiness" (Musil, 2018 [1962], p. 31-32).

One of the keys to Taylor's Scientific Management which has also drawn the most criticism – and rises interesting questions from integral and developmental perspectives – was the concept of **task allocation**. In his Shop Management, he recommended not only breaking tasks into smaller and smaller sub-tasks in view of attaining optimum solutions. He also separated manual from cognitive work, as well as planning from execution. He justified this by hereditary differences in intelligence and physical capabilities in individuals. Taylor saw this division of work entirely positively, in the sense of liberating people from activities they are bad at in favor of activities they are best equipped for. And evidently, the justification for this was a rational one. „In almost all the mechanic arts, the science which underlies each act of each workman is so great and amounts to so much that the workman who is best suited to actually doing the work is incapable of fully understanding this science..." while „the man in the planning room, whose specialty is planning ahead, invariably finds that the work can be done more economically by subdivision of the labour; each act of each mechanic, for example, should be preceded by various preparatory acts done by other men." (Scientific Management, pp 25, 38) Therefore, Taylor created planning departments, staffed them with engineers and put them in charge of developing **scientific methods for completing work**, defining objectives for productivity, establishhing systems of rewards for meeting these, and training the staff in how to use specific methods and thereby meet the goals (http://www.skymark.com/resources/leaders/taylor.asp).

While the idea of distributing tasks according to the level of skill and proficiency is also important in an integral leadership perspective, the latter focuses on how skills and their holders can be developed, or invited to develop by appropriate leadership support. In contrast, Taylors concept of leadership mainly focuses on **achieving best outcomes by optimally organizing work processes**, similar as in Weber's ideal type of the modern bureaucracy. As explained earlier, the immediate leadership relation itself either loses importance or takes the rather simplistic form of transactional management in this context. Taylor was after finding rules, laws and principles which together formed a comprehensive, predictable and controllable system of management, inspired by Weber's description of modern bureaucracies.

But Weber's bureaucrats have not only been replaced by technocrats and engeneers in this logic. Rather, it also worked with what current sociology call „liberal gouvernementality" (Lemke et al. 2000), assuming that the self-interested individual, having totally internalized modern norms of performance, achievement and self-perfection, leads him-/herself at their respective workplace, thereby submitting themselves to the functional logics and the expectations of the latter. Sociology has therefore pointed at the fact that **modern (neo-) liberal regimes**, having replaced both more traditional, and early modern hierarchical ones, have themselves created subtle forms of power and control which to some degree leave individuals (both leaders and subordinates) subject to their conditions.

Taylorism has therefore been criticized for ignoring the individual, and for de facto instrumentalizing the latter in service of the interests of production, as well as for neglecting the (inter-) human side of

organizational processes, resulting in a tendency to dehumanize management. Taylor himself was aware of these dangers in a certain way, but hoped to neutralize them by creating win-win situations as a result of correctly placed incentives. „High wages at low production costs" was therefore a principle emphasized by Taylor (Kieser, 1999, p. 80). Also was he anxious to demand from his workers only those services which they would be able to provide for a long time without sacrificing their health" (ibid., p. 81). However, he did not carry out any long-term studies on the development of workers' health. In fact, a survey he had conducted on the „moral effects" of his system revealed that after its introduction, „most (workers) saved money and lived better than ever before. (...) Out of 140 workers, only two could be called drinkers", and relations between workers and the employer appeared to be excellent (Taylor, 1911, p. 75).

As a matter of fact, another element of Taylor's philosophy of leadership was the aim of eliminating conflicts between workers and the company management by finding solutions based on rational, objective reasoning, focusing on the mutual benefit of both sides. Provided the company was governed intelligently, so he believed, there was no principal antagonism between workers and management. Ultimately, he aimed at increasing returns through his scientific methods, to a degree where gains could be shared „fraternally". (Kieser, 1999, p. 83). In contrast to marxist perspectives, Taylor was convinced that interests of management and workers could be synchronized systematically if both sides acknowledged their mutual commitment to help the company prosper. What's more, thanks to scientific management, higher gains were not only expected to lead to higher wages and shorter working hours, but also to more affordable products. In that sense, Taylor has created a positive utopia of prosperity where leadership was taken over by reason and the scientific approach itself.

The historical results seem to have proven Taylor's perspective and approach as farsighted in many respects. This is at least what can be illustrated by the example of the US car industry, for which Taylorism has become an important source of inspiration at the turn of the 19th/20th centuries (see below).

Fordism

As a principle of leading (and disciplining) workers and for organizing work, Taylorism spread out fast mainly in the US, where it gained significant importance in **rationalizing production processes**. It enjoyed particularly strong support with the engineers of Henry Ford's car production company who started to refine and advance Taylor's principles. In fact, one of the criticisms against Taylorism by Ford was that by focusing on minimizing costs and reorganizing work processes, it neglected the challenges of coordinating and controlling the company as a whole (Chandler, 1977, p. 276f.). Since Henry Ford managed to come up with an adequate solution to this problem, Fordism soon came to replace Taylorism in business administration while at the same time spreading taylorist work principles further throughout industries (Ridder, 2009).

The concept of Fordism is today mainly connected with the use of the **conveyor belt** for accelerating production, even though this technology had already been around in the middle of the 19th century and was not the only cause of Ford's success. However, the ways in which Ford's car production introduced automated processes systematically and how they were experimentally optimized show to which degree core elements of Taylorism (such as specialization, standardization, formalization, scientific planning and control, the ergonomic design of tools and procedures, as well as monetary incentives to increase performance) have been brought to perfection here. In result, not only could

the demands towards workers' cognitive activities, as well as to their physical movements be reduced to a minimum. If possible, wrote Ford, the worker should „perform one and the same activity with one and the same movement" (Ford 1923, p. 93). This also, again, implied a rather **technical approach to leadership**, making personal interaction between the leader(s) and the workforce almost unnecessary, and replacing it by disciplining workers via management control. So just like Weber's bureaucrats became interchangeable by being bound to formal rules and regulations, Ford's production techniques did the same to the individual worker by promoting mass production through a high degree of **automation, standardization** of products and interchangeability of parts.

While this approach has been widely criticized for reducing the individual worker to a small cog in the machine (see below), Ford's management model also allowed to double salaries and to shorten working hours by reducing the average production time for a car from 12,5 hours to 93 minutes, while at the same time helping US industry to increase productivity (by 50 percent between 1919 and 1927, (Kieser, 1999, p. 86 and 92). At the same time, it was not fully successful in disciplining workers. Often enough, rationalization efforts by management were met by considerable resistance and resentment on their end. Indeed, some of the criticism directed towards Taylor and Taylorism was mainly caused by the Fordist production mode and its tendency to dequalify work and take away the sense of meaning that had previously been connected to it. Thus, the critique does not necessarily disqualify the system of scientific management altogether.

The ideas of Taylorism and Fordism have not gained equal importance throughout the world. For instance, it has not been as influential in Germany and central Europe, except for the so-called psychotechnics which took over the idea of systematically chosing workers for specific tasks (Weisbord 1987, p. 69). Elements of Taylor's theory were also taken up by instrumental management studies and its interest in „best practices" (Kieser/Walgenbach, 2003, p. 32f.).

Note that the ideas of Taylor and Ford also had significant influence in aesthetics and architecture, for instance in the modern functionalism of the so-called „Frankfurt kitchen", designed according to Taylorist principles, which „spared every housewife any unnecessary, time-consuming movement" (Kieser, 1999, p. 90).

Another example is Walter Gropius' idea of a „ Wohn-Ford", constructing houses in mass production by using ready-made parts.

From the meta-perspective of the integral model, the functionalist logics and its ideal of a „scientific" approach to management and leadership appear as examples of formal and systematic cognition, or of „double loop learning" respectively. While it has shifted the focus of leadership from the concrete and immediate interpersonal relationship between leader(s) and subordinates to abstract processes, mechanisms and functions, its own perspective does not go beyond the systems view trying to optimize the efficiency of existing systems. However, as Luhmann (1999, p. 383) has pointed out, „a function is neither a logical nor an empirical or causal law, according to which things necessarily work in a certain way" (*my translation*). Therefore, the functionalist rationale, pointing at the usefulness of a certain state of affairs, cannot illuminate or explain its genesis or essence (Daheim, 1993, p. 27). Often enough, fulfilling a certain function merely consists in perpetuing or keeping alive existing systems. At the same time, a concept of leadership (or rather: management) primarily focusing on meeting functional demands within a system of interrelations mostly does not question the underlying system and its logic itself (triple loop learning). Where management is busy with implementing its

predict & control **approach**, thus tied down in everyday business, it often loses sight of overarching leadership challenges, such as more long-term considerations and planning for unexpected incidents or developments that might result from the system's interaction with other systems and only become visible from a meta-systematic perspective.

But for the moment, let's stay with a third example of a leadership concept that, while responding to some of the criticism that has been raised against scientific management, is still derived from modern values and ideal tpyical modern leadership thinking.

The Human Relations movement and the people oriented management style

Among the dimensions that had been disregarded in the classical Taylorist, systemic-functionalist approach are the subjective satisfaction of the workers, as well as the importance of interpersonal relations in the workplace. The latter are at the center of the so-called Human Relations approach, which was developed in the 1920s and 1930s, based on two different sources, first, criticism of certain elements of Taylorism and scientific management, and second on the results of an enhanced form of Taylorist experiments. In this perspective, the HR approach, as it were, constitutes a **transitional phenomenon between classic modern, disciplinary leadership ideals and** the more complex, more dynamic, interactive **postmodern leadership concepts**.

As mentioned earlier, there had been a certain amount of resistance against the ideas of Taylor and Ford early on. In particular, Taylor's forced separation of hand and head work on the one hand, and Ford's mass production, on the other hand, led to a considerable alienation of the worker from the product. This, in turn, caused a loss of motivation and creative interest on the workers' side. As already mentioned, however, rationalizing technologies had already been used in Europe in the middle of the 19th century, long before the „Taylorisation" of US industry. It is therefore not surprising that voices criticising the „alienation" of the laborer in the context of the industrial mode of production and calls for more humane forms of work have already been discussed before the human relations approach emerged (for example in the socio-democratic and Christian business circles, Kieser, 1999, pp. 101f.). The HR approach, however, provided a more scientific foundation and thus additional legitimacy to the demand for a stronger focus on the importance of interpersonal relations in the work environment.

The actual hour of birth of the human relations approach was a series of research experiments commissioned by the National Research Council (NRC) in 1923. These experiments were conducted in the the Hawthorne factory of the Western Electric Company by George A. Pennock, an engineer who's thinking was quite shaped by taylorist ideas, and who aimed to study the relation between working conditions, namely workplace lighting, and work performance (see Winterhoff-Spurk, 2002, p. 93). Later, the investigations carried out in this context were refered to as the so-called **Hawthorne research program** after the location of Pennock's experiments.

The experiments showed a strong **influence of mental factors on work performance**. In particular, they found that merely announcing an improvement in the working environment through introducint better lighting already contributed to increasing both the performance and the well-being of the workers, even though this improvement actually did not take place. The researchers identified the same connection also in the opposite direction: the performance declined after announcing a worsening of the conditions, although these actually remained the same. This led to the conclusion that scientific

management alone was not sufficient to motivate workers, but that rather the fact of considering their concerns or at least corresponding signals (associated with the respective announcements) of appreciation had a strong motivational effect. As a consequence of this insight, an entire research program was set up, in which various elements of the working environment were experimentally investigated in terms of their influence on work performance, including the wage level, the degree of difficulty of tasks, the number and duration of breaks, the behavioral style of leaders and the degree of mutual trust between employees and superiors at the workplace.

In this perspective, the Hawthorne experiments have initially been motivated in a quite Taylorist way: their aim was to determine the optimal relationship between all investigated variables, in view of increasing the efficiency of production. Given that previously neglected psychological qualities were studied experimentally here, and that the Hawthorne program was, so to speak, an attempt to systematically control psychological factors of disruption in order to further increase performance, the HR approach has been perceived as a continuation of Taylorism with the means of psychology (Kieser, 1999, P. 107).

The following contemporary quote by industrial psychologist Vladimir Eliasberg confirms this attitude: „For psychotechnics, the human being is only a factor of production[Betriebsfaktor]. It turned out to be necessary to study this operating factor closely, even to engage in deep psychology. But this happened, first of all, in no other way than we used to examine the bearings of a wave" (Eliasberg 1926, p. 81, cited by Kieser, 1999, p. 107, *partly my translation*).

An interesting example of this rather instrumental approach to the psychological dimensions of leadership and organization is the success of business consultant **Dale Carnegie**. He believed that entrepreneurial success depended on the ability to win friends and influence people. During the 1920s and 1930s, Carnegie taught special courses for managers on how to direct fellow human beings through „tact, praise, modesty and a little hypocrisy" (Kieser, 1999, p. 106). Followers of Taylor such as as the co-founder of psychotechnics, Hugo Münsterberg, were particularly creative in the use of psychological knowledge: „Just as music facilitates the march to the soldier, the workforce can be held in a mood of work and pleasure by various means of entertainment" (Münsterberg, 1914, p. 386, cited after Kieser, 1999, p. 107.)

Münsterberg also recommendet to „tranquilize" workers with the help of alcohol: „It may well be useful for the average healthy laborer that the after-effects of the motor excitement of the day be remedied by a faint alcoholic poisoning of the evening, an to foster the blunting and clouding of consciousness, which extinguish the troubles and sorrows of the day, and which finally secure sleep" (Münsterberg, 1914, p. 398, cited by Kieser, 1999, p. 107f.).

In Germany, the boom in psychological research led to the **emergence of business and organizational psychology**. Starting with the research area for industrial psychotechnics established at the Technical University in Berlin in 1918, more and more complex theories on the behavior of people in organizations have been developed with the aim of controlling them as efficiently as possible in a disciplinary sense. At least for the initial period of this research strand, we can say that the HR movement has not replaced Taylorism-Fordism here, but has „merely extended the methodological arsenal of the rationalization movement. Taylorist forms of organizing work were not questioned in principle, only the way workers were dealt with was revised" (Schein, 1965, quoted by Kieser, 1999, p. 113).

At the same time, the HR movement did also prepare a structural change in the perspectives, which was about to receive a strong echo in leadership theory, and which is mainly associated with the name of **Elton Mayo**.

The Hawthorne experiments had shown that higher performance couldby no means be explained solely by incentives and wages, but that wage incentives only unfold their full effect in connection with interpersonal relations (Kieser, 2006c, p. 144). As a concept of leadership and dealing with people, the Human Relations movement is thus to some extent ambivalent in that, in addition to the notion of HR as a mere „repair tool", it also contained a certain transformational power, both with regard to the employees and to management itself.

In his research on how to deal with people in the economy, the social and industrial psychiatrist Elton Mayo (1880-1949), among other things, investigated the willingness to cooperate and the sense of belonging of workers to the company. From this, he drew conclusions on how working conditions should be designed, as well as on what the appropriate management skills and the styles of leadership would look like. As opposed to Taylorism, which had been focusing on shaping the working conditions, Mayo put the behavior of individuals and groups in their respective contexts into the center of attention, in short, the relationship between workers and leadership itself. In particular, he recognized the **importance of interpersonal relationships for employee satisfaction**, and motivation to work and thus, ultimately, for the success of the company as a whole.

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1. Give the interviewee your entire attention and show her this explicitly.

2. Listen carefully, instead of talking yourself.

3. Never argue, and don't give advice.

4. Be mindful of
a. what the interviewee would like to say
b. what they do not want to say
c. what they cannot say without help.

5. While you are listening, try to sketch for yourself ... the behavioral pattern that presents itself to you. To review it, summarize what the interviewee has said and let them comment it. Do this with caution - that is, clarify things, but without adding or straightening them.

Interview guide for non-directional discussion (according to E. Mayo)

Mayo's basic claim is that only (socially) satisfied employees are (motivationally) good employees. Mayo, who had been a psychology professor in Harvard at that time, was consulted as a scientific advisor to the Hawthorne experiments in 1928. He enriched those, on the one hand, by scientific interpretations and a methodological enhancement of the ongoing experiments. On the other hand, he had supervisors and experiment leaders previously trained in non-directional conversation conduct interviews with the test persons. The motivation-enhancing effect of this kind of „mindful" communication and leadership style, which was taking into account the needs of employees much more, was demonstrated impressively by his experiments.

This explicit focus on the relationship and quality communication between the leader and the subordinate marks the end of the previously dominant attitude that any emotional engagement should be avoided at the workplace and that the personality should be left „outside the job" (Argyris, 1975, p. 226). Mayo assumed that one could not only better identify the real problems with the non-directive interview methods, but that they could also be cured by them (see Busch, 1996, p. 176). So the aim here was not only to increase performance, but also to foster the well-being of the employees (which,

of course, is a prerequisite for the former). The employee-oriented leadership style developed on this basis is characterized by an attitude of appreciation of the leaders towards their subordinates in view of systematically increasing work satisfaction. According to Mayo, leaders and managers should have the necessary **social skills** for assessing the attitudes, interests, and prejudices of employees that are relevant to the company's operations (Trahair, 1984, p. 300).

To sum up, Mayo kicked of a wide-ranging change of perspective in the perception of both leadership and the structure and functioning of organizations towards a more complex understanding. He suggested to consider the psycho-social situation of each individual as a whole, including aspects beyond the workplace, in order to understand work performance (see Bruce, 2006, p. 186). This did put the focus on what had been an important blind spot of more traditional (classic modern) management concepts. What's more, Mayo's „*total situation approach*" also held companies and the larger society to be co-responsible for the psychic health of workers and the cooperative social sub-systems themselves (O'Connor 1999b, p. 127, Trahair 1984, p. 99). In his „clinical sociology", he suggested „healing interventions" based on personal contact and communication in case of exhaustion, isolation or depression of workers (Smith, 1998, p. 246).

So compared to Taylorism, the Human Relations movement brought about a new concept of both man (as a leader and subordinate) and the organisation. In some sense, Mayo can be said to have been among **the first to understand leadership problems more „holistically",** on the basis of a more complex psycho-social understanding of man in his organizational context. The former is no longer seen unidimensionally as a „rational economic man" who can be directed exclusively via external incentived, but rather as „social man" or „complex man" (Schein, 1980, p. 50ff.), whose performance is determined by many different factors, including internal ones. Moreover, he perceived man as striving for personal growth and development, as well as for participation in decision-making at the workplace (Schreyögg, 1999, p. 53ff.). Therefore, he regarded **personal and company goals as complementary** and thus, personnel development and organizational development as converging. Also, his view of organizations was more that of social systems, rather than pure task-completion systems in the Taylorist sense, or, put metaphorically, an organism, rather than a machine (Mayo, 1933, p. XIV; Morgan, 2000, p. 53ff.).

With this, the focus also shifted towards the more informal structures and aspects of organizational life emerging as a result of their members' behaviors, values and practices. An **increase in the complexity** of how leadership and its contexts are viewed can be exemplified, for instance, by how the HR approach recognizes the following challenges:

- **Structural changes**: Due to the relations between the technical and human aspects, the HR perspective sees that any formal or technical change in an organization also implies changes in social structures which can cause great resistance among those affected and lead to other unforeseen consequences.
- **Control and communication**: Given that communication is always embedded in feelings, individual thinking and sometimes prejudices (besides rational calculation and self-interest), an abstract, technically understood external control of „real people" is very difficult and bound to fail.
- **Dynamic relations between individuals and structure**: Each individual has to find their place in a given structure. At the same time, each individual changes the structure through their subjective interpretations and behaviors (see Bea/ Göbel 2006, p. 88). Individual subjectivity

thus co-creates new, self-organized orders and dynamics within any social system (Ahlers-Nie-mann, 2007, p. 99),

From an integral perspective, the human relations approach can be regarded ambivalently. Despite the above mentioned enhancements beyond classic taylorism, it represents, as it were, a **transitional phenomenon between modern and postmodern leadership theories**. As explained, the human relations movement began as a taylorist and thus typically modern attempt to increase the performance of employees and with it, the efficiency of organizational control. From this perspective, it did not succeeded to leave functionalist thinking, neither methodologically nor content-wise. More-over, it retains the assumption that there is „one best way" of practicing leadership, which, rigorously applied, leads to higher performance and satisfaction of the subordinates. Empirically, this postulate could not be convincingly substantiated though (Neuberger, 2002, p. 427ff.).

Critics have therefore noted that Mayo's idea of "healing" and transforming people through better communication and respectful relationships ultimately resembled that of Taylor's transformation of the workers into „higher types of men", making them „more valuable to society" (Taylor 1977, p. 77). This also corresponds to a *social engeneering* perspective, which from today's point of view is regarded as morally problematic and which, from an integral point of view, can still be regarded as a „typically modern" approach to leadership and problem-solving. Others have criticized Mayo for overestimating the emotional side, while neglecting objective concerns, and for the illusion that all problems within a company could be solved just by „active listening". However, Mayo has actually illuminated significant **blind spots of classical modern management perspectives**. His views have subsequently been taken up and developed further by postmodernists. Last but not least, it is Elton Mayo's and his colleagues merit that it is now a widely acknowledged insight that the success of the company also depends on the consideration of human factors (Zaleznik, 1984, p. 1).

Summary

To sum up, the essence of modern leadership thinking can be described by pointing at **two main developments**. With state administrations and business growing in Europe and North America and elsewhere, there was an increasing need for people in positions of management that entailed leader-ship capabilities, and there were not enough „Great Men" to go around. First, with worldviews and challenges becoming more complex, the focus therefore shifted from the exceptional personal traits or qualities of „great men" as in traditional leadership (and discussed by the so-called **trait theories**, i.e. Northouse, 2018) to the behaviors that were necessary to lead, govern and manage larger organizational systems, from state bureaucracies to companies to professional organizations. These have often been discussed by what later emerged as **style theories**, shifting their emphasis from innate personality traits of great social, political, and military leaders to a variety of styles of personality and behavior that could be learned by almost anybody willing to make the effort. Second, with the increasing importance of rationalization and the quest for making socio-political, economic and production processes more efficient, the emergence of modern institutions put a strong focus on rule-based procedures, standardization and automatization. This also led to a shift from leadership as an activity of providing vision, directing change, and driving evolution to that of mainly managing uniform processes in intelligent and efficient ways. Moreover, in some respects, modern leadership is thus best conceived of as **management**.

In the meta-perspective of the integral model (see chapters 4 and 5), this shift can also be described as a **move from an almost exclusive focus on the upper left quadrant**, being about individuals and their innate, intentional qualities and characteristics, **into a one on the upper right quadrant**, focusing on what leaders do and how they act. This includes the actions of leaders toward subordinates in various contexts (Northouse, 2001). As the style approach was further developed over time, it identified two broad categories of leader behavior; task and relationship, expanding attention into the lower right quadrant (organizational structures and institutions) as well as the upper right (behaviors). While the task orientation corresponds more to the early modern, bureaucratic ideal type, the relationship orientation is a product of later modern awareness for more informal dimensions of organizational success, namely interpersonal relations.

However, several important studies done in the 50's and 60's (e.g. Ohio State, Blake and Mouton) have also examined ways leaders mixed task and relationship to create a particular leadership style. This move into the relational aspects was also influenced by the **concurrent growth of group dynamics approaches** to leadership which shall be described in more detail in the next sub-chapter. Nonetheless, a limitation of this modern shift in perspective from an integral view is that it fragmented leadership theory by not connecting the **interior trait aspects** of leadership with the **exterior behavioral** aspects (Reams, 2005). These limits gradually became more apparent and opened the way for a new shift in leadership theory and application.

1.3 From modern to postmodern values and worldviews – how have they changed and inspired leadership concepts and behaviors?

Postmodern values have largely developed out of criticisms of certain features and tendencies of modernism. As modernity progressed, mismatches between the ideals put forward by modern values, models and ideals, on the one hand, and the reality of their implementation, on the other hand, became more and more visible. This consequently led to a new fundamental transformation both in scientific perspectives, and on the level of culturally dominant values informing leadership studies, ideals and practices. The shift from modernity to post-modernity and the relation between them can thus be understood as a „dialectical", and, in a certain sense, always ambivalent one, rather than as a process of transition from a more or less consistant, homogenous or even unitary „cultural-historical epoch (modernity) to another one, similarly consistant in itself. Moreover, postmodernity is also referred to as a **„second" or „reflexive modernity"** (Beck, Giddens, Lash, 1994).

As structures of thought and of organizing social life on individual and collective levels, modern and post-modern perspectives react to each other in a somewhat dialectical/diagonal way, while, according to Wolfgang Welsch, it was **postmodernity** which has only completely **fulfilled certain demands of modernity** (Welsch, 1993). Here, too, I will first consider the more general historical background, that is, the changes in social, economic, and cultural conditions, before discussing how they have implemented important theoretical and conceptual reorientations, as well as their resonance in leadership and organization theory.

Historical and theoretical background

As indicated, modern thought's claims for rationality, unambigousness, and universality (that is, for general, non-local and transcultural validity) have resulted in modern values, norms and practices being transfered to all spheres of life. This applies first and foremost to the area of economics, where efforts to achieve more efficiency, functionality and steady increases in performance, were closely linked to values such as economic growth, material prosperity and an increasing standard of living. As a result, this modernization of all areas of life also multiplied and **extended possibilities for learning and education** to large parts of the population. This, in turn, it fostered a growing a (self-) reflexivity of more and more „enlightened individuals", which subsequently also led to a more active critical reflection about social, political and economic conditions as modernity spread and evolved in western countries.

In the late and post-modern era, **modern ideals and standards** such as equality, justice, democracy, humanity, etc., were not given up, but rather – and in contrast to their more formal perception in the classical-modern world view – **increasingly referred to in a much more substatial sense**. In other words, their deeper meaning and purpose and the way they are actually implemented were also looked at and critically questioned. The fact that similar social criticisms now gained ground illustrates an increased need to legitimize authority, inequality and injustice in general, as well as hierarchies and mechanisms of exclusion in particular. All of these now had to justify themselves vis-à-vis the growing moral and ethical demands of a more and more significant and critical citizenship.

External factors also contributed to this development. At least since the middle of the 1960s, more and more criticism was raised against the generation of those who had participated in the Second World War in various Western countries. This had been triggered by information about details on the Nazi

regime on the one hand, and on the Vietnam War on the other. And soon it was combined with a more general **critique of bourgeois lifestyle and thinking** with its mainly materialist goals which was also a revolt of the younger generation against their parents. However, what was criticized here was not so much the guiding modern norms themselves, but rather their one-sided and sometimes dogmatic handling, their being used in the service of questionable goals and/or their insufficient implementation. For example, the post-war period saw an increasing awareness of the fact that the pursuit of superior political goals cannot be justified at all costs, or that the (modern) principle of equality is not always and necessarily equatable with justice. So all in all, **late modernity saw a deepening, broadening and differentiation of perception** of and perspective on the world, which was characterized in particular by a growing context sensitivity and a more systemic mode of thinking. Thus, the focus also shifted from an emphasis on goals, aims and outcomes towards the structures and processes that enable them, as well as towards potential tensions between both.

From the mid-1970s onwards, the aggravating oil crisis demonstrated not only the **limits of growth**, but also those of the modern life style, with its largely unquestioned consumer habits. This in turn supported another shift in social priorities and also required changes in the area of individual and collective, micro- and macroeconomic action logics and strategies.

As a kind of counter-movement to individualization and the modern focus on material goals, **post-materialist values** gained attractiveness (Inglehart, 1970 and 1989). Among them were, on the one hand, the growing quest for social affiliation, community, interpersonal trust and meaningful social relationships and experiences. On the other hand, aesthetic, intellectual, and spiritual needs such as personal self-realization, the expansion of cognitive horizons and creative experiential spaces, or the search for meaning in one's own life and work gained attention. All of these had been neglected in the context of the modern striving for material growth and prosperity.

This fundamental questioning of traditional (and) „modern" values and ways of life included, in particular, a critique of the ubiquitous focus on performance and the belief in control and the controllability of the world. Instead, the discourses associated with this socio-cultural and political movement propagated values such as mutual respect, community rights, basic democracy, gender equality, etc., for which the so-called 1968 generation became a major social representative. Among the basic goals of the postmodern set of values were social and political participation, transparency and fairness, a focus on just procedures, combined with a quest for flatter hierarchies in all areas of life. One of the results of these developments was a considerable cultural opening, increasing flexibility and a gradual dissolution of traditional cultural milieus.

Postmodernity also set new priorities in the realm of scientific perspectives for understanding the world. While postmodern thinking had gained influence in different disciplines such as philosophy, architecture, literary studies, sociology, and painting from the turn of the century (19th/20th century) as a „new normal" way of making appropriate sense of the world, it was characterized by similar structures, outlooks and qualities in all of these fields. The following presentation draws on the **scientific and philosophical discussion on postmodernity** and leaves out the more popular, often diffuse understanding postmodernism, which is often associated with the stereotype of „anything goes". As Welsch has emphasized, postmodernity is not an epoch that is radically different from modernity or even antimodern. It is not an age of arbitrariness. Rather, it must be conceived as emerging out of modernity, or even as radically modern. Welsch also characterizes it as an attempt to „work through" and „trans-

form" modernity. With its claim of constant self-transformation, postmodernity, as a cognitive structure, essentially redeems much of what modernity had already called for: „Das Ende der Moderne geschieht (...) nicht durch Abbruch, sondern durch Transformation [**The end of modernity happens (...) not through demolition, but through transformation**" (Welsch, 1993, p. 26).

Nonetheless, significant differences can be observed on an epistemological level. In particular, the attempt of modern science to completely know and understand the world (Hegel: „only the whole can be true") gives way to the insight that "objective" reality and our (inter-) subjective life worlds can only be grasped incompletely, both in a theoretical and a practical sense, and that consequently **any knowledge must be relativized and contextualized**. Philosophy after Hegel, Welsch says, „is a philosophy of farewell from the whole, a philosophy that dissolves the brackets of unity" (Welsch 1993, p. 174). This view coincides with Einstein's theory of relativity, which had already denied the existence of an absolute reference point. The radical paradigm shift that took place in quantum physics, also suggested that every system is ultimately incomplete (Gödel), and that consequently, science in the age of postmodernity can only investigate relations between different systems. From an integral perspective, this view corresponds to a **meta-systematic perspective** (see below, chapter 5).

From this, postmodernity drew the epistemological conclusion that pluralism was inescapable, both with regard to society and a politically adequate understanding of it, as well as with regard to scientific inquiry in general. In the humanities and social sciences in particular, this led to the insight that uniform solutions and explanations were impossible, and that rather a variety of theories and models should be assumed to be valid or „true". On this basis, postmodern approaches have since then adopted a perspective that holds **a fundamental side by side of multiple truths to be the norm**.

This debate about the character of postmodern knowledge had been kicked off by the homonymous essay published by the French philosopher **Jean-Francois Lyotard**, in which he stated the **disintegration of the unity of knowledge and of previous great meta-narratives**. In 1979, Lyotard had worked on the question of what changes could be expected in the realm of knowledge based on the influence of the new information technologies in the most highly developed industrialized societies on behalf of the Québec University Council. In this context, while recognizing the great importance of the technologies in question, Lyotard denied that they were solely responsible for the „postmodern constitution of knowledge". Rather, he claimed that postmodern thinking was based on a constant „reflection on the peculiarity of modern knowledge" (Welsch 1993, p. 32). While modern knowledge had retained the idea of an „all-legitimate guiding principle" and thus produced at least three „meta-narratives" (the cognitive emancipation of mankind through the Enlightenment, the teleology of the reason in idealism, and the hermeneutics of sense in historism, see Welsch 1993), the post-modern era had made the modern idea of unity completely obsolete.

However, Lyotard does not emphasize the negative aspect alone, that is the dissolution of certainties and the disintegration of previous epistemological orders. Rather, he considers both as developmental steps and thus, as opportunities. In this sense, postmodernity is not characterized by an attitude of nostalgia or „mourning over the loss of totality" as it was displayed by many intellectuals at the end of the 19th century. Instead, it simply does not give faith to the previous meta-narratives anymore. From the shocking experience of confusion due to the delegitimization and the loss of what used to be familiar, comprehensive world-images, postmodernity choses a clear commitment to „releasing the parts", to their intrinsic value and to multiplicity as a vision. So the right to exist of different forms of

knowledge is no longer merely conceded as a necessary evil in postmodern thinking, but **multiperspectivity has** rather **become a value in itself**.

At the same time, the new social and political possibilities and constellations associated with the increased diversity and „multilingualism" (both literal and cultural) also create a new sense of optimism. The pinch of tentativeness, which, from the postmodern point of view, is inherent in every decision, also implies greater sense of ease and thus a new attitude towards life. The common denominator of all postmodern approaches is, therefore, the assumption of **radical pluralism**, which, as an existential experience, **becomes the basis of all theorizing**. Moreover, postmodernity is characterized not by larmoyancy or pessimism, but by the commitment to plurality, that is, to plurality as both a fact and an objective.

Some basic characteristics and differences between modern and postmodern thinking are presented in the following table.

Modernity	Postmodernity
Social structures are assumed as self-evident and given	Social structures are fundamentally questioned
There is pure knowledge, which is a representation of the world	Knowledge is always constructed by the subjects and penetrated by power structures
The role of science is to find answers and solutions	The role of science is to problematize answers and solutions
Reactive mode: observing an objective world, the subject is unimportant	Active mode: constructing the world, subjective sense-making
Conciously thinking subject is controlling his actions	The subject is not souvereign, but embedded into a context
Social discourse is a unity, complete and closed, mirroring reason/rationality and the order of the world	Discourse as *différance*, a rationality establishing itself
Contradictions and ambivalences are abnormal and have to be hidden/repressed	Contradictions and ambivalences are the normal state of things, inherent in the social
Determinism	Irreducible indeterminism

Table after Cooper and Burrels 1988, p. 101 and Koch, 2003, p. 233

At this point, note once again that the notion of arbitrariness, and thus indifference, does not do justice to the essence of philosophical postmodernity. Rather, if we wish to clearly reveal its deeper motives and to explain **postmodernity as a developmental step in the sense of greater differentiation and complexity**, we have to distinguish between two interpretations: the idea of arbitrariness as a result

of pure egocentrism on the one hand (each one does what he or she wants) and a conscious commitment to defending everyone's right to represent their own positions, values and theories, on the other hand. „Postmodern pluralism does not mean arbitrariness, but is a matter of a plurality and differentiation of liabilities", none of which, however, can claim universality anymore (Welsch, 1993, pp. 156 and 205). The concept of „pluralism" therefore means precisely the attitude of actively supporting and acting out différance (a mindful debate between different truth or value claims, in Lyotard: „différance"), which is regarded as necessary and inevitable. **To be postmodern is**, therefore, **to be aware of diversity and able to handle it appropriately**. In other words, to help to appreciate the plurality of rationalities, value systems and social orientations, and „let them play in peace".

Insofar as this is done in the service of effective criticism, which legitimates diversity in the interest of justice, postmodernity is **fundamentally democratic and anti-totalitarian**. Its protest is directed against any claims to social and political domination or control. It therefore urges politics to appreciate other perspectives and ways of meaning-making, and thus to allow as little injustice as possible (see Welsch 1993, p. 244). And since the (self) reflexive cognitive habitus of postmodern approaches is better capable than their modern precursors to **observe its own blind spots** (ibid., p. 245), they are more thorough in realizing these goals, as well as the ideals of democracy and justice themselves. Moreover, **postmodern thinking transforms the ideals of justice and democracy** at the same time. For since it is more aware of its own limitations and specificities, it also recognizes the possibity of other truths in principle – even if different from one's own (Welsch 1993, p. 245). Postmodernity „is not only fundamentally convinced that the situation can be presented quite differently from a different perspective with the same right, but that consciousness has consequences for concrete decisions and practices" Welsch 1993, p. 245, *my translation*). Therefore, the idea of justice is no longer embodied by the judge, but by the lawyer; it is seen less in a specific decision, but in the **practice of taking another perspective into account**. The postmodern notion of justice is also represented by the philosopher who ensures that the logic of the conflict itself is recognized, acted out and upon in a conscious and mindful way (Welsch 1993, p. 239).

From this perspective, postmodernity is certainly not situated beyond modernity, but is rather a „second modernity," which either sustains and updates it by differentiating itself from it (Welsch 1993, p. 82), or fully realizes some of its initial claims and demands. Lyotard himself described this relationship as follows: „**Postmodernity** is neither situated after modernity nor against it. It has already been included in it, even if in a hidden way" (Lyotard 1986, quoted from Welsch 1993, p. 82, FN 50). It, so to speak, **carries forward the initial modern project with more effective means and on the basis of a more differentiated understanding of the world** (Welsch 1993, p. 27). However, postmodernity is in some sense ambivalent or even contradictory, just as modernity, which it criticizes. Just as the faith of the latter in scientific and technical efficiency, progress, socio-economic and political and cultural achievements, also contained the shadow of totalitarianism, postmodern equally has two sides, that are in a mutual tension and dialog with each other.

Two essentially different versions of postmodernity can be distinguished here (Welsch 1993, p. 53), which have also become important for the ways in which leadership has been conceived, practiced and explored in the postmodern era. This is because sociologists have drawn different conclusions from the observation that „modern times ended after the Second World War with the radical transformation of communication, knowledge and energy technologies" (Etzioni, 1968, cited after Welsch 1993, p. 26). While David Riesman, Alain Touraine and Daniel Bell continued to focus on technological progress, based on the concept of „**postindustrial society**", Amitai Etzioni emphasized

the transformation and (self) transformation of modern values under these conditions. The first group, for whom American sociologist Daniel Bell has been particularly important since the 1970s, comes to the conclusion that late modernity pushes forward the process of "technologization", even more intensively. With the alliance of science and technology, in particular so-called „intellectual technologies" now gain a significance of their own. In so far as this happens in service of the dream „to arrange the mass society" (Welsch 1993, p. 27), this version of postmodernity remains true to the ideal of **manipulation and control** – and thus also carries forward its own technocratic dangers. So from the perspective of these authors, the claim that „postindustrial" society is a continuation and enhancement of modernity, and not its revision, is consistent.

Unlike Bell, Etzioni sees the core of the postmodern era in the ideal of an **„active, self-determining"** **society**, which is „sensitive to the needs of its changing membership, and in an intense and constant process of self-transformation" (Welsch 1993, p. 26). Similar to Lyotard, Etzioni emphasizes the fundamental (inner) autonomy of this „active society" as opposed to technocratic determination. According to Etzioni, the option opening up in the postmodern era is an active one, in other words, the **conscious emancipation of a dynamic and plural society from technocratic dependency**.

So these two versions of postmodernity differ with regard to the way they deal with plurality and difference, even though both acknowledge them as a fact. One places its focus on and celebrates them, the other searches for new wholes beyond or in the context of plurality. While the first emphasizes openness and dynamics, and therefore is a constant reminder that unity is always temporary and un-stable, the other strives for building something new through an integration of the real, existing differ-ences. Both versions tend to put the modern focus on technology into perspective, in favor of a shift towards more context-sensitive, systemic and thus ecological views. This includes an awareness that meaning is never static, but can only be constructed through dynamic social exchange. At the same time, both approaches address the tension between reason and plurality as a central epistemological problem. This question will reoccur with the transition from postmodern to integral world views. For the moment however, I will first consider how postmodern thinking has transformed the field of leadership theory, research and practice.

Postmodern approaches to leadership – theory and practice

From a postmodern perspective, the quality of leadership theory and practice is a function of their ability to take into account the values of self-reflection and context-sensitivity and to fundamentally recognize a variety of positions and perspectives as a basic social fact. This orientation becomes important both with regard to leading specific organizations and society as a whole. Against the backdrop of a postmodern understanding, it becomes increasingly clear to what extent modern ideals of leadership have, on the one hand, certain blind spots and thus remain one-sided and that, on the other hand, they also encountered manifold practical limitations.

For example, the modern approach to scientific analysis (based on an outdated understanding of phys-ics), that was the basis of Taylorism (see Freedman, 1992, pp. 26f.), disregards social dynamics and phenomena of emergence within complex social contexts and structures. However, similar methods prove to be undercomplex in non-determined, volatile or chaotic conditions, as they tend to prevail in today's economic system. These must rather be tackled by perspectives as they are now extensively researched by quantum physics. These and other limitations of the modern worldview have caused

modifications in leadership research and practice in the course of the twentieth century, based on a much greater self-reflection. How, then, does postmodern organizational and leadership research differ from what was previously described as modern? And what are postmodern leadership ideas?

First of all, it must be emphasized that **organizational research** itself, as we know it today, **is essentially a postmodern phenomenon**. For only the emergence of an abstract concept of organization as a system, based on the observation of a variety of forms of organization, made (leadership in) organizations comparable, and allowed for constructing abstract types and concepts for understanding them (see Apelt & Tacke, 2012, p. 16). The diversification of bureaucratic organizations and the typologies developed around this in the 1960s were the starting point for the emergence of organizational sociology as a distinct field of research (ibid., cf. Klatetzki & Tacke, 2005, p. 10). In this context, a differentiation of the modern (and not very reflexive) concept of a „one best way" of organization took place, which in particular included a departure from rigid and linear concept of modern bureaucracy as the only thinkable ideal of rational organization. Along with giving up the belief in the taylorist, technocratically organized enterprise model as the only „scientific" form of efficient organization, went an irritation, or even a shattering of the modern conviction of having the most developed world view oneself. This was connected to an **increasing awareness of the importance of the observer** for perceiving, observing and interpreting the world. This included, as a consequence, an awareness of the historical context and the conditions that social phenomena, including scientific theories, are embedded in and emerging from (Apelt & Tacke, 2012, p. 13). While knowledge became reflexive and with more social groups embracing postmodern thinking (Klatetzki & Tacke, 2005, p. 22), **contingency theories** gained influence. And with their assumption of diversity and plurality as an ontological given, single explanatory frames ceased to be convincing also in the realms of leadership and organizational research (Apelt & Tacke, 2012, p. 9).

Rather, the logic of today's postmodern leadership research can be characterized as shifting its focus away from static structures and hierarchies, and, in fact, even away from rigid typologies, **towards more open and flexible categories**, including more open, flexible and flat forms of organization (Schreyögg & Koch, 1999, p. 12). In this outlook, both structures and processes are constantly questioned, and the tension between them them is addressed as a new research topic.

The conceptionalization of such tensions is based, for instance, on the methodological work of postmodern thinkers such as Lyotard and Derrida who first problematized différance (conflict, antagonism) as a basic social fact. It is clear that this involves a more complex understanding of the various aspects of leadership and organizations and their interrelations than it had been available in modern thought. While modern thinking and theorizing was characterized by its tendency to divide the world into categories – and thus by searching for unambiguousness on the one hand – and by the construction of opposites on the other hand, postmodern thinking tries to simply understand them as different aspects of reality. In this sense, postmodern leadership thinking ultimately also in- and excludes modern leadership ideals at the same time (Derrida called this the „supplément principle" of the excluded excluded, and pointed out that all-too-simple oppositions prevent necessary differentiations, cf. Schreyögg & Koch, 1999, p. 16).

Below outlining a number of **examples of how tensions inherent in leadership practice are problematized by postmodern leadership approaches** which have identified the following dichotomies so far:

Structures and processes

While modernity implicitly assumed stable structures as the „normal" state of affairs and treated processes of changed at best as exceptions, postmodern leadership research, in contrast, focuses on change in the course of which supposedly stable structures transform. Thereby, the perception of the character of structures is itself transformed into something always only provisional, discursively constructed, as it were. Instead of stable and fixed „entities", postmodern leadership thinking rather looks at transitions, gray zones, and shifts in meaning within existing structures – or, put differently, at processes of (re) structuring.

Uniqueness and ambiguity

This pair of opposites is closely related to the postmodern awareness of contexts and their (inner) contradictions. While modern organizational theory, as has been shown above, was fundamentally striving for clear answers and results, and assumed that there is a „right" solution to all organizational and management problems, postmodern theory is particularly interested in paradoxical, ambivalent and ambiguous constellations in which clear decisions are no longer possible. What's more, the postmodern view would deny the possibility of clear descriptions of reality alltogether. Rather, it calls for the best possible perception and analysis of all (relevant) aspects in each constellation, in view of achieving sustainable and justifiable decisions, which should be optimal, but will never be perfect.

Autonomy and control

From the general lack of clarity in postmodern thinking follows the impossibility to (at least completely) control what happens within organizations on a daily basis both cognitively and practically. Rather, the awareness of the dynamics and the ambivalence of internal organizational processes also implies a consciousness of the limits of organizing and controlling in general. Therefore, the idea of autopoietic, self-organizing systems and their specific dynamics has gained influence for understanding how organizational and leadership processes work.

Masculinity versus femininity

This topos is based on criticisms of traditional forms of domination and suppression, which are still largely reproduced by modern organizational theory and practice, and which are often associated with a male predominance in decision-making within companies and organizations. The postmodern field of „gender studies", in particular, has contributed to raising greater awareness for these, often implicit, mechanisms of inclusion or exclusion. They have also shown that, beyond formal equality, manifold forms of inequality persist.

Cognition and emotion

The ideal-type of bureaucracy as described by Weber distinguished itself not least by its formal rationality, which by dismissing moods and feelings, and thus, personal ties in decision-making, was rightly regarded as a great advance in the sense of establishing formal equality and justice. However, what initially appears to be an achievement of bureaucratic rule, could, from a postmodern perspective, also be viewed as a reductionist perception of problems within organizations. It was not least the Hawthorne experiments, which have shown the importance of emotional factors in everyday business life. Meanwhie, cognition and emotionality are therefore viewed as complementary and, to some degree, inseparable qualities.

Homogeneity and heterogeneity

Along with the tension between unity and diversity, and between unambiguousness and ambiguity also comes a philosophical and epistemological discussion about the possibility and desirability of consensus versus dissent, or of homogeneity versus heterogeneity in social life. On the basis of the postmodern understanding of the world as a fundamentally diverse and plural, Lyotard has formulated the claim that „consensus means repression", 1993). This means that in a plural world, no final consensus is possible. Homogeneity is thus always an illusion or an unfulfilled desire in a basically plural world.

Centrism and polycentrism (see Schreyögg & Koch, 1999, p. 219)

Finally, postmodern thinking within organizational and leadership theory also discusses the tension between centr(al)ism and decentralized or polycentric ways of leading and organizing. This includes, for instance, polar opposites such as hierarchy and heterarchy, or rigid versus flexible structures. While modern bureaucracy can be associated with the first aspect respectively, postmodern approaches such as those described earlier prefer light, flexible and undogmatic forms, structures and processes as they can be found beyond what classic modern bureaucratic models have to offer (see Schreyögg & Koch, 1999, p. 17-21)

Due to these shifts in perspective, the postmodern reorientation of leadership research is often referred to as a **„relational turn" or „relational paradigm"** (Manella, 2003). On the one hand, it considers social structures and organizations as inextricably interwoven with their contexts. On the other hand, it also focuses on the dynamis occurring both between people within single organizations and with other organizations, as well as on the dynamic constellations that are continually (re-) producing in result of these dynamics. Just as Karl Marx described society as the „sum of the interrelations between individuals and not as a mere sum of individuals" (Deeg, Küpers & Weibler, 2010, p. 26), the relational perspective views the constellations and networks, into which individuals and organizations are embedded, as configurative meshworks, wholes (ibid.) or, as Foucault would put it, as dispositives. And since interaction always creates unpredictability, this also implies a shift from the earlier, rather static, objectivist orientation and its search for causal explanations towards plural and sometimes polycentric processes of becoming and renewal. It thus puts chances and possibilities for change into the center, that each Individual, and every kind of relationship is subject to (Manella, 2003, p. 11). The now more systemic or even holistic perspective overcomes the modern atomistic and mechanistic approach, starting to look more at processes of emergence and (re) structuring and their interrelations. Based on the characteristics of postmodern leadership thinking presented so far, the following comparison to modern management concepts can be made:

Comparison of modern management and postmodern leadership thinking

Modern and bureaucratic understanding	Postmodern, relational understanding
Organizations are closed, quasi-stable and non-contradictory systems / structures with properties that can be clearly described	Processual understanding of organizations, internal contradictions are inherent. There are no „complete" institutions. Everything is embedded in contexts with which it interacts.

Knowledge about organizations is objective and referential → management is an exact science	Knowledge about organizations is subjective and self-referential → leadership is a skill based on experience
The purpose and function of organizations is to efficiently control, administer and dominate (specific areas of) the world → the leader is a manager	Organizations are socially constructed and in-stitutionally embedded in larger contexts. A comprehensive control of (parts of the world) is impossible. Efficiency also depends on environmental factors → the leader must be able to understand complex systemic in-terrelations
The process of changing/rationalizing organizations is intentional and fully controllable → change processes can be planned top down	The process of changing/rationalizing organizations is not or, at best partially controllable and happens largely unconsciously → change processes must be co-created
Members of organizations are rational and autonomous actors who can critically re-flect their values → they can be managed	Communication processes are not rational per se. Free play of discourses. Organizations are open, unstable, dynamic systems → need for adaptive leadership
Clear distinction between means and ends, depersonalization, actors are free of interests	Diverging interests in organizations influence choices, members tend to be seen as persons
Rules are unambiguous (objective) → management is about defining rules and ensuring compliance	Rules need to be interpreted; contradictory interpretations are possible → leadership is about fostering consensus
Rule-, consensus-based or rational resolution of conflicts → good rules are paramount, there is „one best way" of doing things	Disagreements and conflicts are omnipresent, surprises and unpredictability always possible → leadership needs to be flexible enough to deal with them

Table adapted from: Cooper and Burell, 1988, p. 107, Clegg, 1990, and Koch, 2003, p. 237 and 247.

The table makes clear that within the framework of postmodern thinking, the whole understanding of leadership changes, along with the qualities, means, and instruments deemed necessary for it to be successful. Moreover, as an ideal type (not yet on the agenda of Weber), **postmodern leadership** can be described as follows:

- With the pluralisation, flexibilization and growing sensitivity of the postmodern perception of internal and external contexts and phenomena, the focus of leadership moves **away from rigid**

- **hierarchical structures to the conditions of possibility of these structures** and thus, to the processes of their emergence, change and development. Consequently, designing such processes becomes a crucial leadership task.

- Contrary to modern leadership, which can be described as a „management through organization", the **grey zones and tensions** inherent in organizational structures now enter the focus, as well as concomitant conflicts and dynamics. Postmodern leadership claims to perceive, appreciate and integrate the **plurality of perspectives** of participants, members and stakeholders, and to work constructively with their inherent conflicts and underlying dynamics.

- The importance of conflicts, and the processes to resolve them places the challenge of **communication at the center** of the leadershp task. The latter is increasingly about creating appropriate spaces for negotiating and balancing competing interests within a team or organization, and thus calls for certain interpersonal and emotional skills.

- Along with the new focus on the qualities of comunication, rigid rules, structures and hierarchies lose their importance. Postmodern leadership gives up the ideal of comprehensive central planning and control. Rather, it relies on the **competence and cooperation** of all members of the organization and on the positive effect of their participation in (as decentralized as possible) decision-making processes. **Teamwork** is therefore of an important value.

- As an ultimately socially constructed phenomenon, leaderships turn into a process that is constantly (re)negotiated in the context of existing (inter)relationships. Moreover, the categories „leader" and „led/subordinate" are not defined a priori anymore, but turn into flexible entities whose meanings can be redefined in different contexts. **Leadership is** therefore not bound to certain individuals, as in the more static and hierarchical traditional understanding. Rather, it is **viewed as a cooperative process involving the whole organization** (see Dachler, 2005, p. 45). For this reason, relational approaches to leadership have a preference for lateral and polycentric (distributed) concepts of organizational steering, such as network and shared leadership (see examples below).

- In the context of open cooperative systems, personal qualities such as the willingness to take over responsibility and self-initiative are increasingly important. Therefore, promoting the **personal development** of team members is seen as a new leadership task. As a matter of fact, the postmodern leader is sometimes described by the metaphor of a gardener who cultivates a living organism (see Hauser 2013, p. 285).

So as a rule, we can say that while the importance of formal structures decreases, **the role of knowledge, intuition, and emotion, and thus of dynamic, informal and inner factors increases**. In this context, the boundaries between leadership and organization become more permeable. Moreover, postmodern leadership is often seen as the transition (back) from „management to leadership" (Hauser, 2013), from the paradigm of planning and control to an attitude of openness towards unforeseen dimensions and aspects, dynamics and developments.

At the same time, the means and instruments used by postmoden leadership increasingly focus on the person or personality of team membes or employees, on their thinking, their subjective attitudes, motivations etc. (i.e. on inner factors, including organizational culture) and less on their external behavior alone. Discipline is transformed into self-discipline, control increasingly takes place inside the individual (without, of course, leaving decision-making totally up to them, for postmodern control concepts demand a self-regulation that *is* pre-defined by the overall value system and thus implicitly controlled, Deeg & Weibler, 2010, p. 29). Among the common management tools used by postmodern leadership are employees' development, management principles, guiding values and the instruments of symbolic

and aesthetic leadership. On this basis, modern and postmodern leadership approaches can be schematically compared as follows:

Concept	Management (modern ideal type)	Leadership (postmodern ideal type)
Paradigm	Technocratic, mechanistic; linear, serial thought	Systemic, organic thought
Main focal points	Organizational structure	Organizational culture, culture of learning and feedback
Organizations perceived as	Hierarchies	Networks
Ways of organizing work	Taylorism, specialization, functional division of labor	Process orientation, overlapping interfaces, light, slim forms
Basic attitude and method	Control	Trust, support
Dealing with information	Restrictive	Open
Mode of cooperation	Separation	Teams, group work and approaches for joining forces
Role of the leader	Expert, specialist, personally impartial	Coach, personal relationships with team members, appreciative
Motivation	Rewards, status	Break down barriers, create possibi-lities for development, arouse enthusiasm
Change happens through	Planning and prescribing	Initiating, designing and managing simultaneity
Character and perception of development	Continuous, linear, towards clear goals	Partly organic, partly chaotic, autopoietic, self-reinforcing, quantum leaps are possible

Table adapted from: Hauser, 2013, p. 285 and 288.

In practice, however, the development towards the postmodern paradigm took place not as a radical break, but rather gradually, as a process of soft transitions and manifold overlaps between modern, late modern and postmodern elements. In this regard, I have made the claim that **professional organizations** are an example of a transitional tpye. While they emerged as quite modern forms in many respects, they are also more complex structures than the classic modern bureaucracy (see section on modern leadership) which, in turn, make specific requirements to leadership. Just as the

modern ideal type, professional organizations attach great importance to technical and specialist authority, and thus to competent, professional solutions, as well as to high-quality work based on a specific professional ethics.

In contrast to the bureaucratic ideal type, however, organizational sociology inspired by Parsons rightly describes professional organizations as egalitarian, unhierarchical systems, consisting of colleges of experts, equal in rights, who are accustomed to autonomous, self-determined and flexible work and to think in a cosmopolitan way. In this understanding, professional organizations are also characterized by democratic decisions and therefore do not require a clearly defined, more than formal leadership. So as in the modern model, these organizations basically lead themselves via their decision-making mechanisms. The professional type of organization can thus be described as an enhancement of the modern ideal type, or as a late-modern model, given that it too operates on the basis of (self-) leadership through organization.

In connection to this structural view of professional organizations, the question arises in what sense the postmodern demands made on leadership also imply a qualitative **transformation of how good leadership is perceived**. As suggested in the table above, the postmodern leadership ideal places a strong focus on the design of processes of communication and conflict resolution between different stakeholder perspectives. For being successful, they thus require a highly developed ability of social perspective taking, as well as of complex, systemic thinking.

This goes beyond the previously described qualities of „professional" leadership (such as authority based on competence and collegiality, cf. Klatetzki & Tacke, 2005, p. 13), for at the center of attention of postmodern leadership is not so much solving concrete tasks, but rather to **transform the organization as a whole**. So the aim here is no longer only to apply specific knowledge and technical expertise to given problems. Rather, specific social competences are called for which allow for raising the level of „collective intelligence" of the whole team. This implies a new transformation of perspective in that postmodern leadership must also be able to step back and let go of its own agenda. This is because the processes of communication and change it facilitates are open-ended, by definition, and thus not predictable. This means that more traditional leadership claims have to be abandoned, and makes new demands on the personality of the leader: they must have a sufficiently developed reflexivity and self-distance in order to put their own perspective behind those of other stakeholders.

Although „postmodern leadership" can be described in this way in general terms, the landscape of existing postmodern leadership consists of a **plurality of approaches**, perspectives, and interpretations of the characteristics outlined above. Three of them will be presented in some more detail here.

Examples

A number of typical postmodern topoi, such as the sensitivity to gender specific leadership behaviors, or to emotions and cultural contexts, have led to the emergence of specific leadership approaches (and fashions!) that address these topoi individually (separately). Examples are what is called „Emotion-sensitive leadership", „Multicultural Leadership" and „Female Leadership" (see Weibler, 2012, chapter E.III.1,2 and 6). These approaches, focusing on specific aspects of postmodern thinking, can only be mentioned, but are not described extensively here. Instead, I will present three postmodern approaches to leadership, which more clearly illustrate the general shifts in perspective that have occurred in the context of the postmodern, relational paradigm. While they emphasize various aspects

of the latter, they are not mutually exclusive. At the same time, they don't build up on or complement each other in a conclusive way either.

Network Leadership

First of all, the concept of network leadership must be mentioned here. Even though a uniform definition of the concept is difficult, the network approach clearly adopts the relational perspective and emphasizes the importance of going beyond dyadic models of exercising influence. It proposes to take a systemic view of how all leadership efforts are embedded in organizational and interpersonal networks, each of which may function according to their own, different modes of coordination (Weibler, 2012, p. 587). Networks can be defined as „**a set of actors connected by a set of ties**", whereby actors can be persons, teams, organizations or even concepts (Borgatti & Foster, 2003, cited after Weibler, 2012, p. 585). The below examples of leadership studies using a network perspective are primarily research oriented, providing deeper insights into the practical significance of networks in day-to-day leadership and organizational life, or looking for how specific networks generate specific relations between individual and collective leadership (Weibler, 2012, p. 595). They are not so much about a specific leadership behavior or style resulting from this.

The network perspective examines the connection between informal social (networks of) relationships within organizations and their specific relational patterns on the one hand and the possibility and effectiveness of leadership on the other. It could be observed that attributions of leadership differ according to the position that the investigated actors held within a given network, as well as to the prevailing relationship qualities. In 2002, Pastor, Meindl & Mayo found a convergence between the attribution of charismatic leadership and structural proximity in networks. Neubert & Taggar (2004) found a connection between a person's (especially man's) central position in certain networks and the emergence of leadership. Last not least, Wald & Weibler (2005) also confirmed the effect of networking on how leadership was attributed, whereby the proximity in the respective network was decisive (see Weibler, 2012, p. 588). Another focus of network approaches is to investigate the efficiency of teams in reation with network effects (eg. Balkundi & Harrison, 2006). From an integral perspective, these research foci can be located in the upper and lower right quadrants and, to some degree, also in the lower left quadrant (see chapter 4).

As an enhancement of the network perspective, Weibler & Rohn-Endres (2010) have proposed to expand it through phenomena of „emergent coordination" and call this concept „**shared network leadership**" (SNL). In this context, they have examined the relationships inside networks based on the field qualities of communication outlined by Scharmer (2009). They defined the most developed quality of communication („generative dialogue") as the command variable, i.e. the best possible ability to act in a shared and coordinated way within a network. This, they claim, can be understood as „collective leadership" (Shared Network Leadership). More specifically, individual and collective leadership activities are „strongly interwoven" and are mutually dependent in such a setting. This means that the influence of an individual leader is primarily emerging through sensibly „steering" the ongoing processes of relating and interacting, through structuring the overall relational setting, as well as by influencing relevant contextual parameters (Weibler, 2012, p. 596). Leadership is thus primarily mediated by collective processes and not via exercising influence on individual network actors through dyadic rela-

tions. The context-specific form of Shared Network Leadership therefore appears as a leadership pattern that combines collective and individual leadership under the umbrella of an intensive learning conversation (Weibler, 2012, p. 596).

Shared Leadership

This idea is also at the center of the concept of Shared Leadership, the ideal of joint, mutual self-steering of all involved team members. The latter can be regarded as the paradigmatic foundation of the postmodern shift in focus from classic, unidirectional control concepts to systemic, relational, polycentric concepts. While SNL is strongly focusing on existing networks (which sometimes also operate in more conventional, eg hierarchical ways), SL looks at units which reciprocally steer themselves beyond traditional hierarchies (Hauser, 2013, p. 294). This is based on the idea and the goal of **integrating the individual team member completely into the ongoing overall processes** – and even of making it co-responsible for them. Moreover, Shared Leadership is defined as „a dynamic interactive influence process among individuals in groups for which the objective is to lead one another to the achievement of group or organizational goals or both" (Pearce & Conger, 2003, p. 1). In other words, it is about involving team members into the leadership process, which is why the concept is also known as „divided", „distributed" or „collective leadership". These terms are often used synonymously in the literature. The concept holds that leadership is a task, which can be performed by several people (sometimes simultaneously). It builds up on the insight that strength arises mainly from community and mutual support (rather than from competition), and that an appreciative environment provides room for personal development – which also benefits the organization as a whole. The underlying „Theory Y" is grounded in a positive idea of man, according to which people can grow and strive for personal development (Hauser, 2013, 288).

At the same time, it often remains unclear, to what degree leadership roles are formally or only informally distributed – and what the consequences of this are. In this regard, we find a continuum reaching from situational to emergent coordination, as a result of dynamic processes (Weibler, 2012, p. 582). As a rule, the SL concept is based on the recognition that today's societies are characterized by an **increase in complexity and dynamic in all areas of life, which creates completely new types of problems** (Hauser, 2013, speaks of *dynaxity* and „randomized systems"). Therefore, the shared leadership concept considers a correspondingly far-reaching theoretical reorientation to be necessary. Hauser describes the ability of leadership to guide and shape ongoing developments in accordance with the respective environmental processes as „**dynaxibility**". One of the metaphors which are often mentioned in this context is therefore that of the organization as a living organism and of leadership as a gardener who supports processes of(self) development and common learning with the help of a watering can and fertilizer (Hauser, 2013, p. 286 and 289).

Shared leadership thus implies a change in organizational culture, which requires all members of an organization to rethink their guiding norms of conduct. The idea of **cooperative, team-based, and decentralized working structures** is closely connected to the general cultural and value change that has been outlined previously, namely towards more egalitarian relationships in both private and public realms, a stronger insistence on democratic practices in all areas of life, a sensitivity for individual needs, as well as internal motivational incentives. In some sense, SL assumes that a certain amount of

informal leadership is always present in all groups (Leaderful practice, Hauser, 2013, p. 92). Note, however, that this *paradigmatic idea* of shared leadership is to be distinghished from how it has actually been implemented in practice.

Among the challenges resulting from the shared leadership ideal for leadership practice are, for example, to promote patterns of communication in a non-hierarchical manner within (informal) networks, as well as to design processes which integrate teams beyond single networks. Leading a team as a team requires the ability to to think holistically and to use and leverage flexible, dynamic, and systemic tools such as *action learning* and feedback loops in adequate ways at all levels. It also requires so-called **soft skills** such as the ability to ask questions, to listen, to support others' self-reflection, to build confidence and trust, to troubleshoot problems, and to **achieve common goals beyond hierarchies** (Hauser, 2013, p. 293). *Team leadership capacity* is understood here as a resource „that develops as a function of individual human capital (knowledge, skills, and abilities) – including the leadership resources of a formal or informal leader, as well as teamwork and team learning" (Weibler, 2012, P. 576). So individual cognitive capacities, emotional competences of all involved members, as well as context conditions such as adequate group sizes and an open, result-oriented team culture are all prerequisites for shared leadership to be successful (Weibler, 2012, p. 575).

The benefits of this leadership concept include greater flexibility and quality in decision-making by involving team members, and a greater adaptiveness to complex environments. While there is still no broad empirical foundation for SL, the positive effects of well functioning teams on various parameters of organizational and business success are obvious (Weibler, 2012, p. 573). The concept has meanwhile been elaborated in the direction of collective leadership emerging within and out of teams. This is an extension of the original focus since emerging group processes go beyond merely designing team processes. The focus here shifts from leadership *of* a team to leadership *by* a team. Thus, the previous technical thinking about organizations as controllable machines is completely abandoned. Leadership loses its character as a role and service, and fuses with the team or group process itself. This very far-reaching understanding of SL has hitherto been described, above all, for group processes based on Scharmers „generative dialogue" (i.e. by Fletcher & Käufer, 2003, pp. 38f.).

With the Generative Dialogue as a highly developed learning space, the group has developed *collective* leadership capacities and the group as a whole is practicing leadership. For this reason, Weibler (2012, p. 583), coming from a more conventional understanding of leadership has, referred to the concept of the SL as an oxymoron, as a contradiction in itself, given that the paradigm shift to an „interaction and process-oriented, relational understanding of leadership is not generally accepted yet. Moreover, the previously chosen definition of leadership would itself have to be taken into consideration again at this point, and „updated" or redefined in the context of processes such as generative dialogue. However, this already refers to integral leadership, in which the relational paradigm is expanded to an inter-relational one. When we get to that point, the question of the character and possible design of shared leadership can be answered in a new and more differentiated way. But first, we will present post-heroic leadership as a third example of a much discussed postmodern approach.

Post-heroic leadership

While „Heroic Leadership" has previously been sketched as strongly related to the person of the leader and their dominant personality features (usually connotated in a masculine way, see section 1.1), post-modern approaches radically distance themselves from this. Among the characteristics of post-modern leadership models, often called post-heroic, Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff (2007) subsume more **participatory and communicative, relational qualities** (tending to be viewed as more feminine). On the basis of this distinction, the self-understanding and characteristics of post-heroic leadership, introduced as a concept for the first time by Charles Handy in his book „The Age of Unreason" (1990), can be broadly delineated as follows:

Heroic Leadership	Post-heroic Leadership
One single responsible leader	leadership is carried out jointly by several persons, or within networks, and team members/employees are involved
Focus is on leaders, who have authority qua position	Systemic view of (self-) leadership processes within organizations
Subordinates are understood as inferior and interchangeable	All employees/team members acquire knowledge and assume (co-) responsibility
The entire wisdom is concentrated in the leader	All employees have something to contribute to the success of the overall project, are valued, supported and involved in decision-making processes
The leader emphasizes his or her external visibility, keeps up his/her appearance	Decision-making by consensus
Vulnerability of the organization in case of departure or loss of the leader	Less dependence on the person of the leader (s) The leader is dispensable
Individualism, control, assertiveness and dominance are important elements of leadership	Empathy, vulnerability, social skills and cooperation gain importance; giving members space to unfold and develop
Predominant logic/understanding of efficiency: producing things, to do/make things happen	Predominant logic/understanding of efficiency: How can people develop best?
Masculine appearance & behavior	Feminine appearance & behavior
Leadership focuses on individuals	Focus on joint action and interaction
Static role models	Dynamic processes of collectively constructing meaning, including roles

Understood as a „vote against" the heroic leadership paradigm (Hauser), postheroic leadership prop-agates a shift in perspective **from vertical to horizontal processes of influence** and thus has numerous parallels with shared leadership:

- the awareness that certain goals can be achieved better together than by individual efforts, and that individual growth as well as collective processes such as learning conversations have an emancipatory potential (Weibler, 2012, p. 579 and 583),
- a relational understanding of leadership, in which processes of influence take place laterally rather than vertically, through social interaction or emergent coordination, whereby non-predefined leadership roles emerge from the entire team,
- the notion of a dynamically constructed social structure and order,
- an emphasis on close coordination with the environment, the variance and flexibility of processes and their coupling with contexts of place and hierarchy, as well as the resulting differences and interactions between the local rationalities and realities involved
- a general „downgrading of leaders" and „upgrading of followers" based on the post-modern tendency to „level the playing field"
- consequently, the diminishing importance of classical power mechanisms in favor of technical imperatives, leading to the loss of control or even to the „end of leadership" (Kellerman) in the conventional (heroic) sense.

Seen in this way, Shared Leadership is certainly a post-heroic concept. And in fact, the SL approach sees itself as genuinely or even only post-heroical (see also Weibler, 2012, who does not clearly differentiated this though...). So are SL and PHL equivalents? Notwithstanding a great deal of overlapping, the idea of postheroic leadership, examined closer, also sets a number of own accents, and in some respects goes beyond pure „leadership in the plural".

In general, postheroic leadership is usually described less by means of certain techniques than as a set of competences, and thus by the corresponding traits embedded in the person of the leader. In particular, postheroic intelligence is considered to be a „clever way of leadership, which takes complexity into account in order not to make decisions that are not necessarily simple, but inconspicuously effective" (Baecker, 2012, p. 270; *my translation*). The core of the postheroic approach can therefore be seen in that it no longer excludes existing complexity from its perception, but rather places it into the center of management theory (Baecker, 2012, p. 277). Dirk Baecker calls postheroic management a form of life. It comprises the ability to implement irritations into orders and procedures that remain susceptible and sensitive to further irritations, as well as the ability to adequately deal with uncertainty, contradictions, and complexity, and make them workable (Baecker 1994, p. 9). He therefore sees the manager as an „artist of contradictions" (Baecker, 1994, p. 36). So what is complexity in this understanding? And how are experiences of conflict and non-linearity turned into instruments of theoretical understanding?

Baecker's postulate that leadership is only possible if it takes into account the complexity of the organization understands complexity primarily in a horizontal, multi-dimensional sense, according to which what happens inside the organization is both a „material, technical, social, intellectual, emotional and ecological process". Postheroic leadership thus consists in „starting from the complexity of leadership tasks" and, in so doing, to consider material and technical aspects together with cognitive, psychological, social, economic and ecological dimensions which, according to his claim, are in coevolution. Being aware of this, the postheroic leader appears as an interdisciplinary observer taking multiple perspectives.

At the same time, postheroic leadership makes „essential, as well as involuntary, contributions to the structure and maintenance of the complexity of the organization", even if this complexity is subsequently „neutralized" by subjecting it to economic and technical rationalities (Baecker, 2012, pp. 275-277), that every organization is confronted in the external world. Strictly speaking, a leader is concerned not only with the complexity of his organization, but also with that of its environment: A good leader strengthens both sides: he or she serves both the complexity of the organization and that of the economy in which it is embedded. By constantly re-examining with which ideas, solutions, and processes one has made which experiences under what circumstances, both the inside and the outside can be acted upon without jeopardizing the existence of the respective team itself (Baecker, 2012, p. 269). Against this background, Baecker claims that being politically wise means not only to offer distinctions, but also to be able to make them disappear, if necessary (Baecker, 2012, p. 270).

This makes visible a new quality of postheroic leadership: by **not asking *what* people do, but *how* they do it** (Baecker, 1994, p. 80), the concept not only wants to develop the capacity of team members to deal with a particular problem, but, above all, their **ability to identify a problem as a problem**. It is therefore about helping the organization to identify the right questions, and thus also goals that have not been pre-defined in advance. In this way, organizations turn from problem-solving systems into goal-seeking systems (Baecker, 2012, p. 273). In other words, the process of searching, is placed over existing knowledge, that is, the status quo. It describes a practice beyond the usual dilemma, in which the task seeks, as it were, its own solutions.

Against the backdrop of such a radically open, postmodern understanding of society (the future is contingent and formable), this is not an abandonment of form, but a change of form (Baecker, 1994, p. 27). The extent to which this is also associated with „an end to heroism" can remain open at this point. While Baecker (1994, p.18f.) holds that heroisms in the traditional sense would cease to appear here, as „opium for the people", I believe there is rather a **fundamental change in the meaning of heroism itself as a result of postmodernity**. The latter seems to be transforming here into a more modest and inconspicuous, because decentered heroism, which no longer attaches great importance to this and similar labels at all.

Concluding remarks: From postmodern to integral perspectives on leadership

The examples of postmodern leadership concepts presented here are of course no exhaustive overview of postmodern leadership thought, especially since the latter is precisely characterized by inner plurality, appreciating different perspectives and concerns, and by a heterogenous discursive field. According to the assumption that all discursive perspectives are of equal value, **the existence of a „one best way" of leadership (and organizing) is fundamentally rejected**. Instead, postmodern attention turns towards **processes of defining, designing and co-constructing leadership relations**, ideally in non-hierarchical ways, which are made increasingly conscious here. In doing so, it strives to continuously improve, synchronize and, in some respects, also to standardize certain processes in the service of team efficiency. Thus, postmodern leadership can nevertheless also be understood as a radical, **more conscious version of modernism**. By broadening its persective beyond the mechanistic modern understanding, it opens the view to a more differentiated perception and understanding, as well as to more sophisticated and more flexible solutions. In this sense, it can be said to actually „encash" some of modernity's original claims.

At the same time, the question remains, to what extent leadership concepts based on postmodern thinking and the relational paradigm actually „encash" their own claims, not only theoretically, but how they are able to implement them in practice. This question refers back to the above mentioned **tension between plurality and reason**, which ultimately remains unresolved within the framework of the postmodern paradigm. This is not surprising, given that the essence of (especially the pluralist stream) of postmodern thinking is mainly about observing tensions, gray zones and complexities, based on its assumption of a fundamental contingency of the social, and to emphasize their importance for a new understanding of leadership. The latter can essentially be described as looking for ways to integrate complexity (which is understood primarily in a horizontal way here), based on an ideal of distributing leadership more equally (and less hierarchically) among team members.

The fact that by doing so, a different, equally essential dimension is conceptually disregarded, or is not (yet) in the focus of attention here. By ignoring namely the dimension of vertical complexity, important **structural differences are de facto conceptually dissolved** in the process (at least in the more radical egalitarian variant of postmodern thinking). As has been shown earlier, both versions of postmodernity, the pluralistic and the integrative one, have existed in juxtaposition from the beginning. However, the integrative strand has so far been less elaborated within the theoretical discussions in the field. More precisely, postmodern leadership has implemented the integrative part of its program so far, above all, in the sense of integrating *horizontal* complexity. It is perhaps due to its „horizontal fixation" that it is **lacking** a comparable **vertical depth** for the time being.

Given that the postmodern understanding of the openness and contingency of organizational and leadership processes has, in a certain sense, implied a strong normative plea, it can be questioned whether postmodern thinking is actually a „modernity without ideology". For even the postulate of normative indifference towards (or of the equal value of) different concepts of truth, law, or humanity, contains a value claim, namely that to smooth out existing differences, in particular vertical ones. Based on the assumption of an equal value of all perspectives, difference can only be integrated by accepting normative indifference or even arbitrariness. This is why calls for **principles that are able to organize complexity more efficiently** have been raised in response to postmodern ideals.

Such principles enter the discussion only with the next paradigm shift, towards an integral understanding of leadership. The latter offers a greater vertical depth, and even places (external and internal)

vertical complexity into the center of attention as a new dimension of leadership. While postmodern leadership thinking has discovered and observed tensions, gray zones and complexities, integral leadership recognizes new patterns within them. While postmodern thinking studied the emergence of leadership in the context of (horizontal) complexity, and sometimes celebrated it as such, integral leadership begins to work with complexity in a more focused way. And while the former had merely recognized and problematized the difficult relationship between reason and plurality, the latter proposes strategies to integrate them in a non-contingent way, based on an even more differentiated, meta-systematic, meta-theoretical concept of complexity. These more recent changes in perspective, covering both external and internal, horizontal and vertical dimensions will be described in more detail in Chapter 4.

For now, it should be emphasized that the transitions between paradigms are also fluid here, with numerous overlaps between postmodern and integra ideal types. Just as the late modern human relations movement and the concept of professional organization emerged at the interface between modern and postmodern approaches, we can also observe interpretations of plurality, which are already on the threshold of an integral understanding. This is true, for example, for contributions which make **distinctions between different types of knowledge** or, as it were, rational orders, and the guiding principles of leadership practice each of them implies. For example, Hauser has proposed a critical classification of previous leadership approaches according to their stages of development based on the models of Kantor, Rieckmann and Grint & Pedler. Kantor has identified various system types which he locates on a scale of development from closed to open to randomized systems (see Kantor & Lonstein, 1996). Rieckmann (2007) distinguishes developmental levels of leadership and management, which, he thinks, have emerged in response to the challenges of a steady increase in dynamics (acceleration) and complexity in business life. In his model, patriarchal, bureaucratic and organic, systemic forms of management respectively correspond to the traditional, modern and postmodern ideal types presented here. Finally, Grint (2008) and Pedler (2018) have described three different types of problems that frequently occur in companies' everyday life. Hauser has assigned corresponding system types and stages of leadership development to them in the following overview:

Types of systems or organizations (Kantor)	Development stages of management (Rieckmann)	Problem types in companies (Grint/Pedler)
Closed systems	Leadership by the entrepreneur (patriarchal/ paternalistic leadership)	Crises: taking drastic measures from above (authoritarian)
Open systems	Technical, bureaucratic management (modern leadership)	Tame problems: planning, standardized mechanisms and processes
Randomized systems	Organic-systemic management (postmodern leadership)	Wicked problems: Distributed Leadership

Comparison of three models of development stages or types of management and organization, following Hauser, 2013, p. 284.

This model identifies various rationalities of leadership, which, in themselves, can be understood as structures or systems of cognition and practice. The difference – and, in a certain way, the development beyond idealtypical postmodern perspectives – consists in the fact that these different

(cognitive and practical) rationalities are no longer merely observed and placed next to each other as equally valid *types*. Rather, a certain, non-arbitrary order is recognized in the way they relate to each other, whereby the **criterion of complexity** plays a central role. In this sense, these contributions can be considered as proto-integral approaches.

Nevertheless, these principally evolutionary approaches still remain in a classic systemic perspective in that they do observe how these forms of leadership and organization historically followed one another as successive systems. But they do not necessarily treat them as structurally independent, self-contained entities (holons) with specific characteristics, internal rationalities, and a developmental logic that can each be explained as a result of a process of co-evolution between contextual conditions and the respective system of order. At least in its ideal typical form, the postmodern relational paradigm still **lacks a meta-systematic understanding beyond relationships**. Also, it does not consider a holonic understanding of entities, which is why it is ultimately not an integral approach.

So given that at least some of the differentiations made in the integral paradigm are already partly existant in postmodern thinking, we can say that, in continuation of Welsch's claim (that postmodernity is a radical modernity, fully encashing the latter's claims) it is only **integral thinking which fully encashes basic postmodern claims**. This is done by systematically including entities as holons (see below). Certainly, integral thinking expands relationality to inter-relationality (see Deeg, Küpers & Weibler, 2012, chapter 6.2), explicitly including relational thoughts, but placing them in a larger context. On this basis, institutional solutions can be offered that provide mechanisms for compesating blind spots of individual actors and perspectives, or procedures that effectively integrate multiple diverse perspectives, knowing that each situation requires specific rationalities (cf. Hauser, 2013, p. 279).

By integrating the dimension of vertical complexity into postmodern systemic thinking, integral concepts of leadership add a meta-systematic understanding of the plurality of context-specific rationalities, which integrates them on the basis of structural similarities and of a transversal reasoning, looking for higher-ranking functional patterns.

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