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Abstract					

Leadership is often seen as the premier force behind the success and failure of enterprises and the well-being of the personnel. In spite of the vast amount of studies on leadership, leadership in small enterprises has seldom been in focus in leadership research. The increasing importance of small firms to the economic growth and competitiveness raises questions about the role and practice of leadership in small enterprises. This study aims to deepen our understanding of leadership as a social phenomenon and a human activity in small, entrepreneurial enterprises.

The study is based on an analytical review of leadership research and studies on small firms, family businesses, and entrepreneurship relevant to the investigation of leadership in small enterprises. A case study in a small, entrepreneurial enterprise builds up the empirical part of the study. It utilizes the phenomenographic framework as a constructivist-interpretative research approach to leadership. The data was generated during a one-year development project, and consists of interviews of the company managers and the owner-manager, a life-story of the company and company documents. The managers' interviews function as the primary data. Through the phenomenographic, contextual analysis twelve different categories of leadership conceptions are generated that describe the qualitatively different ways in which the managers experienced leadership. The relationships between the conception categories are further analyzed and five categories that reveal the central themes of leadership in the small enterprise are generated.

By utilizing a novel methodology in examining leadership in a small enterprise this study contributes an alternative perspective to leadership compared to the mainstream leadership research and produces a tentative, conceptual model of leadership in a small enterprise. The study raises concerns about the taken for granted conceptions of leadership as something good and indispensable and their power related implications in organizations; particularly in small, owner-run enterprises, where employees are dependent on the owner-manager. The practical contribution of the study is associated with such issues as consciousness about the social construction of leadership and leadership ideals, their interpretation and utilization in the everyday life in organizations and their implications to organizations and organizational members. Suggestions for meeting leadership expectations and developing participatory approach to leadership in small enterprises are provided.

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Johtajuutta pidetään keskeisenä tekijänä yritysten menestymiselle ja henkilöstön hyvinvoinnille. Johtamista on tutkittu runsaasti, mutta johtaminen pienissä yrityksissä on harvemmin ollut empiirisen johtamistutkimuksen kohteena. Pienten yritysten yhteiskunnallis-taloudellisen merkityksen lisääntyessä ja lukumäärän kasvaessa kysymykset johtamisen roolista ja merkityksestä pienissä yrityksissä ovat ajankohtaisia. Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena on syventää ymmärrystä johtajuudesta sosiaalisena ilmiönä ja inhimillisenä toimintana sekä tarkastella johtajuutta erityisesti pienissä yrityksissä.

Tutkimus sisältää analyyttisen katsauksen johtamistutkimukseen, jonka yhteydessä tarkastellaan aikaisempaa johtamistutkimusta pienissä yrityksissä, perheyrityksissä ja yrittäjyyden alalla. Tutkimuksen empiirisen osan muodostaa tapaustutkimus pienessä, yrittäjävetoisessa yrityksessä, jossa johtajuutta tutkitaan sitä koskevien käsitysten kautta. Tapaustutkimus perustuu konstruktivistis-tulkinnalliseen lähestymistapaan ja soveltaa fenomenografista tutkimusotetta. Empiirinen tutkimusaineisto muodostuu yrityksen kahdeksan päällikön haastatteluista, yrityksen elämänkertomuksesta, omistaja-johtajan haastatteluista sekä yrityksen toimintaa koskevista dokumenteista. Tutkimusaineisto on kartutettu yrityksessä toteutetun, vuoden kestäneen kehittämisprojektin aikana.

Päälliköiden haastattelut ovat tutkimuksen ensisijainen aineisto. Fenomenografisen, kontekstuaalisen analyysin kautta aineistosta kehitetään kaksitoista johtajuuden käsityskategoriaa, jotka kuvaavat johtajuutta koskevia käsityksiä ja niiden variaatiota. Näistä johdetaan viisi johtajuuden kuvauskategoriaa, joiden kautta tavoitetaan pienen yrityksen johtajuuden keskeiset teemat.

Tutkimus tarjoaa aikaisemmasta johtamistutkimuksesta poikkeavan näkökulman pienen yrityksen johtamiseen. Tutkimuksessa kehitetty pienen yrityksen johtajuuden käsitteellinen malli yhdistää pienen yrityksen johtajuuden keskeiset dimensiot ja kuvaa niiden väliset suhteet. Johtajuuden henkilöityminen, organisaation menestymisen ja epäonnistumisen selittäminen johtajuudella sekä hyvän samoin kuin vallan käsitykset johtajuudessa ovat tutkimuksen keskeisiä tuloksia. Tulokset kyseenalaistavat vallitsevia käsityksiä pienten yritysten sisäisestä harmoniasta, ja nostavat esiin jännitteitä, joiden ratkaisulla voi olla merkitystä yrityksen menestymiselle ja henkilöstön hyvinvoinnille.

Tutkimuksen käytännöllinen anti liittyy kysymyksiin tietoisuudesta johtajuuden ja johtajuusideaalien sosiaalisesta rakentumisesta, niiden tulkinnasta ja hyödyntämisestä sekä niiden merkityksestä organisaatioille ja niiden jäsenille. Tulosten pohjalta tehdään ehdotuksia johtajuusodotusten kohtaamiseen ja johtajuuden kehittämiseen pienissä, omistajavetoisissa yrityksissä.

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Palojoki, April 2010

Helena Palmgren

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1 The research agenda: Leadership in a Small Enterprise

1.1 The aim and organization of the study

This is a study of leadership in a small enterprise. It aims to deepen our understanding of leadership as a social, contextual phenomenon constructed by social actors. Based on an analytical review of current leadership research and an empirical examination of leadership in one small, entrepreneurial company this study discusses the research and practice of leadership in small entrepreneurial enterprises and the contributions of current leadership research to our attempts to understand leadership and improve organizational life.

This study is presented in five chapters. In this introduction I describe the general practical and theoretical foundations of my study. In the second chapter I position the study in the field of leadership research by presenting definitions of leadership and an overview of leadership theorizing and studies. I also explore how leadership in small enterprises has been approached previously and what kinds of findings have been revealed. The chapter ends with my conclusions about the current state of leadership research and research on leadership in the context of small enterprises.

In the third chapter I discuss my underlying preconceptions concerning the study of leadership as a socially constructed, contextual phenomenon from which my research strategy is derived. I also present my research task, methods and the participants of the study. The chapter concludes with the establishment of a small enterprise as a case in this study and the presentation of my role as a researcher. Chapter four is dedicated to the results of the study. The results, along with the quality of the study, are discussed in the concluding chapter five.

1.2 The foundations of the study

Attempts to understand leadership in small companies are particularly timely at the moment. Global competition accelerated by fast environmental and technological changes, globalization and utilization of information technology urges companies to operate in international markets, act fast, be flexible and concentrate on their core competencies. Becoming lean and agile means letting go of structures and hierarchies, and outsourcing functions, which do not belong to the "core". This trend predicts the increase of small companies also in Finland where approximately 99 % of companies

were small with personnel from one to fifty workers in 2008 (Statistics Finland 2009). Especially the number of small companies established by entrepreneurs with personal knowledge and skills within the core-business of the company is assumed to grow (Rouvinen & Ylä-Anttila 2004). In future small companies are seen to play an important role as providers of new employment opportunities and as being potential sources of innovations. In this way they support economic growth and competitiveness of local areas as well as whole nations (Daily et al 2002, 402; Curran & Blackburn 2001, 2-3; Rouvinen & Ylä-Anttila 2004).

As the success and the failure, as well as the well-being of the personnel, of companies are often attributed to leadership, this trend raises questions about the role and practice of leadership in small enterprises. The view that small companies differ substantially from their larger counterparts emphasizes the importance of scientific knowledge about leadership in small enterprises based on empirical research and theoretical analysis (cf. Burns 1997, 5; Curran & Blackburn 2001, 5-7, 15; Deakins 1996, 3, 16; Levy & Wilson 1994; Massey 2004, Smallbone et al 1997, 2; Ram 1999, 2001; Shamir 1999, 59, 67).

Being interested in leadership in small enterprises, the type of organizational context – the small firm – should be defined. However, providing a clear and unequivocal definition of a small firm is not simple because of the large and heterogeneous population of small companies run by a wide range of different kinds of people with a diverse labour force and differing links with the wider economy.

The Commission of European Communities (1996) classifies businesses with less than ten people as micro firms, with 10-49 employees as small firms, with 50-249 people as medium-sized firms, and those with 250 or more as large firms. Although EU-definitions are often used there is no widely accepted definition of the small firm. The quantitative definitions' emphasis on size as measured in terms of number of employees, turnover or market share have inherent problems such as the sector dependency of the measure and the difficulty related to the changing forms of job contracts (cf. Curran & Blackburn 2001, 13-15, 18; Daily et al 2002; Smallbone et al 1997, 2). Moreover, the definitions do not appreciate the qualitative differences between small and large companies, but treat small firms as miniature versions of large ones (Curran & Blackburn 2001, 15; Deakins 1996, 3; Smallbone et al 1997, 2).

The qualitative differences between small and large firms have been depicted in terms of uncertainty, innovation and evolution. Uncertainty refers to vulnerability of small firms: because of their

limited customer base they are more vulnerable than large firms. They also lack resources and are less able to endure external influences than larger firms. Still, small firms have a greater potential flexibility compared to larger firms for example in internal resource allocation and responsiveness to customer needs (Burns 1997, 5; Hill & Stewart 2000, Smallbone et al 1997, 2). Small firms are likely to offer marginally differentiated or non-standardized products or services. As for innovations, it has been claimed that small firms are constantly and actively engaged in innovation processes although only a few are responsible for more important innovations. With regard to evolution, small firms are more likely to experience changes than larger firms – if and when they grow. (Curran & Blackburn 2001, 13-15; Deakins 1996, 16.)

The size of the firm is also a factor in managerial discretion: managers and leaders in small firms are more likely to be influential, because they are less constrained by organizational systems and structures than leaders in large firms. In small firms there is little delegation of authority. (Daily et al 2002; Burns 1997, 3; Dyer 1997, 27; Westerberg et al 1997, 267; Goffee & Scase 1995, 15; Scase & Goffee 1987, 72.). It has been suggested that especially in entrepreneurial firms – that means founder-run businesses (cf. Begley 1995, 253, 260; Busenitz 1999, 327) – there are several aspects that facilitate organizational leaders' possibilities to affect change and performance. According to these views 'the leadership dimension' of a company represents a locus of difference between large companies and small, entrepreneurial firms (Daily et al 2002, 390, 401; Burns 1997, 3).

In this study by 'a small firm' I refer to companies that

- employ less than 50 persons
- have a relatively small share of their market
- are managed by their owners and part-owners in a personalized way not through the medium of a formalized management structure
- are independent, which means that they are not a part of a larger enterprise and that the owner-managers are free from outside control in decision making (cf. Bolton 1971).

Leadership in small companies has seldom been the subject of empirical leadership research even though the need for scientific knowledge about leadership has not been overlooked in organizational studies. On the contrary, leadership has been claimed to be one of the most observed phenomena on earth (Burns 1978, 2). Nevertheless, there are different views about how much is known about it.

Many leadership scholars conclude that after centuries of leadership research the solution of the problem of effective leadership is still wanting (Alvesson 1996, 457; Bass 1990, 11; Burns 1978, 2 - 3; Ferris & Rowland 1981, 1069), and disaccords concerning the mainstream leadership research can be heard (Alvesson & Sveningsson 2003a, 359; Barker 1997, 356; Mintzberg 1989, 51).

Different critics of the mainstream leadership research suggest different 'cures' depending on their diagnosis of the situation and their own research paradigm. Some claim that the problems originate from weaknesses in the conceptualization and measurement of leadership processes and suggest more varied and rigorous research methods (Yukl 1999, 33-34, 45). Some others want to shift the focus of leadership research to the situation and the context and use qualitative research methods (Alvesson 1996, 476, 478; Bryman et al 1996, 368). Some see the problems as intrinsic in the objectivistic, functionalistic leadership research, which concentrates as much on effectiveness as on leadership (Darmer 2000; 341, 344).

In this study an alternative perspective towards leadership is adopted by separating "leadership" from "effective leadership" and examining leadership from the constructivist-interpretative research perspective. Constructivist-interpretative leadership research aims to increase our understanding of leadership by examining leadership in particular settings. It produces local knowledge with the option that it can be shared among other 'locals' – individuals, groups and organizations. (cf. Darmer 2000, 350; Guba & Lincoln 1994, 114.)

This study is based on the assumption that leadership is a contextual, socially constructed phenomenon. Its premise is that by discovering how leadership is conceived in different settings and by different people, we are able to learn more about leadership as a social phenomenon and as a human activity. The unique features of the organization, managerial work and the situation as well as the characteristics of the organizational members may have important implications on how leadership is experienced and practiced (Alvesson & Sveningsson 2003a, 965; Antonakis et al 2003, 283; Bryman et al 1996, 367). That is why a certain organizational context, a situation and the perceptions of the participants are taken here as the point of the departure: this study explores leadership in one small, entrepreneurial enterprise through the leadership conceptions of the company managers by using the phenomenographic framework. Phenomenography is a study of conceptions, which aims to describe things as they appear to people (Marton & Booth 1997, 111.) In leadership studies phenomenographic framework provides a novel perspective into current research.

Former research on leadership in small firms has mainly explored the characteristics and behaviour of CEOs, owner-managers or entrepreneurs – emphasized also in the field of small firm research and entrepreneurship. Furthermore, there has been overreliance upon owner-managers as the only sources of information concerning small firms (cf. Ainsworth & Cox 2003, 1480). This raises questions about whether leadership research has taken sufficiently into account the agency of other organizational members, and the varying characteristics and conditions of small enterprises (cf. Deakins 1996, 4; Ram 2001; see also Deakins et al 1997, 2).

The practical claim for this study is that in order to prevent the remoteness of the findings of leadership research from the 'real-world' of practitioners the ways in which practitioners themselves experience leadership should be explored instead of exposing them to the abstractions of leadership researchers. The conceptions organizational members hold about leadership are important when the aim is to improve leadership practices in particular settings such as small business organizations. Furthermore, when trying to develop managerial leadership designated managers' and leaders' views of leadership as a phenomenon, as a human conduct, and as an aspect of their work should be known and taken into account. (Alvesson 1996, 455; Bryman et al 1996, 367; Marton & Booth 1997, 111; Mintzberg 1982, 254-256; Sandberg 1994, 148-151.)

2 Leadership as a subject of inquiry

2.1 Leadership defined

Worse still are the "know-nothings" who simply know little about the subject and do not take the time to find out. Yet, they declare that we know nothing about leadership. Or, what we know does not matter. Or, leadership does not exist. Or, if it does, it is antidemocratic and interferes with good team efforts.

Bass (1990, xi-xii.)

Despite the disagreement about how much is known about leadership there is consensus concerning the enormous efforts that have been made to capture the phenomenon leadership by studies deriving from different scientific disciplines (Bass 1990, xi; 1981, 7; Bennis & Nanus 1985, 4; Ferris & Rowland 1981, 1069; Yukl 2000; 2, 440).

In order to understand the findings of leadership research one should be aware of the different ways in which leadership is and has been defined in leadership studies. It has been claimed that there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there have been definers of it (Bass 1990, 11; Bennis & Nanus 1985, 4; Stogdill 1974, 7; Yukl 2000, 2). The multiplicity and variation in leadership definitions is demonstrated in table 1.

Table 1. Examples of leadership definitions

Leadership is "the behaviour of an individual while he is involved in directing group activities" (Hemphill 1949, 5).

Leadership "refers to the quality of the behaviour of individuals guiding other people or their activities in organized efforts" (Barnard 1997, 91).

Leadership is "a relation that exists between persons in a social situation" (Stogdill 1974, 64).

Leadership is "a complex moral relationship between people, based on trust, obligation, commitment, emotion, and a shared vision of the good" (Ciulla 2004, xv).

Leadership is "the process by which an agent induces a subordinate to behave in a desired manner" (Bennis 1959, 295).

Leadership is "the process of influencing the activities of an organised group in its efforts towards goal-setting and goal achievement" (Stogdill 1997, 115).

Leadership is "a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (Northouse 2001, 3).

Leadership is "the process of influencing others to understand and agree about what needs to be done and how it can be done effectively, and the process of facilitating individual and collective efforts to accomplish the shared objectives" (Yukl 2000, 7).

Leadership is 1) the process of moving a group or groups to some direction through (mostly) non-coercive way and 2) people who are in roles where leadership (according to the first definition) is expected (Kotter 1988, 16-17).

Leadership is "the ability to influence a group toward the achievement of goals" (Robbins 1998, 34).

Leadership is the ability to step outside the culture and to start evolutionary change processes that are adaptive (Schein 1987, 181-183).

Leadership is "the influential increment over and above mechanical compliance with the routine directives of the organization" (Katz & Kahn 1966, 528).

Leadership is "the process of persuasion or example by which an individual (or leadership team) induces a group to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared by the leader and his or her follower" (Gardner 1990, 1).

Leadership is "an aspect of power, but is also a separate and vital process in itself. --- as leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motivations – the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations – of both leaders and followers" (Burns 1978, 18-19).

Leadership is "the wise use of the power needed to initiate and sustain action". "Leadership is what gives an organization its vision and its ability to translate that vision into reality." (Bennis & Nanus 1985; 17, 20.)

Leadership is "a process of attributing causation to individual social actors" (Pfeffer 1977, 104).

Leadership is "a process of power-based reality construction"--- "a management of meaning" (Smircich & Morgan 1982; 263, 270).

In spite of the differences in leadership definitions there are also similarities on which the following grouping by Bass (1990, 11-20) is based. Leadership has been defined as:

- a focus of group processes
- a personality attribute
- a matter of inducing compliance
- exercise of influence
- particular behaviours
- a form of persuasion
- a power relation
- an instrument to achieve goals
- an effect of interaction

- a differentiated role
- initiation of structure
- different combinations of the above definitions.

In the beginning of the 20th century leadership was defined as a focus of group change, activity, and process: the leader was seen a central person who integrates the group and embodies the collective will of the group. On the grounds of his position a leader is able to serve as a primary agent for the determination of group structure, atmosphere, goals, ideology, and activities. This emphasis on leader as the centre of group activity directed attention to group structure and group processes in studying leadership. (Bass 1990, 12.)

Many of the early theorists of leadership in the 1920's were interested in finding out why some persons seemed to be better able to exercise leadership than others. An extreme version of this conception were so called great man theories based on the belief that leaders can be distinguished from followers by their personality and character: leaders were born not made. (Bass 1990, 12; Bennis & Nanus 1985, 5; Northouse 2001, 15.) A renaissance of the view of leadership as an attribute of personality or a combination of traits, which enable the leader to induce the followers to accomplish a given task can be seen in the recent 'late-trait' studies of leadership (see p. 18).

Theorists, who stressed the importance of inducing compliance defined leadership as personal social control and the art of inducing others to do what the leader wants. Leadership was about leaders directing the behaviour of the followers according to the leaders' will. A leader can be anybody, who is more than ordinarily efficient in carrying psychosocial stimuli and is thus effective to condition collective actions. (Bass 1990, 12-13.)

The most common definition of leadership is influencing change or making people to cooperate towards some goal (Yukl 2000, 2). According to Chemers (2003, 6) in this process the leader enlists the talents and efforts of other group members to accomplish the group's chosen tasks. For Stogdill (1950) leadership is the process of influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts towards goal-setting and goal achievement. This definition focuses attention to the interactive aspect of leadership. Tannenbaum, et al (1961, 24) see leadership as interpersonal influence in a certain situation. For Ferris and Rowland (1981, 1072) leadership is a contextual influence impacting subordinates' attitudes and performance through the effects of their perceptions of their job characteristics.

Katz and Kahn (1966, 528) see that the essence of organizational leadership is "the influential increment over and above mechanical compliance with routine directions of the organization" because human beings are in positions of authority and power. They distinguish leadership from managerial power. Influence is a reciprocal relationship between the leader and his/her followers, which is not necessarily dependent on domination, control or induction of compliment from the leader's side or on the formal position or role of the leader. The relationship between the leader and her/his followers has also been depicted in terms of ethics: leadership is a moral relationship between people based on trust, obligation and a shared vision of the good (Ciulla, 2004, xv).

Leadership has also been used to refer to certain acts or behaviours, which can be differentiated from other kinds of behaviours for example by the opinion of the experts of the field or by specifying leadership behaviours through referring to the results of the behaviour: leadership behaviour results to other people responding in a shared direction (Bass 1990, 14; Shartle, 1956, 106). Leadership behaviours include acts, which are performed, when a leader directs and coordinates his group's work (Hemphill 1949, 5).

Gardner (1990, 1) defines leadership as a process of persuasion or example by which an individual or team induces a group to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared by the leader and his followers. For some theorists leadership is an ability to influence people so that they want to comply; leadership is persuasion without coercion. It is an emotional appeal rather than exercise of authority. (Bass 1990, 15; Merton 1969, 2615.)

Leadership has been defined as differential power relationships among members of a group (Bass 1990, 15). Sherif (1962, 17) sees that power resides in the holders of leadership and other high status roles. According to Bennis and Nanus (1985, 17) "power is the basic energy needed to initiate and sustain action" and leadership is the wise use of this power. For Bennis (1959, 296) power refers to the leaders' perceived ability to control rewards. Influence derives from the leader's control over the subordinates' needs satisfaction.

From French and Raven's (1960, 613) five types of interpersonal power – referent, expert, reward based, and coercive or legitimate power – Janda (1960, 358) excludes the first four and argues that leadership occurs only when the power-wielder secures the desired behaviour from the power-recipient on the basis of legitimate power. Leadership can thus be seen as a specific type of power relationship, which presupposes that some group member is perceived to legitimately rule the be-

haviour or define the reality of other group members (Smircich & Morgan 1982, 270; also Raven & French 1958).

Goal attainment is a common characteristic in leadership definitions highlighting the instrumental value of leadership for accomplishing common goals and/or satisfying personal needs of the group members (Bass 1990, 15). Understanding leadership as transforming followers, creating visions of the common goals and articulating for the followers the ways to attain these goals is one version of this leadership conception (Bennis & Nanus 1985, 21; Burns 1978, 439; Bass 1985, 20).

Some theorists have defined leadership as an effect of group action or as a social process. This definition is contrary to the view of leadership as a cause of group actions. (Bass 1990, 16.) According to this conception leadership originates from the group's interaction process in which different persons can hold different roles (see e.g. Cartwright & Zander 1960, 494; Smircich & Morgan 1982, 158). For example the view of distributed leadership underscores collective leadership of the members of the whole organization thus seeing the individual actions of one leader of minor importance (Yukl 2000, 432).

Leadership as a differentiated role is based on the view that each member of a group, an organization or a society occupies a certain position. People holding different positions are expected to play different roles. Leadership can be seen as an aspect of role differentiation, which arises from the interaction process of a group (Sherif 1962, 4, 10). The role of the leader can be defined in terms of the expectations that the group members hold towards the leader and the leader towards the group members (Sherif 1956, 217). The view of leadership as a differentiated role does not presume that leadership is attributed only to formal or designated leaders even if leadership is often defined as a set of behaviours exhibited by individuals in designated leader roles (Vanderslice 1988, 678).

Views about the similarities and differences between leaders and managers in relation to their roles and role requirements demonstrate the different role-expectations people hold towards designated leaders and managers in organizations. Some writers make the distinction between leaders and managers clear: managers are concerned about things, and leaders about what things mean to people (Bennis & Nanus 1985, 21; Zaleznik 1977, 73; see also Terry 1995). Zaleznik (1977, 70, 74) defines managers and leaders as different types of people with different world-views and personalities. Some others claim that even if leadership and management are conceptually distinct, people may do well in both roles (cf. Gardner 1990, 4; Kotter 1988, 22).

The initiation and maintenance of role structure is one definition of leadership. Role structure refers to the pattern of role relationships. Leading has been understood as acting in a way that initiates the structure of the interaction in terms of differentiated role relationships between the group members. (Bass 1990, 17-18.) In addition to initiation of structure Stogdill (1950, 224) includes the maintenance of structure in his definition of leadership.

Barnard's (1948), Kotter's (1988) and Hunt's (1991) views of leadership are examples of combinations of different leadership definitions. For Barnard (1948) leadership refers to the quality of the behaviour of individuals guiding other people in organized efforts. Organized efforts, which take place in systems of cooperation, are the secondary aspect of leadership. Barnard states that "leadership appears to be a function of at least three complex variables – the individual, the group of followers, and the conditions". (Barnard 1997; 89, 91-92.)

Kotter (1988, 16) addresses 'leadership' in two ways: 1) as the process of moving a group to some direction through (mostly) noncoercive ways and 2) as people who are in roles where leadership (according to the first definition) is expected. Kotter uses the term 'leadership' in the first sense as a process and not as a group of people. Good leadership is about directing people according to their best long-term interests (Kotter 1988, 16-17). For Hunt (1991, 2-4) leadership is organizational impacting on mission definition, strategy setting and organizational design. This notion of leadership includes consideration of different leadership requirements determined by different organizational levels.

The definitions presented above have been the most common in leadership studies up till 1980s. Since then new conceptions of leadership have emerged (Bryman 1996, 276). Leadership as a distinct kind of social practice addresses the social interaction processes in which the leader identifies a sense of what is important and defines organizational reality for her/his subordinates – a leader is a manager of meaning (Pfeffer 1977, 1981; Smircich & Morgan 1982, 270).

Leadership defined in terms of contextual, collective processes stresses the importance of context; leadership cannot be understood apart from the social systems in which it is embedded (Dachler 1984, 107; Pfeffer 1977). The contextual and collective nature of leadership is further emphasized in the definitions of leadership as an explanatory category in the sense making process of organizational activities and outcomes (Meindl et al 1985, 79) or as an alienating myth used to reinforce existing social structures and forms of domination (Gemmil & Oakley 1992, 113).

Such terms as power, authority, culture, management, control, supervision and administration have been used to refer to the same phenomenon as leadership (Alvesson 1996, 459; Yukl 2000, 2). Even if the term leadership has been used, sometimes it has been used in the way, which makes it hard to distinguish the subject of the inquiry from other social influence processes (Bass 1990, 11; Pfeffer 1977, 105). Some researchers do not explicate their meaning of 'leadership' at all, which may derive from an implicit assumption that leadership as a phenomenon is understood by all – it is taken for granted (Barker 2001, Ciulla 2004, 9; Janda 1960, 348; Palmer & Hardy 2000, 230).

There are doubts about the usefulness of the concept 'leadership' (Alvesson 1996, 458; Alvesson & Svenningsson 2003a, 359; Pfeffer 1977, 111). Defining leadership in a uniform manner has been seen as fruitless (Alvesson 1996, 458; Bass 1990, 18; Yukl 2000, 4, 19). Alvesson (1996, 458) notes that "It is rather difficult to claim that 'leadership' as a general term and object of study stands in clear relationship to a particular, distinct group of phenomena possible to conceptualize in a uniform manner, for example, through the signifier leadership." It seems that researchers define leadership according to their own conceptions of it and according to what they perceive as important, interesting or useful (Bass 1990, 18, 20; Janda 1960, 359; Yukl 2000; 2, 3; Darmer 2000, 343). This makes demands also on the interpretation of the results of leadership research.

2.2 Research on leadership and leadership in small enterprises – a review

The differing views and definitions of leadership emerging from varying discipline-embedded theoretical frameworks have directed leadership researchers to focus on different issues in their studies (Dachler 1984, 101; Hunt 1991, 59). Also the researchers' ontological, epistemological and methodological predispositions have guided the ways in which leadership has been approached (cf. Burrell & Morgan 1979, Guba & Lincoln 1994, 109; Lincoln & Guba 2000, 168).

However, the coupling of different perspectives and methodologies on the one hand and epistemological assumptions on the other is too loose to guide the exploration of theorizing and studies on leadership (cf. Hosking 1988, 149; Lincoln & Guba 2000, 167). To provide a more practical way of thinking about leadership research I utilize a grid developed by Deetz (1994a) and review studies, theories, and models of leadership within four research positions taken in leadership research practice (figure 1). Within each position I also draw out studies of small firms, family businesses, and entrepreneurship relevant to the investigation of leadership in small enterprises.

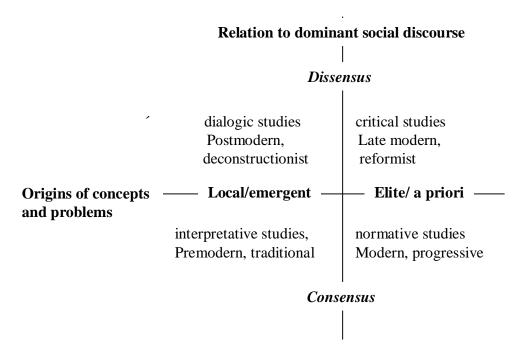


Figure 1. The four research positions taken in leadership research practice (source: Alvesson & Deetz 1996, 196)

I equate normative studies in the grid with objectivistic¹ leadership research; interpretative studies with constructivist-interpretative leadership research; critical studies to leadership research deriving from Critical Theory and finally postmodern, deconstructionist studies with postmodern approaches to leadership.

The grid provides two dimensions that are useful in sensitizing the readings of leadership studies and theorizing to their differences and similarities and tensions between them. *The dissensus – consensus* dimension in the grid illustrates the relation of the four main research practices to the dominant social discourses. It highlights the way in which postmodern and critical theory differ from other research in their attempts to disrupt the consensus discourses. Consensus discourses view social order, objects and identities of people as natural or as constructed. If the construction view is taken, it emphasizes the natural and spontaneous nature of the construction. Dissensus position aims to disrupt the dominant discourse and rise doubts based on the arbitrary and political character of the discourse. (Alvesson & Deetz 1996, 195-196.)

The local/emergent – elite/a priori dimension in the grid shows the difference between postmodern and critical theory studies and between objectivistic and interpretative studies in terms of the alliances of different social groups and their interests including those of the researcher. Postmodern

¹ Informed by Hunt's (1991) investigation on the underlying assumptions of positivism, I use the label objectivism to refer to research perspectives often called positivistic and postpositivistic research paradigms.

and interpretative studies tend to see social groups as constructions, and power and domination as dispersed. They utilize local narratives and are a theoretical in nature. Critical and normative studies use a priori concepts and are theory driven. They tend to privilege conceptions of implicit or explicit alliances of different groups in society. (Alvesson & Deetz 1996, 196-197.)

2.2.1 Objectivistic leadership research

Objectivistic leadership studies are positioned in the *consensus* – *elite/a priori dimension* in the grid (figure 1, page 13). These studies emphasize the central role of the leader and concentrate mainly on the examination and theory building on leadership emergence and effectiveness² by focusing on leader traits, behaviours, situational factors, power and/or influence, or integrating two or more of these variables. Because of the enormous amount of these studies, it is convenient to distinguish them from each other by the focus of research (cf. Yukl 2000, 10-11) (table 2).

Table 2. The five approaches of objectivistic leadership research (source: Yukl 2000, 10-13.)

Trait approach	emphasizes attributes of leaders such as personality, motives, values, and skills
Behaviour approach	a) examines how managers spend their time and the typical pattern of activities, responsibilities, and functions for managerial jobs.b) aims to identify effective leadership behaviour
Situational approach	emphasizes the importance of contextual factors that influence leadership processes
Power and influence approach	examines influence processes between leaders and other people a) to explain leadership effectiveness in terms of the amount and type of power possessed by a leader and how power is exercised b) to determine how leaders influence the attitudes and behaviour of followers

Integrative approaches include more than one type of the above

Trait studies focusing on leader attributes – aspects of personality, motives, skills, and values – originate from the assumptions that the leader's qualities are superior to the qualities of her/his followers, these superior attributes are identifiable, and leaders can be distinguished from followers by their personal qualities (Yukl 2000, 11; Bass 1990, 38; Bryman 1992, 277). This approach was the most dominant in leadership studies in the beginning of the 1900th century (Bass 1990, 38; Bennis & Nanus 1985, 5; Bryman 1996, 277; Yukl 2000, 177). Stogdill's (1948, 1974) reviews of leader-

Leader emergence refers to viewing somebody as a leader (Judge et al 2002, 767). Leader effectiveness refers to the influence of a leader on the achievement of the goals of an organized group (Stogdill 1997, 123).

ship trait research have been especially influential to later studies of leadership, because the traits identified in his reviews seemed to hold little predictive significance (Stogdill 1974, 70-82). Stogdill's (1974, 64) conclusion that "leadership is a relation that exists between persons in a social situation, and persons who are leaders in one situation may not necessarily be leaders in other situations" is seen as the origin of the disfavour of the pure trait theory (Bass 1990, 38; Bryman 1996, 278; Judge 2002, 765; Northouse 2001, 16).

Later on the investigation of leader effectiveness focused on managerial success operationalized as a manager's effective performance in his/her present job or advancement in her/his career. The objective was to predict success by identifying relevant managerial competencies such as personality traits, motives, skills, knowledge, self-image and some specific behaviour. (Darmer 2000, 338, Yukl 2000, 178, cf. Miner 1965; McClelland 1975, 1982; McClelland & Boyatzis 1982.)

Miner (1965) reasoned that individuals associating various managerial role prescriptions with positive emotion tend to meet organizational criteria of effectiveness, and those with negative emotional reactions tend to be relatively ineffective (Miner 1978, 740-742). Miner's hypothesis about managerial advancement in large bureaucratic organizations was found to be related to desire to exercise power, willingness to compete with peers and a positive attitude toward authority figures (Berman & Miner 1985, 385, 388; Miner 1978, 743). The results from studies of smaller and not so bureaucratic organizations were inconsistent (Miner 1978, 746; Berman & Miner 1985, 386).

The need for achievement seemed to be the most important motive for predicting success for owner-managers of small businesses (McClelland 1975; 290, 300; 1982, 255; McClelland & Boyatzis 1982, 738; Kock 1965). Consequently, it was suggested that achievement motivation training for small business people would improve the performance of their companies (McClelland 1987, 553-566). The need for achievement should not be so important in large organizations, in which managers should be mainly interested in influencing others to do well (McClelland 1987, 313-315; see also McClelland 1975, 290; McClelland & Boyatzis 1982, 742-743).

In large organizations cognitive, interpersonal and administrative skills were found to be important predictors of advancement to middle management positions, but also job situation seemed to have an important effect on the relevance of individual traits for success (Bray et al 1974; 66, 80-81). External circumstances and a combination of the executive's personal qualities determined whether the executives raised or derailed in their career. No special traits and behaviours, which will predict success in all situations, were found. (McCall & Lombardo 1983, 28, 31.)

Analogously to leadership trait studies, many studies on small businesses and entrepreneurship have concentrated on the motivations and characteristics of just one person: the CEO, the owner-manager or the entrepreneur (Curran & Blackburn 2001, 5; Daily et al 2002; Deakins 1996, 1). Especially in studies of entrepreneurial firms the focus has traditionally been on organizational leaders. The belief that entrepreneurs are somehow different from other people is similar to the assumption of early trait approach that leaders can be distinguished from followers by their personal qualities (Begley 1995; 253).

The entrepreneur's characteristics identified include

- need for achievement
- high propensity for risk taking
- ambiguity tolerance
- high internal locus of control³
- self-efficacy
- need for independence
- creative and innovative ability
- conceptual ability
- vision combined with a capacity to inspire (Deakins 1996, 17-20; also McClelland 1987, 255; Kock 1965, 16-17; Miner 2002, 123; Miner et al 1994, 627; Shane et al 2003, 263-268)

Many of the above 'entrepreneurial characteristics' are the same, which have been associated with successful managers or leaders (Deakins 1996, 17-20; see also page 19). However, the difference between leaders and managers addressed in the discussion of leadership definitions (page 9) is reflected in theorising about the differences between entrepreneurs and managers. It has been claimed that when managers are conservative, lead using analytic tools, and conform to professional management, entrepreneurs tend to be impulsive, highly emotional and have a high need for control. Entrepreneurs are depicted as visionaries with the ability to create excitement and commitment among their followers. (Schein 1987, Kets de Vries 1995.)

Entrepreneurs are prone not to perceive the risks in the same way as other people do, because they use heuristic-based decision styles and think in less structured and less systematic ways compared to managers of large companies (Busenitz 1999). Entrepreneurs are seen to be task motivated: they have desire for personal achievement, innovation and for plans and goal setting (Miner et al 1994,

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³ Locus of control refers to the extent individuals believe that their personal characteristics or actions affect outcomes.

627; see also McClelland 1982, 255; Kock 1965, 16-17). The organizations entrepreneurs establish reflect their own characteristics (Busenitz et al 2003; Kets de Vries 1995, see also Deakins 1996, 9). These attributes and leadership styles are suggested to have a significant impact on the performance and culture of small enterprises (Dyer 1997, 191-192; see also Randoey & Goel 2003, 635).

As in leadership research especially the need for achievement has received much attention in studies of entrepreneurship: it is among the motivations that have been suggested to play a critical role in the entrepreneurial process (Shane et al 2003, 258). Based on a review of studies examining the ways in which motivation influence different aspects of the entrepreneurial process Shane et al (2003, 264-266) concluded that

- need for achievement may differentiate between firm founders and the general population but less so between firm founders and managers
- firm owners do not differ significantly from managers or the general population in risk taking (see also Miner & Raju 2004)
- for the suggested propensity to tolerance for ambiguity, there seems to be mixed support
- in most studies reviewed, there was no difference between firm founders and managers on locus of control. Locus of control is suggested to differentiate firm founders and the general public.

The review included only one study of self-efficacy – defined as task-specific self-confidence – in which a strong positive relationship was found between self-efficacy of firm-founders and growth of their companies (Shane et al 2003, 267).

A line of entrepreneurship research focusing on the relationship between firm performance and particular founder⁴ characteristics (e.g. personality, values and beliefs, skills, experience and education, decisions and behaviours) has resulted to findings, which Daily et al (2002, 393) characterize as "inconclusive and non-cumulative". Studies that have compared the performance of founder-led firms with the performance of non-founder or professionally-led firms have provided no clear evidence of a positive or a negative relationship between founders and firm financial performance or growth (Daily et al 2002, 392).

In leadership research in spite of the disillusionment with the significance of leader traits since Stogdill's review that gave rise to behavioural and situational approaches to leadership (Bryman 1996, 278; Darmer 2000, 338; Lord et al 1986, 402; Jennings 1964, 388; Judge et al 2002, 765),

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⁴ The majority of entrepreneurship research examining the founder/performance relationship assumes that the CEO is the founder of the firm (Daily et al 2002).

leader traits have continued to be in focus to many leadership researchers. Especially since the late 1980's a renewed interest has emerged bringing along new trait studies of leadership (e.g. Boone & de Brabander 1998, Boone 2000 et al, Collins 2001, Judge et al 2004, Chan & Drasgow 2001, Kalleberg & Leicht 1991, Nicholson 1998, Sing Lim & Bozionelos 2004, Vinberg et al 2000, Westerberg et al 1997) and reviews and meta-analyses of former trait studies (table 3, page 19) (Hogan et al 1994, House & Aditya 1997, Judge et al 2002, Kirkpatrick & Locke 1991, Lord et al 1986, Yukl & Van Fleet, Yukl 1998, Northouse 1997).

The 'new trait studies' include also studies on small company leader traits such as gender (Kalleberg & Leicht 1991, also Cliff et al 2005), CEO tolerance of ambiguity, self-efficacy and need for cognition (Westerberg & Leicht 1997), change competence (Vinberg et al 2000) and locus of control (Boone & de Brabander 1998, Boone 2000 et al). All the examined characteristics of the leader/CEO but gender were suggested to be of importance to the success of small enterprises.

In the reviews and meta-analyses of leader traits (table 3, page 19) self-confidence was the most common trait related to leadership. However, there are differences in conceptualizing the traits investigated and different labels are used to refer to the same traits (Judge et al 2002, 766). In a more recent meta-analysis extraversion was found to be the most consistent correlate of leadership in relation to leader emergence and leadership effectiveness (Judge et al 2002, see also Sing Lim &, Bozionelos 2004).

There are different views about whether or not the trait approach has so far succeeded in identifying traits that differentiate leaders from other people or effective leaders from ineffective ones (cf. Albright & Forziati 1995, 1275; Bass 1990, 86-87; Robbins 1998, 348-349; Yukl 2000, 184; Zaccaro 2007, 13). Lord et al (1986, 402) claim that there has happened an overgeneralization in the leadership literature of the findings on leadership perceptions and leader personality to how personality relates to leader effectiveness. Different contexts and situations (e.g. managerial level, and the size, type, structure and manner of functioning of an organization) mediate the relationship between specific traits and leader success. (cf. Berman & Miner 1985, Boyatzis 1982, Miner 1978, McClelland & Boyatzis 1982, Yukl 2000.)

Table 3. Qualitative reviews and qualitative and quantitative meta-analyses of the traits of effective or emergent leaders (source: Judge et al 2002, 766, 771; Lord et al 1986, 405-405)

Stogdill (1948) dependability sociability initiative persistence self-confidence alertness cooperativeness adaptability	Mann (1959) adjustment extroversion dominance masculinity conservatism	Bass (1990) adjustment adaptability aggressiveness alertness ascendance, dominance emotional balance, control independence, nonconformit originality, creativity integrity self-confidence	Kirkpatrick & Locke (1991) drive honesty/integrity self-confidence	Yukl & Van Fleet (1992) emotional maturity integrity self-confidence high energy level stress tolerance
Hogan et al (1994) surgency agreeableness conscientiousness emotional stability	House & Aditya (1997) achievement motivation self-confidence adjustment prosocial influence motivation	Yukl (1998, 2000) high energy level stress tolerance self-confidence internal locus of control emotional maturity personality integrity socialized power motivation achievement orientation low need for affiliation	Daft (1999) alertness originality, creativity personal integrity self-confidence	Northouse (1997) self-confidence determination integrity sociability
Lord et al (1986) dominance masculinity-femininity intelligence		Judge et al (2002) extraversion conscientiousness openness neuroticism (negative)		

Like the leader trait research, trait studies of entrepreneurs have not provided strong support for the presupposition that entrepreneurs are different from other people or that particular traits could distinguish successful entrepreneurs from the less successful ones (Bolton & Thompson. 2000, 17; Eckhardt & Shane 2002, 2; see also Curran & Blackburn 2001, 5; Daily et al 2002, 393; Deakins et al 1997, 2; Scase & Goffee 1987, 24). Entrepreneurs are different in terms of age, gender and ethnic, cultural and educational background. They own the business solely or with partners or family members. Some small businesses are run by people, who have come together because they share complementary skills, common goals or access to capital. They may or may not have similar positions and roles in their companies and again, the companies in which they operate may be different from each other. (Curran & Blackburn 2001, 5; Scase & Goffee 1987, 24.)

The heterogeneity of entrepreneurs and small firms may lay behind the movement away from concerns with types of small firm owners and entrepreneurs in the small firm research. In the field of entrepreneurship the mixed and inconclusive results of trait studies have led to shifting the focus of the research to founders' behaviours and decisions (Daily et al 2003). This shift is similar to the move from leader traits to leader behaviour in leadership research.

Behaviour approach dominating the field of leadership research from the 1950's till the late 1960's (Bryman 1996, 277, Yukl 2000, 49) focused on what leaders actually do (for example Kotter 1982, Mintzberg 1973, Steward 1976) and/or what behaviour patterns or styles are consistent among successful leaders and managers (for example Likert 1961, 1967; Blake & Mounton 1964, 1978, House 1971). When referring to these studies also the label 'style approach' has been used (Bryman 1996, Northouse 2001).

In the research of managerial work, leadership behaviour taxonomies were developed to describe effective leader behaviour and/or job requirements, and managers' work contents were classified according to its purpose. From the vast amount of different behaviour categories using different concepts of leader behaviour it is difficult to draw conclusions about what is most important in terms of leader effectiveness. (Yukl 2000, 61-62; also Bass 1990.) Also the amount and type of demands and constraints are different in different managerial jobs and organizations (Steward 1976, 98; 1982). Additionally, they are not solely determined by objective conditions but depend also on the perceptions of the jobholders; people perceive and interpret role expectations differently even with the same job. (Yukl 2000, 31-32.) Furthermore, the changes in managers' and leaders' environments (e.g. organizations, technologies, markets, etc.) affect leader activities (Yukl 2000, 39-40).

Among the most influential findings within the behaviour approach were two distinct and relatively independent leader behaviour components – initiation of structure and consideration – revealed in the Ohio State Studies and Michigan Leadership Studies⁵ beginning in the late 1940s (Bass 1990, 511-512; House 1971, 321; Northouse 2001, 36; Yukl 2000, 50). Since then they have been a common basis for practical applications such as Blake & Mouton's (1964, 1978) Managerial/ Leadership Grid, which aims to identify a manager's personal leadership style. Blake and Mouton (1978, 216) argued that best leaders are highly concerned for both people (consideration) and production (initiation of structure). However, there is only a limited support for this view (Northouse 2001, 45; Robbins 1998, 351; Yukl 2000, 59).

It has been claimed that distinguishing leadership behaviour into two broad categories oversimplifies a complex phenomenon and provides stereotypes of individual leaders (Yukl 1999, 34). The extensive research on successful leadership in terms of these categories has led to results, which are conflicting and inconsistent between different circumstances. The most consistent result has been the positive relationship between subordinate satisfaction and leader consideration. (Bryman 1996, 278; House 1971, 322; Yukl 2000, 52.) This was reflected also in Matlay's (1999) study of small businesses: the owner managers who strived to behave in a friendly and caring way towards the subordinates, themselves as well as their employees invariably claimed that this orientation was the most conductive to good relationships and a relaxed working atmosphere in the small firms.

Like the trait approach also the behaviour approach has suffered from conceptual and methodological problems; for example the measurement of leader behaviour and effectiveness using the ratings of subordinates has raised questions about the impact of subordinates' implicit leadership theories⁶: do the studies provide information about generalized perceptions of leader behaviour instead of leaders' actual behaviour? (Bryman 1996; 278- 279; see also Mitchell et al 1977, 255.) The difficulty to validly explain the relationship between leader behaviour and performance of a group or an organization shifted the focus of leadership research from leader behaviour to identifying factors, which may determine leadership effectiveness in certain situations (Darmer 2000, 339; Likert 1961, 95; Robbins 1998, 353).

Within **situational leadership research** several models – also called contingency theories – were developed to explain leader effectiveness in relation to different situational variables. One of the

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In Michigan Leadersip Studies the two components were referred as leader production/task-centred activities and employee relations-oriented behaviours respectively (Likert 1961, 7).

Implicit leadership theories refer to the assumptions and beliefs about relevant traits, skills and behaviours of effective leaders (Yukl 2000, 129). More about implicit leadership theories in pages 29-30.

most validated models of leader effectiveness is Fiedler's (1964, 1967) LPC Contingency Model (Contingency Theory) (cf. Fiedler & Garcia 1987, Fiedler 1995, 455; Peters et al 1985, 274; Strube & Garcia 1981, 307). According to this leader-match model, the effectiveness of a group or an organization depends on the personality of the leader and his leadership style, the degree the situation gives the leader influence, and the degree the situation is free from uncertainty for the leader (Fiedler 1995, 455; 1997, 126-128, 129-133; also Rice 1978, 1230). In spite of the support to LPC-model the studies have revealed also inconsistencies (Pfeffer 1977, 105; Rice 1978, 1230; Vroom & Yetton 1973, 206). The model lacks the explanation for its hypothesis about the relationship between leader effectiveness and leader style (Northouse 2001, 81; Yukl 2000, 211).

Similar criticisms have been directed towards Situational Leadership Model (SLT) by Hersey & Blanchard (1969, 1993), according which different situations (referring to followers' task-relevant maturity/readiness level) demand different leadership and a leader has to adapt his style according to the situation (Hersey & Blanchard 1988, 181, 184; Hersey et al 2001, 477; see also Fernandez & Vecchio 1997, 68; Vecchio & Boatwright 2002; 328-329, 337.) The model has been vastly utilized in leadership training programmes, but only a few empirical studies with mixed support to the model have been conducted to test it (Fernandez & Vecchio 1997, 68; Graeff 1997, 163; Vecchio & Boatwright 2002, 329, 337). In spite of several revisions of the model, it has been criticized as logically and internally inconsistent and incomplete, and conceptually ambiguous (Graeff 1997; 155, 164).

An attempt to reconcile the conflicting results of studies concerning the effectiveness of initiating structure and consideration behaviours was the development of Path-Goal Theory of Leadership (House 1971, House & Mitchell 1974, House 1996) The first version was a dyadic theory of supervision assuming that leaders are effective to the extent they complement the environment of their subordinates by providing clarification. If the subordinates lack support or resources, the leader's function is to provide them. (House 1971, 321-324; 1996, 325-326.) Also this model has been criticized for conceptual weaknesses (House 1997, 333). The results of a large number of studies have been inconsistent (Evans 1996, 307; House 1996, 329; Schriesheim & Neider 1996, 318-319). Since then the model has undergone reformulations (House & Mitchell 1974, House 1996). The most recent version has broadened the scope of the original theory by addressing the abilities of subordinates and the effects of leader behaviours on the work unit performance (House 1996, 333-346).

The assumption of Path-Goal Theory – that leader behaviour will be motivational to subordinates only to the extent it complements the environment or supplements what is lacking – laid ground to

considerations that leader behaviour may be irrelevant. This idea lies behind the Substitutes for Leadership theory (Kerr & Jermier 1978). It claims that there are many other variables in addition to leader behaviour that impact subordinate performance or other outcomes. The focus is on non-leader, organizational factors as sources of influence on followers.

There are conditions that make hierarchical leadership unnecessary, because managerial leadership works through technological, structural and other impersonal processes in the organization to achieve its effects. By this the need for face-to-face exercise of power is minimized. (Jermier 1996, 313; Jermier & Kerr 1997, 98-99; Kerr & Jermier 1978, 400; also House 1988, 255; Vanderslice 1988.) Certain aspects of the individual, task or organization neutralize the effects of task or relationship oriented leader behaviours. Also some situational variables are substitutes for leader behaviours having their own, direct impacts on the effectiveness criteria. These variables help to explain why some leader behaviour is effective in some situation, but ineffective or even dysfunctional in other situations. (Table 4). (Howell, 1997, 113-114; Podsakoff & MacKenzie 1997, 117-118; Yukl 2000, 13, 217, 219.)

Table 4. Some substitutes and neutralizers for task or relationship oriented leader behaviours (source: Kerr & Jermier 1978, 378; Yukl 2000, 217)

Substitute or neutralizer	Relationship-oriented, supportive, people- centered leadership consideration, support interaction facilitation	Task-oriented, instrumental, job-centered leadership initiating structure, goal emphasis, work facilitation
Subordinate characteristics		
1. experience, ability, training		
knowledge	substitute	neutralizer
2. professional orientation	substitute	substitute
3. indifference toward rewards	neutralizer	neutralizer
4. need for independence	neutralizer	neutralizer
Task characteristics		
1. structured, routine task		substitute
2. feedback provided by task		substitute
3. intrinsically satisfying task	substitute	substitute
Organization characteristics		
1. cohesive work group	substitute	substitute
2. low position power	neutralizer	neutralizer
3. formalization (roles, procedures)		substitute
4. inflexibility (rules, policies)		neutralizer
5. dispersed subordinate work sites	neutralizer	neutralizer

According to Jermier and Kerr (1997, 97) research shows that more important than the leader's interpersonal behaviours are substitutes in relation to outcomes. However, the amount of research on specific substitutes of leadership is limited (Yukl 2000, 219). Studies on substitutes in different kinds of organizations – for example in small entrepreneurial enterprises – could not be found. Also this theory has been criticized for its conceptual weaknesses. There has been little work aiming to test and develop the theory. (Jermier & Kerr 1997, 97; Podsakoff & MacKenzie 1997, 118-119; Tosi 1997, 111; also Howell 1997.)

The Substitutes of Leadership Theory has been seen as a paradigm shift in leadership studies, because it questioned the implicit, taken for granted assumption of objectivistic leadership research that some kind of leadership behaviour is always needed. It proposes that leadership should be studied in a broader organizational context and calls for studying things whether or not they are provided through hierarchical leadership. (Tosi 1997, 111.)

All the above presented contingency models utilized the two-factor conception of leader behaviour that has been criticized (see page 21). They also implicitly assume that there is one best way to do things in some situation (McCall et al 1983, 31). Furthermore, in practice the situations leaders face change rapidly, which makes the objective definition of the situation and the objective assessment of effectiveness problematic (Darmer 2000, 344). The interest in the models begun to fail since the beginning of the 1980's, when new conceptions of leadership addressing organizational change and strategic vision began to emerge bringing along new models and theories of leadership. (Bryman 1996, 280; Conger & Kanungo 1994, 439; Schriesheim & Neider 1996, 319.)

Power-influence approach to leadership examines the influence processes between leaders and other people. *Leader centred power-influence studies* focus on explaining leader effectiveness in terms of the type and the amount of power possessed by a leader and how the leader exercises power. Power can be distinguished as different power bases (see page 9) or as different forms of power such as positional and personal power. Positional power refers to the influence derived from the position a person occupies and authority vested in that position. It includes reward, coercive, information, ecological and legitimate power. Personal power refers to potential influence derived from task expertise and/or friendship and loyalty and includes expert and referent power. (Yukl 2000; 144, 170; see also Darmer 2000, 339.)

The majority of studies on leaders' influence on the behaviours and attitudes of followers have shown that referent and expert power are related to subordinate satisfaction and performance (Yukl 2000, 156-157). Leaders' impact on the organizational performance has been a matter of dispute in leadership research (e.g. Pfeffer 1977, 107, 110; House 1988, 248; Finkelstein & Hambrick 1996, 22, 328; McElroy & Hunger 1988, 169). It has been suggested that the effect of leadership vary depending on the level of the organizational hierarchy; its impact should be more evident where there is more discretion in decisions and activities (Pfeffer 1977, 108; see also Daily et al 2002, 4; Finkelstein & Hambrick 1996, 36).

In small firms the discretion of organizational leaders is broader than in large ones in terms of decision-making, and allocation of funds to support decisions and implement them (Daily et al 2002, Westerberg et al 1997, 267). In small enterprises in general, and in micro-businesses in particular, organizational control is likely to rest with one individual – the owner-manager, who usually makes most, if not all, important decisions (Burns 1997, 3; Dyer 1997, Goffee & Scase 1995, 15; Matlay 1999, Scase & Goffee 1987, 72; Osbourne 1991, 26).

The relationship based power-influence research focuses on relationships between the leader and the follower, examines characteristics of relationships, and evaluates reciprocal influence and its effectiveness. An example of this approach is the Leader-member exchange theory (LMX), which distinguishes two types of relationships: in-group relationships based on negotiated role responsibilities, and out-group relationships based on the formal employment contract. In-group members are able to get more influence, confidence, concern and information than out-group members. Exchange is reciprocal: the leader does extra things for the in-group members, who do extra things for her/him. (Graen & Uhl-Bien 1995, 223; Hunt & Dodge 2001, 449; Northouse 2001, 111-112, 114.)

The findings of the LMX research suggest that subordinates who accepted the offer from the leader to high quality relationship improved their performance. Also the overall performance of the work unit was improved by the increase of the number of high quality relationships. (Graen & Uhl-Bien 1995, 229.) Leader-member exchange was found to be a stronger predictor of turnover than leader-ship style or employee attitudes (Ferris & Rowland 1981). Still, there are criticisms concerning the theoretical foundations of the theory and measurement of leader-member exchanges (Yukl 2000, 199-120).

In small companies the relationships between the owner-manager and the employees reflect the management style of the owner-manager. In the study by Matlay (1999) the vast majority of small firm owners preferred informal management style, which they and their employees saw as greatly improving communications at the workplace. Mixed formal/informal management style was appre-

ciated by only two percent of the 5383 owner-managers participating in the study. Most of them imposed strict formal conventions in all their dealings with workers; others allowed some degree of familiarity with long serving or loyal employees. This appeared to generate polarised relationships at the small workplace; "them and us" mentality; hostility, and loss of communication. (Matlay 1999.)

Leader effectiveness has been suggested to be contingent on the matching the degree of distance/closeness that followers expect from the leader. Leader distance can be defined as leader—follower physical distance, perceived social distance, and perceived interaction frequency. Followers perceive a leader as very distant if she/he is physically distant from followers, maximizes the status and power differentials by virtue of her/his social position, and maintains infrequent contact with followers. According to this view leader distance impacts how leader behaviours are evaluated by followers. Also the ways in which a leader is legitimized and trusted appears to be a function of leader distance. (Antonakis & Atwater 2002, see also Hollander 2004, 53-56.)

Trust is one of the commonly noted ingredients of the leader-follower relationship. It is regarded as one of the most important factors in developing and maintaining fruitful relationship management; not only enduring inter-personal relationships but also intra-corporate relationships, inter-corporate relationships and the firms' survival and success. (Svensson & Wood 2004, 321; also Solomon 2004, 94-100; Steier 2001, 353.) Trust has been claimed to be of specific importance in family firms. As family firms evolve so should the role of trust as a governance mechanism. The actions of those responsible for the strategic direction of the organization greatly influence the level of trust within organizations. (Steier 2001, 354, 364; Svensson & Wood 2004, 321.)

One among the many definitions of trust is that it is a belief or perception held by a person; it is a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another person (Dirks & Ferrin 2002, 612). In leadership literature, trust has been addressed in two major ways. The relationship-based perspective refers to the nature of the leader-follower relationship: the followers see the relationship with the leader as based on trust, goodwill and mutual obligations. The character-based perspective focuses on the perception of the leader's character as trustful. (Dirks & Ferrin 2002, 611-612.)

Trust in leadership/leader has been found to impact on behavioural and performance outcomes (such as organizational citizenship behaviour and job performance), job attitudes and intentions (job satisfaction, organizational commitment, decision commitment, intention to quit, and belief in in-

formation) and correlate with satisfaction with the leader and leader-member exchange. These findings were supported in a meta-analysis of studies on trust by Dirks and Ferrin (2002): trust in leadership was significally related to all the above mentioned outcomes, but had the strongest relationship with job satisfaction and organizational commitment. It correlated highly to satisfaction with the leader and leader-member relationship (LMX). (Dirks & Ferrin 2002, 618.)

Trust in the direct leader and trust in organizational leadership (executive leadership, collective set of leaders) showed different relationships with work outcomes: trust in the direct leader had an equal or greater effect on such workplace outcomes as performance, altruism, and intent to quit, and job satisfaction than trust in organizational leadership. Trust in organizational leadership had greater impact on organizational commitment; also perceived organizational support was more strongly related to trust in organizational leadership than trust in the direct leader. However, there is not enough knowledge about how contextual factors influence on trust in leadership. It has been suggested that the greater the vulnerability or uncertainty in a context, the greater the impact of trust may be on outcomes. (Dirks & Ferrin 2002; 611, 613, 622.)

The emphasis on interpersonal processes in studying trust in organizations and between leaders and subordinates has been criticized as being too narrow. Trust can also be viewed as a collective phenomenon; property of the system in which the superior-subordinate relationship is embedded. The implication of this approach is that instead of emphasizing the dependence of subordinates on their superiors and placing the power to determine the level of trust chiefly in the hands of the leaders, it highlights that each side has some control over the other. (Shamir & Lapidot 2003.) Solomon (2004, 99) puts the power balance between subordinates and leaders even further by claiming that trust is also a decision. It is the subordinates who choose to trust or not to trust and thus hold the ultimate power in any leadership relationship.

Participative leadership research is interested in power sharing and/or empowerment of followers. Also in these studies the leader's perspective is most often emphasized. This is the case in the best-supported model of effective leadership – the Normative Decision Model (Vroom & Yetton 1973), which focuses on the decision procedures of leaders Vroom & Jago 1978, 152, 162; Vroom & Yetton 1973; Vroom & Jago 1978; 152). The model provides a sequential set of rules to follow in a decision-making situation in order to enable the leader to choose the right form and amount of participation. (Vroom & Yetton 1973; 18-19, 187, 204.) However, in relation to leadership effectiveness this model focuses only on one narrow aspect of leadership.

Studies on participative leadership have examined how effective managers use consultation and delegation in making decisions and compared autocratic to participative or democratic leadership. In spite of some disagreements among different reviewers of these studies and of different forms of participation examined in the studies, there is agreement that the effectiveness of participation may be contingent on situational/contextual factors (Cotton et al 1988, 16; 1990, 151; Leana et al 1990, 144).

It has been claimed that small size of the organization is a critical element in managing the processes and systems that support democratic organizational control. However, as was suggested in a case study of a small, successful enterprise by Vanderslice (1988), the size may not be as important as a set of internal structures and processes that allow organizations to successfully fulfil leadership functions without creating leader roles and leader-follower power differentials.

Vanderslice's study is an example of dispersed leadership research – an emerging tradition that views leadership as a dispersed activity not necessarily vested in formal leaders. It originates from the changing contexts of leadership from traditional organizational forms to new forms characterized as organic structures and operations, and more temporary systems and workers with broader decision-making responsibilities. However, there is a lack of theoretical analysis and empirical studies to distinguish the characteristics of new organizational forms, their prevalence and implications for leadership. (Palmer & Hardy 2000, 11, 14-15, 233; Shamir 1999, 67.)

Dispersed leadership is built on such views as Superleadership (Manz & Sims 1991, Sims & Lorenzi 1992), Real teams (Katzenbach & Smith 1993), Self-leadership (Kirkman & Rosen 1999, Kouzes & Posner 1993) and Leadership as a skilful process (Hosking 1988, Hosking & Morley 1988) representing the decentralization of leadership skills and responsibilities in organizations. They shift the focus from heroic, designated leaders towards other organizational members and/or teams as sites of leadership. (Bryman 1996, 283-284; Gordon 2002, 155-156.)

Integrative approaches to leadership include studies using many kinds of variables (trait, behaviour, influence, and situational). They contain also perspectives that add to, integrate or cross the different approaches presented earlier. Within this approach, of the two main concerns in objectivistic leadership research, leadership emergence is more at stake in theorizing and research obtaining its insights from attribution theories. An example of these is the work of Calder (1977).

Calder censured objectivistic leadership research for uncritically adopting the ideas of everyday thought and experience and trying to simplify them so that they would be generalizable across situations. Leadership researchers have used them as scientific concepts in spite of the fact that everyday conceptualizations of leadership are highly situational in meaning. Scientific concepts and constructs are not likely to be unique to leadership research alone: the trait approach to leadership concerns the question whether or not trait models explain certain behaviours. In the same way the transactional/transformational nature (see pp. 34-35) of leader-follower interaction reduces to models of interpersonal influence. Even if the image of leadership may fit to these prescriptions, it is irrelevant to the scientific, second degree explanations. Thus the scientific understanding of leadership does not depend on the construct of leadership. (Calder 1977, 185.)

Calder proposed a reorientation of the entire leadership field to take attribution as its central construct. Based on attribution theorizing he developed a tentative Attribution Theory of Leadership (Calder 1977) that views leadership as a manifestation of the common bias to perceive personal causes for behaviour. Leadership is a quality of a person derived from her/his observed or assumed behaviour and its effects perceived by observers (internal-stable attribution). This quality – leadership – is perceived as the reason for the behaviour and its effects. Thus the meaning of leadership depends on the qualitative nature of the behaviour perceived as evidence of leadership, which in turn depends on the expectations of how leaders typically behave. (Calder 1977, 187-188, 190-191; see also Phillips & Lord 1981, 143; Staw & Ross 1980, 258.)

Calder (1977, 198) used the term 'implicit theory of leadership' that refers to the beliefs that are at the core of the qualitative meaning of leadership. The differences of behaviours seen as evidence of leadership are different for different groups of actors and their situational contexts. What these differences are is an empirical question.

Calder's (1977) idea about the implicit theory of leadership may be the antecedent of *the Implicit Leadership Theories (ILT)* (Rush et al 1977, Lord et al 1982, 105, 113; Phillips & Lord 1981, 160). ILTs are prototypes or stereotypes of leadership; they consist of assumptions and beliefs about characteristics and behaviour of effective leaders. Based on the implicit assumptions of leadership the interpretation of leader behaviour – not behaviour per se – has impact on leader-subordinate relationships and how leader behaviour is assessed. Subordinates use implicit leadership theories to evaluate their supervisors in the same way as supervisors use their implicit performance theories to categorize subordinates as effective or ineffective. (Bresnen 1995, 509; Engle & Lord 1997, 991.) Keller (1999, 602) claims that there are individual differences in implicit leadership theories based

on personality traits: individuals hold romanticized views of leadership and project their own traits onto idealized leaders.

For Lord et al (1986, 403) traits are important perceptual constructs, because traits influence how people are perceived: being a leader or a follower is inferred by people from evidence about traits that they exhibit. They claim that personality traits are associated with leadership perceptions to a higher degree and more consistently than former leadership research indicates. (See also Phillips 1984, 137; Larson 1982, 137; Rush et al 1977, 93, 106; Staw & Ross 1980, 257.)

Being perceived as a leader, enables an individual to exert influence and so leadership perceptions may have important symbolic value, which in turn may affect the performance of subordinates. In this way implicit leadership theories may be helpful in understanding social influence processes in organizations and especially how employees interpret managerial behaviour (Cronshaw & Lord 1987, 104-105; Lord et al 1982, 119; Lord et al 1986, 407- 408; Lord & Hall 2003, 51; see also Albright & Forziati 1995, Engle & Lord 1997, Judge et al 2004, Lord et al 1984, Martin & Epitropaki 2001, Vecchio & Boatwright 2002).

Leadership perceptions may also originate from categorization processes (Phillips & Lord 1981, 160). According to *The Categorization Theory of Leadership* (Lord et al 1982) the categorization processes enable persons to be classified into pre-existing categories such as leader / non-leader. The content of the leadership category is based on the qualities that the perceiver associates with the term 'leader' (Keller 1999, 589-590; Lord et al 1982, 104). Certain salient features of a leader initiate a search for the category prototype that matches those features.

The category prototype is a set of characteristics possessed by most category members; it is the central component of the perceiver's implicit leadership theory (Lord & Hall 2003, 50). If there is a match to the prototype, the label 'leader' is applied. This label can be used later to have access to the corresponding leader prototype, for example when an individual is asked to make judgements concerning the leader. Thus, categorization can be seen as a simplifying heuristic reducing encoding and memory demands. (Cronshaw & Lord 1997, 97-98; Lord et al 1984, 347.)

Lord et al (1982) presumed that leadership categories are hierarchically structured along vertical and horizontal dimensions. The horizontal dimension differentiates categories at the same vertical level. The vertical dimension defines the number of different kinds of qualities that can be classified

into the same category. It contains three category levels: superordinate, basic and subordinate level categories (figure 2).

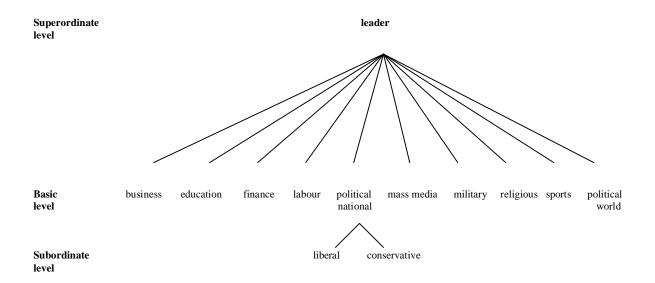


Figure 2. A tentative hierarchy of leadership categories (source: Lord et al 1984, 347)

The superordinate category is the most inclusive level in the classification system. It contains leader/nonleader dimensions and involves judgments about traits, behaviours and performance of leaders in general. Based on the family resemblance principle, there should be few attributes common to all leaders. Those attributes, which characterize most category members in the superordinate category, should overlap very little with those of the superordinate category of non-leader. (Lord et al 1982, 112-113; Lord et al 1984, 347.)

This issue is according to Lord et al (1987, 348) confirmed by many empirical studies of leader traits. Within one study – which is analogous to the basic level category – a set of traits differentiating leaders from nonleaders can be found. But no such sets of traits have been identified in studies that differentiate leaders from nonleaders across many contexts. In order to be perceived as a leader there must be a match between an individual and several – not a single – attributes of the prototype. (Lord et al 1984, 348.)

The basic level categories are defined in terms of the context in which leadership occurs. They involve classification of a person into such basic categories as for example political, military, and business leaders, which are the different types of leaders found in the world (figure 2). These categories are less inclusive than the superordinate categories, richer in detail and they can be more clearly differentiated from contrasting categories. (Lord et al 1982, 112-113; Lord et al 1984, 348.)

The subordinate categories are the least inclusive. They include further subdivisions of each basic level category. The exact nature of subordinate categories is not known. It may be that different individuals may represent this level differently based on their experience with particular basic level leaders or because of the individual differences in cognitive capacities. (Lord et al 1982, 110, 112-113; Lord et al 1982, 348.)

The Categorization Theory of Leadership recognizes the importance of both the perceiver and the person perceived in determining leadership; it does not concentrate solely on the qualities of the leader as most of the models and theories in objectivistic leadership research do. The theory assumes that leadership categories may be learned and transmitted through culture; in this way it is in line with the view of leadership as a social construction (Lord et al 1982, 109, see also Calder 1977, Pfeffer 1977). However, the theory focuses on the cognitive processes by which social perceptions are formed.

In the Categorization Theory leadership is viewed as a product of individual information processing, not as a structural property of real groups or an intrinsic or emergent property of psychological in-group membership. The latter's views of leadership derive from the general theory of social identity and self-categorization: leadership is produced by group processes contingent on psychologically belonging to the group. As leadership is seen to require a legitimate source of influence (cf. Janda 1960) the legitimacy of the leader is established by affording leader status to persons, who are most prototypical; i.e. who are in the greatest conformity with the most central and representative characteristics of the group. (Chemers 2003, 7-8; Hogg et al 1998, 1248-1249, 1261.)

The concept of prototypicality refers here to the particularistic and normative behaviours and attitudes of the group. Prototypicality makes persons socially attractive and so other members of the group are willing to accept influence from them. The compliance further reinforces the leader's influence, power and authority. This view of leadership is more oriented to predict leader emergence than leader effectiveness (cf. Chemers 2003, 8).

Leadership categorization and leader in-group prototypicality can be seen as complementary rather than contradictory: they may reflect two distinct aspects of desires in groups. When people need to feel included in their group and reinforced by their group membership, a prototypical leader is reassuring and she/he will be positively evaluated. When the welfare of group members is at least partially determined by achieving some goal, it may be that a leader, who displays behaviours that are likely to move the group towards its goal, will be valued. Thus a comprehensive view of leadership

should take into account both the group's internally oriented needs for identity and inclusion and the externally oriented needs for goal attainment. (Chemers 2003, 9; Lord & Hall 2003, 54-56.)

Leadership effectiveness is central concern for 'New Leadership' emerging in the field of leadership research in the 1980s. The label New Leadership is used to refer to varying studies and theorizing using such terms as transformational (Bass 1985, Bennis & Nanus 1985, Tichy & Devanna 1986), charismatic (Conger 1989, Conger & Kanungo 1994, House 1977), and visionary (Westley & Mintzberg 1989) in their conceptualizations of leadership (Bryman 1996, 280). 'New Leadership' views a leader "as someone who defines organizational reality through the articulation of a vision, which is a reflection of how she/he defines an organization's mission and the values, which will support it" (Bryman 1992, 280).

This stream of work attempts to explain why some leaders are not merely effective but exceptional, "great leaders" (House 1988, 256; 1991, 364). The New Leadership research has been accused for concentrating on top leaders. So their findings might not be of relevance to the majority of leaders. It also concentrates mainly on designated leaders thus ignoring the informal leadership processes (Yukl 1999, 38-39).

At the back of New Leadership is Burns' (1978) work on political leadership and orientations of political leaders as transactional or transforming. Transactional leadership refers to an exchange between a leader and a follower, where the compliance of the follower is achieved by rewards. A transforming leader arouses the aspirations of the followers so that those of the leader and her/his followers become fused. (Burns 1978, 4.)

The term 'transforming' was switched to 'transformational' by Bass and Avolio; and transforming leadership and vision were connected through the works of Bennis and Nanus (1985), Tichy and Devanna (1986) and Bass (1985). Even though there are different conceptualizations of visionary leadership originating from the fields of strategic management and traditional leadership in organizations research they hold in common the view of visionary leaders as not 'larger than life' figures. They do not use the notion of charisma, which is a common characteristic in the charismatic and transformational leadership theories. (Bennis & Nanus 1985, 25-26; Tichy & Devanna 1986, 271-280; Westley & Mintzbeg 1989, 30.)

The distinction between charismatic and transformational leadership and the comparison of the respective models is problematic, because of the conceptual ambiguity and the lack of comparable

definitions (Hunt 1999, 340; Yukl 2000, 260). The relevance of charisma is another matter of dispute: some argue it to be found only at the top level of organizations, some others view it to be relevant at all levels (Shamir 1995; 19-21, 36; see also Antonakis & Atwater 2002, 675; Hunt 1991, 204-208; 1999, 340), and some claim that it is a distraction, 'a false lead in leadership' (Solomon 2004, 93). The Transformational Leadership Theory and the Attribution Theory of Charismatic Leadership presented below share the assumption that charisma is relevant for top-level and lower-level leaders as well as for immediate superiors.

The Transformational Leadership Theory – also called Full Range Leadership Theory (Bass 1985, Avolio & Bass 1988) – assumes that transformational leadership generates extra effort, creativity and productivity in the long run including the development of subordinates' competencies. Leaders can be both transactional and transformational – best leaders are both. (Bass 1985, 26; 1995, 474; see also Bass 1999, Bass et al 2003.)

There is some support for the assumption that three transformational behaviours – charisma (called also idealized influence), individualized consideration and intellectual stimulation – are related to leadership effectiveness (Lowe et al 1996). Still, also the context, in which leadership is observed, has an impact on leadership evaluations (Antonakis et al 2003, 283). Whether or not transformational leadership is common at all levels and in most types of organizations as Bass claims has remained an open question (Yukl 1999, 37-38).

Some researchers see that charismatic leadership is more likely to occur in crisis situations (House et al 1991, 391; Roberts & Bradley 1988, 272.). Some others suggest that there are two kinds of charisma – visionary and crisis induced (Hunt 1991, 202-203). According to the Attribution Theory of Charismatic Leadership (Conger & Kanungo 1987) charismatic leaders are likely to emerge in situations of crisis. Still an objective crisis is not needed – dissatisfaction with the current situation and the availability of a vision about a better future is sufficient. (Conger & Kanungo 1987; also Roberts & Bradley 1988, 268-269).

Followers attribute charismatic qualities to their leaders that derive from their interpretation of the leader's observed behaviour as expressions of charisma. Charismatic leaders are able to formulate and articulate an inspirational vision and act in a way that fosters an impression that they and their mission are extraordinary. Because of the extraordinariness the followers choose to follow them. (Conger & Kanungo 1988, 330; 1994, 442-443; 1998, 229.)

Subordinates of charismatic leaders have a higher need for leadership than subordinates of non-charismatic leaders (de Vries et al 1999, 122; also de Cremer 2003, 119). 'Need for Leadership' does not apply to some basic human need, but is developed through socialization processes in different settings that entail expectations in regard to hierarchical relations. It refers to an employee's wish that the leader will facilitate the path toward individual, group and organizational goals. The need is contextual in the sense that it depends on the person's assessment of the particular setting: if the setting is such that the person lacks competence or feels insecure, (s)he wants the leader to help. When the setting changes, the person may become more confident in her/his skills, and feel more secure, and the need for leadership decreases. (de Vries et al 2002, 122-123; Howell 1997, 115; Vecchio & Boatwright 2002, 337.)

Initial support for the propositions of Need for Leadership was found by Vecchio & Boatwrigt (2002), who claimed that such individual attributes as age, level of education, job experience and organizational context including organizational norms may be the factors, which contribute to a lesser or a greater need for leadership. (Vecchio & Boatwright 2002, 337.)

Employees' dependence on and need for leadership and the widely reported failures of leadership in large corporations – such as Enron – have fuelled the (re)recognition of the importance and raised interest in ethics in leadership (e.g. Brown & Trevino 2006, Burns 2004, 2005; Ciulla 2005). To prevent leadership failures characterizations of ethical success have been developed to put leaders in a better position to behave morally.

From the three types of leadership values – ethical virtues, ethical values and moral values – Burns considers moral values being at the heart of transforming leadership. Moral values such as order (security), liberty, equality, justice, and community are crucial, because transforming leadership seeks such fundamental changes in society as the expansion of justice, equality of opportunity and the enhancement of individual liberty. Ethical values – honesty, integrity, trustworthiness, reliability, reciprocity, and accountability – are important for transactional leaders. (Burns 2004, x.)

Also Bass and Steidlmeier (2004) have reformulated their Transformational Leadership Theory in terms of ethics and defended the theory by claiming that only ethical leaders are authentic transformational leaders. It is the pseudo-transformational leaders who are deceptive and manipulative. The authentic transformational leadership can be differentiated from pseudo-transformational leadership by inspecting the moral components of transformational leadership (table 5). Transactional leadership is moral when it is truthful; when the leader keeps her/his promises and does not deliberately

conceal information harmful to followers from them; doesn't accept bribes, and when there is no nepotism and abuse of authority: "-- when the truth is told, promises are kept, negotiations are fair, and choices are free." (Bass and Steidlmeier (2004; 178-179, 185.)

Table 5. Leading moral components of transformational leadership (source: Bass & Steidlmeier 2004, 179)

Idealized influence: whether "puffery" and egoism on part of the leader predominate and

(charisma) whether s/he is manipulative

Inspirational motivation whether of not she/he provides for true empowerment and self-

actualization of followers

Intellectual stimulation whether the leader's program is open to dynamic transcendence and

spirituality or is closed propaganda and a 'line' to follow

Individualized whether followers are treated as ends or means, whether or not their

consideration unique dignity and interests are respected

Some of the views inherent in transformational leadership and leader trait studies are shared by psychodynamic approach to leadership originating from Freud's psychoanalysis and Bion's work in the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations (cf. Kets de Vries 1988, 2001; Lönnqvist 1991, Zaleznik 1977). However, this approach emphasizes the leaders' own insights and the responses of subordinates and how the leaders' personalities affect their companies.

Especially clinical approach to leadership and management (Kets de Vries 1988) conforms to the New Leadership by emphasizing personal characteristics of leaders in relation to the success of their organizations; it is in line with the differences between transactional managers and transformational leaders of Bass (Bass 1985, 230; Zaleznik 1977). According to this approach there are links between troubled firms' strategic and organizational orientations and their executives' personality. Executives' neurotic styles are related to pathologies of their corporations. (Kets de Vries & Miller 1986, 2.) Such personal pathologies of leaders as reactive narcissism are seen to be dangerous for the health of any organization. (Kets de Vries 1985, 596; 1996, 491; also Kets de Vries & Miller 1986; Kets de Vries & Balazs 1998.)

Psychodynamic studies of leadership include psychohistories of leaders, managers versus leaders; effective leaders, charismatic leaders and entrepreneurs in relation to their psychological characteristics and behaviours and the functioning of their organizations. (E.g. Kets de Vries & Miller 1986;

Kets de Vries 1985, 1995; Kets de Vries & Balazs 1998, Zaleznik 1977.) The origins of this approach lies in the psychology of abnormal and dysfunctional and the problems of white, upper-middle-class people, neither of which could self-evidently be generalized to other groups or cultures. Moreover, the neglect of organizational factors within this approach has been criticized. (Stech 2001; 92, 200-201.)

Organizational factors and levels are emphasized in Hunt's (1991) Extended Multiple-Organizational-Level Leadership Model. The model integrates leadership in organizations and leadership of organizations (figure 3).

External environment societal culture / values

Systems leadership 10-20 years	Critical tasks goal/mission development	Individual capability background predispositions	organizational culture values
+ up	strategy/operating principles	cognitive complexity / social cognition	organizational climate
	overall organization/ subunit design	leadership skills	
Organizational Leadership 1-2 years time span	subsystems design / organizational development (planning, information, control, personnel/ human resources	same variable categories as above	organizational subculture (subclimate)
	integration of subordinate organization elements with goal/mission subsystems operation, integrations, translation		organizational/ subunit effectiveness
Direct leadership (production) 3 months- 2 years time span	administration of operating procedures practices for goal/ mission/strategy/policy maintenance of individual/ collective skills/ equipmen		subculture

Figure 3. Extended Multiple-Organizational-Level Leadership Model (source: Hunt 1991, 17)

In every organization there are critical tasks the leader has to execute if the organization is to perform effectively. As the leader moves higher in the organization, the critical tasks will become more complex and qualitatively different. When a leader's critical task complexity grows, her/his amount

of discretion is expected to grow. According to this model there must be a match between critical task complexity and leader cognitive and behavioural complexity at each organizational level. (Hunt 1991; 35, 39-40; Hunt & Ropo 1995, 383.)

The extended model is oriented toward traditional large-scale bureaucracies. According to Hunt, organizational complexity should be the governing factor in comparing different organizations. Even though an entrepreneur and the CEO of a large corporation do have the same responsibilities in the domains of mission and strategies and organizational design their tasks are of different complexity. That is why the CEO of an entrepreneurial organization is to be compared with the lower level leaders of larger organizations. (Hunt 1991, 271-274.)

Objectivistic leadership research has been criticized for producing fragmented findings of different aspects of leadership difficult to reconcile and utilize to advance the field of leadership theory and practice (Antonakis et al 2003; de Vries et al 1999, Hackman & Wageman 2007, House 1991, 325-327; Janda 1960, 350-353; Pfeffer 1977, 105; Yukl 2000; 428, 431). The studies have focused on one aspect of leadership at a time. By (often) defining leadership as an interpersonal influence process the majority of research has concentrated on intra-individual (leader-centered), and dyadic levels of analysis, and focused on two or so styles neglecting the influence of organizational and environmental context (McCall & Lombardo 1982, 533, Yukl 1999, 38; 2000, 437; Storey 2005, 94, 102). (Table 6.)

Table 6. Common features of objectivistic leadership research methodology (source: Yukl 2000, 435)

feature	common in objectivistic leadership studies
research method	survey study
research objective	replication
level of processes	individual/dyadic
time frame	short term
causality	unidirectional
criterion variables	one or two
mediating variables	few or none
data sources	single
sample	convenience
level of leader	supervisor

Most of the objectivistic research on leadership does not address group or organizational processes and the integration of different levels of analysis has been missing (Yukl 1999, 38-39; Graen & Uhl-Bien 1995, 240). Exceptions for this neglect are the qualitative research of transformational or

visionary leadership providing descriptions of how these processes occur (e.g. Bennis & Nanus 1985, Tichy & Devanna 1986), as well as the studies deriving from social identity theories and leadership categorization processes (see e.g. Knippenberg & Hogg 2003). Generally research questions have been asked about the motivational effects of the leader and about the leader-follower relationship even though organizational success is not primarily determined by dyadic processes. (Yukl 1999, 39; 2000, 433.)

Objectivistic leadership research has been over dependent on one methodology – the survey – and neglected the application of other methods to understand leadership. The majority of studies use questionnaires, which may be "poorly suited for studying leadership as a dynamic, shared process embedded in complex social systems" (Yukl 2000, 435; also McCall & Lombardo 1982, 533). If the leader behaviour ratings are biased by attributions and implicit theories of the respondents assessing both leader behaviour and its effectiveness, there are questions about the validity of the questionnaires (e.g. Judge 2002, 767; Larson 1982, 139; Mitchell et al 1977, 255; Phillips 1984, 136; Rush et al 1977, 108). The use of questionnaires may also implicitly exaggerate the importance of individual leaders (Yukl 2002, 435-436). Furthermore, most of the studies have been conducted either among lower-level supervisors or among leaders at the top of large corporations.

Even if the majority of the objectivistic leadership researchers view leadership effectiveness in terms of the consequences of the leader's actions to followers and other organizational stakeholders, in the evaluations different criteria of effectiveness have been used. In the same way as conceptions of leader effectiveness vary among leadership researchers "(the) criteria selected to evaluate leadership effectiveness reflect the researchers' explicit or implicit conception of leadership". (Yukl 2000, 8-10, 19.) Biases in the choice of research methods are related to biases in the conceptualization of leadership.

2.2.2 Constructivist-interpretative studies on leadership

In the readings of constructivist-interpretative studies on leadership the emphasis can be placed on *the consensus and local-emergent dimensions* in the grid (figure 1, page 13). These studies share the consensus discourse with objectivistic leadership studies and are often – like postmodern studies – a theoretical and derive their insights from local understandings. They hold in common the view that the world is constructed by social actors in particular places and times through processes of social interaction that involve history, language and actions of different actors. (Schwandt 1994, 118.)

Constructivist-interpretative studies aim to understand human action, not to offer causal explanations of different phenomena (Guba & Lincoln 1994, 109-114). Based on the local views produced through empirical research these studies discuss the relevance and contribution of their findings in relation to other understandings and constructions of leadership. By focusing on different sites, contexts and individuals and groups of people their aim is to reconstruct the constructions that people initially hold to increase understanding of leadership. By unfolding different constructions and problematizing leadership, constructivist leadership research aims to produce more sophisticated constructions and increase the awareness of the contents and meanings of competing constructions. (Cf. Darmer 2000, 350; Guba & Lincoln 1994, 113-114.)

The studies on leadership within constructivist-interpretative research practice are not as neatly arrangeable into different lines of inquiry as studies within objectivistic leadership research. Most often they represent such epistemological stances as interpretivism, hermeneutics and some forms of social constructionism (cf. Schwandt 1994, 118). However, many streams of thought are brought together in studies presented here as examples of constructivist-interpretative research. They portray a variety of leadership (re)constructions and construction processes within different 'locals' may they be individuals, groups, organizations or other contexts.

Leadership theories and models represent different, causal explanations for individual, group or organizational performance. McElroy and Hunger (1988) examined the underlying assumptions of the models in terms of the stable-variable and internal-external dimensions of attribution. Trait approach and theories of charismatic leadership as well as Blake & Mouton's Managerial Grid represent attributions of performance to internal, relatively stable traits and behaviours of a leader regardless of time and place. Path-Goal Theory, Situational Leadership Theory and Normative Decision Making Model are examples of theories that are implicitly based on internal-variable attribution, because they place the leader as the primary determinant of performance, whose behaviours vary with varying situations.

External-stable dimensions of attribution lie behind Fiedler's Contingency theory and Substitutes for Leadership Theory. They assume that performance is caused by relatively stable properties of the situation independent of leader behaviour and in this way place less emphasis on the leader's role as the determinant of performance. In addition to the theories conforming to the internal-stable, internal-variable and external-stable dimensions of performance attributions, there are also views of leadership that represent the external-variable dimension. They question the impact of leadership on performance and conceive it as a myth or as a symbol (Pfeffer 1977). Performance is attributed to

unstable situational variables external to the leader. By refusing to accept the leader as the cause of performance they do not deny a reverse causal connection. (McElroy & Hunger 1988, 172-178.)

Leadership as an explanatory concept to understand organizations as causal systems was demonstrated in a study, which examined leadership from three viewpoints – how popular press treated leaders and leadership in relation to organizational performance, how leadership as a topic of dissertations was related to the general economic conditions, and to what extent undergraduate students considered the leader to be an important causal determinant of an organization's performance outcome. The findings revealed the prominence and strength of the romanticized conception of leadership. (Meindl et al 1985.)

This view builds up the core of *The Romance of Leadership theory* (Meindl 1995) that emphasizes the subjective meanings that individuals attach to the phenomenon leadership. The theory presupposes the subjectivity of leadership effectiveness: no behaviours of leaders are given the status of 'better' outside the constructions of followers. The predefined concepts and definitions of leadership are rejected and taken as clues of constructions of leaders and leadership made by followers. The Romance of Leadership research agenda strives to unfold and understand the variation of constructions that are influenced by social processes that occur among followers and their contexts including different situations. (Meindl 1995, 331.)

Meindl (1995, 340) sees that in spite of the subjectivist definition of leadership and the social constructionist view of leadership, leadership can be examined in the objectivistic fashion. He provides a general framework for a theory, from which different models and testable hypotheses can be derived (figure 4, page 42). The individual aspects represent the individual differences and situational variables influencing the individual constructions of leadership. The group-level aspects focus on the processes between different actors in a group or in a larger collective. The model is directed at leadership construction and refers to

- 1) emergence of leadership as a way to understand and address organizational issues
- 2) alternative construction of leadership by definitions, theories-in-use, or criteria by which leaders are evaluated. (Meindl 1995, 333.)

The model highlights two outcomes that are interrelated: the followers' orientations to the self and to the leader. The self-definition of the followers as followers and their commitment to the personification of causes are the output of leadership ideologies and concepts that have been developed through the social construction processes. Through these processes the followers understand them-

selves, their relationships with each other and their tasks in the organization. These constructions are further constructed through the individual and collective processes that produce leadership as perceived by the followers. (Meindl 1995, 333.)

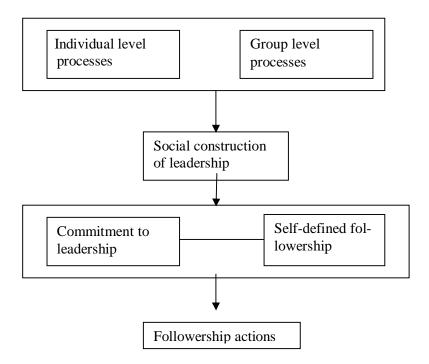


Figure 4. A General Model of the Romance of Leadership – a Follower-Centered Leadership Theory (source: Meindl 1995, 334)

As people seem to hold romanticized conceptions of leadership (cf. Meindl et al 1985), they also fantasize over their leaders. In a study by Gabriel (1997) based on the students' narratives about their encounters with the top leaders of the organization they were working in, four core fantasies of leader evolved. In these fantasies a leader was perceived as someone, who

- cares for her/his followers
- is accessible
- is omniscient and omnipotent
- has a legitimate right to lead others

Leadership fantasies connote to two groups of follower fantasies: charismatic and messianic. Charismatic fantasy views the leader as a reincarnation of the primal mother. The primal mother rewards persons for who they are and not because they have achieved something. The messianic fantasy views the leader as a father substitute, who rewards and punishes, and arouses fear, jealousy, suspicion and loyalty. (Gabriel 1997; 315, 338.)

Gabriel suggests that people have psychic needs for leaders to whom they can transfer emotions. Contemporary narcissism in organizations is reflected in the constant demands for leaders to prove their leadership; leaders are accepted and respected only when they are perceived to have superhuman qualities. However, in the encounters between leaders and followers – when followers are 'meeting the God' – the leaders' behaviours have crucial impact on their followers' fantasies. If leaders are able to read the unconscious wishes, emotions and needs of followers, they may be able to stimulate and satisfy them. (Gabriel 1997, 339-340.)

Dependency relations between leaders and their subordinates may create unintended consequences in leadership situations. This was demonstrated in an ethnographic case study of a project launched to improve the performance of a large insurance company by Smircich and Morgan (1982) (see also Collinson 2005, 235). The study was based on Pfeffer's (1977) view of leadership as a symbol. The study focused on the ways meaning is created, sustained and changed in organized settings. (Smircich & Morgan 1982, 265.)

The study revealed the competing interpretations of reality between the president and the executive staff of the company participating in the project and the president's power position in defining organizational reality. The president's efforts to change the executive staff's ways of seeing the organization reinforced their former view of the 'real' values of the organization. At the end of the project the executives felt themselves powerless. They understood that passive behaviour and conforming to the president's preferences was expected. For them the situation was a choice of resigning or going along with the way it is. (Smircich & Morgan 1982, 265-267.)

This view of leadership as a management of meaning emphasizes the fundamental nature of leadership in defining situations for other organizational members; leadership is a process of power-based reality construction. The importance of the leaders' view as the frame of reference to other organizational members is based on the special nature of the leadership role: leaders symbolize the organized situation and shape the images of their subordinates by their actions and talk. (Smircich & Morgan 1982; 269-271.)

Instead of interpreting leadership for the practitioners, Bresnen (1995) explored how managers of a large construction company understand leadership. Most often they described leadership in terms of behavioural patterns associated closely with such traditional leader behaviours as consideration, initiating structure and participatory styles. The different personal characteristics of subordinates as perceived by the managers influenced on how these ideas were applied in practice. Also here the

common conceptualization of leadership as behaviour styles was identified. Under the same 'style' there were individual, diverse 'implicit leadership theories' concerning what leadership does or should entail and which styles work best under what circumstances. (Bresnen 1995, 503-506.)

The managers considered leadership with reference to decision-making; they tied it to the exercise of managerial authority and control – the right to exercise leadership. Managerial authority was seen as a necessary condition for leadership, but it was not dependent on hierarchical position only. There was a notably ambivalence surrounding the term leadership; leadership was also seen as a personal attribute; inbred, developed, or socially ascribed. (Bresnen 1995, 505-506.)

The results suggested some support for the assumption that people construct their own implicit leadership theories by which they interpret and evaluate leaders' attitudes, actions and decisions. In leadership constructions individual differences, particular circumstances, and experiences in the construction industry played an important part. Furthermore, the leadership constructions were influenced by wider patterns of discourses in the social field. (Bresnen 1995, 509-511.)

Picturing leadership as a versatile phenomenon aligns to the findings of a study on leadership in two symphony orchestras by Koivunen (2003). In symphony orchestras leadership was constructed in various ways by different actors in different contexts; even the same actor constructed leadership differently in a different situation. The notion of leadership turned out to be irregular, contradictory and ambiguous rather than harmonious and logical. (Koivunen 2003, 214.)

For the artists the relationship with persons with authority positions seemed to be both problematic and paradoxical: leaders were needed and detested. There was a need for a heroic leader and an invisible manager. However, there also seemed to be possibilities for another kind of leadership – shared leadership. The practice of shared leadership becomes possible when relationships are established and nurtured. Still, some kind of structure and hierarchy may be needed. For a symphony orchestra, the relating and hierarchy are simultaneous and necessary; hierarchy provides the basic structure for producing music while playing in orchestra is relational. (Koivunen 2003, 216-217.)

In addition to work contexts, there are also other important arenas for the construction and exercise of leadership. Also in these contexts, the mutual influence of local and global understandings of leadership co-exists (Sjöstrand & Tyrstrup 2001; 1-2, 5-6, also Bresnen 1995) as was demonstrated in a study of leadership in an institute for management education by Sandberg (2001b). The directors of the institute constructed managerial leadership as

- 1. business development by enabling organization members to grow and develop
- 2. long-term business development by enabling organization members to grow and develop
- 3. long-term business development by enabling organization members to grow and develop by encouraging self-understanding among managers

These constructions were manifest also in the institute's leadership programs. (Sandberg 2001b, 167-168.)

Even if qualitatively different, all the constructions contained three basic elements: businessmanship, personal leadership and humanistic orientation towards managerial leadership. Businessmanship refers to mastering business techniques for analyzing and understanding such elements as markets, production, finance and organization. Personal leadership is about the ability to relate to the employees. Humanistic orientation refers to the respect and regard for people as a part of managerial leadership. (Sandberg 2001b, 169.)

According to Sandberg (2001b, 184-185) the dominant construction of the managerial leader as a male individual –a tough fighter and a rational expert – has been constructed and reproduced as an integral part of the economy in the western world (see also Kallifatides 2001). Because of this the possibility to provide an alternative to this dominant view such as the directors' constructions unfolded in the study is questionable without changing the social construction of the system itself.

The dominant construction of leadership is produced and reproduced also within the selection of leaders (cf. Pfeffer 1977). Even though the recruitment of CEOs is often described as involving a careful selection of a person matching the company's specific needs, at the same time top managers of large companies are a homogenous group with similar backgrounds, social circles, education, age, and gender. In a study of CEO selection processes in large Swedish companies by Holgersson (2001) the CEO recruitment procedure was found to be highly informal fostering homogeneity and conformity among managers. It perpetuated the dominant construction of leadership further shaped in the course of the actual selection process. (Holgersson 2001, 106, 108, 110-112, 122.)

Leadership in small firms has rarely been in focus in leadership studies subscribing the constructivist-interpretative research orientation. However, within this research practice studies on entrepreneurs and small enterprises (e.g. Scase & Goffee 1987, Goffee & Scase 1995, Pitt 1998; Ram 1994, 1999, 2001), employee relations and management of human resources in small firms and family businesses (e.g. Ainsworth & Cox 2003, Dundon et al 1999, Hill & Steward 2000, Kinnie et al 2000, Marlow & Patton 2002, Wilkinson 1999) have discussed issues that provide insights to lead-

ership in small enterprises. Many of these studies have focused on particular firms to achieve contextualized understanding about the ways, in which different actors working in small enterprises constitute organizational realities.

In trying to understand 'the real world' of a small business owner Scase and Goffee (1987) interviewed senior managers of owner-directors and proprietors from self-employed to the owners of big companies operating more or less successfully in different kinds of businesses. The study questioned the taken for granted assumptions and stereotypes of entrepreneurs as risk-takers, individualists and profit-seekers; people with drive, energy and ambition. No identifiable patterns of behaviour or other characteristics, which could be applied solely to entrepreneurs, were found. Neither any characteristic, which could be used as signs of to-be-entrepreneurs, could be identified. The motives for starting businesses were very diverse; profit-maximization was seldom the prime motivation. Even if the proprietors hold stereotypical images about entrepreneurs that were manifest in their remarks about who start businesses, these remarks were different from their accounts of their own concrete experiences. (Scase & Goffee 1987; 29, 32-33, 37.)

In establishing their firms the proprietors seemed to be motivated by many social and non-economic factors not usually discussed in relation to entrepreneurship. Business formation and growth was not an outcome of drive, determination and ambition, or a desire to become an entrepreneur but of personal discontent and random occurrence; sometimes as a rejection of working for somebody else, a conscious decision to drop out. This could mean a variety of things such as to get rid of their employee status – an escape from the control of others. Running your own business meant that you could have a sense of freedom, even though you may never use it. The fact that it is possible was enough. (Scase & Goffee 1987; 33, 38.)

This demonstrates how the traditional view of entrepreneurs has its shortcomings by ignoring the not-money-making reasons and highlighting the rational and logical explanations (see also Curran & Storey 1993, 16; Stanworth & Curran 1986, 83-84). The belief in an entrepreneurial type as ambitious, energetic and motivated by economic gain displays an important function in our society: the hegemony of individualism, personal achievement and hard work, which are the backbone of the

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The self-employed refer to one of the four types of business enterprises: they work for themselves, employ no labour and are often dependent upon the unpaid services of their family members. Small employers work alongside their workers, and undertake the administrative and managerial tasks of running their business. Owner-controllers do not work alongside their employees, but are singularly and solely responsible for the administration and management of their businesses. Owner-directors control enterprises through developed managerial hierarchies. (Scase & Goffee 1987; 24, 26.)

Western society. The symbolic image of the "self-made man" is important for its functional contribution to the economy. It also has a cultural appeal for the regeneration of our society. (Scase & Goffee 1987; 38, 161.)

In Scase and Goffee's study, the expansion of an enterprise was determined by the extent to which the owner was prepared to delegate his supervisory functions and how competent he felt himself with the management of the labour-force. Many proprietors were reluctant to hire workers, because of their fear of difficulties to get rid of them. Entrepreneurs felt their independence threatened if they had to exercise managerial and financial control. They preferred informal, and hiring more personnel increases pressures to actively lead people and develop formal structures and procedures to enable the organization function smoothly.

Some proprietors did not want to change the working relationships with their workers. In these firms employer-employee relations were close and personal despite many tensions; they worked together; there was mutual respect, trust and co-operation. When the business grows and the proprietors need to take management roles the good relationships are threatened: the employees can feel they are not colleagues any longer and become less committed. This highlights the view of small enterprises as particular patterns of personal relationships. (Scase & Goffee 1987, 55-59; 162; see also Marlow & Patton 2002.)

As the businesses grew there still seemed to be a tendency to rely on trust as 'small employers' (also Dyer 1977, 192-193; Goffee & Scase 1995). In this stage the most important issue for the entrepreneurs was to find reliable and trustworthy employees; many believed that only family members can really be trusted on. Furthermore, many business owners were not confident about their abilities as managers. Being a good entrepreneur does not entail being a good manager, who can motivate others and build processes needed in business. (Scase & Goffee 1987, 162-163, also Dyer 1977, Begley 1995.)

Owner-managers lacked basic management skills, but were still reluctant to delegate. It was typical for entrepreneurs to retain almost all control and decision making for them. The need to control was manifest in the centralization of power that was legitimized by their ownership of the company. This does not mean a bureaucratic organization, because control could be exercised for example on personal, face-to-face basis, or through other ways such as unwritten instructions, holding information, and/or creating conditions where there are no opportunities to influence in spite of the number of employees. (cf. Gordon 2002, 160).

In larger enterprises there were supervisors and managers, but still the responsibility and also authority was concentrated in the hands of the proprietor. In spite of the proprietors' declared willingness to delegate power, the companies were organized in such a manner that the senior management had to consult the owner first. This is what makes the small enterprise vulnerable: it is too dependent upon the skills and enthusiasm of the proprietor. (Scase and Goffee 1987, 55, 62-65, 72; Goffee & Scase 1995, 15; also Dyer 1997.)

Rules and formal procedures seemed to be unnecessary in small business firms (see also Goffee & Scase 1995, Ram 1999, Marlow & Patton 2002; Matlay 1999). The plans and day-to-day decisions were an outcome of ideas of the owners that often evolved through informal consultations with their managers. The proprietors had no former experience of managerial tasks and no formal training for management techniques. (Scase & Goffee 1987, 67.)

Often the values and beliefs hold by the entrepreneurs and their employees seemed to be the same. There was also a strong tendency to emphasize the family or team atmosphere and trusting employees to do their job. The use of strict rules would illegitimate the way of relating. In this way the loose structure provided flexible autonomy for senior managers – if there were any – and allowed the owner to intervene and check performance at any time. For those who did not fit in, there were no other alternatives than to leave. This kind of selection of organizational members rather than the size of the company accounted for the happy atmosphere in the small firms. (Scase & Goffee 1987, 67-68.)

The happy atmosphere was fostered by either paternalism or on the basis of the ethic of egalitarianism; the latter especially in smaller firms. Paternalism cultivated a strong identification to the employer, but also differentiation between the employer and employee (Ainsworth & Cox 2003, 1477). In smaller firms the owners encouraged employees to identify closely; the unequal rewards were legitimated by reference to the employer's economic risks. The ethic of egalitarianism was restricted by the nature of the employment relationship. (Scase & Goffee 1987, 68-69.)

Since the study by Scase and Goffee (1987) the tendency to rely on trust, informality in managing the small enterprise and its human resources, propensity to retain (almost all) power and decision making in the hands of the entrepreneur, close employer-employee relations and the 'happy family' atmosphere in small firms have been addressed in different studies of small enterprises.

Paternalism as a management style echoes the family analogy that is one of the most common analogies in discussing social relations in small firms. In some instances the label 'family business' the meaning is literal in that it refers to the fact that the firm is run by or made up wholly or mainly of people related by blood or marriage. Often the phrase is used as an analogy aiming to capture the flavour of work relations in non-family settings; they are likened to family relations. (Ainsworth & Cox 2003, 1464; Curran & Blackburn 2001, 111; Ram 2001, 399.)

When relations in large firms may be characterized as impersonal and bureaucratic with high levels of conflict, relations in small firms are often perceived to be cooperative, friendly, and free of serious conflict (Ainsworth & Cox 2003, 1467; Rainnie & Scott 1986, 43-46). However, on the contrary to the earlier ideas of families as close and affectionate, the later thinking has highlighted the tensions and instabilities of family life (Ainsworth & Cox 2003, 1481; Curran & Blackburn 2001, 111; Dundon et al 1999, Ram 2001, 399).

The assumption of good relationships between the small employer and the employees is questioned in a typology by Goss (1991). It describes four types of the small business owner labour control strategies based on two criteria:

- the dependence of the employer on employees
- the capacity of employees to individually or collectively resist the exercise of owner-manager power

The strategies are

- 1. Fraternalism: There is a high-level of employer dependence on employees who possess experience and skills that are crucial to the survival and success of the business
- 2. Paternalism: The employers' dependence on employees is less than under fraternalism. The employee power is also low, but there is often identification by the employees with the employers' values and goals.
- 3. Benevolent autocracy: the employer's power is based on simple positional power. Employers are not powerful enough to practice paternalism. Employees are not so dependent that they cannot assert their interests to some extent.
- 4. Sweating: The employer has dominant power and employee power is weak so that the employers can easily replace employees, who have little or no access to more attractive employment alternatives. (Goss 1991.)

According to Osborne (1991) especially in entrepreneurial firms the owner-leaders' legitimate hierarchical status allows them to exercise influence over any organizational member and to serve as a locus of control and decision-making (Daily et al 2002, 388, 391, Matlay 1999; see also Mazzarol & Reboud 2006, 268-269). The ownership power of entrepreneurs can have destructive tendencies; it can lead to the misuse of power and missed opportunities. Osborne (1991, 26) claims that successful entrepreneurs can be distinguished from the less successful ones by the way they handle the unique power deriving from majority ownership. In spite of the positive consequences of ownership power – such as rapid decision making, flexibility in redeploying assets and refocusing the business, and a longer view of wealth creation – it can also be corrupting with implications to business and to the relationships inside the small enterprise.

The symptoms of corrupting ownership power are as follows:

- Highly centralized authority that is manifested by communication that is almost exclusively
 top down and accompanied by 'I am never wrong' syndrome. This leads to an aversion to
 bad news or any kind of negative feedback. This state of affairs can be seen in silent management meetings, where no one but the owner has anything to say.
- Distrust on the competence of subordinates and withholding information from them that results in underdeveloped and underutilized subordinates.
- Unwillingness to seek and respond to help from experts, either internal or external to the organization (see also Mazzarol & Reboud 2006, 268). This leads to a situation where the owner is insulated from new ideas.
- The preference of reactive management style, avoiding shared formal or informal planning processes and reluctance to commit to planned outcomes. (Osborne 1991, 27-28.)

Osborne (1991, 28-30) suggests that a successful entrepreneur needs to have a combination of work ethic, energy level and proactive style, which are driven by optimistic attitudes. In order to be able to channel these attitudes and behaviours the entrepreneur needs planning skills, she/he must be able and ready to utilize expert help if needed, and avoid excessive risk. The skilful exercise of ownership power marshals the organizational processes and people that need to be trusted. There are three practices that help to transform these issues into pragmatic programme for organizational vitality: forming a board of directors, initiating a strategic planning process with the company managers and board members, and launching a group of employees together with the owner to seek for ideas that incrementally improve the business.

In small service businesses, rather than direct management control, an informal colleague-based approach is likely to be the principal means of integrating organizational activities (Ram 1999; Scase & Goffee 1995). The informality tends to be conflated with the issue of trust, which is a central concept to the management of small professional service firms. High-trust work relations provide the glue needed to bind together specialists' activities. Informality and trust are emphasized, because employers in such contexts are reluctant to create boundaries between management and professional workers. (Goffee & Scase 1995; cf. Goss 1991.)

The informality may be perceived as a lack of owners' management skills but it may also result from the unwillingness to clearly assert control and discipline as such practices overtly reveal the true relationship between the employer and the employee (Ram 1999, also Marlow & Patton 2002). The ostensibly informal nature of work relations should not necessarily be equated with the absence of management, but to the contradictory nature of the management process (cf. Goffee and Scase 1995, 49; Ram 1999).

Such orientations as presented above do not apply to all small business settings. It has been suggested that the manner in which labour is managed in small firms has a particular dynamic sited within the context in which they operate (Ram 1994; Wilkinson, 1999).

Constructivist-interpretative studies have been criticized because of their 'consensus discourse'; most of these studies try to understand, and produce alternative ways of 'seeing the world'; their aim is not to attack, but to problemize other kinds of understandings. By treating their findings as 'normal' or 'natural' they have been suspected to hinder alternative possibilities to understand leadership and life in organizations and in this way to maintain and reinforce the prevailing social order (cf. Gemmil & Oakley 1992).

2.2.3 Critical studies on leadership

Critical approaches to leadership representing *the dissensus; elite / a priori dimensions* in the sensitizing grid (figure 1, page 13) turn attention from the local views of leadership to the impact of actors within broader social field. The difficulty to strictly distinguish different lines of critical leadership research in order to provide a useful and short overview of them is reflected in the notion by Alvesson and Deetz (1996, 191) about the relation between critical theory and postmodern approaches:

Many researchers draw on both traditions; others argue for irreconcilable differences between them. --- It might well be argued that nothing at once fair, coherent and brief can be written on this topic.

A broad meaning of Critical Theory includes all research taking a critical or a radical stance on society with an orientation to investigate exploitation, repression, unfairness, asymmetrical power relations, distorted communication and false consciousness (Alvesson 1996 & Deetz 1996, 192). Its practical objective is to improve human existence by combining theory and revolutionary action to make individuals aware of the injustices and contradictions in their organizational lives. Moreover, it aims to help people to free themselves from these constraints. (Frost 1989, 503; Guba & Lincoln 1994, 112.)

The theorizing of Pfeffer (1977) emphasizing the ambiguous nature of leadership and the interests of different stakeholders of leadership exemplifies a critical view of leadership discourse of its time. Pfeffer (1977, 104) focused on the ambiguity of the concept leadership. He criticized leadership research of the time for posing the problems of the definition and measurement of leadership as a scientific concept. He claimed that there are few meaningful distinctions between leadership and other concepts of social influence that would legitimize leadership as a specific concept relevant to research purposes. (Cf. Calder 1977.) Furthermore, Pfeffer questioned whether leadership has discernible effects on organizational outcomes and claimed that selection processes of leaders have implications for normative theories of leadership (also Holgersson 2001).

Pfeffer explained the modest results of the studies of leader effectiveness on the basis that 1) leadership positions are selected, 2) the discretion and behaviour of the leader are constrained, and 3) leaders can typically affect only a few of the variables that may impact the performance of organizations. As leadership literature has been directed to two audiences – to organizations, which are told how to become more effective and to individuals, who are told what behaviours are needed to become effective – the possibility that leadership is not related to organizational outcomes and/or career success poses a serious threat to leadership research. (Pfeffer 1977; 105-106, 109; also Storey 2005, 95-96.)

In contrast to the definitions of leader behaviour as an intentional and systematic attempt to influence subordinates Pfeffer claimed that leader behaviours may be responses to the demands of the social context; they are constrained by the expectations of others. Leader behaviours may vary according to the (hierarchical) organizational level. If leadership had any impact, it should be more

obvious at high organizational levels. These differences have been neglected in empirical leadership studies, which have focused on relatively low status leaders or first line supervisors. (Pfeffer 1977, 107-108; also Storey 2005.)

The emphasis on leadership may derive from the desire to believe in the importance and effectiveness of individual action. This desire to attribute causality to individual action, which is more controllable than contextual factors, is based on the need to have control over things or to have a feeling of control. Leadership as an attribution made by observers derives its meaning through phenomenological processes. (Pfeffer 1977, 107-108; also Calder 1977.)

For Pfeffer – like for Calder (1977) – leadership is a phenomenological construct; a process of attributing causation to individual, social actors. The identification of certain organizational roles as leadership positions directs the attribution of the effects to those holding these positions; leaders serve as symbols for representing personal causation of social events. Leadership is associated with myths legitimizing leadership role occupants. It provides belief in the possibility of social mobility for non-leaders and reinforces the common belief in individual control. The belief in the leader as a causal agent serves to maintain the social order. This implies that the leadership mythology and the processes by which it is formed and maintained should be separated from studies of leadership as social influence processes. Leadership research should direct attention to the processes by which people make inferences of and react to phenomenon called leadership. (Pfeffer 1977; 105, 109, 111.)

Pfeffer's ideas were reflected in the work of Knights and Willmott (1992), who examined leadership as a practical accomplishment amongst senior managers of a large financial services company. They utilized the ideas of the Institutional Theory of Leadership (Biggart & Hamilton 1987) according which organizations reflect the institutionalized systems of beliefs and values of the society they belong to. They adopt practices, positions, and structural arrangements that reflect the taken-forgranted understandings and conceptualizations of legitimacy. Also leadership as a relationship among persons is embedded in the social and cultural beliefs and values of a social setting at a given historic moment.

Leadership styles in organizations are based on legitimating principles and the dominant structures of authority that constrain but do not determine the actions of leaders, because leadership roles offer possibilities for both authoritative and leadership actions. Leaders as role occupants have to enact their relationships with their followers by performing leadership; they have to demonstrate that they

are leading and that they hold a creditable self to the specific role, because leadership is manifest only in interactions. (Biggart & Hamilton 1987; 430, 435-439.)

Knights and Willmott interpreted leadership as a process through which guiding beliefs and values are shaped, and individuals are induced to identify with the ideals of the organization as communicated by those, who are perceived as its leaders (cf. Smircich & Morgan 1982). The structural dimension of the dynamics of leadership practice aligns with the views of leadership as a position contingent to the dependencies associated with particular roles and functions: "The capacity to provide rewards, apply coercive sanctions, gain access to expertise and information and secure esteem amongst subordinates can each be related (but not reduced) to the occupancy of a comparatively elevated position within organization hierarchies" (Knights & Willmott 1992, 774).

Knights and Willmott questioned the often assumed consensus about cultural assumptions in leader-ship studies. Consensus may be a product of force, because subordinates are disadvantaged in challenging their leaders, who possess a dominant role in determining the relationships in the organization. Thus, instead of assuming consensus between leaders and followers, it is accomplished through exercise of power. (Knights & Willmott 1992; 762-763, 766-767.)

The hidden, unconscious assumptions and meanings concerning leadership were made visible and unravelled using deconstructionist strategies in the works of Gemmil and Oakley's (1992) and Calás and Smircich (1988, 1991). According to Gemmil and Oakley's (1992) radical humanistic view, leadership is a myth that functions to reinforce existing social beliefs and structures about the necessity of hierarchy and leaders in organizations. Their central concept is alienation, which refers to a state where the creations of an individual's own consciousness are objectified into an external reality. The aim of the radical approach to leadership is to decrease alienation by changing personal awareness, social consciousness, and social structure. (Gemmil & Oakley 1992, 113.)

Gemmil and Oakley (1992, 115-116) claim that most leadership research serves as an ideological support for the existing social order by implicitly containing the idea of the leadership elite. This idea is related to the Social Darwinism according which only certain members of a social system are entitled to greater share of wealth. Especially the conception of leader traits functions as a powerful social myth, which maintains the status quo. This myth "programs life out of non-leaders", who are unable to take initiative and act. The unquestionable assumption of leadership is its necessity. The concept of leadership is confused and the confusion originates from the process of reification in which an abstraction is converted into a supposed real entity. Through this process the social con-

struction of leadership is accorded an objective existence. This construction of mind is a result of cultural programming: researchers and practitioners believe that because there are such words as a leader and leadership, there has to be an independent objective reality they describe.

Through the process of reification some individuals are labelled as leaders to serve to meet the emotional needs of the members of the organization: the leadership myth functions as a social defence. The unpleasant and frustrating feelings of anxiety, insecurity and ambiguity originating from a sense of social despair and learned helplessness are projected to one person, the leader. The longing for magical leadership and great leaders emerges from the unconscious collective feeling that it takes a messiah (leader) or a magical rescue (leadership) to solve the problems experienced (also Gabriel 1997). This social trend is reflected in the objectivistic literature of leadership. (Gemmil & Oakley 1992, 114-115.)

Leadership is often used to explain organizational outcomes. Difficulties in organizations are attributed to the lack of leadership representing an illusion that leaders are in control of events. By trait and "great-man" theories of leadership it has been possible to deskill people and idealize leaders by explaining that only a few are good enough to exercise initiative. The function of the leader myth is to support the prevailing social system; as long as the imperfections can be attributed to leadership, the system itself can remain unexamined. Even if people become aware of this social myth and its dysfunctional consequences challenging the myth is risky because it questions the prevailing perceptions of reality. Organizational interventions and empowerment developed to find a solution to the problem of alienation may shift responsibility and blame from the top management to the other members of organizations without any change in power relations (cf. Ciulla 2004, 80). (Gemmil & Oakley 1992; 117-118, 122-123.)

Defining leadership as a social process, a process of dynamic collaboration, where individuals authorize themselves and others to interact in ways that experiment with new forms of intellectual and emotional meaning provides possibilities to alternative interpretations. In contemporary organizations the meaning of leadership can be found by examining the socially constructed meanings and behaviour patterns emerging from perceptions and reactions to the concept itself (cf. Pfeffer 1977). This includes the examination of the beliefs about structures and attitudes concerning power and authority. (Gemmil & Oakley 1992; 119, 123.)

According to Calás and Smircich (1988), leadership cannot be understood in isolation from the discursive practices of writing and talking about leadership. Based on cultural analysis of published

articles in well-known leadership journals they demonstrated how leadership is constructed in academic leadership discourses; leadership researchers' writings produce narrative knowledge that is needed to sustain the research community. Their main task is to socialize others into what is desirable to say about leadership, what leadership should be like and cast the leader in her/his own wished-for image. The subjects and objects of leadership studies are abstractions without genuine ties to real organizational actors and life. (Calás & Smircich 1988; 203, 222-223.)

The classic texts of organizational literature contain three different images of leadership. The first image is of a superior person, a priest or saint, who still is a man seducing his group. The second image is a representative of the privileged class, who is needed by his subordinates in order to feel himself or herself somebody. The third is an oversexed narcissistic leader. These images reveal the absurdity of the current, acceptable organizational theorizing. They make salient the dominance of masculinity in leadership theories; homosocial, elitist and monologist leadership is a seduction for the organized life today. (Calás & Smircich 1991; 570-571, 592.)

Critical approaches to leadership have been criticized for their lack of empirical studies conducted in organizations. Instead, proponents of these approaches have concentrated on writing conceptual essays. This condition may derive from their critique of empiricism and the view of data as constructions open to various interpretations. Still, empirical studies are needed in order to develop their ideas in contact with real people in different organizational settings. (Alvesson & Deetz 1991, 212.)

2.2.4 Postmodern approaches to leadership

Postmodern, deconstructionist approaches to leadership represent *the dissensus*, *local/emergent* dimensions of the grid (figure 1, page 13). Studies positioned in this quarter utilize local narratives and are not theory driven. Central to the studies presented here as representatives of postmodern approaches to leadership – in the same way as to the studies within critical approaches – is the attack on the modernist tradition. (Alvesson & Deetz 1996, 191, 195-196; also Frost 1980.)

In general, postmodernism – even more so than critical theory – contains a wide group of positions with quite different research agendas. Still, they share themes and some of the ideas presented below:

1) The centrality of discourse, where the constitutive powers of language are emphasized and natural objects are viewed as discursively produced

- 2) Fragmented identities emphasizing subjectivity as a process and the death of the individual the autonomous, meaning creating subject; where the discursive production of the individual replaces the conventional essentialist understanding of people
- 3) The critique of the philosophy of presence and representation, where the indecidability of language take precedence over language as a mirror of reality and as a means for the transport of meaning
- 4) The loss of the foundations and the power of grand narratives; an emphasis on multiple voices and politics is favoured over theoretical frameworks and large-scale political projects
- 5) Power/knowledge connection, where the impossibilities in separating power from knowledge are assumed and knowledge loses a sense of innocence and neutrality
- 6) Hyper reality replaces the real world; simulations take precedence in contemporary social order
- 7) Research as resistance and indeterminacy, where irony and play are preferred to rationality, predictability and order (Alvesson & Deetz 1996, 191-217.)

Ambiguity of leadership is among the central themes in postmodern leadership studies such as Alvesson's and Sveningsson's (2003a, b) research on leadership in a middle-sized, science-based research and development company. The corporate context characterized by long-term projects, high level complexity and knowledge intensity was seen as important for understanding how people talk about, relate to and practice leadership. The study focused on how successful people in the organization were in constructing an integrated and coherent view of leadership and its practice (cf. Koivunen 2003) and to what extent it makes sense to make claims for leadership as a coherent, discernible phenomenon. (Alvesson & Sveningsson 2003a, 360-361.)

The study focused on managers expected to exercise leadership. When managers were asked to tell what leadership meant for them, they provided several versions that were in accordance with fashionable views of conducting leadership. But when asked to further elaborate the topic, the managers' views became vague or even contradictory. The 'disappearance of leadership' was discovered. (Alvesson & Sveningsson 2003a; 360, 364-365.)

Similar difficulties to establish 'leadership' in practice in a middle manager's work provided the impetus for Svenningsson and Larsson (2006) to explore leadership as a kind of fantasy related to identity work of managers of an international high-tech company. Identity was seen as a temporary and processual construction regularly constituted, negotiated and reproduced in various social interactions (cf. Lührmann & Eberl 2007). The identity construction referred to a manager's efforts to

secure a sense of self and a security in the changing working world. Self-identity implies a form of subjectivity that is associated with certain labels such as leader or leadership.

Organizational and social contexts regulate identity work. For a variety of reasons (for example defensive mechanisms) self-identity can sometimes become loosely connected to actual social interactions, and in this way assume characteristics of fantasy. The study demonstrated how leadership ideals can fuel identity work and fantasy formation for an individual manager while leaving the actual behaviour unaffected especially when the ideals are promoted by the organization. (Svenningsson & Larsson 2006, 206-207.)

Leadership discourses can function as a disciplinary device to control middle managers through their identity construction as leaders; they substitute symbols and identities for substantive influence. Leadership discourses are targeted to managers who are ready to become heroes, visionaries and strategists but may remain managers in the actual work context. Additionally, there lies a danger in leadership discourses taken that (knowledge) workers may be important in accomplishing organizational changes and learning: in stead of supporting involvement leadership discourses can create exclusion and marginalization and prevent change. (Svenningsson & Larsson 2006; 220-221.)

According to Czarniawska-Joerges and Wolff (1991, 529-530) leadership fantasies are embedded in the leadership archetype, which represents one of three crucial roles in organizations: leaders, managers and entrepreneurs. The archetypes are universal, idealized, larger-than-life symbols that help individuals develop an emotionally satisfying picture of the world. They represent the fears and wishes of organizational collectives and help to ascribe meaning to organizational events. None of them is for ever out of fashion but a short time, because each of them has its place in our collective consciousness.

The archetypes serve certain functions in organizations through their executive positions; they are complementary because they answer to different needs of the collective unconsciousness. Management is the activity of introducing order by coordinating things and people towards collective action. Leadership is a symbol; a personal attribution of causality; a confirmation of the feasibility to control events. Creating the illusion over fate is at the heart of leaders' symbolic performance. The entrepreneurs lack charisma of leaders and intellectual capacity of managers, but they have will-power, they are the makers of new worlds. Leadership as well as the other roles can be understood

as a political, symbolic process – a symbolic performance, which expresses the hope of control over destiny. (Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff 1991; 529, 532-543.)

What the executive functions should entail change over time in line with master-ideas of the day that are related with broader changes in the cultural context of organizing; leadership and managerial ideologies that reflect economic and political circumstances at a certain historical situation are expressed in the role archetypes. New ideologies do not replace or remove the old ones entirely, but overlay the existing ones. The ideologies expressed in role archetypes are enacted in organizations in daily performances. This means that they are contextually bounded; they are further translated and reinterpreted in particular settings. (Holmberg & Strannegård 2005, 356.)

Postmodern writers have been criticized for providing nothing new to the debate and study of leadership. Besides their criticisms they have not presented anything that could be done to change things; instead they tend "to hide themselves behind their word games" that take no stance in relation to developing more informed ways of organizing and organizations. (Palmer & Hardy 2000, 287.) Furthermore, their ability to explain concrete and experienced organizational phenomena has been suspected to be weak (Thompson 1993, 183). On the other hand, postmodernist leadership studies seem to provide new insights about leadership in terms of paradoxes, uncertainties, and ambiguities that pertain in many organizations traditionally perceived as rational, fixed and clear (Palmer & Hardy 2000, 289).

2.3 The current state of leadership research and research on leadership in small enterprises

It has been claimed that leadership research with its isolated findings has not led to a better understanding of leadership. The researchers have "carved out those theoretically and methodologically relevant parts of a complex phenomenon leadership", which have corresponded to their scientific frameworks and often missed the complexity of the whole phenomenon. (Dachler 1984, 101.)

The variation of definitions and approaches to leadership in leadership research including their mixed and sometimes contradictory findings have raised doubts about the usefulness of the concept 'leadership' in the efforts to understand and study the causality of social phenomena (Meindl et al 1985, 99; Calder 1977, 182; Pfeffer 1977, 111) or organizations in general (Alvesson 1996, 458; Alvesson & Svenningsson 2003a; 359, 379). There are also concerns about the remoteness of the abstractions of leadership research from the everyday practice of managers and leaders and the 'real

life' in organizations (Alvesson 1996, 455; Bryman et al 1988, 25; Collinson 2005, 246; Mintzberg 1982, 254).

In acknowledging the failure of the enormous efforts placed in the search for effective leadership in objectivistic leadership research Yukl (2000, 423-424) notes:

The field of leadership has been in a state of ferment and confusion for decades. The field has rushed from one fad to the next, but the actual pace of theory development has been quite slow. Several thousand empirical studies have been conducted on leadership effectiveness, but many of the results are inconsistent and inconclusive. The confused state of the field can be attributed in large part to the sheer volume of publications, the disparity of approaches, the proliferation of confusing terms, the narrow focus of most research, the preference for simplistic explanations, the high percentage of studies on trivial questions, and the scarcity of studies using strong research methods.

My exploration of theories, models and studies on leadership and leadership in small enterprises revealed some of the intrinsic problems in the dominant, objectivistic leadership research, which has strived to solve the problems of leadership emergence and effectiveness. One of them is the assumption about the importance of a heroic individual leader. This assumption can be found behind many theories and studies of leadership, especially in studies of leader traits and behaviours and theories of charismatic and transformational leadership.

Another shared and taken for granted assumption is that some kind of leadership behaviour is always needed. These biases have hindered leadership researchers to question the logic of studying single heroic leaders in relation to organizational effectiveness, though it "is rarely possible to understand why an organization is effective by studying only a single, heroic leader" (Yukl 2000; 431, 433; also Storey 2005).

Similar bias is apparent also in studies of small enterprises and entrepreneurship, where the image of a lone entrepreneur responsible for all achievements of the business has been common. However, if a firm employs people, also they have to be considered as potential contributors to the organization (cf. Curran & Blackburn 2001; 5, 45-46, 71; Ram 2001; 396, 399-400).

Bearers of the heroic leadership assumption have tried to identify leader attributes and behaviours by which leaders can influence their subordinates. It has been claimed that especially transformational and charismatic leadership research has tried to find out how leaders use their power to decrease the resistance of their followers in order to make them conform to the will of the leader. This

neglects the view of resistance as a source of energy for collective action in developing more informed decisions.

Only recently there have been examinations of the dark sides of the leadership influence and considerations about leadership ethics (e.g. Bass & Steidlmeier 2004, Brown & Trevino 2006, Ciulla 2004, Hollander 2004, Keeley 2004, Lämsä 2001, Price 2004, Solomon 2004, Svensson & Wood 2004). However, as Price (2004, 129-130) points out, in the examinations of leadership failures the explanation is often searched from the leaders' behaviours and the analysis of the moral status of what happened has been left unexplored.

The emphasis on the leader has affected the ways in which other people have been seen; their role has mainly been the objects of leadership influence: means not ends (Bass & Steidlmeier 2004, 178; also Avolio 2007, 26; Collinson 2005, 246). Only a minority of objectivistic leadership studies has addressed the role and characteristics of other organizational members than leaders or shared leadership that views many people – may they be designated leaders or not – as active participants of the leadership process in organizations (Yukl 1999, 40; 2000, 17, 19; see also Bresnen 1995, 502; Hollander 2004, Meindl 1995, 330-331; also Vancerslice 1988).

Objectivistic leadership theorists have treated the relationship between leadership and power as unproblematic. The dualism of leaders and followers in leadership theories implicitly assumes that leaders are 'naturally' superior to their followers because of their abilities or attributes. Objectivistic leadership theorists equate the interests of leaders with those of the organizations, and thus ignore the possibility that leaders may act according to their own interests. Also the theories of dispersed leadership promoting empowerment through transferring leadership skills and responsibilities to lower-level workers suffer from the same problem: they neglect other forms of control than formal authority. (Gordon 2002; 155, 163; see also Ainsworth & Cox 2003, 1481; Ciulla 2004, Collinson 2005, 245; Ram 1994, 1999, 2001.)

Critical approaches to leadership have emphasized the centrality of power and focused on structural relations prevailing in the wider social context and organizational practices that reflect these relations. In their attempts to disrupt the consensus discourse of leadership they have neglected the ways in which leadership is constructed and enacted at the organizational level. The dualism of leaders and followers in terms of their differentiated roles manifest in the objectivistic leadership research is implicit also in the radical frameworks.

Especially radical, critical views tend to be deterministic by implicitly understating the potential role of individuals in "shaping, interpreting and acting upon existing conceptions of leadership as well as their possible role in forming new ones" (Bresnen 1995; 500-501, 511). Instead of addressing leaders and followers as actors in the meaning creation of leadership, their agency is obscured by predeterming their roles as maintainers of the prevailing social order or as victims of seduction. As Alvesson and Deetz (1991, 212) note:

Many texts [deriving from critical approaches] have limited feelings for organizational contexts and the lives of real people. Much can be gained by allowing organizational participants to 'say something' that is not immediately domesticated by theories locating the material in an all too predictable 'bureaucracy', 'patriarchy', 'capitalism', 'managerialism, preprogorative discourse, an all-embracing Foucauldian power concept, or a pacification and fragmentation of subjects as mere appendices of discourses.

While acknowledging the contributions of critical approaches in leadership studies in terms of raising awareness about the hidden agendas, contradictions and injustices related to leadership and leadership research and providing a different level of analysis compared to the mainstream, objectivistic leadership research, one can question – in reference to the practical objective of critical leadership research – the possibility to help people free themselves from injustices without hearing their voices.

In their interpretations of leadership constructivist-interpretative studies have tried to connect the different levels of analysis while taking as the point of departure the ways in which leadership is perceived, constructed and reconstructed in different settings by collectives and/or by individual actors. While aiming to increase the awareness of the contents and meanings of competing constructions of leadership they also problematize their findings and some – though not all – reflect critically on the possibilities to act on them. As my overview demonstrates, in spite of the tensions between constructivist-interpretative, critical and postmodern approaches to leadership, the studies within these three research positions have raised concerns related to romantic views and fantasies over leadership, and leadership and power including the dependency relations between the leaders and the led.

The views and theorizing of leadership as an ideology, as a symbol and as a process of attributing causation to individual, social actors direct attention to and questions the role of the concept leadership. Pfeffer (1977, 111) claimed over thirty years ago that the mythology of leadership and the processes by which it is formed and maintained should be separated from studies of leadership as social influence process.

It seems that especially postmodern and critical approaches in leadership studies have risen to this challenge and contributed to the critical examination and deconstruction of leadership. They have highlighted the political character of leadership discourses, and questioned and raised doubts about the objectivity of the agenda and the rationality of the views of leadership in the objectivistic leadership research; for example that objectivistic leadership research has neglected not only other people than the leader but also the contextual and situational aspects of leadership in spite of the research findings of most of the objectivistic leadership studies in my review suggesting that the emergence and effectiveness of leadership depend also on the situation at hand and on the context in which leadership 'occurs' (cf. Avolio 2007, 25-26).

As for organizational contexts empirical objectivistic leadership studies have most often focused on the lower level supervisors or the top leaders of large public and private organizations. Constructivist-interpretative and postmodern studies on leadership have mostly been conducted in different situations in middle-sized or large organizations. In leadership studies, leadership in different kinds of small enterprises has played a minor part; from the beginning of 1990's until now leadership in small companies has seldom been the subject of empirical leadership research published in well-known scientific journals⁸ such as the ones reviewed for this work (Appendix 1).

The interest of leadership researchers to focus on the challenges of leadership in the context of large organizations can be explained by the role large corporations have played in the economic and technological development and their significance to the society. This research – despite its deficiencies discussed above – has provided us with leadership models and theories and their practical applications. It has highlighted the importance of leadership to the functioning of organizations and – particularly objectivistic leadership research – provided information to organizations and individuals about effective performance. It has also contributed to the general understandings of leadership and decisions aiming to improve national competitiveness by increasing productivity.

Today small enterprises have become more significant to the economic growth and well-being of societies. Also in Finland the aim is to promote entrepreneurship, the productivity and functioning of small enterprises and their possibilities to grow. In this situation, the gap in the scientific knowledge concerning leadership in small enterprises poses a potential problem; solutions to ensure effective leadership that have been developed in the context of larger organizations do not self-evidently

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⁸ ISI: Journal Citation Reports has been used as a source of the impact factors of scientific leadership journals.

fit to the conditions and circumstances in small-scale enterprises, which – by definition – differ substantially from their larger counterparts (cf. Bolton 1971).

In order to advance leadership theory and practice and to support small enterprises we need to deepen our understanding of leadership and its key challenges in small enterprises. As the scarce leadership research in small firms has concentrated mainly on the characteristics and behaviour of CEOs, owner-managers or entrepreneurs – that have also been in focus in the field of small firm research and entrepreneurship – understanding leadership in small enterprises implies that also the role of other organizational members in the construction of leadership and organizational life is taken into account.

3 Researching leadership as a contextual phenomenon

3.1 Underlying presuppositions

The general aim of my study was to deepen our understanding of leadership. In spite of the doubts about the usefulness and the 'realness' of the construct leadership in advancing understanding of organizations, its taken for granted nature is reflected not only in the works of leadership researchers but also in the discourses and attributions of leadership prevailing outside the field of leadership research (cf. Alvesson 1996, 459; Alvesson & Svenningsson 2003a, 360; 2003b; Barker 1997, 344; 2001, 470; Pfeffer 1977, 105). The different attributions and discourses of leadership represent the different meanings people – researchers as well as other stakeholders – attach to leadership and make sense of it provide grounds to explore leadership empirically as a socially constructed phenomenon (cf. Berger & Luckmann 1994).

In addition to the exploration of different constructions of leadership in leadership research presented in the previous chapter, the constructions of leadership of those potentially practicing leadership in a small business organization builds up the core of this study. I presupposed that leadership is context and situation-specific and constructed by social actors in particular places and at particular times (Schwandt 1994, 118). This particularity does not exclude the co-existence of global understandings of leadership affecting the constructions of leadership in certain settings (cf. Sjöstrand & Tyrstrup 2001, 14; Svensson & Larsson 2006, 204; also Biggart & Hamilton 1987, 437; Holmberg & Strannegård 2005, 356; Osborn et al 2002, 798).

Based on these presuppositions I focused on leadership in a certain organizational context, in a small enterprise, where the temporal and situational aspects of the constructions can be taken into account to gain local knowledge about leadership with the possibility of sharing that knowledge with other 'locals' (cf. Alvesson 1996, 464; Guba & Lincoln 1994, 113). The examination of local understandings of leadership provides possibilities to investigate the similarities and differences – the variation – in conceiving leadership within and between different groups and different stakeholders in the field of leadership including researchers (cf. Calas & Smircich 1988, 215-224).

By studying leadership empirically in a small enterprise I aimed to contribute to the scientific knowledge about leadership in small enterprises that leadership research has often neglected as organizational contexts of leadership. Furthermore, in the constructions of leadership and organiza-

tional life in small enterprises the role and agency of other organizational members than the CEO or the owner-manager has been undervalued. Thus, examining the ways in which leadership is perceived by practicing managers in a small enterprise may provide researchers perspectives and concerns that can remain unnoticed without hearing their voices (cf. Scase & Goffee 1987). They may also add to the potential of leadership research to be of relevance to practitioners (cf. Knights & Willmott 1992, 762).

The importance of understanding leadership conceptions of practicing managers is further stressed on the grounds that even though the managers' conceptions of leadership do not straightforwardly cause their actions, these two are logically interwoven (Sjöstrand & Tyrstrup 2001, 16; Wilenius 1987, 52). The ways, in which leadership is perceived, provide the frames of reference from which leadership practices are conducted and evaluated.

3.2 Research task and strategy and methodological choices

My research task was to describe and examine leadership in a small enterprise as experienced by the company managers. In reference to the discussions about the differences and/or similarities between the concepts management and leadership I saw that in this study it was neither useful nor appropriate to make beforehand distinctions between them and their contents.

Studying leadership through the research participants' conceptions of it in a certain organizational context requires a research strategy, by which it is possible to reveal the meanings attached to leadership and take into account the contextual nature of the conceptions. In this study I utilized the phenomenographic framework as a constructivist-interpretative research approach to leadership that seeks to gain understanding of the world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it.

I applied Sandberg's (1994) reformulation of phenomenography that is based on the phenomenological principle of intentionality. Intentionality refers to the intentional character of consciousness, which means that consciousness is always directed toward something other than itself. This intentional character of consciousness enables individuals to achieve meaning for a specific aspect of reality – in this study for leadership.

The specific object of phenomenographic research is the variation in ways of conceiving (experiencing) a certain phenomenon. This variation is usually generated by studying a limited number of people from a particular population (Marton & Booth 1997, 125). In this study the particular population refers to managers working in a small enterprise.

I presumed that leadership and leadership conceptions are contextual in nature. I understand context as an aspect relating to each of the elements of the situation at hand and the combination of all of them and their relation to organizational, social, and historical and other broader contexts as well as the research process. Therefore I should – in order to make my interpretations intelligible – to be able to provide accurate and relevant contextual details (Ball & Smith 2001, 312). In spite of my presupposition that leadership and its context are intertwined, they had to be conceptually and – in this empirical study – also empirically distinguished from each other in a valid way. To do that I approached the context of leadership from three perspectives:

- the conditions and characteristics of the company the managers were working in
- the circumstances and situations the managers' conceptions were explored in
- the meaning contexts in which the managers' statements of leadership were expressed.

The first perspective to the context provides a description of the conditions and characteristics of the small enterprise. This kind of context-conception seems to be most common in leadership research, in which certain kinds of organizations, units or institutions, fields of operations, industries, characteristics of the environment, conditions, national or organizational cultures as well as certain groups of people and settings are seen to provide the contexts for leadership (see e.g. Alvesson 1996, Alvesson & Sveningsson 2003ab, Antonakis et al 2003, Biggart & Hamilton 1987, Bresnen 1995, Bryman et al 1988, Bryman et al 1996, Osborn et al 2002, Smircich & Morgan 1986). My choice of one organizational context of leadership is an application of a case study approach.

The circumstances and the situations in which the managers' leadership conceptions were generated are described by explicating the participants and the methods of the inquiry, the research process, and my role as a researcher. This perspective to the context is based on the view that context evolves in the course of actions in which people construct and reconstruct it (Silverman 1993, 8); so also the interaction between my research participants and me as the researcher served as an aspect of the context of leadership conceptions. The interaction was not considered as something affecting the findings but as a process within which the conceptions were produced. This interpretation reflects the social constructionist orientation of my study (cf. Berger & Luckmann 1994.)

The third perspective to the context refers to the meaning contexts in which the managers' statements about leadership were expressed. This contextuality was taken into account by using the phenomenographic, contextual method of analysis in generating the managers' leadership conceptions. The overall research strategy of this study – phenomenography and the case study approach – is discussed in detail in the following subchapters.

3.2.1 Phenomenography as an inquiry framework

The phenomenographic research approach aims to capture – that is to describe, analyze, understand and interpret – the variety of ways in which people conceive, perceive or understand different aspects of the world (Marton 1981; Marton & Booth 1997, Sandberg 1994, 2001; Uljens 1989, 1992).

Phenomenography grew out of empirical research and pragmatic reasoning of educational researchers Marton, Dahlgren, Svensson and Säljö at the Department of Education at Gothenburg University in the 1970's (Uljens 1992, 82). Phenomenography is best acknowledged in the field of educational research, but it has also been applied to studies of several phenomena outside education such as political power (Theman 1983), death (Wenestam 1986), and competencies at work (Sandberg 1994), health care (Barnard et al 1999), and managerial leadership (Sandberg 2001b).

Phenomenography as a research approach relies on the assumption that the world is constituted as an internal relation between the world and a man. According to the phenomenographic framework one way of finding out what the world is like is to examine how the world appears to people – how they experience it. The focus of phenomenographic research is to unfold the meaning structure of lived experience, which refers to the meaning of an aspect of reality as experienced by people studied. (Barnard et al 1999, 214; Marton & Booth 1997, 118; Marton & Pang 1999, 1; Sandberg 2000, 12.)

The unit of phenomenographic research is a way of experiencing something. Also such terms as 'a conception', 'a way of understanding', 'a way of comprehending' and 'a conceptualization' are used as synonyms for 'a way of experiencing' to refer to a specific aspect of people's ways of experiencing their world (Marton & Booth 1997, 114; Sandberg 1994, 479). It depicts how the world appears to people; it refers to understanding, conceiving and comprehending something as something. In phenomenography experience is nondualistic – it is neither mental nor physical, but an internal relation between the experiencer and the experienced. The way a person experiences a phenomenon is not the phenomenon itself but rather a facet of that phenomenon. (Marton & Booth 1997; 118, 121-122, 124; Uljens 1992, 99.)

Experiences are contextual, which means that they are situational, temporal and embedded in the context. Situationality means that the understanding of the situation and the understanding of the phenomenon that lends sense to the situation cannot be separated: we are aware of a phenomenon from the perspective of some particular situation (Wittgenstein 1970, 11). The temporal dimension of experience is stressed, because conceptions are in a state of a continuous reorganization. So the exploration and description of conceptions is always specific to a certain point of time. (Hirsjärvi 1980, 20, 22; Marton & Booth 1997, 83, 87, 101; Uljens 1989, 42.)

According to Marton and Booth (1997, 82) and Marton and Pang (1999, 6-7) a specific way of experiencing something – a conception – can be described in terms of the structure or the organization of awareness at a particular moment. Structure refers to the ways in which the whole of a certain phenomenon is discerned from other phenomena (external horizon), how its parts are discerned and related to one another and to the whole (internal horizon), and what is held in focus and what is not. A phenomenon's aspects and relationships between the aspects that are discerned and simultaneously present in an individual's focal awareness define his/her way of experiencing the phenomenon.

Another way of describing and exploring a way of experiencing something is to examine the relation between *what* is experienced (conceived) and *how* it is experienced (conceived). This relation is understood as indissoluble and it builds up a conception, which includes the conceived meaning of a phenomenon and the conceiving acts in which the conceived meaning appears. (Sandberg 2000, 12.) In this study the term 'conception' is used to refer to the research participants' ways of experiencing some aspect of leadership.

The object of a phenomenographic inquiry is variation in ways of experiencing a certain phenomenon: phenomenographic research tries to reveal the qualitatively different ways of experiencing (understanding, conceiving) a certain aspect of reality. From these ways phenomenography builds a set of qualitatively distinct categories of description that capture the essence of variation. The description of variation is a description on the collective level, which means that in a sense "individual voices are not heard" (Marton & Booth 1997, 114). Categories are developed by comparing the ways of experiencing the object of interest and the qualitative similarities and differences between them (Uljens 1989, 39). The complex of these categories of description is the outcome space of phenomenographic research. This complex comprises distinct groupings of aspects of the phenomenon and the relationships between them. (Marton & Booth 1997, 121, 125.)

According to Marton and Booth (1997) different categories are most often hierarchically ordered in terms of increasing complexity. This means that different ways of experiencing the phenomenon in question are seen as subsets of the component parts and relationships within more complex ways of experiencing the phenomenon. (Marton & Booth 1997; 107, 121-122, 124-125.) This kind of hierarchical structure is seen to apply to capabilities to experience something in a certain way that reflect the ways of experiencing something in a certain way. And further, a capability to act in a certain way is seen to reflect a capability to experience something in a certain way. The view that the capabilities are hierarchically ordered – some are more advanced, more complex than others – is the basis of phenomenography's view of learning: it is these differences, which are educationally critical and changes between them are the most important kind of learning. (Marton & Booth 1997, 17, 111, 203-204; also Sandberg 2000, 21.)

Still, in spite of Marton's claim that categories are in general hierarchically ordered, in many phenomenographic studies categories developed are described as being horizontal. Horizontal categories contain ways of experiencing certain phenomenon that are regarded as equal. Changes in people's ways of experiencing an object of interest can be described by vertical categories. They are developed through the examination of changes in ways of experiencing the object of interest during some time period. (Uljens 1989, 47-51.)

Categories of description may be based on the differences between individuals or within individuals. Some categories may apply across a group or it may apply to some aspect of an individual. Still, the object of interest is always variation that is captured in the categories. In this study the interest is in the variation in ways of experiencing leadership among the group of small company managers participating in this study. The variation is applied to the population studied. I assumed that an individual manager may experience leadership in many different – even contradictory – ways. Consequently, the object of this study of leadership in a small enterprise was not the differences between individual managers, but the differences between the ways of experiencing leadership. (cf. Marton & Booth 1997, 125.)

This phenomenographic study forms its descriptions from a limited number of people from a particular population as is often the case in phenomengraphic studies. Based on this, in this study the description of leadership is finite but not exhaustive, because it is not possible to experience or describe experience in its entirety. Still, the description of leadership in a small enterprise in this study is complete in the sense that it includes everything in the collective experience of leadership among the managers of this study. (cf. Marton & Booth 1997, 125; Sandberg 1994.)

Phenomenography has been subjected for various criticisms, which focus on the conceptual and methodological deficiencies of phenomenographic research (Richardson 1999, 51, 53; Sandberg 1994, 49, 51). One of the problems in phenomenography is the conceptually unclear notion of conception. This problem may derive from the 'hyper-descriptive' character of phenomenographic approach: the descriptions of experiences are made in everyday language and they stay close to the individuals' experiences. The result of this is that all types of experiences and mental contents are treated in the same manner and no conceptual language is used. (Uljens 1992, 91.) 'A conception' as such is a product and an instrument of formal, empirical generalization based on the recognition of different subjective experiences, images, conceptualizations, opinions etc. people have. Engeström (1986, 56) has criticized this by noting that "The common determinant is that all these are subjective reflections of some aspect of reality – so let's call them conceptions", but the term could be any other as well".

In this work Sandberg's (1994, 52) conceptualization of conception is applied. By the term 'conception' Sandberg refers to the basic meaning structure of individuals' experiences of an aspect of reality, which is similar to the phenomenological notion of the life-world. This life-world denotes to the world as experienced by an individual from his subjective point of view (cf. Marton & Booth 1997, 108). The life world is always present for the individual in his experiences and actions; it is his concrete and daily world, which cannot be separated from the person experiencing it (Marton & Booth 1997, 108; Sandberg 1994, 53). As Sandberg (1994, 54) puts it "a conception refers to the primacy of our lived experiences".

The view taken in this study was that the conceptions of leadership were grounded on the managers' lived experience of leadership; the managers were intentionally conscious of leadership through their own experiences of it and informed by the constructions of the social context. The way the concept of conception and the principle of intentionality were treated in practice in this study is explicated in chapter 3.3.3 (Phenomenographic, contextual analysis of leadership conceptions).

Criticisms have also been directed towards Marton's characterizations of the aim of phenomenography and the role of the data. The methods used in interpreting the data – whether they are in the form of texts, drawings or documents – are seen as contradictory and ambiguous in phenomenographic research advocated by Marton. In spite of the phenomengraphic researchers' claims for non-dualist ontology, the role of the data has been the same as in objectivistic orientations: it is seen to mirror the individual reality and taken as a face value by the phenomenographic researcher. (Richardson 1999; 51, 53.)

Marton and Booth (1997, 6-12) explicitly reject individual and social constructivism. They claim that conceptions are aspects of an individual's awareness that could be reflected and brought up in interview situations. This notion including the view that capabilities of individuals determine individual differences in behaviour has been interpreted to indicate the objectivistic orientation of Marton's phenomenography. (Richardson 1999; 64-67, 73.) On these grounds Richardson (1999; 72, 73) states that the practice of phenomenography has been disengaged from its theoretical underpinnings and that Marton's (1981) attempt to associate phenomenography to phenomenology has been unconvincing.

It should be noticed that phenomenography is an empirical approach that has not been deduced from phenomenological philosophy. Even though its founders have examined the relationship between phenomenography and phenomenology and – to some extent – used phenomenology as a general philosophical frame of reference, the former has not been explicitly developed in relation to phenomenology. (Uljens 1992, 82.) The interest in and the usefulness of phenomenological philosophy to the development and practice of phenomenography can be seen in the works of Sandberg (1994, 2000), Theman (1983), Marton and Booth (1997) and Uljens (1992).

The relationship between phenomenography and phenomenological philosophy is clarified in the study by Uljens (1992) on phenomenographic literature relevant to that relationship. Uljens (1992, 83) sees that in phenomenographic research "phenomenology is used as a frame of reference or a language in which it is possible to explicate phenomenographic thoughts". Intentionality of consciousness is one phenomenological principle that is accepted as a starting point in phenomenographic studies. In spite of the references made to intentionality, there are inconsistencies and problems in its treatment that are not problematized or even identified in phenomenographic research. (Uljens 1992, 91-94.)

Criticisms have also been directed at interview methods of phenomenographic research advocated by Marton and Booth (1997, 130-132). Their proposals of interviews as psychotherapeutic sessions, where the interviewees are "brought into the state of meta-awareness", have been seen as problematic because of the possibility of the unethical use of power by the part of the interviewer (especially in educational settings). Also the identification of different hierarchical levels of conceptions in phenomenographic studies has been argued to depend on the value-laden conceptions of the researchers. The evaluation of the 'goodness' of a conception can be claimed to be nothing more than the prejudices of the researchers. (cf. Richardson 1999, 69-70.) It has also been claimed that phenomenographic interviews produce data merely about the discursive practices and experiences

about the interview situation and thus the descriptions of experiences produced are distorted by the codes of desirable interaction existing in different groups (Richardson 1999, 72; also Silverman 1993).

In regard to the impact of discursive practices to the results of this study I recognize the interaction between each research participant and myself as the researcher as the context of the process within which leadership conceptions are produced and in which certain discursive practices prevail (cf. Richardson 1999, 67- 68; also Säljö 1996). Still, this does not mean that the conceptions of leadership that were derived from the research participants' statements would only be the results of the interaction. Without their lived experience of leadership the managers would not have been able to describe it concretely in the interviews.

Accordingly, interviews were not only communication, but communication about the object of interest: leadership (cf. Sandberg 1994, 78, also Richardson 1999, 82; Säljö 1989, 1996). Therefore, while assuming the intentional approach to understanding human experience, the subjective experiences of the managers were seen to be not only individual but also social by nature; social because they are not developed in a vacuum, but in a context of a certain social setting and in a world that is shared with other people (cf. Berger & Luckmann 1994).

Also other criticisms presented above were taken seriously in this study and reflected upon in detail in the following chapters. My rationale for generating the research data and the way in which I carried it out it in practice is explicated in chapter 3.3.2 (Interviews as methods for generating data of leadership conceptions). The deficiencies and problems of the methods I have used as well as the issues in favour for them are discussed in chapter 5.2 (The quality of the study). I describe and reflect on my relationships and interaction with the research participants as well as my presuppositions concerning the object of this inquiry in chapter 3.5 (The role of the researcher).

3.2.2 Case study approach in the research of leadership

In leadership studies a case may refer to a certain organization, an institution or a market segment Also a department, an event, an activity, a site, a project or a place as well as a person is often chosen as a case (for example Alvesson 1992, Alvesson & Sveningsson 2003ab, Bryman et al, 1988, 1996; Pettigrew & Whipp 1991, Knights & Willmot 1992, Smircich & Morgan 1982, Svenningssson & Larsson 2006, Vanderslice 1988). A conception map in table 7 illustrates the ways in which 'a case' is defined in this study.

Table 7. A conception map for answers to "What is a Case?" (source: Ragin 1992, 9.)

	Case conception			
Understanding of cases	Specific	General		
As empirical units	1. Cases are found	2. Cases are objects		
As theoretical constructs	3. Cases are made	4. Cases are conventions		

The small company of this study belongs to the category of 'found cases' (number 1 in the conception map above). It is empirically real and identifiable, but it still needs to be established as a case in the course of the research process in order to clarify its specific characteristics and the conditions under which leadership conceptions were explored and generated. This conception of a case emphasizes the specific situation and the conditions in the company, which cannot be specified if the company is seen as an object (number 2 in table 7).

Different leadership conception categories, which were distinguished in this study and the complex of categories of description of leadership in a small enterprise, are theoretical constructs that were 'made' during this research by the researcher (number 3 in table 7). Cases as general and conventionalized (number 4 in table 7) are already defined in research literature and refer here to the constructions of leadership prevailing in the field of leadership research presented in the previous chapter. The existence of these cases is a product of collective construction structuring ways of seeing leadership and also doing leadership research. (Ragin 1992, 9-11; Silverman 1993, 8.)

As 'a case' is most often understood as an empirical unit, there is a need to discuss the relevance of focusing on one small company, which provides the organizational context of leadership in this study. One of the most important questions is: what is the significance of the findings derived from a single case approach? And: what is the generalizability of the findings? The decline of case studies in organizational research in the 1960s originated from the problem of generalization of the results of one or few cases; a case was seen as a sample of one, as if the aim would be to infer the findings of the sample one to some population (Bryman 1992; 170, 172; Curran & Blackburn 2001, 81; Ram 2001, 401).

According to Yin (1984) case studies should not be evaluated in terms of statistical representativeness of a case, but instead in terms of the adequacy of theoretical inferences that are generated through the study of one case. When the aim is to generate new insights through an examination of one case, Yin (1984) suggests that they should be tested in other, comparable contexts in order to

see how they fit other cases. This replication logic is more appropriate to judge the generalizability of case study inferences than by using statistical methods.

Still, it has been claimed that even if replication logic may work well in studies conducted by a researcher across different cases (for example organizations or sites), it might work less well, when different investigators carry out the studies. This is because different researchers may use different approaches to data collection or they may hold different values, which have an impact on the study. Especially when non-correspondence is revealed, it may be due to different reasons, which may be difficult to assess. Such reasons are for example different time period, problems with the tentative theory or qualitatively different cases. (Bryman 1992; 172-173, 178.)

To reduce these problems two or more empirical units as cases are often involved. By this the researcher utilizes the replication logic within a single study. Still, even if multiple case studies may decrease the generalization problems, the use of many cases reduces the distinctiveness of case study research – the strong emphasis on the context. When a case study approach is used as an exploratory device to produce insights about some previously unexamined area or to confirm the findings from other studies the generalization problem is not so evident. (Bryman 1992; 172-174; 178.)

In regard to sufficient number of empirical units as cases required to build up a valid study, it seems that according to the objectivistic orientation in theory building, there is a need for multiple cases and cross-case comparisons, which provide the opportunity for replication and extension among individual cases (Yin 1984). The results of a single case study acquire their significance only when they are contrasted with findings from other contexts, where the same kinds of organizational arrangements do not prevail (Bryman et al 1996, 355; Eisenhardt 1989, 535; 1991, 620). On the other hand by generalization one can also refer to the fundamental understanding of a certain phenomenon and mechanisms, which can exist also in other situations. This kind of generalization is at issue in studies aiming at an in-depth identification of a phenomenon or pinpointing and articulating some special conclusion. (Bryman 1992, 173-174; Gummersson 1991, 74, 79; Knights & Willmott 1992, 768.)

Some conclude that the choice of how many cases is required rests with the believability of the interpretation of results. Thus either a single case study or a multiple case study can produce worthwhile results. (Gummerson 1991, 76.) Some others prefer one or the other and provide detailed arguments for their beliefs (cf. Eisenhardt 1989, 1991; Dyer & Wilkinsson 1991). The debate appears to originate from the aims and uses of case studies: are they to be used to describe a phenomenon,

test a theory, and confirm earlier findings or to generate a new theory (Bryman 1992, 173-175; Bryman et al 1996, 355; Eisenhardt 1989, 535; Gummersson 1991, 75).

In addition to the uses of cases presented above, it is also possible to inspect case study research in terms of the purposes of researchers for studying cases. Stake (1994, 237-238) identifies three different types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental and collective case study. An intrinsic case study is conducted in order to gain better understanding about a particular case – the case itself is of interest. In an instrumental case study a particular case is studied, because it is expected to advance understanding of something else. This does not require the case being typical of other cases.

A collective case study is even less interested in one particular case, but the researcher investigates a number of cases in order to acquire understanding about a still larger collection of cases. In research practice it is often difficult to distinguish intrinsic case study from instrumental, because the interests of the researcher(s) are changing during the work. Often the first aim is to understand the case itself, but the agenda is also to understand about some other things through the case. (Stake 1994, 237-238.)

In this study my aim was not to offer findings that are as such generalizable to other settings, but to increase understanding about leadership by producing local knowledge of it to be juxtaposed with knowledge generated in other settings. Being a 'found' case (table 7, page 74) the small firm of this study was not regarded as typical, but a specific context of leadership. With its specific conditions and situations unfolded during the research process the choice of one small firm as a case provided me the possibility to thoroughly examine leadership in this context. This was in accordance to my research purpose and my presuppositions of leadership as a contextual phenomenon (cf. Stake 1994, 237).

My research task was to unfold the *qualitatively different* ways in which leadership was experienced in the small enterprise, and so the comparison between two or more companies in relation to their members' conceptions of leadership would not self-evidently provide more variation in the ways of experiencing leadership (cf. Gummersson 1991, 79). Furthermore, an empirical study of leadership conceptions requires access to the organization. The difficulty to 'get in' and the limited resources available – including the notion of Gummersson (1991, 76) about the time consumption – were among the practical determinants of focusing on one organization as a case.

During my research process Stake's (1994) notion about the difficulty to differentiate an intrinsic case study from an instrumental one became understandable to me. The small firm of this study was a founder-run enterprise that had grown and become internationalized with two offices in Finland, and subsidiaries in Scandinavia and Asia. It did not serve as a background for this study of leadership, but was itself of theoretical interest for the following reasons: Firstly, leadership has been regarded as the premier force behind the success of enterprises – not only in terms of financial performance but also of growth and development. And secondly, there are doubts about the relevance of the results of leadership research conducted in large enterprises to small firms due to the substantial differences between them.

Thus, studying leadership in this specific context gave me the possibility to examine the significance of leadership to the small firm and also to investigate how the contributions of previous leadership research have added value to our understanding of leadership in such a context. In this way this study was a process of learning about leadership in the small enterprise and learning about leadership as a phenomenon (cf. Stake 1994, 236-237).

3.3 Research participants and methods of the inquiry

From various qualitative studies of leadership Bryman et al (1996, 354) distinguish four different research designs. They are 1) a detailed case study of one organization and its leader, 2) a multiple-case-study, 3) a study on a fairly large number of leaders, and 4) a design, which uses people's descriptions of leaders or leadership practices in general. The design of this study of leadership in a small enterprise comprises the first and the fourth design.

3.3.1 Research participants

The persons participating in this study were the founder-CEO and eight managers of the small enterprise. The description of the small enterprise was generated from the CEO's interviews and company documents he delivered. The way in which the CEO participated in this study is explicated in pages 86 and 90-93.

The choice of the small enterprise as a case of this study as well as the theoretical sampling of the research participants was based on the purpose of this study and the underlying presuppositions from which the research strategy was derived. The managers chosen as research participants were working in the case company during 2001-2002 and involved in the company's development project

during which the data for this study was generated. The aim of the project was to improve managerial and leadership practices in the company to enhance the functioning of the firm and the well-being of the managers. The project included discussions with the managers in order to find out what they saw as issues in need of improvement in the company and/or the managerial/leadership practices including problems in their work.

At the time of the development project, everybody working in Finland had a manager -title. All of them took part in the study except one project manager, who joined the company in the middle of the project and left it soon after his arrival. In addition to them, three managers in charge of the company subsidiaries in Asia and working on site were involved in the project and participated in this study. The managers working in Finland were as follows: the district manager of Asia, the head of Scandinavian subsidiary, the office manager and two project managers. The district manager supervised one of the Asian subsidiary managers. The subsidiary managers had two to ten subordinates, who all worked in the subsidiaries outside Finland. The project managers and the office manager had no subordinates.

Seven of the eight managers had graduated from university, and one from a vocational high school. The ages of the managers varied between 24 and 60. All except one were male. The median of the managers' tenures in the company was 1, 5 years. When entering the company four of the eight managers had working experience as middle managers in other business organizations. One of them had previously been the owner-CEO of a small company. He had also former experience of higher level managerial jobs in large companies.

One manager had working experience as a partner in a similar kind of a company as the small enterprise was. For two of the managers the title 'manager' was new: before being recruited to the company they had worked as employees. Six out of the eight managers had been unemployed before entering the company. Four of them had started as practical trainees from employment courses and stayed with the company after their training period.

3.3.2 Interviews as methods for generating data of leadership conceptions

Phenomenographic research is conducted using qualitative methods for data generation. Of these methods interviews are the most common (Svensson 1989, 40). In determining, what methods should be used in this study, it was obvious that there were also other methods available for acquiring data than just interviews. The choice of research methods should be based on the research questions and on the researcher's preunderstanding of the possible ways of gaining valid knowledge of

the phenomenon studied. Thus one way of evaluating the validity of the study is to examine, if the research methods used are relevant in terms of executing the research task.

My research task was to describe and examine the ways in which the managers of the small company experience leadership. My basic assumption was that people are intentionally conscious of something; they experience something as something and give meaning for what they conceive (Sandberg 1994, 54). They are also able to express their experiences and talk about their views, if they are willing to do that. The possibility to say their word and decide, what to say when talking about leadership, the small company and their work – to give them voice – was seen as fundamentally important, when the aim was to find out, what they experienced as leadership and how they experienced it. (Cf. Barnard et al 1999, 222-223.) For these reasons interviews, which can be characterized as loosely structured discussions, were chosen as methods for data generation.

Before the interviews I had prepared the following themes to be addressed in the discussions with the managers: personal background, what leadership is/means, good leadership, leadership practices in the company, what kind of a leader/manager one is, how one is managed in the company, problems experienced in one's managerial work, changes needed in the company leadership/management practices and well-being of the managers and other personnel. When addressing these themes the managers were asked to explain further their views and to give examples to clarify their intent (cf. Barnard et al 1999, 222; Sandberg 1994, 74). In spite of the preparation of the themes the managers were free to talk during the discussions about those issues they themselves found most important whether or not they referred to them as talking about leadership.

After presentations of the parties and my explication of the topic and aim of the discussion I asked every manager to tell about her/his personal background (education, tenure and work history), how he/she had entered the company and the manager's current work as the manager of the company. From this point on the interviews took different paths according to what issues the managers focused during the initial stage of the interview.

I had asked the managers before the interviews, if they allowed me to use the information they delivered during our interaction as data for this study of leadership. I told them about my intentions and the ways in which I would manage and use the research material in practice. I made it clear that they had the right to change their mind about participating in this study and to postpone their participation. I also asked them for their permission to record the interviews using a video camera. All except one manager allowed the interview to be video-recorded. The person who refused to be

video-recorded accepted an invitation to a second interview, in which I was allowed to use the camera. Later on also a third interview took place. In this case only the latter interviews were included in the research data.

In the interviews the managers did not hesitate to raise issues commonly perceived as difficult such as personal feelings of anxiety, nor did they avoid criticizing those practices in the company they saw as dysfunctional. However, not all the managers were willing to accept that all their views could be used as research material. As I already noted, one of the managers did not allow the first interview to be recorded. Another manager did not want one part of the interview to be recorded and asked me to switch off the video-camera for about five minutes during the interview. After that the interviewee gave me the permission to continue with recording. No one of the managers backtracked from her/his earlier promise to allow the interview(s) to be used as a data for this study.

The interviews varied in terms of time, and lasted from one up to three hours. If either the interviewee or I as the interviewer felt that after the first meeting there was a need to clarify or to deepen some issues, another appointment was made. Of the eight managers five were interviewed more than once. This material was used to validate the results of the study and gave the possibility to inspect if their conceptions of leadership identified in the first interview changed as time passed.

The interviews took place between 19.6.2001 and 2.09.2002 (table 8). All but one of the interviews was conducted in Finnish. The interview data was comprised of fifteen interviews eight of which were used as primary data and the rest were utilized to validate the findings. The transcribed material is composed of 245 single-spaced pages.

Table 8. The time scale and the number of the managers' interviews

Month	Feb	May	June	July	Sept	Oct	Total
Year							
2001			2	4	2	1	9
2002	2	1		2	1		6
6.2001-9	.2002						15

It must be noted that the CEO recommended his managers to talk with me, but whether the managers allowed the interview material to be used in this study was their own choice. This support to my research from the part of the CEO is one of the issues in need for further reflection. This is conducted in relation to the quality of this study in chapter 5.2, in which the problems as well as the

good sides of interviews as methods of exploring human experiences and social phenomena such as leadership is discussed in detail.

3.3.3 Phenomenographic, contextual analysis of leadership conceptions

There are differences in the methods of analysis used by phenomenographic researchers (Barnard et al 1999, 225; Marton & Booth 1997, 132-135; Sandberg 1994; Svensson 1989, 47-52; Theman 1983, 106-156; see Richardson 1999, 70-71). The contextuality of leadership as well as the contextuality of leadership conceptions is the basic assumption of this study. Based on this presupposition and the interview procedures of this study, I concluded that the phenomenographic, contextual analysis by Svensson (1989) further developed by Sandberg (1994) was best suited as a method for analysing my data.

Phenomenographic, contextual analysis is a method for identifying variations in conceptions of an object among a group of individuals. It is grounded on the principle of the construction of internal relations. This means that the interpretation of the interview statements must be conducted in relation to their context in which they are embedded. The context refers here to the meaning context in which the statements are expressed – it contains the immediate context of the statement and also the whole interview, not only certain statements or sentences. Internal relation between the statement and its context means that the meaning of a statement is determined by its context. Thus, when interpreting the data the comparison between the chosen statement and other statements in the transcript is needed to ensure its significance. (Sandberg 1994, 84.)

In this work managers' leadership conceptions were analyzed adopting the strategy of Sandberg (1994, 2000), who utilized phenomenological principles and concepts about human experience in his phenomenographic study of human competence at work. One of these is the intentional character of consciousness, which means that consciousness is always directed toward something other than itself: in perception something is perceived that is not consciousness itself. This 'something' is intentionally constituted in an act of consciousness (for example perceiving). The intentional character of consciousness enables individuals to achieve meaning for a specific aspect of reality. It is also the basic condition for how meaning can appear within our lived experience of reality. A conception signifies an individual's lived experience of reality; it is intentionally constituted. (Sandberg 1994, 54-55.)

Intentionally works as an a priori correlational rule: 'a priori' refers to the original and indissoluble relation between subject and world; correlational rule means that a conception integrates the con-

ceived meaning and the conceiving act. In phenomenographic contextual analysis the intentional analysis of conception is utilized to search for noetic (ways of conceiving) and noematic (conceived) aspects of the object of study. (Sandberg 1994, 84-85; Theman 1983, 163.)

In this study the company's managers' conceptions of leadership were understood to be intentionally constituted and every attribute a manager used of leadership was seen to be based on a particular meaning, which is intentionally constituted through her/his experiences of leadership – e.g. what (s)he perceives as leadership and how s(he) perceives leadership. The meaning of leadership that is manifest in a manager's conception is the noematic correlate, and how this meaning is conceived is the noetic correlate of his conception of some aspect of leadership. Depending on a manager's ways of conceiving leadership, different meanings can appear for it.

The analysis of leadership conceptions was based on the identification of these what- and how-aspects of leadership and on relating the managers' ways of experiencing leadership to what they experienced as leadership. I assumed that individual managers might have more than one conception of leadership and that it would be possible that they would express the same and one conception differently. In analyzing leadership conceptions in practice this meant that the analysis was an iterative process between the noematic (what a manager experienced as leadership), and noetic correlates (how (s)he experienced leadership) of leadership through which different conceptions of leadership emerged.

In my analysis I followed the five phases of intentional analysis (Sandberg 1994, 85-90):

- 1. becoming familiar with the transcripts
- 2. noematic level of the analysis
- 3. noetic level of the analysis
- 4. intentional constitution of the conceptions
- 5. establishing an outcome space of conceptions

I started the analysis by transcribing the interview videotapes word for word in order to become familiar with my data. After transcription I arranged all the transcribed material according to their interview dates and continued by reading the whole interview data. This phase represented the first step in the analyzing process: becoming familiar with the transcripts.

At the noematic level of the analysis I took one interview-transcript at a time and concentrated on the statements, which illustrated the conceived aspects of leadership – what the manager experi-

enced as leadership/management. To make sure that the managers really talked about 'leadership' in addition to the answers to my questions about leadership, my strategy was to search for the statements containing the terms 'leadership' or 'leader' or the Finnish word 'johtaminen', 'johtajuus' and 'johtaja' and references and attributions the managers made when they talked about their company affairs and their own work and experiences in the company to leadership and/or management.

After identifying different expressions concerning leadership I – following the example of Sandberg – compared them with their immediate context in the transcript (called the inner horizon of the conceived aspect of leadership) and the whole transcript and with each other in order to find out if they expressed a common meaning of leadership. This was done because the meaning of conceived aspect of leadership derives not only from a statement and its relation to its context in the transcript, but also through its relation to other conceived aspects of leadership, which are called the external horizon of the conceived phenomenon. (Cf. Sandberg 1994, 86-87.)

By comparing the different expressions of leadership found in one transcript with each other I was able to further clarify the different meanings leadership had for the manager in question. After the analysis of conceived aspects of leadership from one transcript I conducted the same procedure to the other transcripts. Based on this analysis I compared the conceived aspects of leadership between different managers to find out similarities and differences in terms of what the managers conceived as leadership.

At the noetic level of the analysis I focused on the managers' conceiving acts, which are seen to delimit certain aspects of leadership that can appear to them. In this study the conceiving acts were found by examining in what terms the managers approached leadership, e.g. what was their focus, when they conceived some aspect of leadership. At this level I interpreted what the various aspects of leadership distinguished at previous level of analysis had in common in terms of their relations to their context and to each other. If two or more conceived aspects of leadership in one transcript – even if their specific contents were different from each other – were related to their context in a similar way, through their similarities it was possible to consider whether they had a similar meaning.

In every transcript I examined each of the conceived leadership aspects and compared them to their immediate context and to each other. By this I was able to further develop an understanding of the shared meaning of some aspects. So after this noetic level of analysis some aspects of leadership

distinguished in the former (noematic) level of analysis were found to share a similar meaning in terms of their relationship to the context and each other.

For example in one transcript a manager described his relationship with his subordinate in the following way:

X is a very strong person, <u>you should not</u> in any case <u>hurt his feelings</u> or <u>to show that you are his boss</u> and <u>tell him what to do</u>.

<u>Because of X's personality my strategy is</u> that <u>we are equal and discuss</u> about things and cooperate in developing things and it has functioned very well.

-- well, <u>I have no control</u>, and well, the plan was that I would stay there most of the time, but then <u>X felt himself uncomfortable</u> and it was a bit difficult.

The contents of the statements are different from each other, but they were related to their context in a similar way, e.g. the manager experienced an aspect of leadership in terms of his own leadership behaviour towards his subordinate that was based on the characteristics and preferences of his subordinate.

The next phase of the intentional analysis was the constitution of each manager's leadership conceptions by integrating the conceived aspects of leadership with the ways in which (s)he conceived some aspect of leadership. First I identified again the conceived aspects of leadership – what the manager experienced as leadership. Then I identified how (s)he conceived that aspect of leadership. Finally I related the manager's ways of conceiving leadership to what (s)he conceived as leadership. Again I followed the example of Sandberg (1994, 89-90) by reading carefully each transcript and looking for the most salient aspects of leadership in each conceiving act. By this process I established the intentional correlations between the conceiving acts (the ways in which the manager conceived leadership) and the conceived aspects of leadership (what the manager conceived as leadership), which build up the meaning structure for the conceptions of leadership hold by an individual manager.

After having examined and described individual managers' ways of conceiving leadership I compared these conceptions between different managers to further develop my analysis and to make sure that the different aspects of leadership I had distinguished in the former levels of analysis were different from each other. Many times I returned to the transcripts and checked my analysis and interpretation. In some cases this recheck revealed that some conceptions I had treated as separate hold the same meaning and should be interpreted as one and the same aspect of leadership experienced by the managers.

The final stage of intentional analysis is the establishment of the outcome space of the phenomenographic research. Because my intention was not to make comparisons between individual managers' conceptions of leadership, but to develop a totality of qualitatively different ways of experiencing leadership in this group of managers, my further treatment of the conceptions developed diverged from that of Sandberg (1994, 2000), whose example I had used as a precept in my analysis. In his phenomenographic analysis of engine optimizers' competence at work Sandberg developed three qualitatively different conceptions of competence in engine optimization that were hold by certain individuals.

Informed by the variation and ambiguity in terms of conceiving leadership revealed in my literature review and the variation in conceiving leadership by each individual manager, I focused on variation across individual managers. Again I compared the conceptions hold by any individual manager and between different managers to ensure my interpretation. Then I arranged the managers' conceptions under distinct *categories of leadership conceptions* that capture the qualitatively different ways of experiencing leadership among the managers. These categories were the first outcome space of this study.

Phenomenographic researchers are usually concerned only about qualitative differences in conceiving some object of interest, not about how many people share a certain conception or why certain individuals conceive the object in a certain way (Uljens 1992, 86). In this study, informed by the treatment of conceptions by Poikolainen (2002) I present the number of managers, whose conceptions were included in a certain category of leadership conceptions. I also describe, how the conceptions were related to the managers' views of the small enterprise and their own work and situation. My aim was not to provide reasons for their ways of conceiving leadership, but to identify connections to reach fuller understanding about certain ways of conceiving leadership.

The different leadership conceptions captured in the categories of leadership conceptions were further explored in terms of their relationships with each other. Through this analysis I integrated them into relevant *categories of description of leadership in the small enterprise* by using the unit of analysis and the level of conceptualization as differentiating tools. The complex of categories of description was the second outcome space of this study. It captures the essence of variation in conceiving leadership and provides an abstracted, clear and empirically grounded description of leadership in a small enterprise (cf. Uljens 1989, 40-42).

3.4 The small enterprise

One perspective to the context of leadership was the description of the conditions and characteristics of the small company where the managers participating in this study were working. It was generated from was a tape-recorded life-story of the company told by the CEO – the owner-founder of the company – on 27.1.2001. His story was supplemented by six interviews conducted between 18.7.2001 and 10.9.2002 and by the company documents delivered by the CEO.

Before the first interview I had asked the CEO to tell me about the company, how it was founded, what were the important events during its course of life, how it has been managed and other issues he felt as relevant. In the interview situation I asked him to tell his story in the way he felt appropriate and natural. By this I tried to give him the opportunity to tell an authentic and autonomous story (Roos 1988, 144). We agreed that if I wanted to get further information about some event or detail of the story, I could ask for it. Any other preliminary proposals or questions were not presented.

The story of the company is understood as a construction of the teller deriving from his subjective reality (Roos 1988, 146). The CEO's current feelings and interpretations about what had happened were constructing the story. His choice of the things he would talk about was assumed to depend among other things on the purpose of the story telling and the researcher as his audience. (Cortazzi 2001, 384.)

The CEO's story lasted for three hours and was mainly his monologue. I transcribed the whole taperecorded material (35 single-spaced pages), and gave it to the CEO for further remarks and revisions. He made minor corrections and added some information, all of which I included in the research data from which the description of the company was developed. After that I asked some clarifying questions by e-mail, and the CEO gave his answers. Also this material was included in the research data.

In editing the story of the company I concentrated mainly on its vertical direction in order to depict the events in the company's history from the time the company was established until the present. The story was complemented by the company documents and other interviews, but the CEO's story builds up the core of the description. I summarized, edited and wrote the story to provide a description of the small company as an aspect of the context of leadership. (cf. Cohen & Manion 1994, 60.)

3.4.1 Establishing the Company

Three young students of technology established the company (from now on called the Company) in 1991. One of them was the current owner-CEO (from now on called C). The three young men had gained some experience in transactions with industry and working experience as trainees in Finnish companies operating in the USA and Asia during their studies at the university. In 1990, just in the beginning of the recession, all of them had returned to Finland after their practicum abroad. At this point of time they were disinterested in continuing their studies. They wanted to get some work, but the recession has started to affect their employment possibilities.

When starting the company the three friends were not quite sure what kind of business they would be doing in the future. The original business idea was mainly based on the company owners' shared interest to do something in Asia. They planned to offer some kind of special service, and to tie it with supplier-use. To have the Company registered an application was needed where the trade was explicated. So they decided that the Company was to operate in the consultation of international sourcing, marketing and logistics.

The first business plan was written in 1991. According to it the Company's line of business was international project service. The focus was on marketing and delivery surveys for the Finnish industry sector to develop these activities in Asia. The Company was to produce its services using a local way of action according which the personnel of the Company will work on site purchasing, doing market research, marketing and controlling activities. The organisation was to be lean in order to be agile and act fast. At the starting base the Company would concentrate on international material function development. Its aim was to improve the competitiveness of the Finnish SMEs and to serve SMEs by creating tools and concentrating in material procurement development and purchasing. The aim was to operate in a client-oriented and active manner.

None of the three owners of the Company had entrepreneurial family background or any experience of running a business. They had taken some courses in industrial finance and marketing at the university, and acquired practical knowledge about marketing during their practicum. C had gained some knowledge about entrepreneurs and their work when he worked as a course assistant for entrepreneur training at the university. This experience had made him admire entrepreneurs: he found them to be interesting persons with strong personalities, straight opinions and rich experiences.

For the three students establishing the Company was a way to organize joint activities effectively and economically so that it would be possible to do interesting things – such as work in Asia – and

to make money out of it. Two of them had had their practicum in Asia and wanted to return there. They felt they had experience and know-how about Asia operations.

C reflected that for each of the owners the Company was a means to try one's own capabilities and creativity in ways that they thought would be impossible when working in large companies. They also believed that Asian markets had a lot of room for newcomers; there were good business opportunities. They decided to favour places and countries where the possibility of competitive activities was small.

The first client came through the relationships with the university. The assignment was to find local manufacturers and so one of the owners left to Asia to conduct the search. The other two stayed in Finland and tried to find new customers. At that time the Company obtained an office in Finland with the support from an incubator of small start-ups. They received government money for setting up a new business. Now, one of them abroad, they were obliged to arrange money for his expenses. Little by little these issues became the main topic in their discussions.

3.4.2 The Company expands

The 1992 business plan describes the Company's functional area as consultancy on international procurement, marketing and logistics. The Company was also to take part in developing its clients' businesses as a whole. The most important goal was to establish the Company's financial situation and to develop those areas of the business with prospects for success in the future. The personnel's know-how of the international business would be developed through practice.

The cooperation with the clients and other partners would be improved and developed so that the Company could be a shareholder in the joint ventures in order to secure the benefits of both sides. The customers will mostly be Finnish companies interested in doing business in Asia or groups of companies having common goals and willing to take part in joint projects based on joint funding. The service was to develop new solutions and functional models to do international business. This service was to be based on the needs of the customers.

Between 1992 and 1995 the Company got new customers and the three partners decided to establish their own offices in three Asian countries. The differentiation of the roles of the partners continued so that C operated mainly from Finland and the other two were on site taking care of the operations of local offices. The Company started to build partnerships with other operators in the same field of business.

When the business expanded more employees were needed. The Company used mainly trainees with employment support. From these times it became a strategy of C to use people with employment support from different employment courses as sources of labour. Some of these people continued to work with the Company after their training period.

At the time of expansion there started to be more and more signs of disconcensus between the three partners. When establishing the Company, they had not made written contracts about their roles or rights as shareholders, but trusted on their friendship to continue that would make such contracts unnecessary. They were aware of the dangers of this kind of trust and made jokes about 'not doing the right thing'. The responsibilities were based on consensus decisions. At first it had seemed so self-evident to decide who was good or suitable for the different activities of the Company. Their roles and jobs seemed to evolve naturally – sometimes even without special discussions. C became the CEO, because he was regarded as the most knowledgeable in business issues, companies in general and the demands of law. One of the other two became the president of the board and the other the member of the board. There were no other persons involved in the ownership or administration of the Company.

Until 1995 C had been operating from Finland. Now the two other partners wanted also him to take personal responsibility over the new offices. The three began to have different views about how to share and use the money and who is doing the most part of the work for the Company. It became obvious that the former friendship and trust between the partners was not as profound as they had thought. Their disagreements developed to an open conflict. The cooperation of the former friends and partners ended in the end of 1995. At that time C appointed himself as the only member of the board and the CEO of the Company. Since then C had seen the Company as his life's work

In 1995 the Company had four offices: three in Asian countries and one in Finland. When C became the principal shareholder he continued the company operations only in two of the former Asian offices. A new office was opened in India in 1996. Since then the Company operated mainly in the field of business consultancy providing internationalization services to Finnish SMEs.

Between 2001 and 2002 C established three new offices: one in Scandinavia and two in South-East Asia. In the end of 2002 the ten year old Company operated in six countries. It had seven offices in two continents and employed 37 persons: office and project managers, heads of subsidiaries and local consultants, project consultants and secretaries.

3.4.3 Current Problems in the Company

Talking about the current problems of the Company C declared that his own personal characteristics were the most serious threat to the Company. He disliked finance management and paper work. He considered himself as impulsive, impatient and over optimistic. He saw himself more as an innovator and developer than a leader. On the other hand he perceived these characteristics also as the strengths of the Company.

The poor profitability was the main problem of the Company during 2001 and 2002. The hopes for new business openings were ruined by reasons outside the control of the CEO. Also some of the offices had failed to get customers. Still, the expenses of these offices were constant and weakened the overall financial situation of the Company. This was also a threat to the company personnel and to those whose livelihood depended on them. Along with the growing number of employees the CEO felt the increased burden of responsibility; now the success or failure of the Company affected directly or indirectly one to two hundred persons.

The high turnover of the key-players – the managers of the Company – was among the most serious problems affecting the functioning of the Company. The CEO perceived that constant changes in the management personnel had caused difficulties both in the Finnish operations and in some subsidiaries, where the working atmosphere had deteriorated and the feeling of insecurity among the local personnel had increased.

According to the CEO, one of the reasons for the high turnover of the managers was that he had not been able to find the right kind of people – people, who could be trusted on and who would be able to face the challenges of entrepreneurship. The CEO's considerations about how to solve the problems and improve the functioning of the Company were the origins of the development project starting in June 2001.

3.5 The role of the researcher

I had interviewed the CEO about the history of his company for the purposes of my studies of leadership in February 2001. In April 2001 the CEO asked me to interview his managers. He wanted to find out what they perceived as the areas or issues in need of improvement in the Company to find ways to support both the well-being of the managers, and the functioning of the Company. As the CEO explicated that he was aware of the criticisms towards leadership and management practices in

the Company, these issues were incorporated in the interviews. This provided me as the interviewer the possibility to focus on they ways in which the managers perceived leadership in the company.

It was agreed that the CEO would discuss with the managers about the idea of hearing their views and wishes through interviews, which I was to conduct. After interviews everybody involved was entitled to receive a personal summary of her/his interview. If the interviewee permitted, the summary of her/his proposals would be anonymously included in the summary of the development needs to be presented in a feedback session for those participating in the project. After the feedback there would be a discussion, and those involved could decide whether or not they were willing to take any actions and what kind of actions would be needed. According to the CEO after that it was for the managers to decide whether or not they wanted to continue with the project.

Initially the CEO introduced me to the managers as an occupational health professional with a master's degree in educational sciences and as a PhD-student preparing her thesis of leadership. My task was to conduct the interviews, prepare a summary and present it to the participants in the meeting. Thus my background as well as my interests and intentions to do research on leadership and my task in the project were open to all the participants from the beginning of the project.

After discussing with the managers the CEO informed me about their decision to start the project and discuss individually with me. He sent everybody an e-mail in which he defined the aim of the project as a means to "develop the well-being of the organization" and to "improve the management in the quickly developing and changing Company". He outlined the purpose of the interviews as "to develop tools to improve practices of the Company". In his message he stressed that the interviews may provide new insights about the areas in need of improvement in addition to those acute problems discussed daily. The purpose was to work together for common goals. He encouraged the managers to discuss with me and stated his belief that the discussions would benefit the managers personally as well as the whole Company.

By sending his request to the managers the CEO allowed me access to his Company and legitimized my role as a person to be in position to ask questions about the Company. The CEO's support for the interviews may have implicated that I was perceived as an agent of the CEO. If this would be the case the managers might be leery in their relationships with me and not willing to be open in terms of their views about the situation in the Company. This would probably also affect the way in which they would communicate with me and maybe delimit the scope of issues they would be will-

ing to address. It was also possible that the managers might exaggerate the problems of the Company and try to use these interviews as a means to influence the CEO.

In his e-mail to the managers the CEO had stressed the confidential nature of the interviews. In my encounters with the managers I further emphasized confidentiality by making clear the ways in which I would ask their consent to use the material collected. In chapter 3.3.2 I explicated how I asked the managers' permission to use the recorded material for my theses of leadership. For me the ethical question concerning the use of the interviews as a research data lies in the research participants understanding of for what purposes the information they shared with me would be used. The ethical questions of this study are further discussed under the title of the ethical value of the study in chapter 5.2 (Quality of the study).

My dual role as an interviewer and a researcher was explicated to the research participants in order to provide them the freedom to question my intentions and decide whether or not they were willing to take part in my study. In general, the managers' comments about my research did not reveal any views that my two roles would be in conflict with each other. However, three of them expressed their wishes that my study would be of practical help to the Company instead of staying purely academic. They made explicit their doubts about whether academic research could provide something useful for practitioners.

I anticipated that there were also other reasons, which might affect the managers' willingness to participate in the interviews: Firstly, I was an outsider with no experience in the Company's field of operation. Another reason was that the CEO recruited me and thus I might be assumed to see the situation more from the point of view of the CEO and not being objective. The third reason was my purpose to do research on leadership using the data from the interviews. It was clear that even if the managers would be constrained to take part in the interviews, they would not necessarily be willing to share their views with me – especially so, if the results would be used both to the feedback for the participants, and for the purposes of my research, which would be published. For these reasons I was prepared to discuss these – and also other – issues when contacting the managers to ask them to participate.

My role and the conditions under which the managers' leadership conceptions were explored are here understood as aspects of the context of this research and of managers' leadership conceptions. Because of this I will present a short summary of the development project to demonstrate how it was related to this research and what my role was in the project. The first interview was conducted

on 19.6.2001. Till the end of the November 2001 seven managers were interviewed; one of them twice and one three times. One of the managers did not permit the interview to be video-recorded, but its content was written down and used for the purposes of the project.⁹

After the interviews each of the managers received a summary of her/his propositions for the issues in need of improvement in the Company. I asked everyone if it could be anonymously included in the summary that was to be presented in a common feedback session. All the managers agreed and so the summary of all the development needs revealed in the interviews were presented and discussed in the Company meeting held in 30.11.2001. At that time five of the interviewed seven managers were still working for the Company. Three of them, the CEO and two new project managers participated in the feedback meeting. Two managers were abroad and received both the summary of the development needs and the memo of the meeting by e-mail.

In the meeting the CEO introduced the background and the purpose of the development project. My role was to present the summary of the interviews as the basis for discussion and further actions. During the discussion no clear direction for further activities was achieved. Thus I suggested that the managers would take more time to consider the propositions made and after a certain period of time put forward their suggestions about three most important areas/matters to begin with. My suggestion was accepted. The CEO promised to contact those managers not present in the meeting to receive also their proposals.

It was agreed that a working group of two persons would deal with the results of this enquiry and prepare a proposal for further action. The proposal was to be presented and discussed in the next meeting. My role was to be the contact person for the managers' suggestions. In the end of January 2002 the CEO and all of the managers working in the Company had given their proposals, which I summarized and delivered to the working group. At that time my active role in the project ended.

In the beginning of January 2002 the CEO asked the newcomers if they were willing to take part in the project by discussing with me. I interviewed one of the new project managers, but the other left the company before the end of January so that the interview could not be arranged. It was also agreed with the other research participants that new interview meetings would be arranged, if they were willing to take part in them. These interviews were needed to validate my data and to inspect if changes in the conceptions would occur. From January 2002 till September 2002 new meetings

⁹ This interview was excluded from the research material, because it was not recorded.

were arranged for three managers interviewed before and for one new manager. During that period three of the managers who had participated in the study left the company.

My dual role as a conductor of the interviews for the purposes of the Company and as a researcher generating data for my study of leadership was a source of a long-term self-reflection for me. Even if the interests of different parties were not conflicting, they were different: the CEO and the managers strived for practical aims and my purpose was also to find insights, which might also be of theoretical interest. These differences in the interests in addition to my understanding about the ways, which would be most appropriate to generate valid data for scientific research, affected the way I planned, conducted and analyzed the interviews.

Maybe the most fundamental reason for choosing this research topic and addressing it in the way I did can be found in my professional history. I had worked as occupational health nurse for years doing health promotion. For me health promotion is about learning, learning as an individual and a social process. For these reasons I started to study educational sciences that opened me new ways of seeing the world. One of these ways was the idea of phenomenography, which I later used as a research approach in my master's theses.

My interest in leadership originates also from my work in the occupational health field. At that time in my daily work the organizational context in which people worked seemed to have a significant impact on how people experienced their well-being at work. One aspect of that context is leadership, which is assumed to affect not only the performance of the organization but also the well-being and work-ability of organizational members. The perceived importance of leadership in organizations led me to continue my studies in the field of work psychology and leadership. In a way this study of leadership using a framework originating from educational sciences and emphasizing the ways in which people experience their world, combines my two primary interests and explicates what I see as valuable, important and interesting.

My aim to understand the ways in which people experience leadership – their leadership conceptions – does not mean that I am not interested in the effectiveness of leadership. On the contrary I see that by exploring leadership from different points of view we are better able to evaluate such issues as its effectiveness and ethicality and in so doing choose the criteria that best suit to our aims, preferences and the situation. It is the conceptions I now turn to that are of importance to our understandings and evaluations of leadership and organizational life.

4 Constructions of leadership in a small enterprise

In this chapter I present the results of this study. I start by describing and analysing the small company managers' leadership conceptions. I continue by examining the relationships between the different conceptions identified to provide an abstracted, empirically based and theoretically informed description of leadership in a small enterprise (cf. Uljens 1989, 40-42).

4.1 Small company managers' leadership conceptions

The leadership conceptions the small company managers held are presented under distinct *catego-ries of leadership conceptions* that capture the qualitatively different ways – the variation – of experiencing leadership among the managers (chapter 4.1.1). The categories are summarized and interpreted further by utilizing the former theorizing and studies on leadership and leadership in small firms and discussed in relation to the small enterprise (chapter 4.1.2).

4.1.1 Categories of leadership conceptions

Through my analysis twelve different categories of leadership conceptions emerged. In the case of an individual manager more than one approach prevailed. In presenting the categories, I use the managers' expressions as titles to elucidate the core of each category. Every category is described in terms of the conceiving act delimiting the way in which leadership is conceived and the most prominent meaning contents of the conceptions included in the category.

I will illustrate my analysis by presenting quotations¹⁰ from the talk of the individuals¹¹ holding the conceptions included in each category. Because the leadership conceptions are not derived from single statements but from the statement and its context in the whole transcribed interview, the quotations aim merely to clarify the conceptions and their different meaning contents. A summary of the categories and conceptions included in them can be found in Appendix 3.

Quotations are in italics. The Finnish quotations were translated to English while trying to maintain the original character of the managers' talk. The original quotations in Finnish can be found in Appendix 2.

In the quotations, M and a code number (e.g. M7) refer to an individual manager and R to the researcher.

As I notified in presenting my research task, I made no beforehand distinction between the concepts leadership and management and their contents. This is partly due to the Finnish language in which all but one of the interviews were conducted. In Finnish the terms 'johtaminen' and 'johtajuus' refer to both leadership and management, and so it is extremely difficult to infer the contents of the concept leadership from that of management. Thus no distinction between the conceptions of management and the conceptions of leadership will be provided.

When you talk about this leadership as a person

For the managers it was difficult to clearly and coherently explain what leadership means. When reflecting on leadership, many of them ended up pondering on the qualities they expected from a leader; what kinds of traits they saw a good or a successful leader should exhibit.

M7: When I think about leadership the first thing that comes into my mind is assertiveness. It is the very thing I want in leadership, assertiveness. Unfortunately, quite often it is lacking. There is very little of it.

R: *Mm*.

M7: Assertiveness, moral fibre, and taking responsibility, and feeling responsible.

R: *Mm*, *yes*.

M7: They are the things that are needed. And assertiveness, the kind of assertiveness that when you make decisions you keep them.

R: Okay and what do you mean by moral fibre? Can you explain?

M7: Well, moral fibre, it means that no matter what is the issue, good things are of course easier to handle, but if there are difficult issues, sensitive issues, they too would be handled in a straight and upright manner.

R: *Mm*.

M7: No matter how it would hurt.

R: Do you mean that these are the qualities of a leader?

M7: These are the qualities of a good leader and I see that if these can be found things are going pretty well.

Assertiveness, strength, determination, strictness, outspokenness, regularity, stress-tolerance, openness, sense of responsibility, confidence, trustworthiness, and fairness were the terms the managers used to describe the qualities of good leaders. There were individual differences in the combinations of the specific leader qualities but also similarities among the managers. Two of the managers agreed on three characteristics – assertiveness, trustworthiness and decisiveness – as the most important leadership qualities.

Furthermore, the managers emphasized the morality of the leader's character: a leader should be trustworthy and fair. Trust and fairness were common topics the managers brought up also in relation to other issues concerning their life in the small enterprise. Trustworthiness, strength, and decisiveness of the leader were stressed by a manager, who – when pondering on the prerequisites for

the functioning of the small Company composed of several subsidiaries – explained their importance in terms of what is needed in the small company:

M1: When you talk about this leadership as a person, in Scandinavia or Asia or back in India, the main leader of the organization and the counterpart here, they should be strong and trusted people. If there is trust, then I think each of the units can function. And strong in the sense, strong in the managing according to the local situation, being capable in taking any kinds of decisions, fast decisions depending on the local situation and then trust.

The need for certain kind of leadership based on the specific characteristics and the situation in the organization was explicated also by another manager, who stated that there should be a fit between leader qualities and the needs of the organization and the tasks of the leader. These managers' leader fit' -views echo the ideas of contingency models of leadership that presume that different types of contexts could be matched with appropriate types of leadership.

Not all the managers had clear and unambiguous ideas about a good leader. One of them reflected on his own experiences of leaders he had regarded as good and concluded that they had been very different from each other. The only thing he could think of that they had had in common was that they had trusted him. When trying to further elaborate the subject of 'good leadership' he ended up with combinating the idea of leader fit to the organization's culture in relation to the CEO:

M2: I do not believe that one could say; it is the culture of the organization and many other things that determine what is needed and a good leader can shape the organization to look like him but it takes time. And this kind of a firm founded by C has become to look like him quite a lot. C is much the same at home as he is in here. He has the same strengths and weaknesses that we have here. When you asked about C as a leader I remember saying that he is not any kind of a leader. It was very sharp; which one of us is a leader anyway, but C cannot ... considering his age he cannot be a charismatic leader. Maybe he will be some day, everything is possible, he is only x years old.

The manager's talk about the relationship between the leader-founder and the culture of the organization comes near to Schein's (1987) views that cultures evolve through the leaders' actions especially when the leader is the founder, and the views that relate the psychological characteristics of leaders and entrepreneurs to the functioning of their organizations (e.g. Kets de Vries & Miller 1986; Kets de Vries 1991, 1995; Kets de Vries & Balazs 1998, Zaleznik 1977). Furthermore, these notions were conflated with the ideas of transforming heroic leaders, and charismatic leadership that the manager associated with age and experience.

Many of the managers brought out not only the personal characteristics of a leader but also the skills required from a leader. These skills varied among the managers but included both managerial and cooperation skills and skills needed in relating with subordinates. When interaction skills –

such as communicating with and listening to subordinates – were commonly seen as required from any leader, the former two were related to the specific conditions in the small enterprise:

M1: It's quite pressure related, so that related to the pressure it has naturally to do with the entrepreneur's skills, and the capacity to co-operate.

The managers evaluated the leadership of the CEO in terms of leader characteristics: whether they regarded the CEO to be a leader or non-leader and whether he was perceived as a good/or effective or not so good or ineffective leader. They admired and praised the CEO for his innovativeness and ability to create new business opportunities. He was commonly described as intelligent, hard working, independent, and exceptionally creative. In the same way as the CEO himself, the managers saw him as an entrepreneur, not as a leader.

Some managers explicated that the CEO's lack of leadership qualities was the reason for the improper management of the Company affairs and personnel. The manager who had wanted assertiveness from a good leader stated:

M7: Yes, and this is of course due to the lack of assertiveness in this kind of company owned by one person. It is naturally extremely difficult to come and say that hey, we can't afford to pay the wages.

The CEO's 'lack of leadership' was also explained by his inexperience implying the view that leadership can be learned. This reasoning could be heard in the talk of many of the managers, who – when talking about leadership in their company – referred to the CEO's limited working experience in other companies than his own. Especially for one of the managers this was among the main reasons for many of the deficiencies in the Company.

M2: I don't know about my own leadership, but to be sharp, there is no leadership in C. This is his firm. For many people working is based on the fact that they have got a job and come, and what ever, but... The leadership system of C is ... more... how could I put it, it is a kind of a divide and rule system. He has never been in a real job.

In this manager's talk leadership became constructed as an attribute of an individual. However, he was unwilling to consider himself as a leader and reflect on 'his own leadership'. When talking about leadership this manager as well as the others most often talked about what they saw as 'good leadership' and leadership in relation to the CEO. Only two of the managers explicitly identified as leaders.

In sum, among the managers there were conceptions of the traits that good leaders exhibit in general and of specific traits that a leader of the small enterprise should possess in order to contribute to the company. Furthermore, leadership was constructed as a quality of a person. These conceptions

formed a conception category of leadership as a trait or traits of a good leader that contained the following meanings of leadership:

- good leaders possess certain traits such as strength and decisiveness and morality of character
- traits required for a good leader depend on the needs of the organization and the tasks of the leader
- leadership is a quality of a person and the traits of the organizational leader are reflected in the functioning and culture of the company

But it is not active leadership that I would like to have

All the managers addressed leadership in terms of what they saw as good and/or effective ways of leading people; how a leader should behave towards her/his subordinates. As in leader traits, in good leader behaviours there were individual differences, but also similarities among the managers. Some of them had very clear views about what kinds of behaviours they expected from a leader:

M7: I see that it could be crystallized into two words, which I see as highly emblematic: demand and care.

R: *I think I understand, but what is it in practice?*

M7: Well, it is, if we think of for example a salesperson, then surely the leader can, by making demands, or he must demand, in a way spur him on better achievements. He can say that everything has gone swell so far, but maybe you should do this and this and try to get for example customers from there and there. Pressurize in a positive way.

R: All right. How about caring?

M7: Caring means naturally that, of course caring about personal issues meaning that everybody likes if the leader every now and then asks about one's weekend or how one's spouse or children are. It may be anything about one's personal matters and if you ask maybe once a week, I'm sure nobody feels bad about it. And then caring, caring mainly in the form of acknowledgement. For example if somebody has done some job and done it very well even if the end result hasn't been so swell but ft the person has done his job well so some kind of remuneration is in place. It can be only thank you, well done.

What was commonly conceived as good leadership was actively communicating with the subordinates and informing them about issues affecting their work and personal life. The view of good leadership expressed by the manager below was shared by all:

M5: Transparent, that means that whether the news is good or bad and especially if it is bad, one has to inform. Inform in order to enable people to be prepared to face them in the future and there will be no surprises, no shocks afterwards.

When thinking over his own experiences on leadership in the small enterprise this manager said, referring to the CEO:

M5: What I would like to have is openness and informing about where we stand.

Also the other managers described and reflected on the CEO's behaviour towards themselves and other employees and what they would have preferred. According to the managers, sufficient information would have been needed especially at times of troubles. The managers' emphasis on providing information as an aspect of good leadership became understandable from their accounts of such situations, in which they had been dependent on the information about the Company situation and the lack of it had caused them difficulties. Often these situations were related to the Company's financial problems – a topic that the managers raised over and over again during the interviews.

Providing information was not a habit of the CEO; and there were concurrent views among the managers that this was one of the problems in the Company seriously affecting their work as managers and their personal well-being, respectively. Passing information the managers needed was one way of showing consideration towards them, caring for them.

Many of the managers felt that if they had been informed early enough, they would have been better able to understand the CEO's difficulties. Then they would not have felt themselves as abandoned and short-changed as they did when they had found themselves facing difficult situations. A head of a subsidiary who had previously stressed the importance of transparency, explained why he had not been able to realize 'good leadership' in his own work:

M5: The financial situation hasn't openly been told even to me. I have known these problems but tried to conceal them from the local people, because I have not been told if I am allowed to inform them, and nobody has explained the real situation even to me. I would certainly have wanted to tell them, but maybe it would have created a panic. --- I would have expected some openness from the Finnish side.

Also the others responsible for the subsidiaries felt very strongly about not being informed adequately about the difficulties in the Company:

M4: It would have been okay with me that when I need 35 000 I'll get 30 000.

R: *That you know?*

M4: If I know, I can tell the guys that sorry, this month we don't do that. Because you are totally helpless and in other people's mercy, despite that you try your best and do what you can in spite of all other claims. In my opinion, it wasn't my duty.

R: Yes.

M4: I will not tolerate that. I will not beg pieces from here and there. Facts are facts, if you don't have the money, then you tell that you haven't.

R: *Mmm*, *yes*.

M4: And period. And that's it. I can accept that.

It was clear for all the managers that financial problems are common in many small companies; difficulties with money are understandable. It was all right that they sometimes had to wait for their

pay. But not being open about it and not informing about the delay was unacceptable. Some of the managers wondered how it could be like that:

R: Could one discuss about it?

M6: Maybe he could, I don't know. We [the managers] have talked about this many times over and surely in many companies the CEO would see it extremely important to take care of these kinds of things. And if they were not taken care of, so people would be informed and told about it. And if we or if anybody of us were the CEO we would surely have spent sleepless nights and if he is some kind of a superman who does not think about these things.

Some saw that it was hard for the CEO to tell bad news; it was his habit to "skirt around difficult issues". However, it was not always a question of bad news; sometimes also other kind of information was hard to get from him. These difficulties were addressed by a manager, who had tried to find out whether or not the employment would continue:

M7: In August I have been here for one year on the same salary I got when I came and then we talked about a three month probation time, but when the three months were over I could not get anything out of C, I mean whether I was staying or leaving. I just could not do it and of course we did not talk about salary and so now in August when I have been a year here I will at least ask. I do not believe it will lead anywhere, but I intend to ask if anything could be done to the matter.

R: *Do you have a work contract?*

M7: No, no.

R: *Have you talked about it?*

M7: Never. And in the beginning I thought that hey, what does this mean. But then I decided that it might be okay not to have it. I did not consider it as bad.

R: Mmm. Yes.

M7: But it is a good example of leadership that the leader cannot after three months say whether I am employed or not, it is the worst kind of leadership.

R: Have you... Was it so that you did not ask, you decided not to raise the topic?

M7: I did ask. I asked him directly as a kind of a joke that hey, the three months are done soon. And then I asked again in a little firmer way. But I did not get any answer. So I sent him the third question that I wish to have a straight answer to my question: am I employed or not.

R: Did you get an answer?

M7: He then answered that because you ask my answer is that the work continues. That was all. **R**: By e-mail?

M7: *Yes*.

R: OK, so you did not talk about it, there were no, I mean...

M7: He was somewhere I do not remember where this leader was at that time, so I had no other way to communicate about this.

R: Okay and now you have been here since. Have you talked about this since then?

M7: No, we have not. Not about being here, about money or about anything.

There was a notable agreement about the CEO's style of leading the managers' daily work: the CEO intervened in their activities only when he did not approve their conduct or wanted to change something. In terms of daily activities the CEO's behaviour was appreciated; there was no need for the leader to interfere in details. Otherwise the interpretations concerning the CEO's leadership behav-

iour varied. Some managers interpreted the behaviour of the CEO towards the subordinates as passive leadership and some others as non-leadership and still some as good leadership.

The more senior managers with a longer work experience felt that the CEO provided his managers the freedom to operate independently and valued that highly. In this respect they regarded the CEO as a good leader:

M8: C is a leader, who doesn't guide so much people in a certain direction. He lets people do things and if they essentially depart from some reasonable direction, then he interferes. --- This company is, and C is a good leader for he allows people to take care of their jobs independently and most importantly, allows them to influence on the content of their work, so that it makes sense to them.

Independence enabled the managers to adjust their work load according to their individual needs and their work situation. To be allowed to operate independently supported the managers' job satisfaction.

R: You are the boss of the Q [city] office?

M2: Well, let's say that I take care of Z [country] without no, well no support from C. But he knows that I'm able to take care of it and of these financial issues, as a matter of fact there is nothing else than... He doesn't have to interfere in this business at all. We take care of the salaries and other expenses. The margin is about forty per cent. --- So these are the matters that, well, I could say that I am at least reasonably satisfied with my work when I am allowed to do my job well, independently and without interference.

M3: To continue about the bad, no about the good side [of the manager's work] is that I have freedom and I am able to decide where I go and what kind of work I do. And if I sometimes feel that I want to take it easy, I can do that and when I see that there is a need to work hard I can work hard. I mean that C is not pushing me.

Even if independence and freedom were the good sides of the managers' work, more information sharing, discussions, and active involvement from the part of the CEO would have been appreciated also among the senior managers. This was explicated by one manager, when he was asked, what leadership was in practice in the firm:

M3: Well, C doesn't actually lead anything, I mean; we key persons responsible for the operations are quite independent. He wants to know what is happening so that he can intervene if he sees that everything is not going right. Well, in a way it is a leadership style, but it is not active leadership that I would like to have.

Some of the managers claimed that when things were going well, the CEO was more active; he was more in contact and talked more with the managers. At hard times he avoided them. The managers described this as 'seasoned' and 'on and off -leadership'. Some reasoned that the lack of active leadership derived from constant changes in the personnel:

M7: This has shaped the leadership style of C so that there is not so much actual leading because of these occasional visitors. They don't need it. And he doesn't understand that nonethe-

less it is needed.

The CEO was expected to actively lead his personnel, but there were different views about what

this meant in practice. The less-experienced managers expected a good leader to give clear orders.

According to them, what was needed in the small enterprise was 'old-fashioned leadership' – a more

directive leadership style. They would have liked the CEO to clarify what he expected from them

and to set priorities for their activities. For them there seemed to be a need for leadership that would

"facilitate their path toward their own and organizational goals" (Howell 1977, de Vries et al 2002).

Providing relevant information and discussing with the subordinates, actively listening to the views

of others and taking them into account were seen as good leader behaviours by all the managers.

This kind of leadership was needed to enable them to take care of their work and act according to

the requirements of different situations. In addition, they were also seen as signs of the leader's con-

sideration of his subordinates. Such leadership was expected also from the CEO.

As the manager emphasizing the importance of demanding and caring (see page 100) also other

managers saw that some small talk with subordinates was needed to demonstrate the leader's inter-

est in them. This was not the style of the CEO.

M2: It really feels almost bad, that one cannot talk to people or ask them and ... It is, well, some

small talk is really needed, it really is.

Small talk and discussions should display genuine interest in others; the leader should truly listen to

what the others have to say and – most importantly – take their views into account and act on them.

This was also expected from the CEO.

M2: But in my opinion he [the CEO] should be a bit more receptive to the views [of others]. I do

not mean my views; they are only the thoughts of one person. But a bit listen to and take into

account such ... views.

With some of the managers the problem was not the rarity of discussions, but whether the discus-

sions had any impact. They felt that the discussions had no effect, and were deeply frustrated be-

cause of this:

M4: And then I see that when we have these discussions and we talk about things it is a waste of

time.

R: *You do?*

M4: Yes I do.

R: You mean that with C?

M4: Yes, it is my opinion.

R: *Or this discussion?*

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M4: No, the discussions with C concerning such matters as salaries must be paid. Because I always say to C that think what is our contribution to our work in those days when we keep on talking about these things and talk about them a hundred million times over. It is sad, very sad that we waste our energy and keep on talking and it never leads anywhere. Most repulsive is that a good talk does not help and any kind of talk does not help so why then. So the next question is who is stupid here; is it me, who presents these ideas and wishes about matters that are clear as a day and should be taken care of but they will not be taken care of.

The way the CEO acted was commonly interpreted as not taking sufficiently into account people and their needs and views. Some commented that the CEO did not appreciate people or did not show his appreciation in the way that people would have wanted. He was openly criticized because of this.

M2: He doesn't listen or he listens and agrees, but in the same veins as many other entrepreneurs, it's very difficult for him to abdicate. C does not take individuals into consideration in any way. He does not ask, how do you do. Not those things, which I see as fundamental. --- This is one of the basic things in leading. One should not make things problematic or difficult to people.

Also excuses were made on behalf of the CEO. For some, the entrepreneurial image functioned as an explanation for the CEO's behaviour. Some others explained that the CEO was too busy with other things; he was so overloaded with work that he did not have enough time to discuss. And still some thought that he simply did not understand how important it is:

M2: --- he is not used to it; it does not belong to his leadership culture and maybe even to him as a person. I think that it may be that maybe I take people into consideration even too much, I have done so and may do it still, but C does not. There can be persons, leaders, who behave like that because they are mischievous or... it is just that it does not occur to him. And this can also be seen in his other conducts that he simply is not able to see things in that way.

The five managers with subordinates described how they acted in relation to their subordinates. In regard to these descriptions, two of the managers explicated that they did not consider it as 'leader-ship'; they merely discussed with their colleagues and tried to help them with their work.

Only one of the new managers in need of directive leadership had subordinates. He was the only one who saw his work with subordinates as controlling and commanding. Also two of the more senior managers seemed to act towards their subordinates in the same way they themselves wanted to be treated: to be informed and discussed with and to be allowed to work independently. When reflecting on his past experiences as head of a large corporate unit one manager described his approach to leading people:

M2: I always have been a sound supporter of these soft values – if you use the word – or this motivational leadership. Because at least I have achieved results by it, and all this fear of the superior, boggling, shouting; well, they seldom are the ways to achieve something.

He described his way of taking care of his current job as head of a subsidiary in the following way:

R: How often you have to be there?

M2: I don't' have to be there. My approach is that all the persons are seniors, all of them. Even the one, whom I met today, is fifty years old. I remember when I was looking for a job, and I was under fifty, at that time there was this silly period in Finland when they thought that you are so old. The last time I was there was in March, so not even as often as once a month, maybe three to four days in a month and a half, but maybe not even so often. But I don't know, I talk with the guys almost daily and it has gone fairly well there. When we have four [assignments] it requires more work. And the idea is that each lasts for one year and you must apply for the money again and the firms have to be willing to continue. And I believed that this first one wants to continue, but it was not so clear that they did. We could take care of even more but the question is not only about how to find them; it is also about how to be able to motivate them to continue. We have to find those persons who are accepted by the group and get it going and make sure that it works also after that.

The other manager had a similar job in the Company. He depicted discussions and giving independence to carry out the work as his approach towards his subordinates, whom he considered as colleagues and experts in their work. These managers rejected their identification as leaders. Neither of them talked about their subordinates as objects of their behaviours.

For those senior managers who regarded themselves as leaders there were differences between the ways they preferred to be led and how they led their subordinates. When describing their own 'leadership behaviour' they did not emphasize information sharing or independence to operate. They stressed the importance of using strategies to motivate their subordinates. A manager responsible for a subsidiary explained his approach towards his subordinates in the following way:

M1: --- give them work, incentive to continue in the organisation, making them feel that they are needed in the set up and that there is always something interesting for them to do. So, he is important.

For this manager it was important that the one in charge behaved differently towards people in different hierarchical positions. The other manager's strategy was not to communicate his position of authority but to display equality and adapt his behaviour according to the preferences of his subordinate even though it required giving up the control that he thought would have been important:

M3:_X is a very strong person, you should not in any case hurt his feelings or to show that you are his boss and tell him what to do. --- Because of X's personality my strategy is that we are equal and discuss about things and cooperate in developing things and it has functioned very well. And in regard to what has happened here and well, I have no control, and the plan was that I would stay there most of the time, but then X_felt himself uncomfortable and it was a bit difficult, so then...

For these managers leadership was about different behavioural modes that they utilized to meet the needs they perceived their subordinates had and to motivate them in order to ensure the success of the organization and to reach their own goals.

Showing consideration towards the subordinates was emphasized by all but one of the managers with subordinates. Achievement orientation was explicitly brought out by two managers with no subordinates. Both of them conceived that good leadership was also about displaying consideration towards subordinates.

In sum, in spite of the individual differences in the contents of the managers' conceptions of good leader behaviours, all of them had in common that some kind of leadership behaviour was expected. These expectations were also directed at the CEO of small firm. The conceptions of good leader behaviours consisted of activities that would enable the managers to do their work and display consideration towards them.

The good leader behaviours included

- providing sufficient information, communicating with subordinates, taking into account their views and allowing independence in their work
- providing sufficient information and communicating with subordinates, supporting and motivating them and helping them to better achievements by making demands
- clarifying subordinates' tasks and roles by giving clear orders, setting priorities and providing relevant information

These conceptions built up the conception category of leadership as good leader behaviours towards subordinates.

If there is trust...

All the managers conceived leadership in terms of the relationship between the leader and the subordinate(s). They reflected upon their relationship with the CEO, and some of them addressed also their former relationships with persons who had been their superiors or whom they regarded as having been good leaders. One of the managers referred to the situation in the small firm by saying

M3: As your subject is leadership it is this relationship with the leader and his relationship with the subordinates that is the problem.

Among the issues concerning the relationship between the CEO and the managers that the managers brought out was the physical and also psychological distance they felt the CEO kept from them. Often there was only a minimal amount of face-to-face interaction. This was partly due to the circumstances: some of the managers were permanently situated in the subsidiaries, and others were working in either of the two offices in Finland, travelling or doing remote work.

The CEO worked seldom in the offices but travelled a lot. While being in Finland he "worked from his car". There were no agreed regular appointments or discussions between him and the managers. The managers met the CEO occasionally. When he dropped in on the offices, he seemed to be too busy to discuss with them.

M7: And generally speaking, the discussions, when he comes to the office, if he hasn't visited there since last week, and he goes there and says hello, then sits by his computer and works for an hour or so. Doesn't say a word to anybody and then leaves. And then if somebody has some acute business to talk about, so one has to say that hello, can you spare a minute. And yes, I can and then the phone starts ringing and the minute is over while he speaks on the phone and then again he is in a hurry to go to the next place.

Many of the managers would have liked the CEO to be more in contact with them. Furthermore, they felt that the CEO had distanced himself from the everyday life in the Company. They did not know what the CEO was up to.

M4: And how he spends his time is another matter, I refer to his own time. So that he should have an office day in T [office] and in E [office] and that he should familiarize himself with the operations in the target countries by visiting them regularly. He has become distanced from our systems in one way or another. But I mean that his agenda should be arranged so that he had to do like that. Then we would also know what he is doing.

R: Yes.

M4: And I know that he has these new plans and projects that are unknown for us, and sure there is no reason to tell us about them, but as far as I can see, you can't lead a company from your car.

However, the infrequency of contacts did not self-evidently mean that the CEO would have been totally out of reach even though he wasn't very keen to approach some members of his staff.

M6: And surely one can talk about everything with C, or can take up a subject. Usually he is here such a short time so it cannot take very long, but as such, he has nothing against that one makes proposals. It is not; it is not at all the kind of a traditional scheme that there is the leader, do I have the courage to talk to him. --- But one has to ask him something all the time. Usually he answers but he is not the one who starts telling you things.

The frequency of contacts and the quality of the CEO's relationships with different managers varied. With some of them he interacted more often; with some others rarely. One of the managers had had difficulties to arrange meetings with the CEO; there had been occasions when he had asked for an appointment, but the CEO had been too busy to be available. This was interpreted not only as the CEO's reluctance to be in contact with him but also as a way to increase his hierarchical, and social distance; to show off his power upon him:

M3: ---he could not work out a discussion with X. X has asked for an appointment and wanted to discuss, but C has always been busy and he hasn't. C does not like to sit with X like this. Maybe the way X expresses himself does not suit him. -- And when C does not want to discuss with him C really puts himself up to the clouds so that X could not see him, could not reach him.

By not being in touch with the managers when they felt they needed him the CEO aroused feelings of being downplayed and not valued by him. By not telling what was going on the CEO distanced him from the managers even more, and demonstrated the power imbalance between him and the managers.

The power relations between the CEO and the managers were reflected in the ways in which the managers related with the CEO. Many of them did not want to say anything that could be perceived as negative and to cause ill feelings:

M3: --- I'm always a bit cautious when I ... because you can't be very straight, you must be diplomatic and respect him as a leader and so on. You can't tell things at his face like some have done and after that they could not have stayed very long in this environment, because there will be schisms if you talk openly about these issues. In a way I have tried to let him be informed.

Only one of the managers openly ignored the power-asymmetry between himself and the CEO by explicitly rejecting his subordinate position in relation to him. The manager stated while thinking back the good superiors he had had during his career:

M2: I have always been lucky enough to have good superiors. I don't regard C as my superior; it is a good relationship, but it is not at all a superior-subordinate relationship. I work for him and both of us are happy for that. I really have been able to enjoy good bosses. Some of them have been patron-types ---- but we got well along and I was his errand boy. ---- But I think that I saw him as a good superior because he trusted me.

This manager was not alone in his emphasis on trust in relationships between the leaders and the led; an ideal leader-led relationship was one of reciprocal trust. Trust between a leader and a subordinate was seen as a requirement for the smooth functioning of a company; it was a manifestation of good leadership.

Some managers had regarded trustworthiness as a personal characteristic required from a good leader. One of them had especially stressed that trust – and a trustworthy leader – was of special importance to the small enterprise. Based on their own experiences, many of the managers did not trust the CEO to do what he promised. Even if they were able to figure out good reasons for not keeping his word, they still felt by this the CEO had downplayed their interests, rights, well-being or personal values. These feelings were often associated with the ways the CEO had acted at times of financial or other difficulties.

However, the question of trust was not only about whether they perceived the CEO as trustworthy. It also concerned whether they felt being trusted by him. Sometimes trust was described as having been established by deeds:

M2: I've achieved this trust, because I've been working here for a year and a half now and I've carried out my duties so that there has not been found any fault as far as I know, and that is why I have achieved trust.

For some managers the relationship with the CEO was emotionally charged, and trust was an important ingredient of this relationship. Trust relationship with the CEO was experienced as highly satisfactory and necessary for sustaining self-worth at work:

M7: I do believe that we have, even though nothing has ever been said aloud, but still I sense that there is trust and something like chemistry does exist. I feel instinctively that I am trusted and if I lacked trust I would feel as having failed, but because I feel that there is trust, it is one the best things.

Still, some others felt that it was trust that was missing between the CEO and them. By not sharing some of his power and information the managers felt they needed about the company affairs with them the CEO demonstrated his distrust towards the managers.

The managers wanted to be trusted to be of control of the areas they were responsible for on behalf of the Company and to trust the CEO to do what he had promised. The realization of these expectations would have required that the CEO – according to one of the definitions of trust (cf. Dirks & Ferrin 2002, 612) – would accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the intentions and behaviour of the managers. With one exception this had not happened so far.

The centrality of trust in an ideal leader-led relationship was further demonstrated by the prevalence of raising the subject of trust when the managers described their relationships with their subordinates. A manager working in a subsidiary depicted his relationships with the local personnel as distant and businesslike. He had tried to get in contact with them, but not succeeded. He felt he did not know what the subordinates were thinking and could not fully trust them. For these reasons he saw that even if the local personnel were able to take independently care of the unit, a foreigner unit leader was needed to watch over their activities.

This kind of relationship was not always the case; some other managers depicted their relationships with their subordinates as collegial and equal or as natural and mutually supportive. One of the managers considered himself as a father to his subordinates.

Four managers had subordinates from other national or cultural backgrounds than their own. These differences were not necessarily experienced as a problem in building trust relationships even at times of troubles:

M4: On the contrary, I kind of felt and knew that they [the subordinates] supported me that I was not alone, but in a way, everybody was thinking that how things can be as they were. --- I just had to say that we are in this situation and I can't give you any good explanation for this. This is how things are. In a way, I had a personal relationship with each of them.

The common characteristic in the managers' conceptions of leader-subordinate relationships was that they most often addressed it in terms of their relationship with the CEO. Even if their relationships with the subordinates were discussed, only three managers explicitly referred to this relationship as a leader-subordinate relationship. In the same way as when conceiving leadership in terms of good leader traits or behaviours also here leadership was most often attributed to the organizational leader – the CEO. Among the managers this relationship was experienced as distant and nontrust, uncaring and not of reciprocal trust, but also as an equal or a trust relationship.

The conceptions of an ideal leadership as a relationship based on reciprocal trust and mutual obligation that required enough proximity between a leader and (a) subordinate(s) were commonly held by the managers. These conceptions built up the conception category of leadership as a trust relationship between a leader and (a) subordinate(s).

We should have commitment towards those people

The managers emphasized commitment towards the company personnel from the part of the organization and its leader; in the small enterprise the CEO as well as the managers should be committed to their subordinates and take care of them. These issues were put forward especially by the heads of the subsidiaries. For them good leadership was about taking this responsibility:

M1: What I mean is that the employees working in each unit can be taken care of only if there is a proper leader in each unit. Once the organization set up is there, then the people can be taken care of according to the situation. --- Then we should have commitment towards those people. -- But as I said mostly people want to have permanent jobs. We have to attract people who are looking for permanent jobs, and then if we have, we need to offer them permanent jobs. --- I am looking at continued business, which can ensure continuity for the employees. Therefore, I should always be on the look for something happening. And that is the reason that during my few visits here I am interacting with the clients, taking a lot of pressure to get the business, which really means that we are able to sustain. It has to do with the survival and each one in the set up should feel that he is earning the income.

When some of the offices had run into difficulties and were under a threat to be closed down, the managers stressed that the employees should not be forgotten; they were responsible for them. In situations in which there are financial or other problems, the needs and rights of the employees should be considered first. One manager explained that this kind of responsibility was particularly important and natural in cultures of paternal approach to leadership. This was the case in one of the small firm's subsidiaries:

M3: --- and in this case X is like a father to his children. Again, here in Finland the leader is in a way one of the team members, who is a little above the others. And if the father is not able to take care of his children, he is a bad father – and if – as in this case – [he is not able to] pay the wages, he loses his face. He cannot do it. When people have asked for their money he has openly told them that the situation is bad in here, and if you feel that you cannot continue you are free to go. Okay and he gives good references and so on.

But also the managers, who were prone to regard themselves as autonomous agents, saw that a good leader acknowledges her/his responsibilities not only towards the organization but also towards the subordinates, including the managers.

The managers wanted to maintain and develop the current business, but the CEO tried to find new ones for which he needed money and resources that were also needed for carrying on the existing operations. In the managers' opinion the CEO's activities made the Company's weak financial situation even worse. This was seen as one reason for the difficulties to have enough money for local operations and expenses including the managers' wages as well as those of their staff.

Even though it had been agreed how the continuity of the operations in the subsidiaries would be ensured, it often happened that these agreements did not hold in practice. The managers had to constantly remind C about the money they needed, and often they had to wait considerably long before they got it. In addition to other difficulties, the awareness that their subordinates may suffer, was a burden for them. In times of troubles their morals were at stake in deciding what to do:

R: *So they did not get their pay?*

M4: They did, but what I had [in mind] was that I did not take my wages from that money, because it was my opinion that they should have it. Of course I could have taken it and said that sorry, guys. In [the country of the subsidiary] I could very well have done that. But I consider myself as a representative of the employer and an employer can't do a thing like that to his employees. So that was my [principle] it is where we start. They have to have [money], they have families and they have to get [their pays]--

R: Were you able to pay them all the time?

M4: Their salaries, yes. Maybe there was some slight delay, but after that it was taken care of. One may be selfish and think that I have some control over financial matters. But I did not put the money into my own pocket. So somebody can think that it was foolish, but I couldn't see it that way.

R: *Did not put it into your own pocket?*

M4: That's right, so that one does not put the money into one's own pocket. I could have done that and say that sorry, one can't help it and the situation is what it is and take care. But I could not do that. It was not according to my nature.

The managers were also concerned about their own income and well-being and how they could take care of their personal obligations. They saw that also they were employees whose rights should be attended to before starting new projects:

M4: I see that I am a worker in the same way as some trencher or so. And then, if work... if you have 20 000 and you haven't paid to your workman, you have to pay him first. And it is only after this that you think about what you will do next.

Managers working in the subsidiaries felt that too often they had been left on their own with no money and no support from the CEO. By keeping himself apart from their difficulties the managers felt that the CEO had demonstrated that he felt no obligation and responsibility towards them and towards the employees of the subsidiary. When these experiences cumulated they felt they had been treated badly; their worth as persons and as managers had been downplayed. For some, this built up a gap that could not be passed; they did not want – some said that they simply could not – continue with the Company and started to look for other employment opportunities.

Not all the managers had similar experiences, but hardships their colleagues had experienced in the subsidiaries were well known to the others. Even though the CEO had made his concerns clear about the managers' well-being and explicated his willingness to improve organizational practices when starting the development project, the managers doubted his readiness to change things especially when it was a question about the employees' rights on one hand and about what the CEO wanted to do with his Company on the other.

According to the managers, in regard to the CEO's role as the leader of the organization he should consider the rights of the employees over his own wants. It is the good leader who puts aside his interests and turns to those of her/his subordinates. It would also be beneficial to the firm to demonstrate to the employees that the Company was committed to them. This – in turn – would build their commitment towards the firm. This was important, because there was a need for committed personnel who would stay with the Company. In this respect the managers saw that the interests of the organization aligned to those of its employees, but what the CEO wanted to do was not necessarily good for either of them.

Even if the managers did not see any basic conflict between what was good for the Company and what was good for its employees, some had recognized a discrepancy between the two embedded in the Company's modus operandi. It demonstrated that people were not regarded as indispensable assets in the Company:

M3: Well, the operational model has become clear to me that the [operations] are based on a kind of project work and if there are projects, then there is work to do and then we recruit people and it has its effects and in a way I can't see that one has invested in people and wants to keep them no matter what. C does not want to or he is not able to do it.

According to this manager, there was still room for the CEO's consideration, if he wanted. Some others, who also saw the Company's strategy as the basis for not seeing employees as liabilities stressed that it was not a free choice of the CEO. The strategy was stipulated by the industry, the market situation and the Company as a small operator compared to the other companies in the market. Thus, it simply had to economize where ever and whenever it could.

Some related this issue – again – to the CEO's lack of working experience in other organizations. Where could he have learned to value employees and to understand his responsibilities towards the company personnel?

M2: But he ... well it is for a good superior to take care of her/his subordinates. Today I take care of the boys in [country], and C should take care of us here, but it is not a part of his ... Could the reason for this be that he has been working only in some kind of training jobs or whatever they might have been.

In spite of the differences in the opinions concerning why subordinates rights and needs were not appropriately taken care of in the Company, for these managers good leadership was about

- taking care of subordinates and their needs and rights
- being responsible for and committed to employees

These conceptions built up the conception category of leadership as being responsible for subordinates.

Making strategies, clear decisions, goals to pursuit

The managers were well acquainted with the views that emphasize the importance of visions and strategies in leading an organization towards its success. Developing the business as a whole according to the strategy was seen as an essential aspect of good leadership. Formulating strategy, direction and longer-term guidelines for the future were stated to be the main tasks of the organizational leader.

R: What do you think leadership is actually?

M6: Well, I think that a leader creates the directions and takes care that everything will stay together and takes care of the basic things. He does not have to interfere in every detail, but to make sure that everything goes according to the strategy and sees that the whole functions and certain issues are taken care of.

This kind of visionary, strategic leadership required an upper-level, rational, and systematic approach to leading the business and the organization. Again, micro-management was rebutted and if organizational practices and rules were in place they substituted the need for managing different activities:

M7: Well the doing is, of course it requires a systematic approach to work, the leader's own way of working must be systematic and controlled and coordinated and then naturally this assertive leader has created the rules of the game the personnel follows.

R: Mm, yes. How do you see what is the job of the leader in this organization actually?

M7: Actually it is... If things go right there is no need for the leader to interfere in actual managing, but he can use his time more in visioning and develop the business, and not to wade into routine affairs at all; if everything is all right.

R: *Do you refer to the routine... so what is your point here?*

M7: Well, my point is that everything should be so well in the firm that the leader can use all his time and energy and resources to thinking about new; for example how we can get new customers and for example if things are not going so well now, then he could think that hey, where could we find new businesses and new growth areas and could there be something we should let go. That means to think constantly the reason for our being. And if things are really going wrong, then one has to do something about it and if things are going well then to navigate towards the good direction. But not to be so much involved in the everyday activities.

R: *Mmm*, yes.

M7: And of course if something goes wrong then one has to intervene, but there should be so good practices and rules of the game that everything would go on automatically.

Accordingly, also in the small company a more systematic approach to leading was called for. The managers explained that the Company operations were not based on agreed strategies; no plans were made and no systematic follow-up was conducted. Even if there were plans, often they were not realized. At the same time the CEO executed other decisions that he did not discuss with the managers in a way that seemed ad hoc and impulsive from their point of view. They would have liked to have some order, stability and predictability in the activities of the firm. In other words, they would have liked the Company operations and activities properly managed:

M3: ---- but I don't want to press him, don't want to force him, but [I would like to have] performance reviews and discussions, making strategies, clear decisions and goals to pursuit, and plans to be executed and followed up. There are none. There are good tries, but after a while they always flag.

The present way of leading the Company was depicted as reactive. When there was no proper planning in place, it was not possible to be prepared to face the changes in the business environment and take actions to adjust the operations accordingly. Many of the managers claimed that discussions with them and actions to tackle the problems were taken only after the problems had arisen. Then it was already too late. As one of the managers explained referring to a situation of financial crisis:

M6: Of course we discussed about them, but now it was that we got into such a hard situation in January. So in this Company we react only when it is of an utmost urgency or if the situation itself produces some result meaning that we do not react in advance and now we have cut down these expenses and are still cutting them down.

The managers complained that there were no common rules in the Company. Everybody was free to do her/his job in any way she/he liked. The activities of the personnel were not sufficiently coordinated.

R: How does it show – this leadership – in your daily activities?

M7: Unfortunately it does not show in any way.

R: *Not in any way?*

M7: No, no.

R: So then, how should it show?

M7: Well, all of us who work in here follow our own paths irrespective from each another. One small example is that even now we have in E [office], is it so that we have two, yes two new fellows. There was a small announcement about the other of the two saying that this guy will take care of this job till the end of June and now June is over and we know nothing. And then there is a new guy we know nothing about. [When calling to the office] someone quite unknown answered the phone and I asked who he is. So there was a new person and nobody knows, who he is, except for those, who were sitting there, they know that such a person has started, and in a way belongs to the group. These are those basic things that should be taken care of. So if not even things like that, this kind of a small-scale info that there is a new guy who does this and this and if there is no talk or no info about this kind of an issue so there is not so much about anything else. ---

R: You said that it is the task of the leader to coordinate the activities.

M7: *Mm*.

R: *How does it show here?*

M7: It doesn't because there is none.

Rules and coordination were needed to make the work more productive, raise the quality of operations – also customer related – and share knowledge needed in everyday activities.

R: I was thinking when you talked about the rules, so what did you have in mind actually?

M7: By rules I mean that there should be an agreement about who does what. For example now, when we have many kinds of salespersons, we should decide who does what and who calls to whom. Now it may happen that we call to the same places, talk quite different language and that in relation to happenings and to participating some networks and events so I refer to the duties concerning what should be done when one takes part in something meaning that she/he is under an obligation to give a report.

Formal processes that would enable making joint decisions binding both the CEO and the managers were wished for. Until now, there were none. The CEO appeared to be reluctant to establish any such processes. Some saw that the CEO intentionally managed his company in this way; that he liked the informal or 'diffuse' way of leading the small enterprise, because it enabled him to do whatever he wanted and nobody could do anything about it. It also provided the managers with some freedom and independence.

Even if freedom and independence were fine, there were some who felt that the roles and responsibilities of the key persons needed clarification; their assignments were too loose and abstract. And when the strategy was unclear and work descriptions nonexistent the managers were not sure whether or not they were doing 'the right thing' and how their doings were in line with what the others did.

M3: But I feel that I could have a stronger hold of my work, if there were a clear strategy. The only strategy I have is to develop D [country] and its sales.

For some it was not quite clear what they should do in practice:

R: What is your job here, what is your occupation?

M7: Office manager.

R: What do you do, I ask because...

M7: Yes, these are so good questions that even I, well I can't actually answer to them, because till this day even I myself do not know the answer. What my job is has not cleared up to me or taken any shape. I mean that I feel that my job is to take care of the everyday matters, whatever I may encounter. I may receive them by phone, by mail and I take them further.

R: Yes.

M7: In one way or another.

R: Yes.

M7: But what it actually is, what is my job, it is not in any case a job of an office manager, but I do not know what would be a more appropriate label for it.

The CEO was the only one who had access to all company information and so he should know 'the big picture', share it with the managers and lead the company according to it. However, many managers believed that in the Company many things were taken care of in such a way that nobody really knew the whole situation.

M2--- but I or someone else should know our situation as a whole. It would be so easy, when so many clients have left [country], but nobody, not even the CEO himself knows where we are.

To correct this, the manager encouraged the CEO to "take the leadership to himself and concentrate on it instead of running around the world."

Expectations for the kind of leadership that would provide structure and order to the small enterprise were directed at the CEO. The managers agreed on the problem – the firm was not led – and provided different explanations for why things were as they were:

M7: This certainly is an interesting enterprise and its business is interesting, but - or one can sell and picture it like that in the beginning - but after you have entered into the setting it becomes clear that it isn't quite like that.

R: What do you mean by quite?

M7: I mean that it does not take long before you realize these problems there are that really, this firm is not led, there are no common rules of the game, no common ways of doing things, no any kind of information sharing. And maybe the most important reason for that is the everlasting, chronic lack of money.

Some saw that the CEO's preference for creating ideas for new business opportunities instead of concentrating on the current business in a professional way was the reason for the non-systematic and reactive operations.

M2: He is such an innovative person, invents, invents, but when it is time to realize the job, it flags. So it's the realization that he is not able to bring forth. But most of all we should take care of such things as ... orderliness, connected with purposefulness and target-orientation. And what we plan, we should also see that it will happen. It does not make sense that nobody is interested in how things went. We should do some kind of a follow-up.

The managers saw that the CEO was the inventor of all ideas. And this business idea of his was excellent. It was also interesting and provided good prospects for success. It would have been possible to develop the operations so that the Company would make profits out of them. But it would have required the CEO to concentrate on the current business in stead of using ("wasting") his time in exploring new ones. Why he did not do that, was wondered by many of the managers.

M6: That is what is so amazing that many people think that the point of departure for many entrepreneurs is surely that he is productive and able to do what he wants and that it is profitable. So it is certainly amazing that it does not seem to be such a strong point in this company, meaning the aim to gain results. So it is more important that we have a multiplicity of dealings and we can tell what we have and that we have offices and networks here and there. But, well, for many entrepreneurs it would be more important that he had for example one or two offices that would make something like three millions a year than that we have ten offices and we are doing the opposite.

Similarly to this manager also others anticipated that making money was not the ultimate object of the CEO. One version of the company's 'true' mission was made explicit by a senior manager:

M2: It is no reason to do business because it is fun; it should benefit C and the Company.

And again, the CEO's way of running the small firm was explained by his lack of experience:

M2: The way he leads this business is very extraordinary. Of course we can aggravate that because he has never been working anywhere, so where could he have learned.

So why didn't the managers dissatisfied with the vagueness, unpredictability and irregularity affecting their life and work in the small company take initiative and try to influence the ways in which things were taken care of? Most of them had more or less experience in management and were able and ready to provide suggestions about what should be done.

Attempts to change the current way of running the firm had been made; there had been persons who had tried to establish procedures and rules but failed. After some tries they had left the Company. Knowledgeable about these attempts, the managers did not believe that improvements were possible without fundamental changes in the Company. One of the managers explained how they experienced the situation:

M7: For example now when we are almost in the end of the year there has been one meeting which all of us attended.

R: What was it about?

M7: It was a sales meeting, where there was a discussion and of course it rambled and the time run totally out that was a sign of the fact that we really had so much to say and we found it very good and needful, but there has been no continuation to it. And because there are only so few of us it would be very easy to arrange [a meeting] in practice, but obviously the leader does not feel that it is needed.

R: *Mm*, *mm*. *So*, *none of you has taken to himself to further this issue?*

M7: Well it has been brought up but nobody has been very energetic about it and of course it is not right, because I think C would [agree], if somebody said it very determinedly that we must have it [the meeting] so surely it would happen.

R: Well, do you have any idea, why it is so that nobody does it? One may think that even if there are issues known to all, nobody will take any initiative.

M7: *Maybe it is because --- maybe some kind of a lack of interest.*

R: *Interest in this whole affair?*

M7: Yes, or some kind of giving up, a kind of, well, nothing will come out of it anyway.

In sum, the managers' conceived leadership as

- creating visions to develop the business, formulating strategies and creating common rules
 and processes to manage operations and activities; clarifying roles, coordinating different
 activities and informing about the company affairs
- creating common rules, clarifying roles and responsibilities of the key members of the small company
- planning, developing strategies, executing planned activities and following them up, and informing about the company affairs

These conceptions made up the conception category of leadership as tasks of the leader of a small enterprise.

The leadership of that unit should be carefully handled

When pondering on leadership the heads of the subsidiaries focused also on the local contexts of operations and their requirements to leadership. The differences between the subsidiaries in terms of employees, ways of working and national and cultural conditions had important implications on leadership. As one of the managers explained, considerate, context-sensitive leadership was needed to ensure the success of local operations:

M1: A country where there's scope for business, the leadership of that unit should be carefully handled so the continuing benefits can keep coming from that country.

For this manager in his own work as head of a subsidiary, leadership referred to both leading the business and the personnel of the unit according to the local situation; leadership concerned taking the responsibility of the whole. Also in the other subsidiaries, the local leader should know thoroughly and be able to take into account the national interests of the target country. Consequently, s/he should be able to take actions that s/he sees are needed to develop the business.

Because of the varying conditions, the way in which one subsidiary should be led is not necessarily applicable to other countries and cultures. In a way this is central in leadership; it is context dependent:

M1: I don't think it is possible to carry on business in the same manner in every country, there are different situations, and the method and style of working is different in different places. Therefore, in each country the business has to be handled in accordance with the local situation. It could be handling the people hierarchy related, the legal situation which is important, the taxes, protecting the interest of the country etc. With regard to freedom in terms of business, a developed country would be different from a developing country. Developing country would like to protect the interests of the industry that exists so that companies are able to face the competition. Considering the above, I think when the business grows each country should be treated according to the local situation. --- I think that this kind of set up what we have succeeds. I feel that in other countries we should see the situation, the local situation. I'm not saying that the same thing has to be replicated in the other countries also. The situation should be carefully analysed then the decision can be taken there. --- As far as the leadership quality in the Company is concerned, I don't know where to start. Just to go back to what I said earlier, that each country should be dealt with in its own manner.

For the manager above context dependency was among the reasons for why also in the small company there should be room for the subsidiary leader to consider the overall situation and act accordingly:

M1: I think that each of the units should have a set up according the local situation; in [the country of the manager's subsidiary] at least by leaving things to myself I'm in a much better situation to operate. What I mean is that no interference in the local activity. But then this part of it has to be clearly understood in the Scandinavian side. Luckily for me I have a very good chemistry with my counterpart for the day-to-day interaction with [the name of the manager] and it works.

This manager stressed the importance of a native, local leader. Being a native of the country of the subsidiary he felt that he was the only one in the small enterprise, who could really understand the situation in his country. Only he could develop the personnel and the business in a way that would suit to the cultural context and ensure continuity and success of the business. He saw it quite impossible that this would be accomplished by a leader coming outside of the context; such a leader would not be able to understand the complexities of local conditions.

While the other managers acknowledged this reasoning in principal, they saw that there were also risks embedded in this kind of 'local leadership':

M3: And X has stressed that we can never ever learn how the personnel should be treated in [country]. It should be done according to their [the people] preferences and their traditions and I have told that to C and I believe that it is true. But there is one disadvantage and it is that we have no control over the activities and now we saw that...

The fear of losing control was one of the issues some managers brought out when considering who would be suitable for running the Asian subsidiaries, where different cultural values and modes of operations prevailed compared to those in the Company's country of origin. One of the managers stressed that in order to properly control what was happening in the subsidiaries the one in charge

should come from the company's mother country. He could guard that everything went as intended. Also here sensitivity related to the culture was emphasized; the leader should be aware of the differences in methods and styles of working and also differences related to the employees in different countries.

One of the Finnish managers had had problems in his own work as head of an Asian office that he described in the following way:

R: Well, in what way you have led the [local personnel]? What are the basic things you have done there?

M5: I too have one local [the country] person, who is in a good position in the firm. He is the leader of the locals. It has happened that after we have had a palaver in English led by my, the local people have got together to have a similar meeting with this local leader speaking in [language] about the same issues we talked about. In the end I had no clue of what they were talking about.

For sure, one problem for the leader coming outside of the country of the subsidiary was the language. Still, it was only one part of the culture, which was not always easy to cope with even if one was knowledgeable about it but did not have any experience in working in that context. At least partly because of these difficulties another manager – based on his own experiences in running a foreign office – was not so sure about the need for outside control in terms of a Finnish leader of a unit:

M4: I have had an idea about how to lead [country]. It could also be a [local] person, who runs the office. It is not absolutely necessary to have a western person on site. This is my own thinking.

According to this manager, this arrangement would require the CEO to visit the subsidiary often enough to see how things are going. At the same time he would be able to show his interest and concern towards the local employees and the subsidiary operations. At present, taking care that no sidestepping from the Company line happened was done by administrating the subsidiaries so that the CEO regulated the finance of every subsidiary and the heads of the subsidiaries had to consult him before taking other actions than managing everyday activities. There were only limited possibilities for the others than the CEO to exercise the kind of leadership as the managers claiming for local leadership wanted.

The managers' conceptions of leadership as

- controlling employees and managing local activities according to the local situation
- managing and developing local operations and employees according to the national and cultural context and the local situation

were included in the conception category of leadership as leading local operations, units and employees according to the local situations.

If you come from the course you are number one

The managers saw that the CEO did not pay enough attention and did not use enough time to select and hire people, who would have the knowledge and skills needed in the Company and who would stay with the Company. For the CEO the problem lied in the difficulty to find entrepreneurial and trustful employees.

Most often the CEO recruited people from courses for unemployed. According to the managers, no attention was paid to their possibilities to cope with the requirements of the Company. There was no planning concerning their initiation and orientation, modes of development and ways of retaining them with the Company.

Many employees came in as trainees for six months. During that period they had the opportunity to show their worth. They were given some assignment and if they succeeded, it was possible for them to continue with the Company. They were not always professionals, and so it took some time for them to learn the job, particularly because there was no planned orientation. This recruitment strategy and the good sides and pitfalls of it were brought out and reflected on by many of the managers:

M3: Although I have been here less than three years I am the most long-time employee. The turn over has been so enormous. Like all of us I have come through the X course [the name of the training course for unemployed]. Every one of us has come through it. In a way it is C's strategy that we save money and give a chance to a fellow to show his worth and to continue. This has become a burden because the criterion for recruitment is not competence, a real skill, but if you come from the course you are number one. So in this way one can get...

R: *Cheap?*

M3: No, for free or at least very cheap.

Based on their experiences the managers recognized and valued the Company as a workplace, where people were given a chance to try, when they had difficulties to find employment elsewhere. This had been important also for them. Even if most of them had come into the Company in the same way, they still stressed that the CEO should be more careful in selecting people. The managers had seen many people coming and going. Some of them had been very good and learned the job even without former experience. But for example some persons with personal problems had caused difficulties for the managers and the whole Company. This could be prevented by paying more attention to employee selection:

M3: In a way C creates a working environment where people can contribute and develop themselves. And this concept is able to develop, too. Because of this, of these issues it isn't necessarily effective. These people are not high level professionals in what they do, but in a way this job

teaches them and then this work... But if one has got abilities and will, and if he is able to endure certain circumstances we have here then certainly he can succeed.

R: What did you mean by not being top professionals?

M3: Well, because they are [the name of the course for unemployed] trainees, so they have a certain unemployment period behind. And everyone has a different background for having been unemployed. And then we have had such cases that we have had guys for whom the apparent reason has been alcohol abuse. There are quite a lot of these.

In addition to hiring people from courses for unemployed, the CEO sometimes might take in a person, who just came around and asked for a job. Recruiting people in this way meant that there were times, when several people unknown to the managers came to work in the Company. They did not approve this. They did not know why they came and what they were doing. Because these comings were not planned and scheduled, they sometimes caused practical difficulties to other people working in the Company such as the one described below:

M2: I then said several times when we had meetings that could it be possible to get an office in E [a city]. It was accepted then quite fast and C arranged this office. And I got a place to work in. When the week was done and I came here the place was crowded and I didn't have a working place after all. J, he was there and H was here and JJ was here and then suddenly it was occupied and I had been thinking that JJ would have that. And that one was there. Then we just noted that there is not [room for him] that the situation is such that I continue [working] at home.

The sloppy way of taking people in the Company and just letting them try what they are worth was seen as ill-advised and unprofessional human resource management from the part of the CEO. By this kind of recruitment practice it was difficult to find competent people who would suit to the job.

M3: And when we have here a very dynamic company, and we know that we need a certain kind of a person for a job, we try to find that person from the labour market, start recruitment and ask around. And then we find the right person from many applicants. But now we take, in a way we have the kind of a situation, at least with this other guy who has come and asked if there is any work to be done and I have a feeling that he has only come to try whether he can make some contribution. He tries to establish a project and I don't know what is happening next; whether he will be hired or not. People are not selected according to the requirements of a certain job, but if there happens to be an empty chair and if somebody happens to come by and ask for a job, s/he may be taken. What I mean is that there isn't any systematic approach here.

From the managers' point of view, high turnover was a real problem in the Company. Not being competent was seen among the reasons for many of the changes in the personnel. Furthermore, the CEO was criticized for not paying enough attention to retaining his personnel. A good leader takes care that people stay with the Company. Many of the newcomers left the Company after a short time. When they left, it might happen that nobody took care of the results of their work.

M1: Finance management is not satisfactory. Improvements to that can be done. And as far as I have seen while recruiting people here in Finland, the Company has not been successful in retaining persons. C has not been using enough time selecting the right kinds of persons. If one does not spend enough time and do a proper analysis in selecting a person then the organiza-

tion is a looser, the person leaves in a short duration. There are also other issues, which make a person to look for alternative options and leave the Company. We have lost several persons. --- I have seen so many people leaving and so many joining. When I come here, when I get information, then I know that somebody is here and then suddenly somebody is not here. So that gives me the impression that it is not a proper thing to do.

The CEO's recruitment practice was seen both successful and problematic. It was a cheap and an easy way for the Company to get new employees with some basic knowledge about its field of operations. If the trainees did not succeed, it was easy to get rid of them. This arrangement was based on economic reasons, but it also demonstrated a caution towards hiring personnel.

Careful recruitment as well as personnel development was perceived to be an important part of leading the small Company; it was the CEO who should take care of it. A good leader understands the importance of managing human resources and acts accordingly. According to the manager below, this concerned also local leaders, the heads of subsidiaries:

M1: If we and if I'm not able to keep them, I lose money and if I recruit a person, who is not fitting the set up then it is also a mistake on my side, the person is a liability. Because a leader gives a very bad impression if he hires people and fires them.

In addition to the leader image that could be damaged by non-successful recruitment, some managers thought about the Company's HR-practices from the point of view of the employer's responsibility for the employee, and the employees' dependency on the employer.

M2: There might be something like sidestepping responsibility. Recruiting ties you somehow, it's juridical when you hire somebody... It's a bigger deal than when somebody just remains here to do something.--- Many of these people have been very happy to get at least some job and when you come in like that your pain threshold is a little higher.

Some perceived that the CEO's way of managing human resources undermined the value of individual employees and their contributions. It signalled that in the Company, people were disposable and not appreciated as individuals:

M6: --- one can't know for sure what lies behind, when people come and go, so it might be that C thinks that after all it is not so important, who does the work. Or is it so that when somebody leaves, there will always be someone else to take his place. However, in a company like this the personnel should be regarded as the most important asset, because there are no machines.

The managers did not approve the CEO's way of managing human resources even though they acknowledged the good sides of this kind of approach. For them a good leader manages human resources in her/his company by

recruiting people in a systematic way based on their skills and capabilities needed in the
work, arranging their initiation to work and development and trying to retain them with the
Company

- recruiting people in a systematic way based on their skills and capabilities needed in the work, ensuring that they fit into the organization, developing them and trying to retain them with the Company
- recruiting people in a systematic way, developing them and trying to retain them with the Company

These conceptions were included in the conception category of leadership as managing human resources of the company.

It cannot be run as a one man's show

The need to change the CEO's old way of leading the Company was a common topic among the managers. They complained about his inability to face the fact that the expansion of the Company required changes in organizational structures and practices. The increase in the number of the subsidiaries and personnel called for a different kind of approach to leading the enterprise than before. Many of the managers saw that the CEO had stuck to his old ways of doing things:

M3: This way of leading is such that C has kept the same style since he started the Company, when there were one to two persons. Now there are thirty-five and still the style of leading is the same. He leads himself and we others follow behind.

Even though none of the managers had been with the Company since it was established, they were well informed about its history. After the early period of the firm when the expansion had first started and then dried down, a new growth had begun during the past few years and the Company had grown considerably. Instead of developing it further, the organization was seen as 'a prisoner of the past'; the history of the Company, old habits and old culture seemed to be a burden. This was perceived as a threat to the firm's future and to the future of its members:

R: Oh, you did not start until then?

M8: Yes--- but then I understood at once, what it was that made it so difficult, maybe also the others had seen it, but something in the leadership must be changed, because the whole functioning was too chaotic. And that's why the business as well as people suffered.

Many of the managers saw that the current problems in the Company deriving from the CEO's inability to let go his old ways of leading was due to his inexperience:

M6: It is evident that the Company's operations have changed so that the turnover has increased considerably.

R: When?

M6: During the past two years and probably it will grow also in the future so that the same pattern of doing things does not function any more that you have only one guy with whom you work daily in the same office and then you know what is happening. So operating in this way does not work any more and this is the reason for the problems, and it might be that one does not have any experience about how to lead this kind of a larger organization. These difficulties, I presume, are not necessarily intentional.

This manager reasoned also that the CEO was unable to see that the ways of leading that have once been successful were no good anymore; the whole Company had changed. Also the others tried to understand and find reasons for why the change was so difficult for him:

M3: It is or I see it as – I may be wrong – but I see that it is the insecurity and uncertainty and fear that C feels that he doesn't dare to give responsibility to others, because he is afraid of losing the control. It's typical for this kind of a small company, where one person starts something and it goes well. And then he takes in another fellow, and then again, they're doing even better, then he takes some more, establishes a small set up and starts to work there. Then he does not anymore, he grows older and has administrative duties, but still keeps on being involved in everything, stays in control of everything and does not share it with anybody.

To ensure the survival and prosperity of the Company the 'one man show' just had to be left behind:

M1: C is a very sweet person and he tries his best to take care of the people and the concept of doing business is really good but when organization is growing it cannot be run as a one man's show. So certain changes have to be undertaken or else we will get into difficulties. --- But when the organization is growing, that is when we have operations up in different places and the business is growing, then I think changes has to be effected to continue with the business.

So then, what kind of changes the managers called for? In their change propositions, some were very careful not to challenge the CEO's propensity to remain in control over Company affairs:

M6: Perhaps a solution for many of the problems might be simply that C would relieve his own burden and delegate some of his duties to the others. He has got so much to do that honestly, he just forgets some things and it takes so long, before [the CEO does something] and else.

R: Has somebody suggested this?

M6: Surely it has been tried from many angles, but everything goes more or less through him.

R: You think that there is something like that?

M6: Well, I see that the CEO is the CEO and the CEO does not have to take care of all things all by himself; that now we should have a new colour cassette into the copy machine. I mean that he should not think about such issues at all.

R: *So that he would delegate such things?*

M6: Yes, certainly quite a lot. And still all the power to make decisions concerning important issues would be left to him.

There were also those, who were not as cautious. They shared the view that in the growing organization there was a need to change the ways of coordinating and controlling activities and changes had to be made to the distribution of responsibilities and power. In the Company this has not happened so far even though there had been 'good tries' to affect the delegation of the CEO's activities and decisional power.

Many times the CEO had declared his willingness to delegate and raised the issue of getting somebody who would replace him in running the business. This did not necessarily mean that it was done in real life. The persons with whom the CEO negotiated about taking over the duties of the CEO and developing the organization had left the Company, when the agreements had failed to realize in practice:

M2: --- they agreed on the division of work with N, but when it was time to put it into practice, it would have called for the CEO to relinquish the control or else, if N would have taken it up, and it was the same with P and with Q.

Some of the managers believed that the CEO understood that his reluctance to delegate at least some of his power as well as some of his duties may be one reason for the difficulties in the Company. Still, he was not yet ready for this huge change:

R: Can you tell what kind?

M4: Well, for example we pondered what kind of a role I could have in here, could I take care of such duties.

R: *Mmm*.

M4: I said that yes, I could but I will not negotiate about them. They are not such matters that okay, this time you decide and in some other time it is I who decide. Meaning that my word has to bear some relevance and until now this has not realized very assuredly. I feel frustrated when I can't believe; maybe he feels that it is good we had this discussion and were like-minded again.

It is not enough. No matter if we agreed that OK I will take care of the finance when I can't do it because I do not possess it [power]. That is completely impossible. And I argue that C is not ready for it. That something is missing, so we are not yet at the end of the road.

R: *That he could let go?*

M4: That he could let go, so it would be the same to put an advertisement in the papers. Or he had had good advisors. Surely, everybody had thought about what would be best for him, what would be best for the Company, but no. It would require that yhhh... This way of leading the firm may be a kind of a way of living for C so that I live like this and so on. Somebody could say maliciously that this is my game and I follow my own rules and that's it. And how other people are committed to it... It would indicate something so big that I am fairly sure that C is not ready for it.

Even if the attempts to share power with the others in the Company had failed, the managers still debated if recruiting a professional general manager with experience could be a solution to the Company problems. This kind of an arrangement would ensure more freedom to the CEO: he would be able to concentrate on producing new ideas. Bringing in a professional leader would also provide more structure and order to the organization. But also this solution required that the CEO would trust the Company in the hands of somebody else than himself.

Again, the importance of trust in the small company was brought out by many managers. Trust was seen to be especially important at the stage of expansion. As one of the subsidiary managers explained:

M1: And the set up is small. So we have to take care of and develop the individual operations. And say, if I expect C to take care of X operations, Y operations all by himself, it is very difficult, it's very difficult for one individual to keep involving in different operations.

R: Yes.

M1: That's why I said trust is an important part of it.

The problem was that the CEO was a leader who wanted to keep everything under his control; he did not trust other people.

R: Are these the problems of the Company?

M3: Yes, yes they are. And if he has some time given something to somebody and then there has been some drawback that has made him decide that I will never ever do it again, I will not make the same mistake, because he has seen it as a mistake to trust someone. And in a way this can be seen in everything. It is difficult to let these things go in spite of his good will. When it is time to make a concrete decision and to commit to it, he hasn't done it.

Trust in others is also needed when organizational structures and processes are established and developed. Many of the managers saw that there was a need to develop an administrative structure and processes in order to ensure a target oriented and professional functioning of the organization and to coordinate and develop operations in different national contexts and in the whole company.

Developing organizational processes and structures was seen as particularly an important part of organizational leadership at the stage of expansion. In this small firm, the attempts to establish such processes had failed. The need to move to a more formal way of functioning and to let go some of his control over the Company affairs was either not recognized or objected by the CEO.

This was in contrast to the conceptions of the managers that

- a good leader develops organizational structure and processes according to the changes in the operations, personnel and the context the company is operating in
- a good leader delegates some of his duties to others when the organization is growing
- a good leader delegates some of his duties to others and does not retain all control of the company affairs to her/him when the organization is growing

These conceptions formed a conception category of leadership as managing organizational structure and change.

He commonly does as he pleases

Leadership was associated also with decision-making. In the small firm decision-making was centralized to the CEO. The CEO's way of making decisions was seen as non-participative, reactive and impulsive. He seldom discussed with the managers before decisions were made:

M3: Just a month ago the decision was made and now, okay, we do it. He makes impulsive decisions, which do not support the strategy that would develop the business in a healthy way. Then there is no money to run the core business and people suffer. We are afraid when C goes abroad, okay, if he goes to [country] it is okay, but if he goes somewhere else then he might have some kind of an idea again.

R: Yes.

M3: Then he comes and asks questions and asks that how do you think if we. And if everybody says that God, what a stupid idea, after all he has already made up his mind. He has decided and he is going to realize his decision.

R: He doesn't discuss in advance?

M3: No, under no circumstances. When he gets an idea, he will carry it out.

R: So why does he ask then?

M3: Well, it is the leader's duty to discuss, but it is as if we did not know that he discusses afterwards.

The central disagreement between the managers and the CEO concerned the new business openings. When the CEO wanted to establish new offices – and did so – the managers were against them, because of the risks they contained and the lack of money. The managers would have preferred to stick to the key projects and products and concentrate on them. But the CEO saw the situation differently. He emphasized that without his ideas there would be no Company and no managers working in it. He usually kept to his plans and the managers were often informed when new offices were to be opened.

Even if the CEO was accused for not listening to others, it did not mean that he would have refused to listen when somebody wanted to say her/his word. Still, the managers felt that it was of no use to tell one's opinion especially when the CEO had already made up his mind. As one manager noted:

M7: You can tell your mind to C and surely he does not feel bad about it, but it does not lead anywhere. So he commonly does as he pleases.

Most importantly the CEO made all the decisions concerning financial affairs. Keeping the right to decide about money to himself, he was able to administer and control all the operations in the way he wanted.

Some managers saw that even if they did not have 'a legitimate right' – by which they referred to the ownership of the Company – to participate in decision-making; they still had their stake in it because they contributed to the Company through their work. Thus, they felt that also their voices should be heard when making decisions concerning not only their own work but also the future of the Company. This view could be heard in the talk of a manager who stressed the role of the employees in the small enterprise:

M4: But I claim that C does not listen and the money is not, it is not, not in these matters or who owns. C owns but he forgets that also we have our stake in it. And it is quite big in this kind of a firm where there is nothing else but people. We don't have any machines or anything like that so that you could think that let's buy a new tub and put it into that corner when the old breaks down. We are not like that. No one can buy us from the street and throw in.

This manager wondered how his propositions affected the CEO. Could it be that his obstinacy annoyed the CEO and made him do just the opposite to what the manager suggested?

M4: C makes decisions and does not, or I think he does not listen to other people, what kind of experiences they have had and what kind of views they might have about the issues in question in order to know what should be done. This does not mean that the decisions should be made by voice voting, but no one of us has ever voiced his opinion and meant any harm by it. We have pondered what would be the best alternative for the firm. --- But I have told C that I have a bad character meaning that I take some issues to myself.

R: Yes?

M4: I mean that I like to say what I think about issues concerning [names of the places where the Company operates] because I feel that even though I do not own this company, there is my personal stake involved and sometimes it is much more than money alone.

R: *Yes*.

M4: It is like that and because it is so C should listen.

R: So, do you think...

M4: *That C listens?* (Starts to laugh.)

R: *Does not listen enough?*

M4: Well, let's say that he listens but whether it has any bearing in his decision making is another matter. Sometimes I see that it is not going to work if we do like this and sometimes I think how straight I can be with C, how to express my views so that it would not appear as some kind of an ultimatum so that he would get an image that now because the guy thinks like that I'm not going to or that he unconsciously ends up with the opposite view. I don't think that he does like that on purpose.

R: *But he?*

M4: He is not aware of it. I mean that it is not so that he'd be aware of it.

When this manager was keen to voice his opinions on the Company affairs, some others had ceased to try to influence the CEO's decisions. They felt it was of no use and because the CEO owned the Company, he had the right to do anything he wished. Still, in their opinion a good leader takes into account the views of others in making decisions.

The managers conceptions that

- a good leader takes into account the views of subordinates in her/his decision-making
- a good leader understands that the subordinates should be involved in making decisions concerning their work and the future of the small company

were included in the conception category of leadership as decision-making.

One should be in the position to develop the business

Managerial authority was seen as a prerequisite – but not the only one – for the right to exercise leadership by the managers. Some of them regarded their managerial positions in the small company as leadership positions and identified as leaders; they felt they had the right and they were expected to exercise leadership.

One manager, who emphasized his role as a leader of a subsidiary, explained how he saw his role today and what it should be like:

M1: You manage with the people, people are there and you manage with the people. Then this kind of independence is fine, but then there is no scope to develop further business. It does have the independence but the initiative does not come, then one has to have freedom and incentive to take initiative and develop that particular unit. By unit I mean operations in a particular country. One should be in the position to develop the business and to share that business. Be in the position to reap the benefits of the business, give the benefits to the group. Person in charge of operations in a country can consider himself as an employee or an entrepreneur. In that sense I consider myself as an entrepreneur. So, this means I am not functioning in a very limited way.

R: *Taking more responsibility?*

M1: Taking more responsibility. So, in that sense we need to look for business in other countries also; so independence in that respect.

In addition to this manager's claims for independence as a leader (and an entrepreneur as the CEO of the Company) he also wanted his share of the benefits coming from the business operations. The others responsible for operations did not make any claims for getting some part of the returns, but were similarly anxious about their independence in operations.

All but one of the managers felt that even though the CEO encouraged them to take initiative they did not possess the kind of power needed to perform their duties properly and be such leaders as they wanted to be. The most difficult obstacle was that they could not decide about money. This was a clear contradiction in terms: holding a managerial position in which the power should be vested and being ready to exercise leadership without factual power. This frustrated them:

M3: --- I'm relatively free to operate, follow my own thoughts, but I lack tools, I have no power to decide, no money to execute my plans. This should be taken care of. In a way, you are able to think what to do, but you must ask C's permission to everything.

For those managers who did not want to consider and talk about themselves by using the term 'leader', it was similarly difficult to do their work without any power to use money. For them it was not a question of a position, but a question of how to take care of their work. They felt it was not possible without the means it required. A head of a subsidiary described this state of affairs by telling about his conversation with the CEO:

R: What happened then?

M4: Then, the last discussion we had in February and C said to me that you make decisions concerning [country]. And I said that yes indeed, I really decide whether or not I pay the telephone bills that are late or the rents that are late or. It is not making decisions about money.

R: *OK*, *yes*.

M4: These things could be taken care from here quite well, quite well. So I did not have factual power. I did not have the power to make decisions concerning finance. I certainly will not listen to that kind of talk, I certainly won't.

Some of the managers rejecting to be called leaders connected 'leadership' to the prestige of elevated positions and attributed leadership to those who held such positions. According to them, such positions could not be found in this kind of a small firm they were working in. It was also obvious that they wanted to underline equality between themselves and their 'subordinates'. By talking about their leadership they would implicitly elevate themselves above the others.

There were some, who even downplayed their roles as managers by claiming that in the Company where there were only a few guys working it was similarly absurd to talk about managers and management as it was to talk about leaders. When they talked about leadership in the Company they most often talked about the CEO. And still there were some who claimed that they were not real managers; they had manager-titles, but what they did in practice was not something they regarded as management nor did they have any authority.

One manager saw that in the Company manager-titles were given with the purpose to caress the ego of the employee and direct her/his attention away from the deficiencies of the firm. Employees were called managers in order to maintain the current situation instead of revealing its problems. At the same time it gave a positive picture of the Company to outsiders:

M6: And these titles and positions they are only a part of this design. They picture an image for the employees and if you don't get something so they say that. So, as in many companies they build this picture starting from financial affairs, but in this firm you have a visiting card and [you are] a director and so on and it is nice to show it. --In this way a person, who is coming to work for the Company gets a director-card and you can show it publicly and of course it feels good to get into this kind of a setting. So then it is partly a kind of a game. Probably it is like this. I wonder how well C has planned it, but it is not a coincidence. --- But as we talked about these titles, so are there any other organizations where there are only directors and managers and no employees?

R: *So aren't there any employees?*

M6: Well, we do have a driver in [a subsidiary] and cleaning ladies in [a subsidiary].

R: But is it so that there are no consultants who work as consultants?

M6: Well, yes, there are.

R: But in Finland there are no others than managers or directors?

M6: No, I think not.

R: Yes, okay.

M6: There are not so many of us either.

R: How do you think, how important it is?

M6: Of course I at least think that I have been here since May and especially in the beginning it was nice to have the manager-card and it was nice to give the cards to friends. And certainly, it was nice to show them. It gives you a kind of support in the beginning before you start to realize what lies behind it.

R: So, what is it?

M6: Well, of course it is a way to compensate at least partly that there are the basic things more or less such that they should be taken care of, financial matters and other things. The starting point should be that financial affairs are taken care of and people get their pays and

other things should come after that and people would appreciate such a situation. But because it is not so we have these other means to maintain the situation.

During the discussions between the heads of subsidiaries and the CEO, the CEO often referred to them as power holders and decision makers in their own field of operations. Most of the managers of the Company had come from courses for unemployed and particularly for those with no former experience in working as managers and with no clear work assignments, a manager or a leader identity was too unconvincing, especially when everybody in their work environment was called a manager irrespective of what they did. This ceased the enthusiasm that they had attached to the title at first and instead of feeling proud and thinking about themselves as managers it fuelled their suspicion and distrust towards the Company and the CEO.

Particularly the more experienced managers explicitly rejected the kind of identity construction that bore no resemblance to their real situation as they experienced it. Instead of answering to this appeal positively they regarded it as unfair; they felt that they were endeavoured to take the blame for difficulties they could do nothing about. For them, taking leadership seriously required a real position of authority.

In sum, the managers conceived leadership in terms of formal positions of authority and attached leadership to

- power deriving from high hierarchical positions
- power deriving from managerial positions

that many of them thought did not exist in the small Company. These conceptions formed a conception category of leadership as power vested in formal positions of authority.

He is an expert leader

The managers attributed leadership not only to the beholders of formal positions of authority but also to persons, whom they regarded as experts. Although some managers claimed – in the same way as the manager in the extract below – that all people can be leaders of some kind, it became evident that in the small enterprise there was only one person, whom the managers commonly considered as an informal leader:

M3: -- people say that manager and leader are different, and in the case of C he is more a manager than a leader. And we are all leaders of some issues, in our group we have an opinion leader, he is our senior. He is respected because of his background and experience and he is always carefully listened to. And so in a way he is a leader. He doesn't want to show up as a leader, not to be above others, but he is an expert leader. If he sees something right based on his former experience and he acts according to it, we will listen to him and act accordingly. And in the same way I feel that people see also myself as a kind of senior and they listen to my opinions

too, because I have experience and competence and the background and so also I regard myself as a leader.

This extract demonstrates how being seen as competent and exceptional because of one's insurmountable experience enables a person to be perceived as a leader and to influence others. The person who was referred to as a leader – in addition to the CEO – was believed to have more influence on the Company affairs and on the CEO than the other managers.

M6: *M* is if we think about these hierarchies, so we can see that there is C and then M and then there are the rest of us. (While talking he shows with his hands a three-level order starting from the top with C.)

R: You see it like that? Do you think that also the others see it like that?

M6: Well, yes they do. The things meant for C are channelled through M, because he has got more influence on C.

 \mathbf{R} : Have you created this hierarchy yourself? I mean that it is not made by C; he does not expect that things are run through M?

M6: No, it is that it is the most certain way to achieve something if it goes through M.

The manager who was regarded as an informal leader often helped the newcomers. He was the one whom they respected and relied on. His influence on them was obvious: his views could sometimes be sensed in their talk. Furthermore, some managers brought out the impact he had had on their attitudes towards the Company and the CEO:

M3: Well, there is something that has affected me at least in some ways. It is that one of the members of the management team who says that this is C's firm and he says what we should do here and that we are employees and so we have to respect him and do what we can and we do like this all the time. So we do like this all the time; we live in the frames given to us.

The informal leader legitimized the right of the CEO to do as he pleased and affirmed the subordination of the managers to his wishes. Instead of taking actions in order to change those organizational practices and ways of doing things the managers conceived as improper, most of them – as the manager above stated – tried to cope with the situation. This did not necessarily mean that they would accept the view of the informal leader, but it supported their belief that the situation could not be changed.

Conceiving leadership in terms of a person, whom the managers regarded as an informal leader because of his vast experience, formed a conception category of leadership as influence based on being regarded as an expert.

He is the master, he owns the Company

When the managers reflected on leadership they most often addressed it in terms of the CEO. The leadership of the CEO was legitimized by his ownership of the small enterprise. One of the managers put this view of leadership quite bluntly:

M2: I think these are our problems or the problems of leadership. I aggravated that the CEO does not guide or is not able to lead. Maybe it's not like that, but his leadership is, well, it is not grounded on fear. He is the master, he owns the Company, he is the CEO, and he's the one who tells.

As in many small enterprises, also in this one power was centralized in the hands of the owner-CEO. When the organization was growing there had been pressures towards him to distribute some of his power (see page 128). Some saw that the changes needed in the Company also included changes in the ownership structure of the Company: the broadening the ownership basis of the Company was necessary in order to ensure the future:

M3: This concept is difficult to get financing. There are so many things and finding the financing. In a way it could be found, if only C would give some of this business, I mean to give some of it to others.

R: What do you mean?

M3: I mean that he would not be the one in charge of everything. Two years ago was the fist time when I told C that you must get partners so that we will get fresh views and money and some discipline in our operations. The thing is not that the financiers could not be found, investors could not be found. But they make demands and they want to own some of this company and C will not accept that.

In addition to more discipline and more money and fresh ideas, as the manager above stated, the Company needed experienced people to develop the firm and its operations. The realization of this wish seemed unlikely in this small firm.

For the CEO the Company was not only for making a living or for maximizing profits coming from the business. Together with his former friends he had invented the business idea and established the firm. For him the Company was a means to practice his creativity in the ways he wanted. In spite of the vulnerability of the firm the CEO recognized when telling his story about the Company, it was his life-work difficult to share with others. As one of the managers explained:

M4: Because he has created it from the beginning, so why give somebody something that is mine.

The value of the Company for the CEO was not only intangible; he owned it. Even if some of the managers had stated that they had their share in the Company through their work; in practice this kind of shareholding was not equal to the concrete possession of stocks. Many of the managers pondered about the role of ownership. If they had been real shareholders of the Company they

would have been more able to make a difference in the ways the Company affairs were taken care of. Ownership would have afforded them and their opinions a different weight.

M3: And it works in this situation that we live according to the frames given to us. Thus we have not been able to get into the kind of discussion that we clearly should have with C that we could challenge this whole firm and this model of functioning, I mean in a positive sense. But the setting is such that we do not have the authority for that. Say, if we were owners. We have been asked about it [interest for ownership] once but then the situation was so bad that nobody wanted to take it because it seemed that we were going down in a minute. --- If we were owners, the situation would be different but C does not want that somebody else owns, because then he could not rule alone.

Whether the managers' decision not to put their money in the Company depended on their avoidance of risk and 'the challenge of entrepreneurship', or the lack of financial resources or because their share of the Company would not be big enough to overrule the CEO, in the current situation they had to accept the frames set by the CEO. He owned the Company and ownership was regarded as the most profound basis for the right to exercise power over any organizational member.

Believing that nothing can be done to the situation and trying to cope with it some of the managers ceased to take initiative and adopted a passive attitude to their work. They felt themselves neglected. As one of the managers explained while recollecting her experiences in the firm she had been working before:

M7: In that company the role of the owner-CEO was not emphasized in the same way negatively as it is here that this is his company, we don't have to care, and this is his company. Or, that we don't have to do anything.

In sum, the managers conceived leadership in terms of the ownership of the organization. In their Company they attributed leadership most often to the CEO, who owned the Company. Consequently, also the expectations the managers had concerning (good) leadership were directed at him. These conceptions were captured in the conception category of leadership as power based on ownership.

4.1.2 Revisiting the managers' leadership conceptions

As Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003a, 375) as well as Barker (2001, 474) have already demonstrated, it is difficult to define leadership or coherently explain what it means. It was difficult also for the managers of the small enterprise of this study. Even though this may signify the ambiguity of leadership as a general notion, it does not self-evidently mean that people are not able to give meaning to it or that the meanings attached to leadership would be contradictory or fuzzy (cf. Koivunen 2003). Reflecting on their own concrete experiences the managers were able to talk about

leadership not only at the general level but also about how they experienced leadership in their work and life in the small enterprise.

Understanding leadership as socially constructed and contextual in nature, the setting in which the managers' leadership conceptions were (re)produced deserves further attention when discussing the conceptions of leadership generated in this study. Opposite to the findings of Alvesson and Svenningsson (2003ab) and Svenningsson and Larsson (2006) in larger knowledge intensive companies, where all the managers were actively encouraged to identify as (visionary, strategic) leaders through management training and cultural change programs launched by the top management of the company, in this small enterprise no such strong emphasis on leadership prevailed.

The CEO did not bring leadership forth as something important in relation to the Company or his personnel, nor did he identify as a leader when telling his story of the small enterprise. Mostly he encouraged his managers to take the challenge of entrepreneurship – not leadership. Identification as a leader was not popular among the managers either; this kind of identity construction was rejected by most of them.

In the managers' reflections on leadership the most recent views and leadership 'fads' were seldom audible; the more traditional ways of conceiving leadership dominated. The managers commonly addressed leadership in terms of the problems they experienced in their work and life in the small firm instead of providing information and examples of those issues that were in order.

At the time the managers were interviewed the small firm was struggling with severe difficulties; it was enduring a crisis. Under such conditions and in the context of the development project with its practical aim to improve leadership practices and the functioning of the Company, I presume that it was natural to focus on issues in need of improvement, which – in the language of phenomenography – were in their focal awareness. A summary of the twelve categories of leadership conceptions representing the qualitatively different ways in which the managers experienced leadership is presented in table 9.

Table 9. Categories of leadership conceptions and conceptions included in them

Conception categories of leadership as

- 1. a trait or traits of a good leader
 - a good leader posses certain traits such as strength and decisiveness and morality of character
 - traits required for a good leader depend on the needs of the organization and the tasks of the leader
 - leadership is a quality of a person and the traits of the organizational leader are reflected in the functioning and culture of the company
- 2. good leader behaviours towards subordinates
 - providing sufficient information, communicating with subordinates, taking into account their views and allowing independence in their work
 - providing sufficient information and communicating with subordinates, supporting and motivating them and helping them to better achievements by making demands
 - clarifying subordinates' tasks and roles by giving clear orders, setting priorities and providing relevant information
- 3. a trust relationship between the leader and her/his subordinate(s)
 - reciprocal trust and mutual obligation
- 4. being responsible for subordinates
 - taking care of subordinates and their needs and rights
 - being responsible and committed to subordinates
- 5. tasks of the leader of a small enterprise
 - creating visions to develop the business, formulating strategies and creating common rules and processes to manage operations and activities, clarifying roles, coordinating different activities and informing subordinates about the company affairs
 - creating common rules, clarifying roles and responsibilities of the key members of the small company
 - planning, developing strategies, executing planned activities and following them up and informing subordinates about the company affairs
- 6. leading local operations, units and employees according to the local situations
 - controlling employees and managing local activities according to the local situation
 - managing and developing local operations and employees according to the national and cultural contexts and to the local situations
- 7. managing human resources
 - recruiting people in a systematic way based on their skills and capabilities needed in the work, arranging their initiation to work and development and trying to retain them with the Company
 - recruiting people in a systematic way based on their skills and capabilities needed in the work, ensuring that they fit into the organization, developing them and trying to retain them with the Company
 - recruiting people in a systematic way, developing them and trying to retain them with the Company
- 8. managing organizational structure and change
 - a good leader develops the organizational structure and processes according to the changes in the operations, personnel and the context the company is operating in
 - a good leader delegates some of his duties to others when the organization is growing
 - a good leader delegates some of his duties to others and does not retain all control of the company affairs to her/him when the company is growing
- 9. decision-making
 - a good leader takes into account the views of subordinates in making decisions

- a good leader understands that the subordinates should be involved in decision-making concerning their work and the future of the small company
- 10. power vested in formal positions of authority
 - power deriving from high hierarchical positions
 - power deriving from managerial positions
- 11. influence based on being regarded as an expert
 - influence of an informal leader
- 12. power based on ownership
 - the CEO's pervasive power based on his ownership of the Company

Leadership was conceived in terms of a trait or traits of a good leader by seven out of the eight managers. Many of the characteristics the managers brought out resembled those identified in leader trait studies, but especially strength and decisiveness by which leaders are often portrayed in the writings on contemporary leadership were used to describe a good leader (cf. Svenningsson & Larsson 2006, 203; Storey 2005, 94; also Sandberg 2001, Kallifatides 2001). The similarities between the managers' views and the common conceptions of leader qualities may be explained by leadership categorizations that are learned and transmitted through culture (Lord et al 1982, 109, also Pfeffer 1977, Sandberg 2001b).

Furthermore, they represent reinterpretations of leadership archetypes that express the leadership ideologies of the time (Czarniawska -Joerges & Wolff 1991, Holmberg & Strannegård 2005). The image of a leader as strong and decisive is produced and reproduced through the exposure to the common, normative conceptions regarding leaders that are objectified and taken as facts (cf. Berger & Luckmann 1994). These conceptions are further interpreted through individual and collective processes in certain settings (Meindl 1995, 333; also Holmberg & Strannegård 2005): for the managers a strong and a decisive leader was needed to ensure the survival and the smooth functioning of the small enterprise.

In addition, the managers stressed the importance of the morality of the leader's character; trustworthiness and fairness were good leader qualities. In contrast to strength and decisiveness, these qualities were not as heavily emphasized in leadership discourses at the time the managers were interviewed as they are today. Now the requirements of ethical leadership in terms of a leader character and behaviours are more and more addressed in academic and popular writings of leadership (e.g. Bass & Steidlmeier 2004, Brown & Treviño 2006, Burns 2004, Ciulla 2004, Price 2004).

The morality of the leader is also discussed in relation to the role of trust in organizations and leader-subordinate relations as well as in relation to the well-being at work emphasizing that 'the boss' should be fair and just (e.g. Svensson & Wood 2004; Dirks & Ferris 2002). Moreover, it has

been claimed that subordinates are accustomed to thinking about their leaders in terms of ethics, even though leaders tend to underestimate this kind of scrutinization (Brown & Treviño 2006, 609-610).

Thus, the antecedents of the importance of leader morality for the managers should also be searched from somewhere else than from the exposure to prevailing leadership discourses; for example from the view that some specific qualitative meanings of leadership as personal characteristics are also situationally defined. This means that a group of people, in their interaction, may have certain ideas of leadership – their implicit leadership theories – that are meaningful to them irrespective whether or not they are meaningful to other groups of people. These ideas originate from their own experiences and issues that they conceive as important in their situation. (Calder 1977; 182, 188, 195, 199.)

For the managers perceiving leadership in terms of an ideal leader as trustworthy and fair; fairness, trust, responsibility and being committed not only to the Company but also to its members were issues they often addressed in reflecting on leadership and their own experiences in the small company (cf. Scase & Goffee 1987, Goffee & Scase 1995; also Brown & Treviño 2006). Some of them felt that they had not been treated fairly, and some of them did not trust the CEO to do what he had promised.

The beholders of certain organizational positions are expected to exhibit leadership (Pfeffer 1977). So was also the CEO of the small firm. In evaluating the leadership of the CEO the managers utilized their leadership ideals (Calder 1977, 199; Lord et al 1981; 105, 113; Phillips & Lord 1981, 160; Rush et al 1977, 105; also Bresnen 1995, 9). The qualities attributed to the CEO were similar to those identified as characteristics of entrepreneurs in entrepreneurship research (Deakins 1996, 17-20; also McClelland 1987, 255; Kock 1965, 16-17; Miner 2002, 123; Miner et al 1994, 627). They were interpreted to signify the CEO's entrepreneurship – not leadership.

It has been noted that entrepreneurs as well as other people hold stereotypical images about entrepreneurs (Scase & Goffee 1987). These stereotypes may have played a role here: the CEO regarded himself as an innovator – "an entrepreneur creating new worlds" (Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff 1991, 529). He made it clear that he was not a manager; neither did he make any claims for leadership. It seems that the 'identity work' of the CEO had been successful: his self-identity – or the identity that was attractive to him – aligned to how he was perceived by the managers: for them he was

a talented, creative entrepreneur – not a leader (cf. Lührmann & Eberl 2007, 115; Svenningsson & Larsson 2006, 216).

Many of the 'entrepreneurial characteristics' identified in the literature have been equated to those of successful managers and leaders (e.g. Deakins 1996), but the stereotypical images of leaders and entrepreneurs held by the managers were in conflict with each other. This is in line with the view that images of leaders and entrepreneurs as representations of archetypes serve certain, complementary functions in organizations. It has been claimed that also the respective roles should be divided between different people. However, heroic leaders are often portrayed to possess the capabilities of entrepreneurs, managers and leaders. (Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff 1991.) Such capabilities were expected also from the CEO of the small firm. The CEO's 'lack of leadership' in terms of leadership qualities or leadership as a quality (whether inborn or developed through experience) was used as an explanation for the failures and the malfunctioning of the small firm (cf. (Meindl et al 1985, 78-79).

In the same way as the construction company managers in Bresnen's (1995) study, all the eight managers of the small firm conceived leadership in terms of how a good leader acts towards her/his subordinates. Most often they emphasized providing relevant information and showing consideration towards subordinates: a good leader cares for her/his subordinates and shows it (cf. Gabriel 1997). The managers' conceptions of good leader behaviours reflected their own experiences of how the CEO had behaved towards them and what they would have preferred. In spite of the individual differences (cf. Bresnen 1995), all of them shared in common that some kind of leader behaviour was expected. They would have wanted the CEO to be more active; to show that he actually is leading (Biggart & Hamilton 1987, 435; Gabriel 1997).

As the conceptions of leader traits, conceptions of leadership as good leader behaviours can be interpreted as the managers' Implicit Leadership Theories (Calder 1977) that they utilized in evaluating the leadership of the CEO. According to the Attribution Theory of Leadership, how a person holding a salient position in an organization behaves gives clues for interpretations about her/his leadership; leadership is derived from her/his observed or assumed behaviour and its effects perceived by other people. Leadership as such is a perception rather than an objectively discernable phenomenon that exists independently from those who perceive it. (Calder 1977.)

This was the case also with the managers; whether the ways in which the CEO behaved were accepted as evidence of (good) leadership depended on the expectations of those who evaluated it and

the meanings they attached to it. However, in his interactions with the managers the CEO did not act in the way most of the managers saw a good leader should act. They felt that the CEO was not able to show his concern to his subordinates and take into account their needs and views. He did not inform them about important issues nor did he actively listen to them. This made some of the managers feel that they were not appreciated by the CEO.

Even if the meanings of leadership are partly situationally defined, dimensions of behaviours seen to give evidence of leadership are also shared by different groups of people (cf. Calder 1977, 186-187; Lord et al 1982, 109, also Pfeffer 1977, Sandberg 2001b). Similarly as the conceptions of leadership as leader traits, conceptions about how good leaders behave towards their subordinates are the products of social construction processes and reflect the values and norms of a group and the society at a certain time. (E.g. Meindl 1995, Lord et al 1982, 109, Pfeffer 1977, Sandberg 2001.)

The contents of the managers' conceptions of good leader behaviours echoed the well-known two-factor models of leadership (consideration – initiating structure / task-oriented – relationships-oriented) (Yukl 1999, 34; also Bresnen 1995). Moreover, the subjective feelings the managers expressed can be associated with the earlier research findings that leader consideration is positively related to employee satisfaction (Bryman 1996, 278; House 1971, 322; Yukl 2000, 52).

The ways in which the managers behaved towards their subordinates did not always align to how they themselves preferred to be led. Those senior managers who identified as leaders emphasized the importance of motivating subordinates. This includes the idea of leadership consistently held by many mainstream leadership scholars that leaders are supposed to motivate subordinates to accomplish organizational goals that are equated with those of the leader. The leader intentionally influences the subordinates in order to make them do what the leader wants.

This idea places the leader in control of outcomes. At the same time, it puts subordinates into the role of an instrument – a means – for the leader to accomplish her/his goals, and downplays their role as contributors to organizations independently of the leader. (Barker, 2001, 473; Gordon 2002, 155.) In addition, it implicitly assumes a status difference between the leaders and the led (Gordon 2002).

The problems inherent in this view became salient when good leader behaviours as experienced by the managers who identified as leaders, differed according to whether the behaviours were directed at themselves or at their subordinates. They did not feel the need to be motivated by their superior (even if they thought their subordinates needed it), but to be informed and allowed to act independently. Neither did they want to be treated as subordinates but as colleagues of the CEO, his equals. The difference of status between the leaders and the led may also have lied behind the unwillingness of some of the managers to be labelled as leaders. They rejected the idea of their 'leadership' and described their subordinates as colleagues and experts in their own field.

Leadership was conceived in terms of relationship between the leader and the subordinate(s) by all of the managers. Ideal leadership was manifest in a relationship of trust and mutual obligation that necessitates enough proximity between the leader and the led. The significance of trust was also emphasized by the CEO in his considerations about the origins of the Company problems. For him it had been difficult to find people who could be trusted.

The importance of trust between the leaders and their subordinates has been highlighted in the former studies of trust in leadership (e.g. Dirks & Ferrin 2002), ethics and leadership (Brown & Treviño 2006, Ciulla 2004, Bass & Steidlmeier 2004, Solomon 2004, Svensson & Wood 2004) and studies of small firms (e.g. Scase & Goffee 1987; Goffee & Scase 1995, Osborne 1991). Owners of small enterprises and especially small entrepreneurs emphasize trust, because a personal relationship based on mutual trust integrates the activities of small firm members without establishing clear management structures and formal procedures at work that would underline the power imbalance between the employer and the employees. (Dyer 1977, 192-193; Scase & Goffee 1987, 62.)

Still, trust is a concept that can have multiple meanings and that can be used in different ways (Dirks & Ferrin 2002; Svensson & Wood 2004). For the CEO of the small firm trust meant such issues Scase and Goffee (1987, 72) refer to; the employees are expected (trusted) to do their work without close supervision. But for the managers trust was an ingredient of an ideal leadership: it signified mutual obligation between them and the CEO. To build this kind of a relationship enough proximity between the one in charge of the Company and the managers was seen as necessary.

In addition to the emphasis on trust, also proximity between the proprietors and employees is often portrayed as typical for small enterprises (Scase & Goffee 1987, Goffee & Scase 1995). However, because of the growth and the circumstances in the Company, physical proximity between the CEO and his managers was not always possible. His contacts with the managers were infrequent (cf. Antonakis & Atwater 2002) and the frequency varied between different managers (cf. Matlay 1999).

Moreover, the distance between the CEO and the managers was not only physical; the managers did not know what the CEO was up to and what kinds of decisions concerning the Company he had in mind. These issues – in turn – distanced the managers from the CEO and fuelled "the CEO and us" mentality and cynicism among some of the managers. The managers would have wanted more interaction and a closer relationship with the CEO. For them an ideal leader was accessible (cf. Gabriel 1997).

It has been suggested that leader distance can be both an outcome and a medium of asymmetrical power relations and the exercise of control and authority. Leader distance and power can also be mutually reinforcing. (Collinson 2005.) This was also seen in this small enterprise. Coupled with the aversion to hear negative feedback the power imbalance between the owner-manager of a small firm and its employees has been claimed to be among the symptoms of corruptive ownership power with negative implications to the relationships in the firm (Osborne 1991).

Five managers conceived leadership as a leader's responsibility to take care of the needs and rights of subordinates. For these managers, leadership was not only about satisfying the needs of the organization, but also about satisfying the needs of the individuals who make up the organization (cf. Barker 2001, 474; also Hollander 2004, Bass & Steidlmeier 2004). The Company and the CEO should be committed to the employees. This view of leadership is the opposite to the common conception of leadership in leadership research that leadership is about developing employees' commitment towards the leader and the organization (Barker 1991).

Could the prevalence of this conception of good leadership derive from the managers' situation: from their 'true' positions as employees, unemployed before they entered the Company and thus more than usually vulnerable as employees? This question can be inspected from the perspective of labour management strategies in small enterprises. The CEO's way of managing his employees in a way that – according to the managers – did not pay enough attention to their rights and needs, can be associated with the sweating mode suggested by Goss (1991): the managers were not in a relatively good position in labour markets, and they were more dependent on the CEO than vice versa. Thus, even when the Company's financial situation caused them difficulties, it was not easy for them to find a new job. Consequently, the CEO did not have to care so much about the problems they experienced while working in the Company.

The conception of a leader's commitment and responsibility for subordinates can also be examined from an ethical point of view. According to Svensson and Wood (2004) corporate ethics considers

the gap between the management's ethical behaviour and the employees' perception of the management's ethical behaviour towards employees. As was shown in the small enterprise, when one employee is treated badly, there is a flow on effect to other employees and a chance of resentment towards the company by many as a possible result of what they have witnessed to happen to others.

If the employees perceive ethical weaknesses in management behaviour the consequences may be the deterioration of trust in intra-corporate relationships and may cause the loss of external opportunities. In the small firm, the deterioration of trust was evident. Even though the CEO had explicated his feeling of responsibility towards the employees and his wish to work together with the managers to jointly affect improvements in the Company, many of the managers had already made their conclusions on the basis of their own experiences or the experiences of their colleagues: they have decided not to trust the CEO (cf. Solomon 2004, Svensson & Wood 2004).

As has already been noted, in objectivistic leadership research employees are often seen as instrumental to the goals of leaders and organizations (Barker 1997, 344). Even if such approaches as transformational leadership by Bass, the Conger-Kanungo model of charismatic leadership and House's Path Goal Leadership Theory take into account the needs of the followers, the shared goal is the goal of the leader not usually problematized. It has been claimed that this view has simplified the question of what is good for a company and ignored the possibility that leaders may act according to their own, personal interests. (Barker 1997, Gordon 2002, Keeley 2004.)

Furthermore, it implies that individual interests of other organizational members than the leaders are less legitimate than organizational ends. Still, it has been claimed to be a fact that organizational members get preoccupied with their own goals and interests and that the ethical justification of collective goals as defined by leaders is unclear taken the arbitrary nature of taking some participants' purposes to represent the goals for an organization. (Keeley 2004; 150, 153, 166, 170.)

Some of the managers saw that what the CEO wanted was not necessarily good for the small firm or its employees; he strived for his own ends. For them, it was not a question of the survival of the organization that enforced the 'organizational imperative' over the individuals working in it, but a question of leadership ethics that concerned the rights of the employees in relation to the rights of the owner of the firm. (cf. Phillips 1991, 793; Svensson & Wood 2004.)

Those managers who had subordinates felt that they were personally responsible for their wellbeing, not that they would perform better but because it was right. The CEO was expected to take care of the needs and well-being of the managers as well as other employees for the same reason. The difference between this conception and the leadership models citied above is just that perspective: taking responsibility was based on a moral judgement – not as a way to generate extra effort, creativity and productivity in the long run including the development of subordinates' competencies as Bass (1985, 20) puts it.

All the eight managers conceived leadership as certain tasks they expected the organizational leader to accomplish. Many of the leadership tasks the managers described conform to the critical tasks presented by Hunt (1991, 17) in his Extended Multiple-Organizational-Level Leadership Model (see page 37) that depicts leader tasks in terms of systems, organizational and direct leadership. Similarly as the R&D Company managers in the study by Alvesson and Svenningsson (2003b, 969), also the small company managers referred to visions and strategies as the essence of leadership. But in contrast to the R&D Company (Alvesson & Svensson 2003a), in which the visionary, strategic leadership was expected from every manager, in this small firm this kind of leadership was seen to belong to the duties of the organizational leader.

In the same way as the R&D Company managers in Alvesson and Svenninsson's studies (2003ab), when leaving the abstractions behind and turning to the everyday life in the small company, also the small firm managers focused on issues that resembled 'direct leadership' in Hunt's model. The kind of leadership the managers referred to can be equated to management and administration, "the art of getting things done through people" (Follet in Vanhala et al 2002, 46). Administration refers to a process comprised of such tasks as planning, organizing, coordinating and controlling. The aim is to accomplish the goals of the organization in a certain situation. This traditional, rational view of business management stresses a straightforward, leader-centered and hierarchical organizing based on predefined roles and functions. Controllability and predictability are its central principles. (Vanhala et al 2002; 48, 56.)

Whether the managers' ways of conceiving leadership would be placed in the domain of leadership or that of management or administration as they are often treated in the leadership, management and business literature was of no relevance to the practitioners. The vastly discussed difference between leadership and management was noted by some managers, but then conflated in their ideas of good leadership and in their expectations towards the CEO. The CEO was to take care of strategic management and management of organizational processes; but as a good leader he was not supposed to interfere in details. For the managers 'micro-management' was 'bad leadership' (cf. Alvesson &

Sveningsson 2003b, 963). This signals that good leadership refers to providing employees some scope of independence over their own work.

In the field of leadership research one explanation for the managers' shared emphasis for 'the leader tasks' can be found from the Substitutes for Leadership Theory (Kerr & Jermier 1978, Jermier & Kerr 1997): formal procedures and management systems could have functioned as substitutes for leadership the managers perceived to be lacking. Furthermore, the conceptions of leadership as leader tasks revealed the managers' need for the leader to provide order and a sense of control in their life in the small enterprise. They wanted to have predictability in their work and in the Company in general in order to decrease their feelings of insecurity (cf. Gemmil & Oakley 1992). For them the CEO was the only one who could put things right in the Company (cf. Pfeffer 1977).

The small company owner-managers' preference for informality and their reluctance to establish formal processes and structures have been widely reported in small firm literature (e.g. Dyer 1997, Scase & Goffee 1987, Goffee & Scase 1995, Marlow & Patton 2002, Massey 2004, Osborne 1991; Ram 1994, 1999; Wilkinson 1999). Sometimes this state of affairs has been seen to be characteristic to small enterprises, which – by definition – are managed by their owners and part-owners in a personalized way (cf. Bolton 1991).

Scase and Goffee (1987, 66-67) have suggested that in small firms, rules and formal procedures seem unnecessary, because the plans and day-to-day decisions evolve naturally from the ideas of the owners and the informal consultations with their senior executives. In this small firm there were not enough interaction and proximity between the CEO and the managers to make this possible. Reluctance to establish formal processes has also been explained by the small firm owners' lack of management skills, but it may also be that they want to avoid procedures that would tie them. Furthermore, it has been suggested that small firm owners do not want to openly and clearly assert control and discipline over their employees. (Osborne 1991; Scase & Goffee 1987, Goffee & Scase 1995, Ram 1997).

Also in this small enterprise the CEO's managerial competence was questioned. Still, many of the managers concluded that the CEO's resistance to developing common ways of 'doing things' was the way the CEO wanted to have it. As in the study by Scase and Goffee (1987), the lack of formal rules and procedures enabled the proprietor to interfere in the work of the subordinates whenever he liked, remain in control of everything, but still maintain a feeling – even if an illusion – of freedom and independence for the employees (cf. Osborne 1991).

Four managers in charge of subsidiaries reflected on their own work in terms of managing the Company's units, business and employees according to the local situation or in terms of taking care of their management duties and subordinates. Only the former approach was explicitly stated to be leadership. This conception contained a holistic and situationalistic view to leadership. The view that leadership should be conducted so that it takes into account the requirements, constrains and possibilities of a specific context is widely accepted within leadership scholars (cf. Leavy & Wilson 1994, 187; Osborn et al 2002, 807; also Storey 2005).

Some of the subsidiary managers saw that even if they were able to utilize business opportunities available in the country of the subsidiary and lead the personnel in a way appropriate in the specific context they could not fulfill their leadership potential because of their lack of power. The question of power was intertwined with the question of trust; the CEO did not want to let go his control over the subsidiaries. As the proprietors in the study by Scase and Goffee (1987, 62-63, 65) the CEO had organized the Company in such a way that the heads of subsidiaries had to consult him before taking other than routine decisions. Thus, the kind of entrepreneurial, 'local' leadership that some heads of subsidiaries saw ideal was impossible to realize in practice.

Six managers conceived leadership in terms of managing human resources in the small enterprise. The responsibility for managing human resources was placed on the CEO. His leadership in terms of how it was taken care of was evaluated by the managers. It may be no wonder that the managers, who suffered from constant changes in the personnel and most of whom had an unemployment period behind regarded that a good leader takes actions to develop and keep her/his personnel.

The habit of the CEO to recruit personnel from the courses for unemployed was interpreted to reflect a lack of appreciation for the employees from the part of the CEO, especially because it made it easy for him to get rid of the persons who did not 'fit in'. This made many of the managers feel vulnerable. Goffee and Scase (1987, 68) have suggested that rather than the small size of the firm, being able to select employees who adjust to the company conditions, accounts for the good atmosphere in small firms. Furthermore, when the employees are more dependent on the employer than vice versa, they are not so prone to complain (cf. Goss 1991).

As for recruitment practices in small firms, there is evidence that the size of the firm has important implications on the recruitment. As the CEO of the small firm, also other small business owners are cautious when recruiting employees: they fear the difficulties related to giving notice to people they are not willing to have in their firm (Scase & Goffee 1987, Goffee & Scase 1995).

The informal way in which recruitment and personnel development was carried out in this small firm has been suggested to be characteristic to small enterprises. They lack management systems for recruiters and recruitment planning. Similarly to the small firm of this study, they rely on a single recruitment source and use sources that are convenient and inexpensive. In addition, personnel development is not planned and executed systematically. (Barber et al 1999, 842-844; Heneman & Berkley 1999, Massey 2004.)

Five managers conceived leadership in terms of managing organizational structure and change in the small company. They saw that the expansion of the firm required changes in the Company structures and processes; a good leader developes the organization according to the changes in the business, environment and the personnel.

As former studies on small enterprises have demonstrated, changes in business, environment and organization provide challenges to the leadership of entrepreneurs, especially to founders, who are in a critical position because they are involved in all aspects of the business, and prefer informal systems in their organizations. While reactive management style may have been successful when the firm was small, to enable the firm to grow the entrepreneur need to adapt her/his style of leading the company to the requirements of the new situation and to adopt a more professional approach to running the firm. (Dyer 1977, 204; Osborn et al 2002, 807; also Pettigrew & Whipp 1991.)

In the Company the expansion had started, but no change in the owner-CEO's ways of leading his firm could be seen in spite of his good intentions to develop the Company and practices in it, and to share some of his power with others. In entrepreneurial companies, instead of developing organizational processes and structures, there seems to be a tendency to rely on trust when the business is growing (Scase & Goffee 1987, 72). In line with the views of the managers it has been claimed that trust in others is required, when the business expands, and there is a need to develop an administrative structure that changes as the organization grows (Palmer & Hardy 2000, 16). Accordingly, in terms of leadership requirements at the growth stage of an organization, organizational leaders need to create processes necessary to move the organization to a more formal structure (Baliga & Hunt 1988, 142). This kind of leadership was expected also from the small firm owner-manager.

Seven managers conceived leadership in terms of decision-making and attributed leadership to those, who were powerful enough to make decisions (cf. Gordon 2002). This kind of leadership construction was also found among the construction company managers in the study by Bresnen (1995). Similarly as in many small entrepreneurial enterprises in the small firm decision making

was centralized to the CEO. This is common in small firms, where the proprietors make all the important decisions (Scase & Goffee 1987, Osborne 1991; also Dyer 1977, Begley 1995).

The managers perceived that it was difficult to influence the CEO's decisions. They would have appreciated a more participative decision-making practice. Some of them regarded themselves as important stakeholders in the Company and claimed for their right to be heard when deciding about issues that influenced their work and life. This kind of propensity to exercise power without any legitimacy given by the organization has often been labelled as resistance in leadership and management literature.

Even if resistance could be seen as a source of energy for more informed decisions, often it has been termed negatively and called dysfunctional and illegitimate. The leader's right to make decisions has been treated as unproblematic. In addition to simplifying the question of 'a company's good' it ignores the possibility that also other organizational members than designated leaders could be well-informed enough to be able to participate in making decisions. (Barker 1997, 2001; Gordon 2002, Knigths & Willmot 1992; also Price 2004, Yukl 1999.)

In large companies this problem has been explained by the error that organizational ownership and hence social power is attributed to leaders and in this way legitimized their right to decide what is good for the organization and its members (Barker 2001, Gordon 2002). In small owner-run firms the owner-managers' right to decide has seldom been questioned. Also in this small firm, most managers saw the CEO's right to solely decide on Company affairs as inevitable. This did not exclude that also the voices of others should be heard when making decisions.

Similarly to the construction company managers in the study by Bresnen (1995, 510) six managers conceived leadership in terms of power vested in formal positions of authority. Some of them attributed leadership to high hierarchical positions in large organizations (cf. Bogardus 1927, in Collinson 2005, 237). For them, identification as a leader sounded absurd in the context of the small firm and the few employees they usually worked with.

Some felt that in the Company manager-titles were given to compensate the deficiencies in the firm and to disguise the employees' real subordinate position by calling them managers (cf. Gemmil & Oakley 1992, 118; also Ciulla 2004, 80). They saw that in the Company there were no real management, only the owner-CEO and employees – no matter if the latter were called managers. This view bears resemblance to the interpretation made by Svenningsson and Larsson (2006, 216-217),

who regarded 'leadership' as a way to sustain managers' ego ideal even if they remained in their existing and not so satisfactory work roles.

Still, some of the managers identified themselves as holders of such organizational positions that afforded them the right to exercise leadership (cf. Alvesson & Sveningsson 2003; 966, 982; Svenningsson & Larsson 2006, 220; also Raven & French 1958, 401). The discrepancy between their wished-for roles in the small firm and their inability to act according to them aroused feelings of frustration and distrust towards the CEO. For the managers leadership entailed a real, institutionalized position of authority (cf. Gordon 2002, 155; Knights & Willmott 1994, 430; Phillips 1991, 790).

Conceptions of leadership as influence based on being regarded as an expert referred to leadership legitimized by a person's highly valued expertise in some area. It has been suggested that this requires processes by which the acts of the person are perceived to contribute to the social order. (cf. Hosking & Morley 1988, also Chemers 2003, 8; Hogg et al 1998, 1248-1249.) This way of conceiving leadership can be interpreted in terms of social identity view to leadership. According to it individuals may emerge as leaders because of their perceived prototypicality of the group that affords them a leader status. (Chemers 2003; 6, 8.)

The three managers holding this conception saw that in the Company there was an informal leader, who was able to influence not only them but also the CEO. In spite of the managers' criticisms over the CEO's style of leading, the informal leader supported his right to run the Company in the way he wanted and reinforced the managers' understanding that the situation in the small firm could not be changed. This supports the suggestion of Smircich & Morgan (1982, 269) that leaders are able to define the organizational reality; the leader's view provides the frames of reference from which others can understand the situation and themselves and what is expected from them.

All the eight managers conceived leadership in terms of power based on ownership; the leadership of the CEO was legitimized by his ownership of the Company. In the small firm the CEO was perceived to be the only one to make a difference on how the company operations were run, activities were decided and coordinated and the personnel was managed. He was the omnipotent leader who had the legitimate right to lead others (cf. Gabriel 1997).

As many other proprietors of small entrepreneurial firms, the CEO wanted to be in a constant and total control over the Company (cf. Scase & Goffee 1987). The ownership of the company legiti-

mized the centralization of power to the CEO (cf. Dyer 1977, Scase & Goffee 1987; Osborne 1991, 26). The exercise of power is not dependent only on formal, bureaucratic procedures, but functions through other ways such as holding information or creating conditions where other people are unable to influence (Scase & Goffee 1987, Gordon 2002).

According to Gordon (2002, 152), not even these kinds of constrains are needed, because the true power relations are known to everybody: the organizational leader's right to dominate is embedded in the organization's 'deep structures'. 'Deep structures' refer to the historically constituted codes of order that people become socialized into and thus see them as natural. They are taken for granted assumptions about the relative status of people in certain social setting (cf. Phillips 1991, 790).

The ownership of the firm provided the CEO a unique status and the right to exercise power that was only seldom questioned. It enabled him to set the frames for the managers that they had to conform to if they wanted to stay in the Company (cf. Smircich & Morgan 1982, 265). Because of the dependency relations between the leader and the led, this kind of 'management of meaning' – referring to the leaders' ability to define organizational reality – can have unintended consequences. Such consequences as ceasing to take initiative and adopting a passive attitude to one's work were identified also in this small firm (cf. Smircich & Morgan 1982, 265-267).

The difficulty of the proprietors to trust in other people in matters concerning their firms and to delegate company affairs to others have been seen as symptoms of destructive ownership power. In addition to the consequences to the proprietor's health and well-being resulting from work overload, this may lead to the neglect of employees as contributors to the firm and lost opportunities in regard to the business. (Osborne 1991.) It also makes the small firm vulnerable; it is too dependent on the entrepreneur (Goffee & Scase 1995, 15; Dyer 1997; Scase & Goffee 1987, 55).

Summary and conclusions

The managers addressed leadership most often in terms of what would be *good leadership* and how they perceived the leadership of the CEO. Leadership was conceived as something positive – good and effective – and described it in terms of traits and behaviours seen as important, relationships appreciated, responsibilities and tasks to be accomplished; and the wise use of power by the leader. This means: embedded in the managers' conceptions of leadership laid an idea about what is good for organizations and their members.

The CEO's personal characteristics and skills compared to those required from a good leader; his behaviours towards his subordinates compared to those the managers would have preferred and his relationships with the managers and other employees were evaluated. The CEO's commitment and moral obligation to his managers and other employees, how he managed human resources and made decisions, his way of leading the Company in the stage of expansion and crises, and the way in which he exercised his ownership power were reflected in relation to what the managers perceived to be good leadership of the small enterprise.

The problems of the Company were often attributed to the lack of leadership of the CEO. This provides support to the Romance of Leadership notion suggesting that leadership is used as a means to make sense of organizational life, to account for organizational activities and outcomes and to provide order and clarity to the complexities of organizations (Meindl et al 1985, 78-79; Calder 1977; Pfeffer 1977, 104).

Also for the managers, 'leadership' provided a way to make sense about what was happening in their company. The cause for the difficulties in the small enterprise was that the CEO did not posses the qualities of a good leader, nor did he act as one. Thus, at the personal level leadership is a quality of an individual and in this way organizational problems or successes are seen as a consequence of the actions of the leader, because they are salient and can be differentiated from other behaviours. (Meindl et al 1985, 79; also Calder 1977, Pfefer 1977).

When organizations flourish the credit is more easily given to the organizational leader than for some external forces. As Ehrlich et al (1990, 244) have shown, substantial positive changes in the performance of a company increases the salience of leaders and in such a situation for example attributions of charisma are more likely; the leader is seen as extraordinary. In the small Company's difficult situation the salience of the CEO was obvious and the blame for the failures was given to him (cf. Meindl et al 1985).

This conforms also to the view of the importance of the personal element in leadership: for the managers there seemed to be no rationale to speak about leadership without referring to leaders (cf. Biggart & Hamilton 1987, 437). Leaders were those who had a legitimate right to lead others and exercise power (cf. Gabriel 1997; also Janda 1960, 358). The legitimate sources of power for the managers were expertise, holding a formal position of authority and the ownership of the company. In the small enterprise, power based on ownership provided the most fundamental base for the right to exercise leadership. This finding demonstrates that leadership is not only attributed to those who

display – by their behaviours – the traits the group sees as 'good leader' qualities, but to persons holding salient power positions (Calder 1977, Pfeffer 1977).

But how about the managers' own leadership? Couldn't also they be leaders and exercise leadership? Only three of the managers regarded themselves as leaders and claimed for their right to exercise leadership based on their managerial positions. At the same time they declared that they did not have the power to make decisions regarding their own field of operations, because the CEO did not delegate his power. There was a clear discrepancy between making claims for leadership and not possessing enough power to exercise it.

Leadership in the small enterprise can be understood as a power-based reality construction; the organizational reality that the managers had to adapt to was dictated by the CEO (cf. Smircich & Morgan 1982). Even if some of the managers – and also some others, who had left the Company – had tried to change it, it had remained the same. The managers did not believe that the CEO was ready for major changes they felt were needed and so nothing could be done about it. Furthermore, they did not believe in their possibilities to have any impact on the situation in the Company for example through the ongoing development project and did not avoid saying so. Many of them felt powerless, many of them wanted to leave, and many of them left.

Scase and Goffee (1987, 63-65) and Osborne (1991, 26-28) have claimed that in spite of the positive consequences of the ownership power such as rapid decision making, flexibility and ability to refocus the business, there are also negative consequences that make small firms vulnerable. The dark sides of entrepreneurs – preference for reactive management style, reluctance to commit to planned outcomes and to avoid shared planning processes; centralized authority, which prevents the hearing of negative feedback; distrust on the subordinates leading to withholding information from them and unwillingness to seek help from others – were identified also in this study.

The findings of this study provide support to the conclusions of previous studies that especially the way power is used and shared – decision-making, distribution and delegation of power – is critical in leading a small enterprise. In line with the views of the managers of this study, the problems of the owner-leaders have been suggested to be related to their difficulties to give up control and share power in their organizations (cf. Osborne 1988, Scase & Goffee 1987). This is especially important at the time of expansion (cf. Scase & Goffee 1987; 72, 162-163).

Still, as in many small companies also here the managers identified closely with the entrepreneur; they understood his difficulties and acknowledged his personal risk. And similarly as in the study of small business owners by Scase and Goffee (1987, 67- 68) because of the loose structure of the organization there was some autonomy for them, but still the CEO was able to intervene at any time and retain the control over them. For some managers to take the challenge of entrepreneurship as the CEO explicitly expected from them and at the same time accept the role of a dependent employee in relation to him was contradictory and frustrating. The ethic of egalitarianism was difficult to connect with the control retained to and exercised by the CEO. (cf. Ainsworth & Cox 2003, 1477; Scase & Goffee 1987, 68-69.)

The managers craved for an ideal leader-subordinate relationship based on trust and mutual obligation but the lack of proximity between them and the CEO and their difficulties to influence on the CEO's decisions and participate in decision-making of any fundamental issues reminded them about the relationship between the CEO as an employer and themselves as employees (cf. Ram 1999, also Marlow & Patton 2002). This may be the situation also in other owner-run businesses, where the proprietor finds it difficult to trust people s/he does not know well, and feels her/himself incompetent in leading and managing people.

This study conforms to the view that leadership in organizations is based on legitimating principles and the dominant structures of authority. Even though they constrain they do not determine the actions of leaders; for leaders there are possibilities for both authoritative and leadership actions (Biggart & Hamilton 1987; 430, 435- 439). In this case the CEO was perceived as an authority and a legitimate leader but not such a *good* leader that the managers would have wanted; his actions were not perceived as leadership actions.

Taken the view that 'leadership' is important in organizations, being perceived as a leader may have important practical implications. Leadership Categorization Theory claims that if individuals are categorized as leaders, their social power would increase; they may be "causally important in producing good outcomes" (Cronshaw & Lord 1987, 104; Lord et al 1986, 408). This would also affect the quality of leader-subordinate relations. Consequently, being perceived as a non-leader – but still holding a formal position of authority – may have negative consequences for the organization and the relationships in it.

Attribution theory emphasizes the symbolic value of leaders: a leader serves as a symbol – a personal attribution of causality. Organizational members need leaders to whom they can project their

fears and wishes. This need derives from the desire to believe in the importance and effectiveness of individual action. The desire is based on the need to have control over things or to have a feeling of control. (Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff 1991, Gabriel 1997, Gemmil & Oakley 1992, Pfeffer 1997.) The need for leadership has been suggested to derive from the feelings of insecurity and learned helplessness (Gemmil & Oakley 1992).

In the small enterprise, (good) leadership was expected and needed but the one holding the most salient power position did not answer to the expectations directed at him. The CEO emphasized his entrepreneurship and downplayed his leadership. Furthermore, it seems that in the same way as entrepreneurs hold stereotypical images of themselves; also other people may hold such images and categorize entrepreneurs as non-leaders.

The distance the CEO kept from his managers undermined his chances to demonstrate such leadership that the managers expected. It widened the power-imbalance between them, and made the managers feel powerless and not valued by the CEO. This supports the notion about the importance of leaders to actively engage in leadership behaviours that Biggart and Hamilton (1987, 436) have called 'the performances of leadership'. Leaders have to prove their leadership (cf. Gabriel 1997).

The managers' perceptions of the CEO's lack of leadership were not based on his behaviours towards themselves and other employees only but also on the management of the whole company. This is in contrast to the view that leadership is manifest only in interactions (cf. Biggart & Hamilton 1987). Leadership is also manifest in – and constructed through – the actions of leaders in relation to their companies. Consequently, even though small enterprises have been depicted as specific patterns of interaction between the owners and the labour force, this study suggests that life in small enterprises cannot be thoroughly understood by concentrating on interactions and relationships between different organizational members only but also the ways in which the company is organized, different operations are coordinated and conducted and power is shared need to be considered.

The lack of formal structures and procedures in the small firms was interpreted as the CEO's lack of leadership qualities and skills and to be due to his prejudices; he did not understand that they were needed. In this way the processes sometimes distinguished from each other by using the labels 'leadership' and 'management' became intertwined in the life of the small company. The managers wanted the Company affairs to be managed; they wanted strategies, planned activities, role descriptions, rules and formal procedures according which they could operate; they wanted more bureaucracy.

Hierarchical structures, rules and formal procedures and other bureaucratic systems are often seen as control mechanisms, which make the leaders detached from the employees and discipline employees to their subordinated positions (Collinsson 2005). So why would those who felt themselves disempowered want to have more discipline?

For the managers rules and formal procedures provided a means to discipline not only them but also the CEO. They were needed to protect the managers – and the whole company as many of the managers thought – from the CEO's impulsive decisions and actions that were not always seen as sensitive to the needs and rights of the employees and that run risks over the future of the Company on which the continuity of the managers' work was dependent.

At the same time the managers craved for 'good leadership': a heroic leader who would be considerate and confident, righteous and strong; who would care for and be committed to his subordinates; who would manage the Company activities and operations, personnel, structure and change according to the changing situations and who would share his power to enable also the others to contribute to the organization.

This kind of need for formal procedures and need for leadership to provide structure and order, feeling of belongingness and safety has been suggested to be characteristic to organizations, where there are informal structures and processes and where the job-contracts are loose and conditions are dynamic and changing (Shamir 1999). This may also be the situation in small owner-run enterprises, particularly when they grow and when their employees do not have more attractive employment alternatives making them vulnerable and dependent on the owner-manager, who sees her/himself more as an entrepreneur than a leader and who is reluctant to share her/his power.

4.2 Describing leadership in a small enterprise

To capture the essence of variation in conceiving leadership in the small enterprise the relationships between the twelve conception categories identified at the previous stage of analysis were further examined and defined. Based on this examination they were integrated into broader categories of description of leadership that provided an abstracted description of leadership in a small enterprise (cf. Uljens 1989, 41-42).

The categories of description of leadership refer to so-called upper level categories in phenomenographic research (cf. Uljens 1989, 40-43). They were developed so that they conformed to the three criteria used in generating the managers' qualitatively different ways of experiencing leadership from the empirical data. They were: 1) each of the categories should stand in clear relation to the phenomenon leadership and tell something distinct about it, 2) the relationships between the categories should be logical, and 3) the critical variation in conceiving leadership should be captured in as few categories as feasible (cf. Marton & Booth 1997; 107, 125-126).

When developing the upper-level categories I concentrated on the unit of analysis and the level of conceptualization that the conception categories exhibited. Those conception categories that were of the same level of analysis were integrated in the same category of description of leadership. In describing leadership, those categories that were regarded as equal in terms of the level of conceptualization were described as being horizontal. A change in the level of conceptualization produced a vertical category (figure 5, p. 162).

In order to help the reader of this report more easily follow my rationale in developing the upper level categories a summary of the managers' leadership conception categories is replicated in table 10.

Table 10. A summary of the managers' leadership conception categories

Leadership as

- 1. a trait or traits of a good leader
- 2. good leader behaviours towards subordinates
- 3. a trust relationship between the leader and her/his subordinate(s)
- 4. being responsible for subordinates
- 5. tasks of a leader of a small enterprise
- 6. leading local operations, units and employees according to the local situation
- 7. managing human resources
- 8. managing organizational structure and change
- 9. decision-making
- 10. power vested in formal positions of authority
- 11. influence based on being regarded as an expert
- 12. power based on ownership

The leadership conceptions included in the first two conception categories focused on leadership at the level of an individual; they concerned leadership as a trait or the traits and behaviours of a good leader. Based on their focus on an individual leader they were grouped into one category, which contains conceptions of leadership as those characteristics, qualities and behaviours that people ex-

pect from leaders and if found, they will be categorized as 'leaders' or 'effective or good leaders' whereas others would be categorized as 'non-leaders' or 'ineffective or not so good leaders' (cf. Lord et al 1982, 104; Calder 1977). This category was called *leadership as (a) trait(s) and behaviours of a good leader*.

Conceiving leadership as a trait or traits of a good leader and good leader behaviours can be associated with the traditional conception of 'heroic leadership'. It focuses on the qualities and behaviours of an individual leader as the determinants of organizational success, and sees the lack of them as a reason for failure. (Meindl et al 1985, 78; Calder 1977; Pfeffer 1977, 104.)

Conception category number 3 – leadership as a trust relationship between a leader and her/his subordinate(s) – formed an independent category of description of leadership. The ways in which a good leader behaves towards subordinates built up the connection between this category and the former one. The scope of this category is broader than the former's, because it does not concentrate solely on the leader as the first category but takes also the subordinates into account – good leadership is reciprocal. This category echoes one of the most common approaches to leadership in leadership research: the dyadic leader-subordinate relationship.

The above presented categories of description of leadership – leadership as a trait or traits and behaviours of a leader, and the relationship between the leader and the subordinates – represent the most traditional subjects of objectivistic leadership research that are seen to affect both organizational performance and employee satisfaction.

The responsibilities and tasks of the leader were in focus in the leadership conception categories number 4 and number 5. The contents of these conceptions defined the kind of responsibilities and tasks a good leader of a small firm was expected to execute. These two conception categories were integrated into one category called *leadership as tasks and responsibilities a good leader accomplishes*. The logic between this category and the previous one is the relationship between the leader and the subordinate; good leadership is not only about satisfying the needs of the organization, but also about satisfying the needs and acknowledging the rights of the individuals who make up the organization. This category directs attention to the significance of creating order and predictability to ensure the functioning of the organization but also to provide feelings of safety to the organizational members.

Conception category number 6 (leadership as managing local operations, units and employees according to the local situation) integrates the different tasks and responsibilities that leaders are expected to fulfill, the relationships between different parties and the individual characteristics and behaviours of a good leader distinguished in the former categories into a view of a considerate and context sensitive leadership of a unit. Conception categories number 7 (managing human resources) and number 8 (managing organizational structure and change) view leadership at the organizational level and concentrate on the issues seen as critical for the organization: developing human resources and organizational structures, processes, activities and operations according to the requirements of the business and the environment and changes in them. These three conception categories of leadership formed a category of description of leadership as *leading a unit/a small enterprise as a whole according to changing situations*.

This category of leadership description in a small enterprise provides a broader and a more holistic view of leadership compared to the previous categories. It echoes the situational views of leadership in objectivistic leadership approaches and also the research and theorizing on strategic leadership (cf. Finkelstein & Hambrick 1996) according which leadership is contextual in the sense that it depends upon the intra-organizational and environmental, cultural and societal conditions. The life-cycle-view of organizations and the request for adaptation to the changes inside and outside the company were represented in this category (cf. Baliga & Hunt 1988).

Conception categories of leadership number 9 (leadership as being perceived as an expert), number 10 (leadership as decision-making), number 11 (leadership as power vested in formal positions of authority) and number 12 (leadership as ownership power) formed a category of description of leadership as power in the company. This category of leadership focuses on leadership in terms of legitimate right of those in positions of power to make decisions, and power deriving from different sources of influence that were seen as legitimate: expertise, formal positions of authority and the ownership of the organization.

This category represents a change in the level of conceptualization compared to the previous categories of description of leadership. It was regarded as the highest level category of description of leadership in a small enterprise explicating the notion of power and influence that are embedded in all the other categories of description of leadership. In the context of an entrepreneurial small firm the hierarchically lower level conceptions can be interpreted to acquire their significance through the power relationships in the company.

The traits and the behaviours of the leader are important because the leaders are the most powerful persons in the company. Through their actions they shape the organizational structures and conditions in the company (cf. Strand 1988, 232). Power is also manifest in the relationships and interaction between the leader(s) and the subordinate(s): the emphasis on trust in leader-subordinate relationships derives from the dependency relations between owner-managers and employees of small firms. Leadership power is at the back of the expectations that the leader will take care of the needs and rights of the subordinates and manage the company personnel, activities and operations according to the best interests of the organization and its members. Furthermore, it applies also to whether or not and how these tasks and responsibilities are taken care of. Leadership of company operations and units necessitates delegation of power to the ones who are in charge of them.

The power hold by the proprietor or owner-CEO enables her/him to make all the decisions concerning the personnel, structure, activities and practices and the scope of business of the company. In this way in a small owner-run business it is the use of ownership power that was the most fundamental determinant of whether or not the requirements of good leadership were met.

In this study this category of leadership description was regarded as the most important in understanding leadership in small enterprises and organizational life in them. The negative effects of the ill-advised use of ownership power, the centralized control and decision-making practices and the powerlessness of other organizational members have been suggested to be among the threats for the success and growth of small companies (Osborne 1991, Dyer 1991, also Scase & Goffee 1987).

The category of description of leadership as power in the small enterprise reflects the definitions of leadership as differential power relationships among members of a group. Power has been a central concept in the studies of leadership positioned under the power-influence approach to leadership in objectivistic leadership research and also in the theorizing and studies representing postmodern and critical views of leadership.

To clarify the process of generating the upper-level categories the variation in conceiving leadership among the managers and the relationships between the categories of leadership conceptions and the categories of description of leadership are presented in table 11.

Table 11. Variation in conceiving leadership among the managers and the relationships between the categories of leadership conceptions and the categories of description of leadership

	Categories of leadership conceptions													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total	
Managers														
M1	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	11	
M2	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X		X	8	
M3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	12	
M4		X	X	X	X	X			X	X		X	8	
M5	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	10	
M6	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	10	
M7	X	X	X		X		X	X	X			X	8	
M8	X	X	X		X			X		X		X	7	
Total	7	8	8	5	8	4	6	5	7	6	3	8		
Categories of leadership	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
conceptions														
Categories of description of leadership as	(a) trait(s) and behaviours of a good leader		a trust rela- tionship be- tween a good leader ac- leader and complishes her/his sub- ordinate(s)		sponsibilities a		leading a unit/ a small enterprise as a whole according to changing situations			power in the company				
reduct ship as														

The categories of description of leadership represent different conceptualizations of leadership in a small enterprise. Based on their relationships explicated above, an abstracted description of leadership in a small enterprise was generated (figure 5).

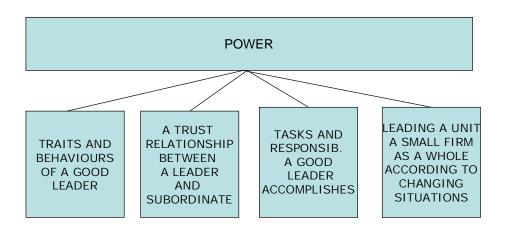


Figure 5. The complex of categories of description of leadership in a small enterprise

The complex of categories of leadership consisting of the different conceptualizations of leadership and their relationships represent a conceptual model of leadership in a small enterprise. Despite the qualitative differences between the different categories, all of them were concerned about

- leadership as something good, indispensable and provided by heroic leaders
- leadership as *power*
- leadership as a means of making sense of organizational successes and failures by attributing causation to leaders.

5 Discussion

5.1 Contribution

This study aimed to deepen our understanding of leadership and particularly leadership in small enterprises. The starting point in my argument was that in spite of the huge amount of leadership studies, leadership in small enterprises has been undervalued in leadership research. The fundamental differences between small and large enterprises, the increasing number of small, entrepreneurial firms, and their significance to our society and the perceived importance of leadership to the success of enterprises and the well-being of their personnel call for more attention to the topic.

By utilizing a novel methodology in examining leadership in a small enterprise this study contributes an alternative perspective to leadership compared to the mainstream leadership research. It bases its results on a systematic analysis of the ways in which leadership was experienced by managers working in a small firm. Based on the categories of description of leadership generated from the qualitatively different ways of experiencing leadership, the study produced a tentative, conceptual model of leadership in a small enterprise.

Unlike the findings of previous leadership studies in small enterprises, the model integrates the different dimensions of leadership, describes their relationships, and unfolds the central themes in experiencing leadership in a small enterprise. In this way, the findings from this study can be seen as a contribution to our understanding about what constitutes essential aspects of leadership in a small enterprise that can be of theoretical value in terms of advancing the description of the phenomenon leadership in small enterprises (cf. Larsson 1993, also Whetten 1989). It can also be of practical interest to small firm leaders, managers, personnel and educators and other actors contributing to the functioning of small enterprises.

Central themes in the conceptual model of leadership in small enterprises were power and influence intertwined with the notion of good. It also implied how leadership provides a means of making sense of organizational successes and failures by attributing causation to the small firm leader.

Despite the situational character of the leadership conceptions revealed in this study they represented the common conception of heroic leadership: leadership was understood as something that makes the organization work well and that is needed for the well-being of the organizational members. This suggests that the dominant paradigm of leadership as something good, indispensable and

provided by heroic individuals has become a taken for granted part of common knowledge about what is required in organizations.

In this study, 'leadership as something good' had two senses: morally good and effective (cf. Ciulla 2004, 13). Leadership was conceived in terms of leader effectiveness – how the leader should act to make the small firm function well and prosper – and leader morality referring to the moral requirements of leadership and the morality of the leader character and actions. A good leader was both effective and ethical. Thus, the idea of leadership cannot be reduced to leader effectiveness as it is often treated in objectivistic leadership research.

The managers' leadership conceptions with their normative descriptions about good leader traits, actions and activities can be interpreted as laymen's theories of organizational performance. It has been suggested that answers to the question of what makes organizations work well are almost trivial and relate to

- order and coordination
- skills and technology
- commitment and the raising of members to make them adhere to values
- adaptability and growth (Strand 1988, 232).

Based on these requirements it has been argued that there is little room for one heroic leader, who could "be sorted out as a separate semiautonomous force" (Strand 1988, 233). Still, in the case of small enterprises based on their ownership power owner-leaders are the contributors and important inhabitants of organizations: they have the possibility to create and maintain order, integrate the orientations and interests of the organizational members into a common understanding, goal achievement and productivity. Furthermore, they are in a critical position in adapting the organization to its environment. (Strand 1988, 233, see also Hosking & Morley 1988.)

Leadership was most commonly attributed to the owner-CEO and seen as the main determinant of the organization's success and survival. The managers utilized 'leadership' in making sense of the life in the small company and its current situation by attributing the problems of the company as well as the problems in their work to the lack of or 'passive' leadership of the CEO. This finding conforms to the view of leadership as an attribution of different organizational issues – events, performance, problems, successes and failures – to the person who holds a salient power position. (cf. Pfeffer 1977, Calder 1977, Meindl et al 1985.)

The conceptions of leadership and power were intertwined. Power was a necessary condition for leadership and (good) leadership was something that was expected from the one in the position of power. This finding suggests that in spite of the current views of leadership as a shared process, the leader-subordinate dualism is strong in these kinds of organizations, where there is a clear power imbalance between the leader(s) and the employees.

It has been claimed that particularly in the objectivistic leadership research practice, in spite of the vast amount of studies focusing on leadership and power there is a lack of critical analysis of their relationship. The power of the leader over the led has been treated as unproblematic. Gordon (2002) has suggested that this is due to the implicit assumption of the leaders' ownership of their companies through which social power is attributed to leaders, whether or not they in fact own the companies. This study suggests that in small enterprises, where the CEO actually owns the company, the relationship between power and leadership is more straightforward with important implications to the organizational life.

Leadership and power can be mutually reinforcing. Leadership is attributed to those in positions of power in organizations, and when categorized as leaders their social power will increase (cf. Cronshaw & Lord 1987, 104). Power related implications derive also from the perceived necessity of leadership for the success of the organization and the well-being of its members. 'Leadership' embodies justificatory force that authorizes leaders to do what is needed to gain organizational goals. At the same time they are expected to meet the needs and interests of organizational members. However, as in this study the leader's view of what is needed may not be sensitive to the interests, rights and expectations of employees potentially leading to leadership failures (cf. Price 2004, 142).

Portraying a good leader as a strong, assertive, trustworthy and fair hero, who is considerate to everybody, takes the needs and views of subordinates into account, is able to build a trust relationship with employees, and can provide structure and order, feelings of safety and belongingness to the members of her/his organization and who marshals her/his troops towards the success of the firm and the happiness of the individuals is the wished for image of leaders that are objectified into existing social reality.

These kinds of expectations and fantasies have been explained to be the result of leadership ideologies that are institutionalized and maintained through discourses on leadership that support the prevailing social order; promote the supreme status of leaders and legitimate their right to exercise power over the others. The objectivistic leadership research concentrating on the qualities of suc-

cessful leaders have fuelled these discourses and fostered the image of a heroic leader. (Gemmil & Oakley 1992, see also Phillips, 1991.)

Leadership as something good and indispensable and provided by a heroic leader represent a particular, socially defined view of reality. According to Berger & Luckmann (1994, 123), when a particular view of reality is attached to a particular power interest, it may be called an ideology. Once an ideology becomes a groups' ideology it can be modified in accordance with the interests it must now legitimate. When this particular view of reality is fostered and maintained through socialization and legitimating processes it becomes institutionalized. (Phillips 1991, 792.) These processes explain the development of the common consensus of leadership as something good and indispensable that has become internalized and taken as a fact.

The taken for granted view of leadership as something good and indispensable has been seen as problematic in the studies of leadership; particularly in the objectivistic leadership research, which has strived to find out the traits and patterns of behaviour and modes of interaction that bring along 'good' effects and to establish evidence about the impact of leadership on organizational performance (cf. Yukl 2000; 4-5, 423-424, also Darmer 2000). Being committed to such a presupposition may hinder those interpretations of the research findings, which might not be committed to it (Alvesson & Svenningson 2003a, 379, 2003b; Yukl 1999, 40, 45-46; Pfeffer 1977, 105-106).

It has been claimed that the value of scientific enquiry resides in treating as problematical what, in everyday life, we take for granted. Knights and Willmott (1992; 762, 765) have accused objectivistic leadership approaches for their failure to reflect upon the commonsense qualitative assumptions upon which their quantitative categories of leadership are grounded. They have claimed that by this objectivistic leadership researchers legitimize dominant values by uncritically using and refining everyday assumptions and categories of leadership. This criticism holds also to constructivistic-interpretative research that has been blamed for uncritically accepting its findings as 'natural'.

In this study 'leadership' was not seen to refer to some scientifically discernible concept or some aspect of objective reality but to the ways in which people experience its subjective meaning. My aim was to give voice to the practitioners. Instead of taking the attributions of problems to leadership at face value – that means, defining the problems experienced as problems of leadership in the small enterprise – one can ask, if there could also be other, more relevant ways to address them that would open new ways to overcome them.

The usefulness of the concept leadership in studies of organizations (see e.g. Alvesson 1996, 458; Alvesson & Svenningsson 2003a, 359; Pfeffer 1977, 111) can be examined on the grounds that leadership is perceived to be one of the forces that make organizations work well. This is especially important in relation to certain entrepreneurial enterprises, because leadership is attributed to persons holding salient positions, and the impact of leaders is more plausible where there is more discretion in decision making. Leadership is needed to provide structure and order, and the need for leadership may be particularly strong in small owner-managed enterprises where the power asymmetry between the leader and the subordinates is great; which have informal structures and processes, and where employees lack other employment opportunities and conditions are dynamic and changing as was suggested in this study.

It has been claimed that the belief in leadership may be critical for sustaining followership and the responsiveness of individuals to the needs and goals of the collective organizations (Meindl et al 1985, 100). But it may also be that the conceived supremacy of leadership and the perceived power of the leader suppresses the perceptions of the impact of other forces inside and outside the organization and thus restricts joint activities directed to solve the problems.

Still, as it seems that the view of leadership as a central organizational process and the premier force behind organizational events and activities is prevalent and generalized both among the practitioners and researchers of leadership, critical evaluation and reflection is called for. The reason for the reluctance to problemazing the taken for granted view of leadership may be that this knowledge – as all social knowledge – is created and maintained through socialization and legitimating processes that concern both laymen and researchers (cf. Berger & Luckmann 1994, 132).

As Phillips (1991, 792) points out, ideologies can be fostered to a point, where it is possible to discuss only such solutions to problems experienced that are not threatening to the institutionalized knowledge because of the socialization of the discussants. It has been claimed that abstract theories can be supported through abstract arguments but abstract argumentation may not be the most suitable way of testing different views of reality, because social realities are – by definition – socially defined. (cf. Phillips 1991, 782.) Still, it is possible to reflect on the practical consequences of 'leadership imperative'.

Even though leadership ideals and archetypes of heroic leaders have been produced mainly through examining heroic leaders of large corporations (and reproduced by leadership education and training), the findings of this study demonstrate that they are maintained and utilized also in quite other

kinds of contexts, where the organizational conditions as well as the resources of organizational leaders are quite different – such as in small entrepreneurial enterprises run by their owner-managers. One can ask whether these kinds of romantic conceptions of leadership and expectations directed to organizational leaders can be fulfilled in real life. And particularly, what are the possibilities of entrepreneurs to develop to be such leaders?

As leadership is attributed to those holding salient positions, in the case of the small enterprise in this study, in order to be successful and accepted as a leader, would have required the CEO to take the role of a leader and a manager as well as an entrepreneur at the same time (cf. Czarniawska - Joerges & Wolff 1991, 535-536). One can ask how this is possible and further; is it even necessary? Was it 'leadership' that was wanting in the small company? Or was it so, that the problems experienced and attributed to leadership could have been solved without any references to it?

The managers' leadership conceptions in this study were related the problems the managers experienced in the small firm. In this way their 'need for leadership' was rooted in the certain circumstances in the small enterprise. These kinds of problems may also pertain in other small companies in which the same kind of organizational conditions prevail.

In the case of the small company the power position of the CEO was legitimized by his ownership of the company that could not be overcome; he had the legitimate right to rule others. The managers did not have many alternatives to be employed elsewhere. Their dependency on the CEO prevented them to openly voice their concerns and take actions to initiate change they felt was needed. What they felt they could not do themselves; they expected the CEO to accomplish. For them, leadership functioned as a social defence.

The commonly hold ideals of good leadership have also their pros. 'Good leadership' can work as a device to discipline owner-managers and leaders; make them aware of the expectations concerning their leadership and encourage them to exhibit the traits and behaviours that are expected from good leaders. Taken the ideals of this study as examples of 'good leadership' leaders could engage in showing consideration towards subordinates, learn to understand the importance and strive to build trust relationships, take responsibility for their employees, create conditions that provide clarity and order to their organizations, encourage people and enable them to take initiative and listen to their views and share some of their power with others.

This kind of approach is in line with those leadership scholars who see that 'good leadership' could be pursued by focusing on leaders and their actions and behaviours. If leadership is ultimately about leaders and how they act, then it is logical to teach leaders to behave in ways, which are effective in terms of company performance and which take into account the needs and rights of the different organizational members.

Still, when 'good leadership' is only perceived in terms of an individual leader, the contributions of other organizational members and the deficiencies in organizational practices may remain unnoticed and unattended. The belief that the good functioning of the organization is dependent on the morals and actions of one person only is questionable. Moreover, putting the other members of the organization in the role of objects creates exclusion that may restrict them to use their abilities and talents to contribute to the organizations that is needed for the organization to survive and prosper. These considerations are especially important in relation to small enterprises where the resources are often scarce and the contributions of every member of the organization are of importance.

5.2 Practical implications

The results of this study can be utilized in sensitizing people to the varying meanings and ways of conceptualizing leadership. As conceptions of leadership implicitly include normative descriptions of leadership effectiveness and ethics that people use in their evaluations of leaders and organizational performance, the different conceptualizations can be utilized in evaluations and development actions in organizations.

This does not mean that the variation of leadership conceptions in this study would self-evidently be applicable to other contexts. Still, they provide examples of the possible ways in which leadership can be experienced especially in small business organizations, run by their owners and where similar organizational conditions prevail. When the aim is to develop leadership in a certain setting, the totality of the ways of experiencing leadership in that setting should be explored and reflected upon. In these situations, the conceptual model of leadership in a small enterprise generated in this study can be a useful device.

As organizational members use their implicit theories and conceptions of leadership in their evaluations of leader 'goodness', managers and leaders should acknowledge these conceptions and be responsive to them. Particularly, owner-managers of small firms should be sensitive to the expectations of 'good leadership' directed at them. These expectations do not concern only leader qualities or the ways in which the leader behaves in her/his interactions with the subordinates, but a variety of other issues related to her/his decision making and use of ownership power, management of organizational structure, processes, personnel and change. It might be useful for the proprietors to become aware of such expectations and the ways in which they may be collectively experienced and used as implicit theories of organizational performance.

Instead of focusing on leader traits and behaviours (cf. Barker 1997, 343) the nature of leadership as a socially constructed phenomenon possible to conceptualize in different ways should be considered in managerial and leadership education. My findings align with the former theorizing of Calder (1977, 202) and Lord and Hall (2003, 56) that the specific meaning *contents* of leadership conceptions may be different to different individuals, different groups of people and in different contexts; leadership depends on how it is perceived by other people. Consequently, managerial and leadership training should educate students of leadership to understand the different leadership constructions and how they may be related to the specific contexts in which they occur and to the constructions of leadership in wider contexts.

Also leaders as well as other organizational members should become aware of the ways in which leadership is socially constructed and reificated and reflect on their own conceptions of it. By exploring them they may find out whether the conceptions contribute to the functioning of their organizations and understandings of organizational life or hinder alternative ways of seeing and improving organizations.

The results of this study suggest that when a small firm evolves and employs people, they hold expectations concerning leadership that they direct at the owner-manager of the firm. How these expectations are met by the organizational leader, may be of significance in relation to the success of the company and the well-being of its members. In addition to being sensitive to these expectations, proprietors need to be able to act upon them. This requires listening to the employees' concerns, and discussing them in order to develop mutual understanding about the situation.

As people are prone to attribute successes and failures to organizational leaders – to those who hold salient positions of power in their organizations – the owner-managers of small enterprises are in a critical position, because ownership is a legitimate basis for leadership. In these settings leadership ideals can have non-constructive consequences as was demonstrated in this study.

In small firms run by proprietors, power imbalance between different organizational members is great. That is why it can be difficult for subordinates to question the actions of the leader and organizational practices, even if they may be harmful to the company. When the leaders define the organizational reality, then those disempowered have no other choice than to conform or to leave. As was shown in this study, conforming to conditions, which one cannot accept can bring along cynicism and withdrawal. It may decrease the employee's motivation and commitment to her/his work and the organization, and affect negatively on the fellow-workers.

To cut this chain cannot be the business of small firm employees only; it requires that the proprietors become more conscious about the prerequisites of personnel management and personal leadership (cf. Sandberg 2001b). In this respect, entrepreneurs may need support; leadership training for entrepreneurs may be helpful. Instead of refusing to be leaders – as the CEO of the small firm in this study did – they should take leadership seriously and understand it to be a part of running the business. This does not mean that they should stick to the myth of a heroic leader. On the contrary, it would probably increase the power differentials in the small firm and support the attribution of difficulties to the one at the top.

Proprietors should enable their personnel to voice their concerns about the company matters, take initiative and participate in solving the problems experienced in small companies instead of retaining power to their own hands only. In growing firms, the need for jointly agreed practices and processes to provide structure and order to the activities of the organization is commonly seen as a prerequisite of successful growth. As they discipline both leaders and the led, they may also support organizational members' feelings of safety and predictability.

Moreover, they offer possibilities for participation. Instead of relying on 'mutual adjustment' as in a small firm naturally occurring during the work, arenas for discussions are needed. They may help in diminishing communication barriers common in organizations with wide power differentials that are likely to lead to conflicting perceptions and expectations between employees and organizational leaders (cf. Wolfe Morrison & Robinson 2004).

Understanding leadership and talking about it as a function in the small enterprise in which every organizational member has her/his stake may help to create enterprises, where leadership is not attached only to leaders but understood as an ideal about how things should be in the organization – how the business and people should be taken care of and what issues are central in leading successful businesses.

Embedded in the conceptions of leadership is the idea of what is good for people and organizations. Even though the content of these conceptions may vary between different groups, they still include archetypish stereotypes about central functions and roles in organizations and what is essential in fulfilling them. Furthermore, they are interpreted and reinterpreted and renewed in the everyday life in organization in ways that are flexible and meet the local needs – as was shown in this study.

Instead of taking these ideals for granted and accepting them as truths beyond problematizing, people should reflect on them to find out how they serve organizations and the well-being of organizational members. Furthermore, people should consider the possibilities to change them, if they are experienced as unrighteous, if they suppress the value of individuals and their possibilities to be active participants in their organizations and finally, if they hinder the development of organizations.

5.3 The quality of the study

I will examine the quality of this study of leadership in a small enterprise using Larsson's (1993, 195-196) criteria of the quality of qualitative research. Larsson suggests that qualitative studies can be evaluated using the following criteria: 1) the criteria related to the whole study, 2) the criteria of the quality of the findings, and 3) the validity criteria.

1) The criteria related to the study as a whole: The quality of the study as a whole is evaluated using three different criterions: consciousness of the perspective of the study, the inherent logic of the study, and the ethical value of the study.

The criterion concerning consciousness of the study is that the researcher should be conscious about her preunderstanding about the phenomenon she studies, because it affects the ways of conducting the research and by this determine the findings (Larsson 1993, 196; Mäkelä 1990, 56). The consciousness of the perspective can be demonstrated by explicating her pre-understanding.

In this study I explicated my own pre-understanding about leadership by discussing my intentions concerning this study and presenting the varying definitions of the concept leadership and the different approaches to leadership studies that had affected also how I thought about leadership. I generated and discussed my research strategy and explicated how it was grounded on my personal background and my presuppositions concerning leadership.

Inherent logic of the study refers to the balance between the research task, and the methods of data generation and analysis. The former should determine the latter. This balance of research questions and methods is also an aesthetic principle: a scientific research should build up a coherent, unified whole, in which all separate parts are naturally related. (Larsson 1993, 199.)

In this study the research strategy and the methods of data generation and analysis were derived from the research task, my pre-understanding about leadership as a phenomenon, and how I would be able to gain knowledge about it. Naturally they were also grounded on my knowledge about the methods available and my pre-understanding about which methods would be best suited to my research purposes. The chosen strategy and methods should also be such that I would be able to conduct the research in practice at the time the study was to be carried out. Thus, the circumstances in which I planned to carry out this study, where among the determinants of the decisions I made. (cf. Gummersson 1991, 73). A detailed explication of my research strategy and the reasoning behind my choices is presented in chapter 3 (Research task and strategy and methodological choices).

Even if my research strategy and the methods I used enabled me to carry out the study and were assessed to be relevant in the specific situation and circumstances, I cannot claim that they were the only ones or even the most useful in general for studying leadership empirically in small enterprises. That is why there is a reason to discuss also other alternatives.

My presuppositions about the socially constructed, contextual nature of leadership reflect the ontological and epistemological stance of this study on which the methodological choices were grounded. Also the alternative research strategies should be considered within this research orientation. Because of the multiplicity of other possibilities to do research in practice than the one I used I take Bryman's (1966) four different research designs as a point of departure in discussing my research strategy and methods in comparison to alternative strategies.

Of these research designs for example an ethnographic case study in one small enterprise, a multiple case study or a design, which uses people's descriptions of leadership in small enterprises, are examples of research strategies, which potentially could have suited to my research purposes. Especially the first two provide possibilities to the generation of many-sided research material (both qualitative and quantitative) from multiple sources that would enable the researcher to understand and describe the context and the situation that lay grounds to gaining understanding about the phenomenon under examination.

As I have already noted in presenting my research strategy, multiple-cases would not self-evidently bring to light more variation in the ways of conceiving leadership. A multiple-case study would also have required more resources than were available: the study was conducted solely by the researcher. Taken the presuppositions of this study interviewing (or generating some other kind of data from) different actors about their constructions of leadership would not have been enough, also in that design the utilization of other data sources would have been needed to obtain contextual information of the different cases. As Stake (1994) has noted, in multiple (or collective) case studies the situation and the circumstances in a certain case are not central in the same way as in single-case studies. The importance of the context stands also against utilizing the last research design: people's descriptions of leadership in small enterprises detached from their contexts.

An ethnographic case study in one small enterprise would have been intriguing and provided posibilities to use varying methods of data generation to gain deeper understanding about the company situation from different perspectives. This kind of a research approach requires a lot of time; long periods of field work are often needed. This was impossible for me.

As scientific research in general this study can produce only partial knowledge about the locus of interest. Even if there were more resources available, researchers have to decide what kind of strategy is most useful in generating as reliable, authentic and full description of the phenomenon as possible within certain circumstances including the resources available. My strategic choice was to study the ways in which leadership was experienced by the organizational members of one small enterprise in a certain situation and at a certain point of time. This choice built up the starting point of my research, which guided me in planning the methods and data, the participants study, and the methods of analysing the data.

The secondary data consisted of the CEO's interviews and the Company documents. The managers' interviews functioned as the primary data. Concentrating only on the managers could be seen as a limitation of this study: could leadership in a small enterprise be understood by examining only managers' constructions of leadership? What about employees? The most important reason for choosing the managers as research participants was that they took part in the development project that provided the context and the situation in which leadership conceptions were (re)produced. Moreover, all the company employees working in Finland had a manager title. As this study demonstrates 'a manager' does not necessary refer to certain hierarchical positions in a small organization.

Even though the study was designed to focus on the leadership conceptions of the development projects participants, meetings with other employees, who did not participate in the project, were to be included in the study with the CEO's permission. The aim was to more fully describe and understand the leadership context and the situation in the subsidiaries – to supplement the secondary data. After a serious consideration they were left out for several reasons the most important being that the status of such data would be different from that of the managers' interviews. Thus its potential to add value to the study was questionable.

The employees who were not involved in the project worked permanently in the subsidiaries in Asia and Scandinavia. They did not have personal contacts to Finland, from which the company operated and did not have similar access for information concerning the company as the persons participating in the development project. Because of the lack of financing it was impossible for the researcher to travel to subsidiaries. Furthermore, the differing languages made it impossible to gain information about their views for example through questionnaires or written documents when interviewing was impossible.

Reflecting on the methods of data generation in this study choosing interviews allowed the research participants to determine the time they wanted to use and the issues they wanted to talk about. The interviews did not interrupt or disturb their daily work, because the interviews were conducted after working hours. For example observations could have been other possibilities to generate data. However, it would have been more time consuming for both parties, because this kind of orientation in the leadership research, where the object of the study was only roughly defined, would have required supplementing discussions with the managers.

Furthermore, three of the managers were operating on site in Asia, so it was impossible for me to observe their activities. The choice of loosely structured interviews originated from my purpose not to create leadership through my research methods (cf. Alvesson & Sveninggson 2003a), but to try to capture the ways the managers understood, conceived and experienced leadership in their daily life in the small company as authentically as possible.

The coherence and inherent logic of this study was demonstrated by its presentation. I began with raising questions concerning the research subject and stated my argument for the importance of researching leadership in small enterprises. I continued by reviewing former leadership research including its major theories and findings within four research positions taken in leadership research. In the review I concentrated on empirical leadership studies conducted during the two previous dec-

ades and published in the most citied (assessed by the impact factor) journals because of the huge amount of leadership research. The review included also studies on leadership in small enterprises and entrepreneurship relevant to my research purpose. Through the review I demonstrated the gap in scientific knowledge concerning leadership in small business organizations and presented my arguments concerning the need to fill that gap to deepen our understanding of leadership in small enterprises.

I presented my research purpose, underlying presuppositions and research orientation, and explicated my research strategy and methodological choices. After that I described the organizational context of leadership, the research process, and my role as a researcher.

The findings were presented in relation to earlier findings and theorizing on leadership and small firms, and interpreted further by utilizing the former theorizing on leadership as interpretative lenses. In addition, the results were discussed in relation to the small enterprise and former studies on leadership and leadership in small firms. Finally, I discussed the results of my study in the context of current and future leadership research and theorizing and in relation to the study and practice of leadership in small entrepreneurial firms.

The detailed presentation of my orientation, methods, research process and results aimed to help my readers to evaluate the contribution, and the quality of my study and try other kinds of interpretations instead of the ones I had generated. It also aimed to help my readers to assess, if the implications this study suggests are plausible and based on the actual findings.

The ethical value of the study depends on the relation between the new knowledge the study has been able to bring to light and the rights and safety of the research participants. Especially in this kind of a case study it is sometimes very difficult for the researcher to communicate her findings and conclusions because of the danger to harm the research participants (Larsson 1993, 199-200). This manifests the conflict between the validity and ethics. Still, I see that detailed case studies are needed because of their usefulness in providing perspectives from "the real life in organizations" to leadership research. They can also bring to light the views and problems of the practitioners that are rarely discussed in academic research of leadership as Alvesson (1996) and Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003a, b) have already noted.

Scientific knowledge about leadership in small enterprises is needed in order to take their specific conditions and characteristics into account particularly when trying to advance both the research

and practice of leadership in small business organizations. Still, it is difficult to get inside and gain knowledge about the practices and problems prevailing in these companies: many of them are not willing to show their everyday-life to outsiders, and even more resistant to let that life to be studied for academic purposes and discussed publicly. So the ethical value of this study of leadership in a small company has to be considered also on the grounds of the novelty of *the perspective* and the risks of unpleasant or harmful consequences to the Company and its members.

In the beginning of my study I could not be sure if my research would be able to advance our understanding of leadership in general or in small enterprises in particular. So the novelty of the findings can be assessed only after the research process has been completed. Still, it is possible that the research participants suffer from the research process, not only because of the publication of the results. I tackled this problem by explicating my intentions to the research participants and made sure that they knew they had the right to take part in this study or to leave out. They were also informed about their rights to stop participating during the research process if they wanted to. Naturally they were not obliged to present any reasons for their decisions. They knew that the material was generated for the thesis to be discussed and presented in public.

The description of the Company was carefully thought of, because the field of its operations was seen as an important aspect of the context. The company should stay anonymous, if the research participants would not claim the Company's name to be presented. This issue was discussed with the research participants, but the anonymity of the Company was to be protected by me as the researcher. The description of the Company as one dimension of the context of leadership was based on the CEO's narrative and interviews and those company documents and newspaper articles, the CEO chose to give me, and interpreted and edited by me as the researcher.

The field of the Company's operation was such that there was a possibility that it would be recognized. That is why I decided to provide only the vertical dimension of the company history and to depict the events from the time the Company was established until the present. This referential content of the narrative was supplemented by the documents, but no deep description was achieved. The description was shown to the CEO, who accepted it to be included in this report. The managers' different conceptions of leadership were described in detail in order to demonstrate the variation in the conceptions and the richness of their content (Larsson 1993, 200). The interviews with the managers provided me additional knowledge about the company that I utilized in interpreting and discussing the findings.

Ethical value of the research concerns also the presentation and discussion of my role as a researcher. It has an effect on the way this research was accomplished, how the interpretations were made and as a part of the context in which the leadership conceptions were produced. The explication of my role aimed to help me to become more conscious and open with my own biases in relation to the research subject. It also aimed to enable the readers of this report to make their own interpretations.

When organizations are studied it is self-evident that problems and difficulties will be revealed. As in this study, through problems experienced some other phenomena can be addressed. It has been noted already that the family analogy used in relation to small firms refers not only to the harmonious and friendly climate in small enterprises, but also to the tensions, problems and instabilities of family life (cf. Ainsworth & Cox 2003, 1481; Curran & Blackburn 2001, 111; Ram 2001, 399). This was also the case in this study.

I see that the problems and difficulties experienced are important in understanding 'the real-life' in small business organizations. On the other hand by unfolding them the researcher may harm the research participants. By seriously reflecting on the presentation of the results – especially the attributions made and the personification of leadership – and their interpretation I tried to find a balance between protecting my research participants and being truthful in presenting the findings that are of importance in understanding the phenomenon under investigation.

2) The criteria of the quality of the findings are the richness of the content, the structure, and theory development. Of these the richness of the content is the most central. In this study it means that the description of the different leadership conceptions, the categories of leadership conceptions, and the upper level categories should be both versatile and detailed. Versatility means here that the phenomenon's essential and unique characteristics are brought out in a way, which does not neglect the details. (Larsson 1993; 196, 201.)

The richness of the content was demonstrated by providing a detailed description of the conceptions included in the twelve leadership conception categories (cf. Larsson 1993, 200). The categories were named by using the managers' expressions as titles to illustrate the core of each category. The quotations demonstrated the individual flavor of each of the manager's conceptions included in the category. The presentation of every category concluded with a characterization of the category in terms of the conceiving act delimiting the way in which leadership was conceived and with the description of the most prominent meaning aspects of the conceptions included in the category.

The structure of the findings stands opposite to the richness of the content. In this study I tried to find a balance between a too detailed and on the other hand too general description by grouping conceptions with similar conceiving acts in relevant conception categories, but presented also the variety of conceptions included in the category. The structure refers also to the presentation of my reasoning: the readers should be able to follow my thinking on which the conclusions are based. In this phenomenographic research this means also that the different categories of description of leadership derived from the conception categories must be so clearly presented that the reader understands their relationships – whether they are seen as hierarchical or to demonstrate conceptions of one and the same level. (cf. Larsson 1993, 202.)

The generation of the categories of leadership conceptions were guided by the three criteria suggested by Marton & Booth (1997, 107, 125-126). I explained the way I generated these categories based on the similarities and differences in the ways the managers conceived leadership. I continued by generating the upper-level categories – the categories of description of leadership – that were based on the groupings of the conception categories according to the unit of analysis and the level of conceptualization they exhibited. I explicated the relationships between different categories and presented the complex of the different categories of description of leadership that includes the different ways of conceptualizing leadership unfolded in this study. The complex of categories of leadership provides us with a conceptual model of leadership. (cf. Larsson 1993, 201.)

Theory development is evaluated in terms of the significance of the findings in developing theory. The researcher should show the relationships of his/her findings and the former theories and to demonstrate how the findings are able to develop it. This requires that the findings capture the fundamental characteristics of the phenomenon under investigation. In phenomenographic research the aim is to develop the description of the phenomenon. (Larsson 1993; 202, 204.)

Through an alternative approach compared to the mainstream leadership reserach and a novel methodology in examining leadership in a small enterprise this study produced a conceptual model of leadership in a small enterprise. The model describes the essential aspects of leadership and their relationships. This kind of description of leadership in a small enterprise has not been presented earlier. It is opposite to the findings of the mainstream leadership research, which mostly focuses on fragmented aspects of the phenomenon leadership. In this way the study had contributed to the developing the description of the phenomenon under investigation.

3) The validity criteria include discursive criteria, heuristic value, empirical anchoring, consistency, and pragmatic criteria (Larsson 1993, 204). Discursive criteria refer to the argumentation in the study and how it overcomes other, alternative explanations. The quality of the study depends partly on the evaluation of other people: if they are not able to find weaknesses, the quality is good.

In this study I have strived to explicate my presuppositions and pre-knowledge concerning the object of my inquiry; give a clear, detailed description of my research and be open with my reasoning and conclusions based on it. I have also attempted to discuss the weaknesses of my study in order to be open also in this way. (cf. Mäkelä 1990, 59.) The discursive criteria will be tried when the research report, the research process and the findings and the conclusions of this study will be publicly discussed.

Heuristic value is evaluated by the novelty of findings. The analysis is successful if it brings out some new way to view reality, if it gives birth to new categories of thought (Larsson 1993, 206). In this study heuristic value was two fold: Firstly this study presented a novel way of examining leadership in small enterprises by studying leadership conceptions and using the phenomenographic framework and phenomenographic contextual analysis by Svensson (1989) and Sandberg (1994). In leadership research this method has been previously used in an educational institution by Sandberg (2001b), but more research is needed in order to evaluate its usefulness in leadership research.

This approach to studying leadership enables the identification, description and examination of different ways of experiencing leadership that might be characteristic to different settings. If utilized in different organizations and at different points of time, this approach provides possibilities to systematically compare the conceptions of leadership within certain organizational or other contexts and between different contexts and changes in them in the course of time.

The novelty of my findings concerns the description of how leadership is experienced in a small entrepreneurial enterprise. This study explicated the ways in which leadership was conceived by the practicing managers in a small enterprise and how these conceptions were utilized in the evaluations of the functioning and performance of the company. This study demonstrated how the managers used their conceptions of 'good' leadership in their evaluations of the leadership of the owner-CEO and how many of the problems in the small enterprise were attributed to the lack of leadership.

My interpretation that the managers used 'leadership' both as an explanatory category to make sense of organizational life and as a label and a legitimation for their expectations directed at the CEO has

been demonstrated already in previous studies. However, this kind of attribution may be even more common in small enterprises run by their owner-managers, because of their salient power position in the company. The complex of categories of leadership conceptions revealed through the analysis of the interviews provided a practitioner's theory of organizational performance in the same way as objectivistic leadership theories can be seen to represent different kinds of theories of organizational performance by the researchers (cf. McElroy & Hunger, 1988).

The novelty of my findings is related also to small company managers' conceptions of leadership; as I noted in my review in leadership studies in small firms, other organizational members' voices than the CEO's are seldom heard. Furthermore the conceptions examined showed how considerations of leadership ethics – in addition to the views, which concentrate on leadership effectiveness – the personification of leadership and power in the small enterprise were central in the practicing managers' leadership conceptualizations.

The conceptualization of 'good leadership' provided by a heroic leader was discussed in relation to the role of ethics in leadership, leadership and power and the subjective well-being of the small company personnel. Furthermore, I discussed the possible consequences of this conceptualization deriving from reificating an abstraction into an objective reality in relation to small enterprises and organizations in general. I also pondered on the possibilities to develop alternative understandings of leadership that could be more productive in improving organizational life especially in small business organizations.

By this study I have aimed to contribute to the understanding of leadership as a phenomenon, which is in need of further examination from the perspectives of power and ethics. Especially in small entrepreneurial firms these perspectives should be emphasized and further researched because of the owner-managers'/entrepreneurs' pervasive power over the other organizational members and the future of the enterprise.

The collective level leadership conceptions in the small enterprise described in this study demonstrated the multifaceted nature of leadership suggested earlier for example by Alvesson & Sveningsson (2003a, b). However, the relationships between different conceptions of leadership have not been systematically explored and analyzed earlier. This study conforms also to the theorizing of Calder (1977), Pfeffer (1977), but bases its conclusions on the analysis of empirical data.

This study suggests a conceptual model of leadership in a small enterprise that may be of relevance in reflecting on leadership in other small entrepreneurial enterprises where the same kinds of organizational conditions prevail. It may be useful also in trying to understand leadership and improve organizational practices in other settings. Additionally, this study revealed the problems of the small enterprise experienced by the practicing managers and attributed to (the lack of) leadership. Some of these problems have already been discussed within earlier research on leadership and entrepreneurship. Still, the findings may be of relevance to the future research on small, owner-run firms.

Empirical anchoring means the correspondence of reality and interpretation. In the absence of self-evidently defined social reality this means that the interpretation must include all the different and possible ways of experiencing the phenomenon under examination that can be found in the data. In the phenomenographic research empirical anchoring refers to attachment of the interpretation to the data (Larsson 1993, 208).

In this study this attachment was conducted by presenting the managers' statements that reflected certain ways of understanding leadership and by showing the rationale, which binds them together to build up a distinctive kind of conception category. The contextual analysis I used rests on the assumption of the embeddedness of the meaning in its context. In the analysis context refers to the whole talk and so the chosen statements cannot represent the empirical anchoring in terms of validation of my findings. The quotations aimed to give an authentic picture of the data and to clarify the meaning aspects of the conceptions (Larsson 1986, 39).

In order to make sure the resemblance of my interpretation and the data, I transcribed and interpreted all the interviews. I iterated the interpretations by repeated readings and phases of analysis that I have described in detail in chapter 3.3.3 (pp. 79-84). One possibility was to use an outsider to read a part of the data and conduct the interpretation, which could be compared to that of mine. This was not realized for two reasons. Firstly: the whole body of data should be treated as a source of the conceptions, because both the conceptions and the conception categories are based on the interpretation of the whole body of data. Secondly: the managers gave no promises that would enable someone else to read their interviews.

The validity problem was tackled by utilizing the validity discussion by Kvale (1995) and Sandberg (1995). Kvale (1995, 21) notes that when 'validity' refers to whether a method investigates what it is intended to investigate, qualitative research may, in principle lead to valid scientific knowledge. He defines knowledge as the construction of a social reality, not as a reflection of the objective reality

and outlines validation as craftsmanship, as communication and as action. Researchers' craftsmanship refers to validation, where the issue is about choosing among competing and falsifiable interpretations and of examining and providing arguments for the relative credibility of alternative knowledge claims.

Sandberg (1995, 7) notes that researchers must demonstrate that their interpretations are defensible in the context of their research perspective. He stresses that during the whole research process the interpretative researchers should question their own interpretations of the object of the research (see also Kvale 1989, 26). This can be done by using the criteria of communicative and pragmatic validity (Kvale 1989).

Communicative validity means that the conflicting knowledge claims are debated throughout the whole research process. It is an ongoing dialogue, which aims to the achievement of 'truth by perceived fulfilment'. Three phases of research process are important here. First the communicative validity is related to the way in which data collection is planned and executed. High communicative validity is achieved in this phase if the descriptions are generated in a dialogue between the researcher and his respondents. (Cf. Theman 1983.) But if the interview situation is based on the differentiated roles of the participants so that the interviewer is the one to ask questions, and the interviewee is the one to give answers, communicative validity is low (Sandberg 1995, 7).

Through the interviews I attempted to get as rich an account as possible of my interviewees' experiences, thoughts and ideas about leadership in general and in their company. As Alvesson (1996, 465) states in this vein "the interviewees are less constrained by the researcher's pre-understanding, and there is space for negotiation of meanings so that some level of mutual understanding may be accomplished, making data richer and more meaningful for research purposes". Also more complex and original descriptions are possible (see also Bryman et al 1988). Without trying to be as uninfluental as possible as in objectivistic research, I tried to be conscious of my pre-understandings and carefully communicate my intensions to give my respondents the freedom to choose, what they wanted to share with me.

Still interviews are not unproblematic. As Silverman (1993) notes, interview statements are not self-evidently capable to reflect either external 'reality' or the subjective world of the interviewee. People are not always able to describe their beliefs, attitudes and conceptions because of the limitations of language use or because they are not conscious of them. Their statements are also dependent on the situations they are interviewed in. This means that the interview context has influence on what

they say and also there are the cultural scripts about how one should normally express oneself on particular topics. This was the case also in this study and so I perceived the interview situations as the contexts, in which the leadership conceptions were produced, not only reproduced (Berger & Luckmann 1994).

It was not self-evident either that the interviewees were willing to tell what they thought; the interview situations can be used for achieving different purposes especially in this kind of a case, where the interviews were carried out during the company's development project. So the interview statements about leadership might not have been expressions about how my respondents 'truly' thought of leadership in general or in their company. These kinds of matters were discussed before and in the beginning of every interview.

I explained every research participant how I saw my role in the development project. Confidentiality of every interview was established by an agreement that no further information about individual statements were passed to the CEO of the company or anybody else without the permission of the respondent. Also the two-fold aim of the interview – the practical one aiming to help the functioning of the company and the academic one aiming to acquire knowledge of leadership – were openly attended to and discussed in the beginning and also during the interviews.

In every interview I explained that the way the subject of the discussion was addressed was dependent on how they themselves wanted to attend it. Before the interviews I had written down specific themes I was especially interested in, but I invited every manager to talk about those issues he was most concerned about. So there were no beforehand prepared questions to be answered to, only the loosely structured plan to focus on issues mentioned above. I communicated also my willingness to let the data develop through individual dialogues with every individual manager, because I wanted to find out how they personally perceived leadership. By these grounds I present to have achieved relatively high communicative validity in planning and collecting data.

In spite of my logic that unstructured interviews are suitable for generating data about leadership as experienced by a small company manager, who may experience leadership in a variety of ways, it became obvious that a more structured themes would have been helpful at least for the analysis of my data. However, in conducting interviews it became clear that for some of the managers it was extremely difficult to define leadership 'as something'. Their statements were vague and one manager explicitly claimed that it is too difficult to provide an answer, when asked what he perceived as leadership. But when asked to describe and tell me about their experiences in the company, the

managers were able to reflect on their own, concrete experiences in this company and in others and tell me how they perceived leadership in their daily life in the small company.

As I have already noted I have tried to avoid my own biases about what I thought of leadership to be implicitly offered in the ways I interacted with the managers. This was not always achieved. It is obvious that when a researcher studies leadership she explicitly – and also implicitly by choosing this subject – demonstrates its importance to the research participants. In this way, the researcher and the situation provide opportunities to the research participants to emphasize the importance of the subject and to attach to it those issues – in this study for example the problems they experienced in their work – to it. Here, also the norms of socially desirable behaviour came into play and affected the way, in which the research participants addressed the research subject.

In interpreting data, Karlsson (1993, 131) suggests that the researcher should try to avoid his own biases and allow 'the lived experience to appear in its own conditions'. I think that this is really hard to achieve but I tried to become conscious of my own values, presuppositions and biases. This was done by questioning my own understanding and by 'wondering' the agreements and disagreements I experienced when communicating with the material. Another way of achieving as truthful as possible interpretation is by utilizing the principle of 'horizontal consistency', which means that the interpretation is consistent when it fits to the rest of the material or text.

Sandberg (1995) clarifies that "the greater the number of parts of the text that accord with a specific interpretation, the more true it is". Vertical consistency means that if an interpretation of a certain part of the text is consistent with the whole theme in that text, it is seen to have vertical consistency (Sandberg 1995, 8). In interpreting leadership conceptions and in distinguishing the qualitative different ways the managers experienced leadership both the principles of the horizontal and the vertical consistency were employed. This process is described in detail in chapter 3.3.3.

The interpretation of the researcher can be investigated by communicating with other researchers and professionals in the practice. The researcher's judgement of her/his findings is not enough; it is the inter-subjective judgements, which determine, if the knowledge claims of the researcher are true. Sandberg (1995) sees that this inter-subjectively constituted truth can be viewed as the link back to the idea of the life-world as the foundation of human action and activities, because the lifeworld is not only subjective, it is also inter-subjectively constituted by never ending negotiations with others. This will be accomplished when this study is reviewed and discussed in public.

Consistency criteria refer to the parts building up the coherent whole and also that every part is included in the whole. Good quality in terms of consistency means that all parts of the data really fit to the interpretation. (Larsson 1993, 208.) In this study I demonstrated consistency by explicating what the managers conceived as leadership (noematic level of analysis) and how it was conceived (noetic level of analysis). All conceptions identified from the transcript were included in the analysis. I explicated the rationale and provided the criteria on which the generation of the categories of leadership conceptions and the categories of description of leadership were based.

Pragmatic criteria refer to the usefulness of the findings in practice (Larsson 1993, 209- 210). The practical claim for this study was to prevent the remoteness of the findings of leadership research from the 'real-world' of practitioners. I also stressed that the conceptions organizational members hold about leadership are important when the aim is to improve leadership practices in particular settings such as in small business organizations.

Phenomenography, as a research approach, aims to reveal how certain aspects of the world appear to people, how they understand them. It does not, as such, provide any guidance about why one should choose one way of understanding in favour of some other (Uljens 1992, 101). Still, some advocates of phenomenography claim that there are critical differences in experiencing the world that reflect the capabilities to experience it. Therefore the educational aim of phenomenography is to reveal the ways, which may be more complex or more advanced than some other ways are.

It is acknowledged that the claims about more advanced conceptions are always normative and based on the values of those, who make them (Marton & Booth 1997). For these reasons, instead of claiming for the significance of the results of my study for the needs of practitioners, I see that the results of this study may be useful in improving understanding of leadership and developing leadership and organizational life in small business organizations. My suggestions for the practical implications presented in the previous subchapter rested on these arguments.

5.4 Implications for further research

The implications for further research based on the results of this study are two-fold. Firstly I will speculate on the implications of my findings to the future studies of leadership in small enterprises. Secondly, I will address the possibilities of the constructivist-interpretative research perspective adopted in this study to be of use in the future leadership research.

Being a single case study the different leadership conceptions produced are local demonstrating the ways in which leadership in a small enterprise was conceived and how these conceptions were used to make sense of organizational reality. The results cannot as such be generalized to other contexts, but the case should not be self-evidently viewed as something exceptional or marginal (cf. Curran & Blackburn 2001, 101).

Even if the managers' leadership conceptions and their contents are not regarded as facts of organizational life, they still represent those aspects of leadership that were experienced as important by the research participants. Thus, in spite of the cautions about the significance of the findings in relation to broader circles of small enterprises, still some of the distinctive characteristics of leadership in the small enterpreneurial enterprise identified in this study may pertain also in other small companies.

All of the managers in this study conceived leadership in their company in terms of power. The centrality of power relationships and use of power in organizations are reflected in the field of leadership theorizing especially in critical leadership approaches. Taken the unique features of small entrepreneurial companies already discussed in former research of small enterprises (Scase & Goffee 1987, Daily et al 2002, Osborne 1991) and the lack of critical analysis of leadership and power in leadership research (Gordon 2002), this study emphasizes the importance of further research on power relationships – especially ownership power – and their implications to the performance and growth as well-being of employees in small, entrepreneurial firms.

The preference for informal rules and avoidance of formal systems in small firms – found also in the small company of this study – needs to be further explored in relation to organizational leadership and its power dimension. For example the Institutional Leadership Theory could provide a framework, from which it would be possible to examine more analytically the structural power relationships as demonstrated in the study of Knights and Willmott (1992).

Examination of the negotiations of organizational reality and the ways in which it is defined by founder-owners or other power wielders as exemplified by Smircich and Morgan (1982) could have the potential to further our understanding of organizational life in small enterprises. Following these lines, the object of leadership studies should focus on the processes through which organizational realities are formed in small enterprises and their implications to the performance and growth and well-being in small enterprises.

This study identified human management practices in the small firm affecting the functioning of the company and the perceived value of individual employees. In addition, the managers as well as the CEO stressed the importance of trust in the small enterprise that has been recognized also in the former research on trust in leadership and small enterprises (cf. Dirks & Ferrin 2002, Scase & Goffee 1987, Goffee & Scase 1995). It has been suggested that contextual factors may determine, when trust in leadership has larger relationships with for example job performance and intentions to quit. Among the contextual factors are those situations that are perceived as uncertain – where employees feel themselves vulnerable. (Dirks & Ferrin 2002, 622.) Remote work and/or loose work contracts may induce more need for leadership to maintain feelings of safety and belongingness. Companies where such conditions prevail should be in focus in the future leadership research.

The need to consider the significance of leadership contexts does not override the significance of the ways in which different actors conceive leadership. In this study the research participants utilized 'leadership' as an explanatory concept through which they described the problems they experienced in their company. Whether or not the problems were problems of leadership, they were still the ways in which the managers saw them. This is the basis for my conclusion that – in spite of the debate about the 'realness' of leadership – for practitioners it provides one frame of reference from which organizational life is conceived and evaluated.

As Meindl et al (1985) have noted leadership is here to stay. If the view is taken that leadership is a social phenomenon that is socially constructed in different places and at different times and informed by both local and global discourses about organizations it may be that the development of more sophisticated research methods may not advance our understanding of leadership and organizational life.

One possible way forward could be further examination of competing constructions of leadership and changes in them in different leadership discourses that prevail in the field of leadership research, theorizing, education, consultancy, work organizations and popular writings. Some researchers claim that the exploration of leadership constructs of different stakeholders is fruitless, because these constructions reflect the beliefs, values and conventional knowledge of the time as well as the contexts and situations in which leadership occurs. I see this issue differently. It is just because of these reasons that the study of leadership as the ways in which it is constructed and reconstructed by different actors and in different contexts can provide us important and interesting perspectives into organizational lives and our society. In this domain phenomenography could be utilized as a research approach.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Scientific journals included in the literature search

- Academy of Management Review
- Academy of Management Journal
- Administrative Science Quarterly
- Adult Leadership
- American Psychologist
- American Sociological Review
- European Management Journal
- Group and Organization Management
- Group and Organization Studies
- Harvard Business Review
- Harvard Educational Review
- Human Relations
- Journal of Applied Behavioral Science
- Journal of Applied Psychology
- Journal of Applied Sociology
- Journal of Business Venturing
- Journal of Management
- Journal of Management Studies
- Journal of Organizational Behavior
- Journal of Organizational Behavior Management
- Journal of Organizational Change Management
- Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology
- Leadership Quarterly
- Organization Research Methods
- Organization Science
- Organization Studies
- Personnel Psychology
- Personnel Review
- Psychological Bulletin
- Scandinavian Journal of Management

Appendix 2. The original Finnish quotations from the managers' talk

The quotations from the managers' talk in Finnish are here presented in their original form to retain as much transparency as possible and to enable the reader to evaluate if anything from the original talk was lost in the translations to English. The original quotations are presented under the subtitles in the chapter 4.1.1 (Categories of leadership conceptions) starting from the page 95.

When you talk about this leadership as a person

Page 96:

M7: Oikeestaan mitä johtajuudesta tulee ensimmäisenä mieleen on jämäkkyys. Se on sellainen asia, mitä mä johtajuudessa kaipaan, jämäkkyyttä. Ja se valitettavan usein puuttuu, sitä tosi vähän on olemassa.

H: *Mmm*.

M7: Jämäkkyyttä ja selkärankaa ja vastuunkantoo ja vastuuntuntoo.

H: *Mmm*, *joo*.

M7: Ne on ne, mitä pitäis olla. Ja jämäkyyttä just sellaista, semmoista jämäkkyyttä, että päätöksiä tehdään ja seistään myöskin päätöksien takana.

H: Joo, mitä sitt se selkäranka, mitä sä sillä tarkoitat, miten selittäisit?

M7: Jos lähdetään sillei, että se selkäranka, että oli asia sitten mikä tahansa, niin hyvät asiat on tietysti helpompi hoitaa, mutta jos on vaikeita asioita, arkoja asioita, herkkiä asioita, niin nekin asiat hoidettaisiin myöskin ryhdikkäästi ja selkärankaisesti.

H: *Mmm*.

M7: Vaikka se kävis kuinka kipeästi.

H: Ajattelitko, että nää ois johtajan ominaisuuksia?

M7: Nää on hyvän johtajan ominaisuuksia, mulla on oikeestaan siinä, että jos nää löytyy, niin sitten on aika hyvin.

M2: Ja emmä usko, ett siihen voidaan sanoa, se on firman siitä yrityskulttuurista, ja monesta muusta, ett mimmosta se tarvii ja hyvä johtaja, se pystyy semmosta sitten muovaamaan sitä oman näkösekseen, mutta eihän se hetkessä käy. Ja tämmönen firma, joka on niinku C:n luoma ,niin se on tullut sitten hänen näköisekseen aika pitkälti. C on kotona hyvin paljon samanolonen ihminen kun mitä hän on täällä. Et kyllä hänellä on ne samat vahvuudet ja samat heikkoudet, mitä tässä on. Se mitä kysyit, että millanen johtaja C on, ja mä taisin sanoo, ettei hän on minkäänlainen johtaja tai muuta. Se oli hyvin kärjistetty: kuka meistä on sitten johtaja, tai muuta, mutta siis. Eihän C ikäkään huomioon ottaen, eihän C siihenkään nähden voi olla mikään karsimaattinen johtaja. Ehkä hänestä vielä semmonen kehittyy.vielä, kaikki on mahdollista, kaverihan on x-vuotias vasta.

M7: Joo ja tää on tietysti sitä jämäkkyyden puutetta, että tämä on tietysti tällaisessa firmassa, joka on yhden miehen firma, niin se on tietysti äärimmäisen vaikea asia tulla sanomaan, että hei, että meillä ei oo varaa maksaa palkkoja.

M2: En mä tiedä mitään omasta johtajuudestani, mutta kärjistetysti sanoen, eihän C:llä mitään johtajuutta ole. Tää on hänen firmansa. Työnteko monen henkilön kohdalla perustuu siihen, että se on työpaikka, jonka he ovat saaneet, tulleet, mikä sitten onkaan, mutt tuota... Kyllä C:n se johtamissys-

teemi on ... enemmänkin – miten sen sanoisin – semmonen hajota ja hallitse -systeemi. Ei hän oo koskaan ollu oikeissa töissä.

But it is not active leadership that I would like to have

Page 99:

M7: *Ja se on mun mielestä, sen vois kiteyttää kahteen sanaan, jotka on mun mielestä erittäin kuvaavia: vaadi ja välitä.*

H: Just, joo, joo.

M7: Must siinä on niinkuin kaikki.

H: Kyllä mä ehkä ymmärrän, mitä tää vois tarkoittaa, mutta mitä tää käytännössä?

M7: Niin, joo, se on varmaan sitä, että jos nyt aatellaan, että on vaikka joku myyntihenkilö x, niin tietysti tää johtaja sillä vaatimisella voi niinkuin, taikka täytyy vaatia sillä tavalla kannustaa sitä parempiin suorituksiin. Ja sanoa, että hei että ihan hyvin on mennyt tähän asti, mutta mikset tekis vielä noin ja noin ja mikset kalastelis tuolta ja tuolta alueelta esimerkiks asiakkaita. Että sillä tavalla positiivisesti painostaa.

H: *Joo*, *niin*. *No*, *mites se välittäminen sitten?*

M7: No, välittäminen tietysti sitten sitä, että tietysti välittäminen henkilökohtaisista asioista, että kyllä joka ikinen tykkää siitä, että se johtaja joskus voi kysyä, että missäs olit viikonloppuna taikka mitä kuuluu vaimolles, miehelles, lapselles, ihan mitä tahansa niinku ikiomaa asiaa, ett kyllä sitä, jos sitä vaikka kerran viikossa kysyy, niin ei siitä kukaan varmasti tykkää muuta kuin hyvää, ja sitten välittäminen siinä mielessä, että välittäminen lähinnä kiitoksen muodossa, että jos joku esimerkiks jos joku on tehnyt jonkun homman ja on tehnyt sen tosi hyvin, vaikkei se ois johtanutkaan mihinkään hirveen hyvään lopputulokseen, mutta jos ihminen kuitenkin on tehnyt sen hommansa tosi hyvin, niin jonkin näköinen palkitseminen. Eikä se tarkoita, muuta kuin että kiitos, että hyvin tehty työ.

M5: Avointa, siis oli hyvää tai pahaa ja varsinkin pahaa, niin siitä täytyy tiedottaa. Tiedottaa, että ihmiset osaa varautua asioihin ja ottaa ne sillä tavalla, kun ne mahdollisesti tulee tulevaisuudessa ja ei tule yllätyksenä mitkään, ei järkytyksiä sitten myöhemmin.

M5: Sitä mä kaipaisin kyllä sitä avoimuutta ja tiedottamista asioista, missä mennään.

M5: --- toi rahatilanne, kun sitä ei ole minullekaan suoraan sanottu. Mä olen tiennyt ne ongelmat, mutta olen peitellyt niitä paikallisilta, Mua ei ole käskytetty, että niitä voisi puhua eteenpäin, eikä ole kerrottu edes oikeaa tilanne minulle itsellenikään. Mä olisin halunnut kertoa tilanteesta kyllä. Mutta ehkä se olisi luonut paniikkia. --- Mä olisin odottanut vähän avoimuutta Suomen puolelta.

M4: Että minulle olisi riittänyt sekin, että mä tarvitsen vaikka 35 000 ja mulle tulee 30 000.

H: Niin sitten sinä tiedät.

M4: Mä tiedän sen ja se on, sitten mä voin sanoa, että sorry kundit, tässä kuussa ei tehdä tätä. Sillä, että sä olet ihan avuton, avuton toisten armoilla olija sillä lailla, että se mitä toinen hyvää hyvyyttään ja kaikelta muulta huudolta ehtii tekemään. Minun mielestäni, se ei ollut niin kuin minun tehtäväni.

H: Niin.

M4: Mä en sellaiseen suostu, että mä kerjään paloja sieltä ja täältä. Että realiteetit ovat realiteetteja. Jos ei ole rahaa, niin ei ole rahaa ja se kerrotaan, että ei ole.

H: *Mmm. Joo.*

M4: Piste. Ja mitäs siinä sitten. Mä hyväksyn sen.

H: Voisiko siitä keskustella?

M6: Hän varmaankin, en tiedä, tästä olemme keskenämme keskusteleet monta kertaa, että varmaankin hyvin monessa yrityksessä niin se varmasti se tj pitäisi ensiarvoisen tärkeänä, että tämmöiset asiat hoidetaan. Ja jos ei hoideta, niin siitä tiedotetaan ja sanotaan, ja jos me, joku meistä olisi toimitusjohtaja, niin varmasti valvottaisiin öitä ja niin, että onko se joku niin teräs kaveri, että se ei sitten mieti näitä asioita.

M7: Mä oon nyt elokuussa ollut vuoden ja tasan samalla palkalla kun tullessani, silloin puhuttiin jostain kolmen kuukauden koeajasta, ja sitten kun se 3 kuukautta tuli täyteen, mä en saanut millään [tj;n nimi] puristettua, että onko mää vai enkö mää oo. En siis millään, eikä tietysti palkastakaan puhuttua mitään ja nyt kun mä oon elokuussa ollut vuoden, niin kyllä mä sitä aion kysyä ainakin, en mä usko, että se mihkään johtaa, mutta mä aioin kysyä, oisko mitään asialle tehtävissä.

H: *Onko sulla työsopimus allekirjoitettu*?

M7: Ei, ei.

H: Oottekste sitä puhunut?

M7: Ei koskaan oo puhuttukaan. Ja mää alkuun ajattelin, että hetkinen, mitäs tää nyt oikein tarkoittaa, mutta sitten mää ajattelin, että no joo, että mää tulin siihen tulokseen, että voi olla ihan hyväkin ettei oo, että mää en välttämättä pidä sitä pahana.

H: Mmm. Joo.

M7: Se on johtamisasia tietysti ensisijaisesti, että se on johtajuudesta hyvä esimerkki, että johtaja ei kolmen kuukauden jälkeen kykene sanoon, että olenko mä palveluksessa vai en, niin se on johtajuutta surkeimmillaan, kyllä.

H: Ootsä ite ollut, oliko se niin, että sä et oo ite kuitenkaan kysynyt, kun sä päätit, et oo ottanut sitä puheeksi?

M7: Juu, puhuin mää. Kysyin häneltä ihan suoraan (levittää käsiään) ja siis kysyin ensin noin niinkuin vähän vitsinomaisesti, että hei, menee 3 kuukautta just täyteen, ja sitt mä kysyin vähän tiukemmin. Mä en saanut vastausta. Sitt mä laitoin kolmannen kysymyksen, että mä toivoin saavani väistelemättömän vastauksen, että olenko palveluksessa vai en.

H: Niin, no saitko sä siihen vastausta?

M7: Sitt vastasi, että kun nyt noin kysyt, niin hommat jatkuu. Siinä oli kaikki.

H: Oliko tää sähköpostilla?

M7: Joo.

H: Okei, no te ette puhuneet siitä sitten, että ei ollut mitään, että kun sä oot ollut vähän aikaa, niin M7: Ei, se oli jossakin, mä en muista missä tää oli tää johtaja silloin, että tota mulla ei ollut muuta tapaa ilmaista asiaa.

H: Niin. Ja nyt sitten olet ollut. Te ette oo siitä enää keskustellut?

M7: Siitä ei oo sitten sen koommin keskusteltu. Ei olemisesta, eikä rahasta eikä mistään.

M8: C on johtajana sellanen, joka tota, se ei kauhean paljon niin kuin ohjaa taikka niin kuin ohjaa ihmisiä johonkin suuntaan, vaan se antaa ihmisten tehdä asioita ja jos ne oleellisesti poikkeee jostain järkevästä suunnasta, niin sitten hän niinkuin puuttuu. Siis Yritys on siitä ja C on siitä hyvä johtaja, että se antaa niin kuin ihmisten tehdä niin kuin työtä itsenäisesti ja ennen kaikkea vaikuttaa oman työnsä sisältöön, että se on sillä lailla niin kuin mielekästä.

H: Sinä olet [maa] toimiston esimies?

M2: No sanotaan, ett mä hoidan sitä [maa], sillä tavalla ihan ilman C:n minkäännäköistä, no tukea, mutta hän tietää, että mä sen homman kyllä osaan ja taloudelliset asiat, ei oikeestaan ookaan muita kuin. Ei hänen tarvitse tähän hommaan puuttua ollenkaan. Me hoidetaan palkka ja muut kulut. X:n %:n katteella tehdään.--- Nämä ovat niitä kokonaisuuksia, että sanotaan nyt vaikka, että minun semmoinen työtyytyväisyys on vähintäänkin kohtuullista, kun sanoin, että saan tehdä töitä hyvin, itsenäisesti ja neuvomatta.

M3: Niin, edelleen niistä huonoista, ei vaan hyvistä puolista, niin tää on vapaata ja saa itte määritellä sen, että, minne menee ja minkälaista työtä tekee. Ja sitten, jos tuntuu siltä, että haluaa ottaa löysemmin, niin voi tehdä sen, ja sitten kun näkee, että pitää tehdä tiukasti töitä, niin voi tehdä. Niinku sillä lailla ei C ole puuskuttamassa niskan takana.

M3: Joo, no eihän niinku, eihän C oikeestaan johda mitään, siis sillä tavalla, me ollaan – me niinkuin avainhenkilöt, jotka vastataan tästä, ollaan aikalailla itsenäisiä,. Hän haluaa sen, että hänellä on tieto siitä, mitä tapahtuu ja hän voi sitten puuttua siihen, jos hän näkee, että kaikki ei mene. Kaikkihan on tavallaan, onhan se johtamistapa sekin, mutta ei se semmosta aktiivista johtamista ole, mitä mä usein toivoisin.

M7: Ja se on tietysti muovannut sen C:n johtamistavankin sellaiseksi, että kun sitä ei sitä varsinaista johtamista niin kauheasti ole, että eihän ne sitten nämä satunnaiset vierailijat, niin eihän ne sitten tarvitse sitä. Eikä se tajua sitten, että sitä joka tapauksessa kuitenkin täytyisi olla.

M2: Siis todella tuntuu lähes pahalta, että ei niinku osaa mennä kertoon ihmisille tai osaa pyytää ja et... se on... Et se kyllä se vaatii sellaista pientä small talkia, kyllä se vaatii.

M2: Mutta kyllä hän sais olla vähän vastaanottavaisempi ajatuksille, siis en tarkota minun ajatuksille– nehän on vain yhden ihmisen ajatuksia. Mutta kyllä pikkasen kuunnella ja ottaa semmosia --- ajatuksia sitten.

M4: *Ja sitten, mielestäni, kun näitä keskusteluja käydään ja niitä puhutaan, niin se on hukkaan heitettyä aikaa.*

H: Onko?

M4: *On!*

H: Niin kuin C:n kanssa?

M4: Mun mielestäni.

H: Vai tämä keskustelu?

M4: Ei, vaan C:n kanssa käyty keskustelu yleensäkin siitä, että tämän tyyppinen, että palkat pitää maksaa, koska se on sillä tavalla, että mä aina sanon C:lle, että mieti nyt, että kun me vatvotaan näitä asioita keskenämme ja puhutaan sataan miljoonaan kertaan, että mikä on s meidän työpanos semmosena päivänä. Se on surullista, se on tosi surullista, että meidän energia menee semmoiseen, että meidän täytyy päästä ja se ei koskaan se ei johda mihinkään. Mua tympäisee eniten se, että ei se_mene hyvällä keskustelulla, eikä se tunnu menevän millään keskustelulla, että minkä takia tässä niin kuin, että kuka tässä on tyhmä kuuluu niin kuin seuraava kysymys. Että olenko se minä, joka esitän tämmöisiä ajatuksia ja toiveita päivän selvistä asioista, että ne pitäisi jotenkin hoitaa ja sitten niitä ei kuitenkaan hoideta.

M2: Ei hän siinäkään sitten kuuntele, tai hän kuuntelee ja myöntää, mutta niin kuin monella yksityisyrittäjällä hänellä on hirveen vaikee luopuu. Ei C ota henkilöitä huomioon milläään tavalla. Ei hän kysy, mitä sulle kuuluu? Ei semmosia asioita, mitkä ovat mun mielestä semmosia perusasioita.-- Tämä on varmaan niitä johtamisen ihan perusjuttuja. Ihmisille ei pidä tehdä ongelmalliseksi asioita eikä vaikeaksi asioita.

M2:---hän ei vaan oo tottunut, se ei vaan kuulu siihen hänen kulttuuriinsa yritysjohtajuuteen ja ehkei myöskään ihmisenä. Mä luulen, että se on vähän sitä, minä ehkä otan vähän liikaakin ihmisiä huomioon, oon ottanut ja ehkä vielä tänä päivänäkin, mutta jukka ei sillä tavalla tee sitä. On varmaan ihmisiä, johtajia, jotka tekee vähän pahansuopuuttaan tai... hän ei tuu niinkuin ajatelleeksi sitä. Tätä on monessa hänen toiminnassaan, että hän ei niinkuin osaa ajatella niitä asioita sillä tavalla.

M2: Mä oon aina ollut näitten pehmeitten arvojen, jos käyttää sitä sanaa, tai sen motivoivan johtamisen ehdoton kannattaja. Sillä minä ainakin olen saanut tuloksia, siis kaikki tämmönen esimiehen pelko, käskeminen, rähjääminen huutaminen, siis niillä nyt kuitenkin harvemmin saavutetaan mitään.

H: Kuinka paljon pitää olla paikan päällä?

M2: Ei tartte olla, mä olen lähtenyt siitä, että kaikki henkilöt ovat senioreja, kaikki. Tänäänkin katsottu kaveri oli 50-vuotias. Mä muistan, kun hain näitä hommia, olin alta 50, ja silloin Suomessa oli tämä hölmö aika, jolloin katottiin, että oot sä noin vanha jo. Olen siellä aika vähän, viimeksi kävin maaliskuussa, ehkä ei kerran kuussa, ehkä kolmesta neljään päivää puolessatoista kuussa, mutta ei se ole ihan siihen mennyt. Mutta emmä tiedä, melkein päivittäin juttelen kavereiden kanssa, ja se pelaa aika hyvin sillä. Kun niitä [toimeksiantoja] on neljä kappaletta, niin se vaatii paljon enemmän työtä. Ja ideahan on, että jokainen on vuoden kerrallaan, itse pitää raha anoa uudellee,n ja yritysten pitää haluta jatkaa, ja tämä ensimmäinen, niin uskoin, että haluaa jatkaa, niin ei ollutkaan selvää, että ne haluaa jatkaa. Näitä pystyis tekemään enemmän, mutta ei se oo vaan se, että löytää niitä, pitäis pystyä perustelemaan se jatko. Pitää löytää henkilöt), jotka tyydyttää ryhmää, saada se menemään ja sitten se, että se jatkossa pyörii.

M3: X on hyvin voimakas henkilö, häntä ei saa missään tapauksessa loukata ja antaa sellaista kuvaa, että minä olen hänen pomonsa ja määrään mitä tehdään. --- X on semmoinen, luonteeltaan on sellanen, joten sitten mun strategia on ollut se, että me ollaan tasa-arvoisia ja me keskustellaan asioista ja kehitetään asioita ja se on toiminut erittäin hyvin.. Se, että tämä tapahtuma mikä on, niin tämmönen kontrolli jää pois ja tota, tarkoitus oli alun perin, että mä olen siellä suurimman osan ajasta, mutt sitten X tunsi itsensä vaivaantuneeksi ja se oli vähän hankalaa ja sitten.

If there is trust...

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M3:--- kun tää sunkin aihe on tää johtaminen ja tää suhde suhde johtajaan ja johtajan suhde alaisiinsa on tavallaan se ongelma.

M7: Ja niin kuin yleensäkin keskustelut, kun hän menee [kaupunki] konttoriinkin, jos ei ole siellä viikkoon käynyt, ja menee sinne [kaupunki] konttoriin ja tietysti tervehtii, istuu sinne koneensa ää-

reen ja naputtelee siinä tunnin, eikä kenenkään kanssa puhu mitään ja sen jälkeen lähtee. Ja sitten vaan, jos jollakin on akuuttia asiaa, niin täytyy sitten vaan että hei, että onko hetki aikaa ja sitten, että juu on hetki aikaa ja sitten rupee puhelin soimaan ja se hetki menee sitten siihen, että hän rupee puhuun puhelimessa ja sitten onkin jo kiire seuraavaan paikkaan.

M4: Ja sitten toinen, että hänen ajankäyttönsä, siis ihan semmoinen oman ajan käyttö, että hänellä olisi toimistopäivä [kaupunki] ja toimistopäivä [kaupunki] ja sitten olisi semmoista että hän tutustuisi toimintaan näissä kohdemaissa sillä lailla, että tekisi säännöllisesti käyntejä näissä. Hän on vieraantunut näistä systeemeistä tavalla tai toisella. Mutta ajan käytöstä sillä tavalla, että siinä olisi semmoinen, että hänen olisi pakko. Mekin tiedettäisiin, mitä hän tekee.

H: Niin.

M4: Minun mielestäni se on sillä tavalla, että hänellä on näitä uusia suunnitelmia, projekteja, joista meillä ei ole hajuakaan, eikä hänen niistä toki tarvitse meille kertoakaan, mutta ei minun mielestäni yritystä johdeta autosta.

M6: Ja kyllähän C:n kanssa pystyy puhumaan kaikista asioista, voi ottaa puheeksi. Hän on yleensä niin vähän aikaa paikalla, että siinä ei kauaa ole, mutta sinällään, ei hänellä ole sinällään mitään sitä vastaan, että annetaan ehdotuksia, että ei se ole, se ei ole ollenkaan sellainen vanhanaikainen kuvio, että tuolla on johtaja, että uskaltaisikohan sille käydä.. --- Silloin taidettiin jutella. Kyllä nyt sitten, siltä pitää kysyä jotain koko ajan. Kyllä se yleensä vastaa, mutta ei se ensin rupea kertomaan.

M3: --- hän ei ole saanut C:n kanssa keskustelua aikaseksi, hän on pyytänyt audienssia ja halunnut keskustella, mutta C:llä on aina ollut jotain kiireita, että hän ei oo. C ei tykkää istua näin X:n [päällikön nimi] kanssa, X:n esittämistapa ei sitten ilmeisesti sovi sitten hänelle.--- Ja sitten jos C ei halua keskustella hänen kanssaan, niin C todella asettaa itsensä jonnekin pilviin (vilkaisee ylös). X ei näe sitä, eikä pysty tavoittamaan sitten.

M3: --- ett olen sillä lailla hyvin varovasti aina, kun C:tä ei voi kovin suoraan, täytyy olla diplomaattinen, ja kunnioittaa häntä johtajana ja muuta, ei voi liian päin pläsiä näitä asioita, niinkuin jotkut on tehnyt ja sitt ne ei oo kauaa voineet olla siinä ympäristössä, kun tulee se skisma kun sanoo suoraan näistä asioista. Mä oon tavallaan yrittänyt antaa hänen ymmärtää.

M2: Siis minun mielestä se on onni, että mulla on aina ollut hyvät esimiehet. Mä en C:tä nyt sillä tavalla esimiehenä pidäkään, hyvä suhde, mutta se ei oo mikään tällanen esimies-alainen -suhde millään tavalla. Minä teen hänelle hommia ja me molemmat olemme sillä tavalla tyytyväisiä. Mä olen tosiaan hyvistä esimiehistä saanut nauttia.

M2: --- olen sellaisen luottamuksen saanut, kun tässä olen näitä hommia puolitoista vuotta tehnyt ja hommat on tehty sillai, että ei oo ollut mitään moittimista mun käsittääkseni, niin sen vuoksi on se luottamuksenkin saanut.

M7: Kyllä mä uskon, että meillä on, tosiaan mitään ei koskaan ole niin kuin puhuttu ei ääneen lausuta tämän suuntaisiakaan asioita, mutta silti mä vaistoan, että on se luottamus on olemassa ja sel-

lainen, käytettäköön sanaa kemia, joku sellainen asia on olemassa.-- Mä uskon ja koen, että muhun luotetaan, jos sitä ei olisi, niin mä kokisin, että mä olen epäonnistunut, mutta että kun mä vaistoan että se luottamus on olemassa, niin se on niin kuin niitä parhaita asioita.

M4: Päinvastoin, mä niin kuin tunsin sen ja tiesin, että ne tukee mua ne [paikalliset työntekijät], että en mä ollut siinä yksin, mutta tietyllä tavalla se oli sillä lailla, että kaikki koki sen, että miten tämä voi olla näin.--- Mun oli pakko sanoa jossain vaiheessa, että tämä tilanne on tällainen, että mä en osaa antaa teille mitään hyvää selitystä siitä, että miksi tämä on näin, mutta tämä on vain näin. --- Mutta tietyllä tavalla oli, että mulla oli henkilökohtainen suhde heihin jokaiseen tietyllä tavalla.

We should have commitment towards those people

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M3: --- tässä tapauksessa, niin X on niinku lapsillensa isä. Ja täällä Suomessa johtaja on taas sillä tavalla niinku yks tiimin jäsen, joka on sitten vähän ylempänä. Ja jos isä ei pysty [maa] huolehtimaan lapsistaan, niin hän on huono isä ja niinkuin tässä tapauksessa maksaa palkkoja, niin hän menettää kasvonsa, hän ei voi tehdä sitä. Kun ihmiset on sielläkin niiku kysellyt rahojensa perään, niin X on sanonut suoraan, että tilanne on huono täällä, ett jos susta tuntuu, että sä et voi jatkaa täällä, niin sä voit ihan vapaasti lähtee. Okei ja hän antaa hyvät paperit ja muuta.

H: Hekään eivät saaneet palkkaansa?

M4: Kyllä he saivat, mulla taas oli semmonen, että minä en ottanut siitä rahasta palkkaa itselleni, koska mun mielestä niitten kuuluu saada se, että totta kai mä olisin voinut ottaa ja sanoa, että sorry, kundit. Mutta[maa] olisin voinut hyvin tehnytkin, mutta mielestäni olin työnantajan edustaja ja työnantaja ei voi tehdä sillai siis työntekijöille, että se oli mun siis, että siitä lähdetään. Niillä pitää olla, niillä on perheitä ja niiden pitää saada ja mitäs me tehdään, jos ne hermostuu. Ett se, että mulla ei ole mitään virkaa siellä, jos ne hermostuu tai käy levottomiksi, että se.

H: Pystyitkö sitten koko ajan maksamaan heille?

M4: Kyllä heidän palkat, ehkä pienellä viiveellä, mutta kyllä se sitten taas, että jos ajattelee itsekkäästi, että mä pääsen kuitenkin vähän kontrolloimaan sitä rahaliikennettä, mutta mä en kuitenkaan omaan pussiin sitä rahaa laittanut. Niin, että joku voi ajatella, että se on typeryyttä, mutta en mä voi sillai ajatella.

M4: Mä koen niin, että mä olen työmies siinä kuin lapionheiluttajakin tai joku muu ja silloin, jos työ, jos sulla on rahaa 20 000 ja työmiehen palkka on maksamatta, niin se maksetaan ensin. Ja sitten katsotaan vasta, että mitäs sitten.

M3: No, kyllä kun tässä on valjennut tämä toimintamalli, että se on tavallaan tämmöistä vähän niinkuin projektiluontoista, että jos on projekteja niin sitten on töitä tyyliin ja rekrytoidaan ihmisiä ja se vaikuttaa ja sitten, jotenkin niin kuin se, että en mä näe, että hirveesti on panostettu ihmisiin sillä tavalla, että ne haluttais keinolla millä hyvänsä pitää. Että C:llä ei ole joko halua tai taitoa siihen.

M2: Mutta hän ... hyvälle esimiehelle kuuluu alaisistaan huolehtiminen. Mä tänä päivänä huolehdin näistä [maa] pojista, ja niin C:n pitäis huolehtia meistä muista jotka ollaan täällä, mutta se ei myöskään hänen semmoseen Johtuisko se sitten siitä, että hän ei oo sillä tavalla missään isommin hommissa, mutta kuin jossain harjoitteluhommissa, missä lie sitten ollutkaan.

Making strategies, clear decisions, goals to pursuit

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H: Mitä se johtajuus oikeastaan on sun mielestä?

M6: No, mun mielestä johtaja luo suunnat ja sitten pitää huolen, että paketti pysyy kasassa ja huolehtii perusasioista, ettei tartte puuttua kaikkiin yksityiskohtiin, mutta että se menee strategian mukaisesti ja hän huolehtii, että se paketti toimii ja tietyt asiat hoituu.

M7: No se tekeminen on sitten, tietysti se edellyttää sellaista systemaattista työtapaa, mikä on se kaiken niinkuin musta sellainen a ja o, se oma työskentelytapa täytyy olla sellainen systemaattinen ja hallittu ja koordinoitu ja sitten tietysti myös tänä jämäkän johtajan on täytynyt luoda ne pelisäännöt, minkä mukaan toimii tää henkilöstö.

H: Mmm. Joo. Mikä se johtajan homma sitten oikeestaan siinä organisaatiossa on sun mielestä? **M7:** Se on oikeestaan. Jos asiat on hyvin, niin johtajan ei kauheesti tartte niinkuin siihen varsinaiseen johtamiseen puuttua, vaan se voi käyttää aikaansa enemmän tällaisen visioinnin suuntaan. Ja kehittää sitä businesta, sitten siihen rutiinitoimintaan ei pitäis puuttua ollenkaan. Jos kaikki on mallillaan asiat.

H: Tarkoitatko sillai rutiini, niin mitä sä sillä tarkoitat lähinnä?

M7: No niin kuin, mun mielestä asiat pitäis olla firmassa niin hyvin, että se johtaja vois kaiken aikansa ja energiansa ja voimavaransa käyttää miettimän uutta esimerkiks nyt vaikka nyt uusien asiakkaiden kalasteluun tai vaikka jos menee nyt vähän huonosti, niin miettiä, että hetkinen, että mistä me haetaan uutta businesta ja uusia kasvualueita ja onko mahdollisesti jotain, mistä me voidaan luopua, että koko ajan miettiä sen olemassaolon tarkoitusta ja jos tosiaan menee huonosti, niin tehdä jotakin, ja jos menee hyvin, niin luotsata sitä sitten siihen hyvään suuntaan. Mutta ei niin kauheesti olla mukana siinä päivittäisessä, olemassaolevassa hommassa.

H: *Mmm*. *Joo*.

M7: Paitsi tietysti sitten, jos menee pieleen niin sitten tietysti siihen puuttua, mutta että täytyis olla niin hyvät toimintatavat ja pelisäännöt, että se rullais automaattisesti itsekin eteenpäin.

M3: ---- en halua sitä hänelle tyrkyttää, en häntä pakottaa, että tällasia kehityskeskusteluja, strategioitten suunnittelua, semmosia selkeitä päätöksiä, tavoitteita, mihin pyritään ja sitten suunnitelmia, joita toteutetaan ja seurataan – ei näitä ole. Hyviä yrityksiä on, mutta sitten ne aina lopahtaa.

M6: Totta kai niistä keskusteltiin, mutta nyt on siinä mielessä, että me jouduimme tammikuussa niin tiukille. Että tässä firmassa reagoidaan sitten, kun on äärimmäinen pakko tai kun se tilanne itsessään tuottaa jonkun tuloksen, että siihen ei etukäteen reagoida, että nyt näitä kuluja ollaan karsittu ja ollaan karsimassa.

H: Miten se näkyy se johtajuus tässä teidän joka päivittäisessä toiminnassa?

M7: *Se ikävä kyllä ei näy millään tavalla.*

H: Eiks se näy niinkuin millään lailla?

M7: Ei. ei.

H: No, millä lailla sä aattelet, että sen pitäis?

M7: Kyllä nää kaikki [yrityksen nimi] leivissä olevat menee ihan omaa latuansa suurin piirtein toisistaan tietämättä. Että kun yksi pieni esimerkki, että nytkin on tuolla [paikka], onko siellä nyt sitten kaks, no joo kaksi uutta kaveria, toisesta tuli pieni tiedote, että joo, tää kaveri tekee tätä hommaa nyt kesäkuun loppuun ja kesäkuun loppu on mennyt ja ei yhtään tiedetä mitään ja sitten on uusi kaveri, mistä ei ole yhtään. Siellä vastasi puhelimeen joku ihan outo ja mä kysyin, että kuka siellä vastaa puhelimeen, niin siellä on uusi ihminen eikä kukaan tiedä, mikä se on ja ehkä nyt ne, jotka siellä istuu, niin tietää, että tämmönen on tullut, että kuuluu jollain tavalla joukkoon. Nää on nyt ihan semmoisia niin perustavaa laatua olevia asioita, että ei näin missään tapauksessa tietenkään sais olla. Että jos ei tämmöisetkään asiat, että tämmöinen pienimuotoinen tiedottaminen, että hei, nyt on tullut uus kaveri tekee tätä ja tätä ja jos ei semmosestakaan puhuta ja tiedoteta, niin ei sitten kauheesti muistakaan.

H: Sanoit, että johtajan tehtävä on koordinoida toimintoja.

M7: *Mmmm*.

H: Miten se näkyy täällä

M7: Ei se näy, kun sellaista ei ole.

H: Mä vaan ajattelin, että kun sä sanoit näitä pelisääntöjä, niin mitä sä itse asiassa tarkoitit sitten? M7: Mä tarkoitan pelisäännöillä tällaista, että olisi enemmän sovittu, että kuka mitäkin tekee. Esimerkiksi nyt vaikka kun on monenlaisia myyntimiehiä, niin ois sovittu, että mitä kukin tekee, kuka mihinkin soittaa. Nyt tapahtuu, että soitetaan samoihin paikkoihin, puhutaan ihan eri kieltä, ja semmosia, ehkä nyt tapahtumia ja osallistumisia johonkin juttuihin ja tapahtumiin ja jotain velvotteita, että jos joku jossain käy, niin mitä sen jälkeen tapahtuu, että kuinka se on velvollinen mistäkin raportoimaan.

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M3: Että sillä lailla vois tämä työnteko olla jämäkämpää minunkin osaltani, jos täss ois selkee strategia. Ainoo strategia mikä mulla on, on se, että D:tä [maa] pitää kehittää ja saada sinne myyntiä.

H: Miten sun tehtäväsi kun sä olet siellä, mikä sun nimike on?

M7: Toimistopäällikkö.

H: Mikä sun tehtäväsi on? Kysyn nyt ihan...

M7: Joo, ne on hyviä kysymyksiä, mihin en mäkään siis, mä en oikeestaan pysty vastaamaan, kun mä en itsekään tiedä tänä päivänäkään se ei ole selkiintynyt mulle eikä hahmottunut, että mikä mun tehtäväni on. Että mä koen, että mun tehtäväni on se, että mä hoidan kaikki juoksevat asiat, mitä ikinä tulee eteen. Tulee ne sitten puhelimessa, tulee postissa, mä hoidan ne eteenpäin.

H: Niin.

M7: Tavalla taikka toisella.

H: Joo.

M7: Mutta mikä se sitten oikein, mikä se virka on, niin ei se nyt missään tapauksessa mikään toimistopäällikön virka ole, että mä en oikein tiedä, mikähän se olis osuvampi kuvaamaan, kuvaavampi nimike.

M2: --- vaan minä tai joku muu vois tietää sen, että missä niinkuin meidän kokonaishomma niinku menee. Niin helppo, että kun [maa] on lähtenyt niin paljon asiakkaita, niin ... Mutta ei kukaan, ei C itsekään tiedä, missä niin kuin mennään.

M7: -- ja tämä yrityshän on sinänsä kiinnostava ja kuviot on kiinnostavat, mutta, tai ainakin onnistutaan niin hyvin myymään ja maalaan alkuvaiheessa, mutta sitten kun astuu siihen kuvioon sisään, niin sitten kuva onkin hiukan toisenlainen.

H: Mitä toi tarkoittaa ihan konkreettisesti?

M7: Se tarkoittaa, että aika lyhyessä aikaa sisäistää kaikki nää ongelmat, mitä tässä on, että ei todellakaan putiikkia ei johdeta, ei ole niitä yhteisiä pelisääntöjä, ei ole yhteisiä menettelytapoja, ei ole tiedottamista missään määrin. Ja sitten tietysti, varmasti suurin syy on tämä ikuinen, krooninen rahapula.

M2: Hän on kauheen innovatiivinen ihminen, keksii, keksii, mutt sitt kun se homma pitäisi toteuttaa, niin sitt se lopahtaa. Ett sitä toteuttamista hän ei osaa tehdä. Mutt lähinnä kai meillä pitäis olla semmoiset asiat, kuin suunnitelmallisuus, siihen liittyen määrätietoisuus ja tavoitteellisuus. Ett se mikä on suunniteltu, niin katsotaan kans, ett se toteutuu. Ei siinä oo mitään järkee, ett kukaan ei oo kiinnostunut siitä, miten se meni. Että samalla tavalla kuin pitäis tehdä semmonen jälkikalkyyli. Ei mitään liiketoimintaa pidä tehdä sen vuoksi, ett se on kivaa, vaan kyllä sen pitää hyödyttää C:tä tai Yritystä.

M6: Sehän se onkin ihmeellistä, että monen mielestä, monen yrittäjän lähtökohta on varmaankin, että se nyt tuottaa ja saa tehdä mitä haluaa ja että se tuottaa taloudellisesti, että se on ihmeellistä, että se ei tunnu olevan niin voimakas tekijä tässä yrityksessä, että tulokseen pyrkiminen. Että se on tärkeämpää, että ollaan monessa mukana ja pystytään kertomaan ulospäin, että mitä kaikkea meillä on ja verkostoja ja konttoreita siellä ja täällä, mutta että sanotaan, että monelle yrittäjälle olisi tärkeämpää, että sillä olisi vaikka yksi tai kaksi toimistoa, jotka tuottaisivat vaikka 3 milj vuodessa kuin se, että meillä on 10 toimistoa ja tehdään päinvastaista tulosta.

M2: Ei se oo mikään syy tehdä bisnestä, että se on kivaa. Sen pitää hyödyttää C:tä ja Yritystä.

M2: Tää on hyvin erikoinen tämä C:n liikkeenjohtamistapa. Tietysti vois kärjistää, että koska C ei oo koskaan ollut missään töissä, niin missä se ois voinu oppiikaan.

M7: Esimerkiksi tän kohta vuoden aikana on ollut yksi, yksi joo varsinainen palaveri, missä kaikki on ollut mukana.

H: Minkä merkeissä se oli?

M7: Se oli niin kuin myynnin merkeissä myyntikokous, missä tietysti sitten keskustelu ja palaveri sitten rönsyili ja aika loppui aivan kättelyssä kesken, mikä tietysti kieli siitä, että kauheesti oilisi ollut asiaa ja se koettiin todella hyväksi ja koettiin tarpeelliseksi, mutta ei sille tullut jatkoa. Näinkin pieni porukka, niin kuinka helppoa se olisi käytännössä se järjestäminen, että mutta kun siihen ei ilmeisesti johtaja vaan ei tunne tarvetta.

H: Mmm, mmm. No kukaan ei ole ruvennut sitä sitten teistäkään ole ajamaan sitä asiaa?

M7: Kyllä sitä on väläytelty mutta kukaan ei kovin pontevasti ja tietysti sekin on väärin, että kyllähän se C, kun oikein pontevasti jostakin sanoo, että nyt se on pakko pitää, niin varmasti niin tapahtuisi.

H: Joo, onko sulla ajatusta, että minkä takia kukaan ei rupee, syntyy helposti semmonen kuva, että vaikka on näitä asioita, joita tiedetään, niin kukaan ei kuitenkaan tartu siihen?

M7: Ehkä se on kuitenkin sitten semmonen, (10 sek) sitten kuitenkin semmoinen jonkin asteinen mielenkiinnon puute?

H: Koko hommaan?

M7: Niin, tai semmoinen ehkä luovuttaminen, että joo, että ei siitä kuitenkaan mitään tule.

The leadership of that unit should be carefully handled

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M3: Ja X on painottanut, että me ei koskaan tulla oppimaan sitä, että millä tavalla [maa] pitää henkilöstöä käsitellä, että se täytyy niinku niiden ehdoilla ja sillä toimintamallilla ja mä oon ilmoittanut C:lle ja se pitää paikkansa kyllä. Mutta siinä on ollut sellainen huono puoli, että meillä ei ole ole kontrollia asioihin, mikä nyt nähtiin, että yhtäkkiä tapahtuu tällaista.

H: No, miten sinä olet johtanut [paikallista henkilöstöä], mitkä ovat ne ydinasiat, mitä olet siellä tehnyt?

M5: Mullakin on se, että siellä on yksi paikallinen kaveri, jolla on hyvä asema yrityksessä, hän on paikallisten johtaja. On käynyt niinkin, että meillä on ollut sisäinen palaveri englanniksi, olen sen vetänyt ja 5 min myöhemmin paikalliset kokoontuvat samaan tilaisuuteen tämän paikallisen johtajan kanssa kinaksi puhuen varmaan samaa asiaa. Mulla ei ole siitä sitten loppujen lopuksi mitään tietoa, mitä siellä käsiteltiin.

M4: Mulla on ollut oma ajatus, millä tavalla sitä [maa] voisi johtaa. Sillai, ettää siellä voisi olla [paikallinen henkilö], joka sitä toimistoa pyörittää, että ei siellä ole länsimaisen ihmisen läsnäolo aina ihan, ihan niin välttämätöntä. Tää on mun oma fiilis.

If you come from the course you are number one

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M3: Vaikka mä oon ollu vajaa kolme vuotta mä oon pitkäaikaisin työntekijä. Täss on vaihtuvuutta ollut niin valtavan paljon. Mä oon tullu X-kurssin [kurssin nimi] kautta niin kuin kaikki, jok'ikinen meistä on tullut sitä kautta. Se C:n tämmonen strategia on ollut sitä, että tavallaan säästetään kustannuksissa ja tavallaan antaa kaverille mahdollisuus, että näyttää, mihin pystyy ja jatkaa. Tästä on tullut myös rasite sillä tavalla, että työhön ei oteta sillä kriteerillä, että mikä on se osaaminen, todellinen taito. Vaan sillä, että jos on [työllisyyskurssin nimi] kurssilainen, niin se on number one, sillä saadaan...

H: *Halvalla?*

M3: Ei kun ilmaiseksi tai hyvin halvalla saa.

M3: Tavallaan tää on sellaista, että C luo työympäristöä, missä pystyy tavallaan kehittämään ja kehittymään ihmiset. Ja tää konsepti myös pystyy kehittymään. Se ei välttämättä ole tehokas just tän, näitten asioitten takia. Nää ihmiset eivät ole huippuammattilaisia siinä, mitä tekevät, vaan tää työ ikään kuin opettaa ja sitten tää työ, jos on kykyä ja halua ja jaksaa näitä tiettyjä kuvioita, mitä tässä on, niin sitten varmaan menestyykin.

H: *Mitä sä tarkotit, ett ei oo huippuammattilaisia?*

M3: Niin, kun on B [työllisyyskurssin nimi]-kurssilaisia, niin on tietty työttömyysjakso takana. Ja jokaisella on erilainen se tausta, minkä takia on ollut työtön. Ja sitt on ollut sellasia tapauksia, että on ollut kavereita, joilla syy on ollut alkoholi mitä ilmeisimmin. Niit on aika paljon.

M3: Mä sitten sanoin useaan otteeseen, kun oli kokouksia, että olisiko se mitenkään mahdollista saada E:hen toimisto. Sitt se aika nopeasti otti tulta ja C hommas tämän pisteen. Ja mä sain sitten työpisteen. Kun viikko oli täynnä ja mä tulin tänne, niin joka paikka oli täynnä ja mulla ei ollutkaan työpistettä. Täällä oli J hän oli tuolla ja H oli tässä ja JJ oli tässä ja sit yht'äkkiä tää olikin varattu – Mä olin ajatellut JJ menee tohon. Niin toi oli tossa. Sitt vaan todettiin, että ei oo, että nyt on semmonen tilanne, että mä jatkan kotona.

M3: Ett kun on tämmönen hyvin dynaaminen yritys, ja tiedetään, että tähän tehtävään tarvitaan tietyn tyyppinen ihminen, niin lähdetään hakemaan tuolta markkinoilta, pannaan rekrytointi käytiin ja kysellään. Ja sit löydetään se oikee henkilö monesta vaihtoehdosta. Mutt tässä kun otetaan, tavallaan kun on semmonen tilanne ainakin tää toinen kaveri, että on tullut kyselemään, että onko töitä ja mulla on sellainen käsitys, että hän on tullut vain kokeilemaan, jos hän sais jotain aikaiseksi. Koittaa tällaista projektia saada aikaiseksi ja sitten en tiedä jatkosta sitten, palkataanko hänet vai ei... Tiettyyn tehtävään tehtävän kuvan mukaan ei haeta ihmistä, vaan jos on tyhjä tuoli, niin siihen sitten voidaan ottaa joku ihminen ja joku sattuu kävelemään vastaan. Ei oo niinku sellasta suunnitelmallisuutta ei oo olemassa.

M2: Kyllä se ehkä siinä on jotain vastuun pakoilemista. Rekrytointi sitoo sut jotenkin, ihan juridisesti jo henkilön palkkaaminen, niin se on isompi juttu kuin se, että joku ikäänkuin jää tekemään jotakin. --- monet näistä on ollu sellasia, jotka ovat olleet erittäin tyytyväisiä siinä elämäntilanteessa, ettå ovat päässeet johonkin duuniin, niin kun sä tolla tavalla tulet, niin sulla on sitten kipukynnys vähän korkeampi.

M6: --- ei kumminkaan ihan todellisuudessa tiedä, että mikä on se kuvio siellä taustalla, että ku on nähnyt, että porukkaa vaihtuu, että se voi olla C:n kanta, että se ei ole loppujen lopuksi niin tärkeää, että kuka sitä tekee tai onko se, niin että kun joku lähtee, niin aina tulee joku toinen. Tämmöisessä yrityksessä kumminkin pitäisi kai sen henkilöstön olla se tärkein voimavara kun ei mitään kojeita tai muita ole.

It cannot be run as a one man's show

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M3: Tää johtamistapa on tällanen että C on pitänyt saman tyylin kuin silloin kun hän aloitti, kun heitä oli yksi tai kaksi henkilöä. Nyt meitä on kolkytviis, ja edelleen se johtamistyyli on sama. että hän johtaa vaan itseään ja omaa tekemistään ja sitten muut tulee perässä.

H: Ai sä tulit silloin vasta?

M8: Joo, olin mä ollut jo aikaisemminkin. mutta silloinhan mä näin heti sen, että mikä siinä nyt tökkii, ehkä sen oli muutkin nähneet, mutt se että, mutta että jotain siinä johtamisessa pitää muuttaa, koska se oli liian kaaosmaista se koko toiminta. ja siitähän nyt sitten kärsi niinkuin business ja siitä kärsi ihmiset.

M6: Onhan se selvä, että toiminta on muuttunut siinä määrin, että liikevaihto on kasvanut huomattavasti.

H: Minä aikana?

M6: Nyt kahden vuoden aikana, että varmaan kasvaa jatkossakin, että se ei toimi enää se sama ku-

vio kuin aikaisemmin, että sulla on ollut vain se yksi kaveri ja sä olet ollut päivittäin sen kanssa samassa toimistossa ja silloin tiedät mitä tapahtuu että se ei toimi se sama kuvio enää ja siitä sitten johtuu nämä ongelmat, että ehkä puuttuu kokemusta siitä, että miten hoidetaan tällaista isompaa organisaatioita. Ne eivät ole välttämättä aina ihan niin olettaisin, että ne eivät aina ole tietoisia, että tarkoituksella näitä hankaluuksia aiheutetaan.

M3: --- Siitä niin kuin, mä tulkitsen, voin olla väärässäkin, mutta mä tulkitsen, että se on se epävarmuus ja turvattomuus ja pelko C:lä, että hän ei uskalla antaa vastuuta muille, koska hän pelkää, että hänellä ei oo sitten ne langat käsissä. Tyypillinen ilmiö, että on tämmönen autotallifirma, jossa on yksi henkilö, joka lähtee tekemään jotain juttua ja se pärjää hyvin ja se ottaa toisen kaverin siihen, sitten niillä meneekin vähän lujempaa, sitten ne ottaakin lisää, perustaa jonkun pienen hallin ja rupee tekemään siellä.

M6: Ehkä hyvin moni asia ratkeaisi varmaankin jo ihan yksinkertaisesti sillä, että C keventäisi omaa työtaakkaansa ja delegoisi niitä tehtäviään. Sillä on niin paljon tekemistä, että ihan oikeasti unohtuu jotkut asiat ja kestää kauan ja jotain muuta, että

H: Onko kukaan ehdottanut tätä?

M6: Varmaan on eri näköisestä kuvioista saada sitä muuttumaan, mutta kaikki menee niin kuin enemmän tai vähemmän hänen kauttaan.

H: Ajatteletko, että siinä on jotain semmoista?

M6: No, mun mielestä tj on tj ei sen tarvitse ihan kaikista semmoisista huolehtia, että nyt pitäisi saada uusi kopiokone sen värikasetti, että ei hänen tarvitsisi miettiä pätkääkään näitä asioita.

H: Että delegoisi semmoisia?

M6: No varmasti paljonkin, siitä huolimatta hänellä säilyy kaikki päätäntävalta tärkeissä asioissa

M2: --- he sopivat työnjaosta N:n kanssa, mutta sitten, kun se piti toteuttaa käytännössä, niin se olisi vaatinut sitä, että C:n olisi pitänyt luopua kontrollista, jos N olisi ottanut sen, ja sama muttu oli P:n ja Q:n kanssa.

H: Voitko ollenkaan sanoa minkälaisista?

M4: No, esimerkiksi me mietittiin, että mikä voisi olla mun rooli täällä, että voisinko minä ottaa tämän tyyppisiä tehtäviä hoitaakseni.

H: *Mmm*.

M4: Mä sanoin, että kyllä, mutta mä en niistä sitten neuvottele, että ei ne ole semmoisia asioita, että taas sitten, että joo tällä kertaa sä päätät ja sitten toisella kertaa niin kuin minä, että sillä pitää olla joku merkitys sillä mun sanalla ja eikä nyt ainakaan tähän mennessä ole hirveän vakuuttavasti toteutunut. Se on sillä tavalla turhauttavaa, en mä näe sitä, että hän ehkä kokee, että onpa hyvä, että taas keskusteltiin ja oltiin asiasta yhtä mieltä, Ei se riitä. Vaikka me oltaisiin kuinka mieltä siitä, että OK, minä otan raha-asiat hoitaakseni, kun ei mulla ole sitä, niin en mä voi sitä silloin ottaa hoitaakseni, että se on aivan mahdoton asia. Ja mun väitteeni on, että C ei ole siihen valmis, että sieltä puuttuu vielä semmoinen, että vielä ei ole tultu sen tien päähän.

H: Että hän voisi luopua?

M4: Että hän voisi luopua, että se on sitten ihan sama, että laittaisi vaikka lehteen ilmoituksen tai hänellä on ollut hyviä neuvonantajia, varmaan kaikki on ajatellut hänen parastaan, yrityksen parasta, mutta ei. Että se vaatisi kuitenkin, että yhh tämän tyyppinen toiminta, millä firmaa nyt johdetaan, niin se on varmaan enemmänkin C:lle niin kuin elämäntapa. Semmoinen, hänen semmoinen, että mä elän näin ja muuta. Joku voisi sanoa ilkeästi, että se on mun pelini ja sitä

pelataan näillä ehdoilla ja siinä ja se, että miten muut ihmiset on siihen sitoutuneet. Se tarkoittaisi jotenkin niin isoa asiaa, että mä olen melko varma, että C ei ole siihen valmis.

H: Oliks tässä pähkinänkuoressa Yrityksen ongelmat?

M3: On, on. Ja sitten se, että jos C on antanutkin jollekin jotain ja sitt se, että on tullut takapakkeja, joista hän on siitten päättänyt, että en ikinä, koskaan en tule, en tee tätä virhettä. Hän on nähnyt sen virheenä, kun luottaa toiseen. Ja sitt se näkyy niinkuin kaikessa tavallaan, on vaikeaa antaa näitä juttuja pois, vaikka hänellä on hyvä tahto. Sitten, kun pitäis tehdä päätös sillai konkreettisesti, johon pitää sitoutua, niin hän ei oo sitä tehnyt.

He commonly does as he pleases

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M3: Tuli päätös joskus kuukausi sitten ja nyt, okei me tehdään se. Hän tekee hyvin ilmpulsiivisia päätöksiä, jotka ei tue sitä strategiaa, mikä vie sitä liiketoimintaa terveellä tavalla eteenpäin. Sitt sitä rahaa, joka tarvittais siihen perusbusineksen pyörittämiseen ja sitten ihmiset kärsii. Että me pelätään, kun C lähtee taas ulkomaille, okei, jos se menee [maa, mutta jos se menee jonnekin muualle, niin se taas saa jotain päähänsä.

 \mathbf{H} : Ai

M3: Sitt se tulee, ett joo nyt on ja sitt se kyselee, se kyselee näin, että mitä mieltä te olisitte siitä, jos tota Indonesiaan, kun toi [yritys] lähtee pois, niin siellä vapautuu toimisto, otettais se. Sitten hän kyselee ihmisiltä ja jos joku ois sitä mieltä, että on hyvä, niin sitten hän rupee sen kanssa niinku kaveriks tavallaan, että niinku vahvistaa sitä hänen ajatustaan, jos kaikki muut sanoo, että herran jestas, tyhmä idea, että tota, hän on loppujen lopuksi, hän on jo tehnyt päätöksen. Hän on päättänyt sen ja hän toteuttaa sen.

H: Hän ei keskustele niinku etukäteen?

M3: Ei missään tapauksessa, kun hän saa idean, hän toteuttaa sen.

H: Minkä takia hän sitten käy kyselemässä?

M3: No, se kuuluu johtajan tehtäviin keskustella, mutta me ei niinku tiedetä sitä, että hän keskustelee jälkeenpäin.

M7: Kyllä C:lle voi mielipiteensä sanoa, ja varmaan saakin sanoa, eti hän siitä yhtään huonoa tykkää, mutta ei ne sitten välttämättä mihinkään johdakaan, että kyllä hän aikalailla tekee oman päänsä mukaan.

M4: --- mutta kyllä mä väitän, että ei C niin kuin sillai kuuntele, ja sillai, että raha ei, ei niissä asioissa tai kuka omistaa, C omistaa, mutta että, se unohtaa sen, että meillä on se oma panos siinä kiinni ja se on aika iso tällaisessa yrityksessä kun ei ole mitään muuta kuin ihmisiä. Kun ei ole mitään tuotantokoneita tai mitään muuta, että ajatellaan, että ostetaan uusi härveli tuohon nurkkaan, kun vanha repsahtaa. Me ei olla semmoisia. Meitä ei osteta tuosta kadulta, heitetä sisään.

M4: --- C kyllä päättää eikä välttämäti minun mielestäni ei, ei aina riittävästi kuuntele, että minkä moisia kokemuksia muilla ihmisillä on tai näkemyksiä asiasta, että miten tulisi menetellä, että sillai tiettyä sellaista. Mutta eihän tämä ole mikään semmoinen huutoäänestyksellä tehtäisiin, mutta ei meistä ole kukaan koskaan sitä omaa mielipidettään sillä sanonut, että me pahaa tarkoitettaisiin. Että kyllä me ollaan mietitty sitä, että mikä se olisi firman kannalta se paras vaihtoehto, että kyllä

olen sen hyväksynyt. --- että siinä mielessä olen C:lle sanonut, että mun luonne on siinä mielessä se on vähän paha, siis sillai niinkuin paha luonne, että mä omin joitain asioita itselleni.

H: Aha.

M4: Siis tietyllä tavalla, en tarkoita, että siihen ei toinen saisi vaikuttaa, mutta mä pidän sen, että mun pitää saada siihen vaikuttaa, että se on mun asia semmoinen, että oli sitten kysymys jostain [maa], tai [maa] tai [maa], niin mä tykkään sanoa oman mielipiteeni, koska mulla on sillä tavalla, että mä en omista firmaa, mutta mulla on siinä mun henkilökohtainen panos on kiinni ja se on paljon enemmän joskus kuin pelkkä raha.

H: Nii-in.

M4: Se on sillai, ja sen vuoksi C:n pitää sitä kuunnella.

H: No tuntuuko, että ...

M4: *Että C kuuntelee?* (Alkaa nauraa,)

H: Että C ei riittävästi kuuntele?

M4: Sanotaan, että C kuuntelee kyllä, mutta siinä päätöksen teossa sillä ei tunnu olevan vaikutusta, että se on semmoinen, että kyllä se kuuntelee, mutta että vaikuttaako se, niin se on eri asia. Väliin näkee hiljaa mielessään, että tässä ei käy hyvin tekemällä näin ja mä joskus mietin, että kuinka kovaa uskaltaa C:lle, että mitenkä sen asian esittää, että ei siitä tulisi sellaista ultimaatumia tai C:lle sellaista mielikuvaa, että nyt kun se on tota mieltä, että mä en ainakaan niinku, että tiedostamatta saattaa olla niin kuin että hän tiedostamatta päätyy ihan vastakkaiseen periaatteesta. Siis. Enkä mä usko, että C tekee sitä kiusallaan.

H: *Mutta hän?*

M4: Ei tiedosta, että ei sillä lailla, että hän tiedostais sen.

One should be in the position to develop the business

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M3: Että mulla on aika vapaat kädet toimia, viedä omia ajatuksia eteenpäin. Työvälineistä mulla kuitenkin puuttuu, mulla ei kuitenkaan valtaa tehdä päätöksiä, ei rahaa tehdä. Tämä asia pitää saada kondikseen. Sä saat tavallaan itse ajatella miten tehdään, mutta kaikki asiat pitää kysyä C:ltä.

H: *Mitä silloin tapahtui?*

M4: Silloin, viimeinen keskustelu me ollaan käyty helmikuussa, niin C sanoi minulle, että sinähän [maa] päätät. Minä sanoin, että niin joo, minä päätän siitä todellakin, että maksanko minä rästissä olevat puhelinlaskut tai rästissä olevat vuokrat (naurahtaa) vai, että ei se ole mitään rahan käyttöä. **H**: Niin, joo.

M4: Se voitaisiin hoitaa vaikka täältä, aivan hyvin. Aivan hyvin, että ei minulla ole sellaista faktista valtaa ollut. Ei mulla ole rahankäyttöön valtaa sillä tavalla, että minä olisin pystynyt sillä tavalla. Että mä en niin kuin tommoista, mä en kuuntele.

M6: Että tota tämmöiset tittelit ja vakanssit ovat osa tätä kuvioita. Sitä luodaan sitä imitsiä työntekijöille itselleen, ja jos sulla ei ole jotain sanotaan, että joku. Niin kuin monessa yrityksessä rakennetaan taloudellisista asioista lähtien tätä kuviota, niin täällä sitten sulla on jokin käyntikortti ja joku director, ja muuta vastaavaa ja sitä on kiva näyttää. --- Että tällä lailla semmoinen henkilö, joka on tulossa yritykseen saa jonkin director-kortin ja sitä esitellään julkisuudessa, niin tottakai se tuntuu hyvältä, että olen päässyt tällaiseen kuvioon mukaan. Sitten, silloin se on osittain sellaista peliä. Todennäköisesti se on näin. Kyllä mä luulen, että se kuinka tarkkaan se C on sen miettinyt, mutta ei se mikään sattuma ole. Mutta kun oli kyse näistä titteleistä, niin missä muussa organisaatiossa on vain directoreja ja managereja eikä yhtään työntekijöitä?

H: No, onko siellä ylipäätään työntekijöitä?

M6: No, onhan meillä autonkuljettaja [maa] ja siivooja [maa].

H: Mutta eikö ne konsultit ole siellä kuitenkin ihan konsultteina?

M6: Kyllä ne on.

H: Mutta Suomessa ei ole yhtään, joka ei ole manager tai director?

M6: Ei varmaankaan.

H: Jaa, niin.

M6: Ei meitä niin montaa ookaan.

H: No, mitä sä itse ajattelet, kuinka tärkeä se on?

M6: No, totta kai mä ainakin ajattelen, että olen ollut siellä toukokuusta lähtien, niin ainakin alkuun se oli hieno kun sai manager-kortin ja sitä oli kiva kavereille jakaa. Ja totta kai se oli, ei siinä ole mitään, sitä on kiva esitellä ja se antaa sellaista pönkitystä alkuun ennen kuin rupeaa näkemään mikä se on se kuvio siellä taustalla.

H: No, mikä se on sitten?

M6: No ei, no se on tietenkin sitä, kun meillä on ne perusasiat enemmän tai vähemmän sellaisia, joihin pitäisi puuttua, talousseikat ja muut, niin sillä tavalla hyvitetään jossain määrin näitä asioita. Kyllä firmassa pitäisi lähteä siitä, että talous hoidetaan hyvin ja ihmiset saavat palkkansa ja muut tulee vasta sen jälkeen, että ihmiset sitä arvostaakin. Mutta kun näin ei ole, niin sitten on näitä muita keinoja, joilla tavallaan sitten pönkitetään sitä kuviota.

He is an expert leader

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M3: Kyllä, joo ja kun sanotaan, että manager ja leader on eri asia, niin C:n tapauksessa hän on enemmän manager kuin leader. Ja näitä leadereita niinkin me kaikki ollaan jonkun asian leadereita, mielipidevaikuttajia on meidän ryhmänssä esimerkiks tää meidän senior. Hän on niinkuin sellainen, että häntä kunnioitetaan hänen taustansa ja kokemuksensa takia ja häntä kuunnellaan aina tarkasti. Ja hän on tavallaan niinkuin leader. Ei hän halua tuoda esille, että hän ois niinkuin ylempänä kuin muut, vaan hän on asioiden niinkuin leaderi. Jos hän on oman kokemuksensa kautta kokenut asiat hyväksi ja hän toimii tällä tavalla, niin kyllä me aika pitkälle kuunnellaan häntä ja sen mukaan toimitaan. Sitten samalla tavalla, olen kokenut myös omalta osaltani, että kyllä muakin pidetään vähän tällaisena senior-henkilönä ja munkin mielipiteitä kuunnellaan, kun mulla on kuitenkin kokemusta ja osaamista ja taustaa ja tällä tavalla, että pidän itseäni sillä tavalla leaderina.

M6: M [henkilön nimi] on niin kuin voidaan sanoa, että jos näitä hierarkioita ajatellaan, niin se on se C ja M ja sitten ollaan me muut (näyttää kädellään järjestystä ylhäällä C, sitten M...)

H: Sä näet sen noin? Luuletko, että muutkin näkevät sen samalla lailla?

M6: No, kaikki muutkin, C:lle menevät asiat kanavoidaan M:n kautta, koska M-llä on eniten painoarvoa C:hen.

H: Oletteko itse luoneet sen hierarkian, ikään kuin itse, että se ei ole C:n hierarkia, että hän ei ole edellyttänyt, että asiat menee M:n kautta?

M6: Ei, vaan se on, niin kuin se, että se on niin kuin se varmin keino, että jotain voi saavuttaa, että se menee M:n kautta.

M3: No, tota tässä on yksi, mikä on ainakin minuun jollakin tavalla vaikuttanut, on se, että yksi näistä johtoryhmän jäsenistä on sitä mieltä, että tää on C:n yritys ja hän määrää, mitä täällä tehdään, ja me ollaan työntekijöitä ja meidän pitää sillä tavalla kunnioittaa häntä ja tehdä se, mitä me pystytään, ja sehän tässä toimii koko ajan. Ja sehän tässä tilanteessa toimii, vaan eletään sen mukaan, minkälaiset raamit meille annetaan.

He is the master, he owns the company

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M2: Kyll kai ne kärjistäen on ne meidän ongelmat tai sen johtamisen tai muuta. Tuo oli kärjistäen sanottu, että jukka johdattaa tai ei osaa johtaa. Ei se nyt ihan näinkään ole, mutta se hänen johtamisensa se on niinkuin--- ei se perustu mihkään pelkoon. Hän on nyt se isäntä, hän omistaa yrityksen, hän on tj, hän on se, joka sanoo.

M3: Tää konsepti on sillä tavalla vaikee, että ei löydy rahoitusta. Täss on niin hirveesti näitä asioita, ja sen rahoituksen löytyminenkin. Tavallaan rahoittajia kyllä löytys, jos C uskaltais antaa tästä toiminnasta, niinku antaa näistä muille.

H: *Mitä se tarkottaa?*

M3: No, sillä tavalla, ettei hän itte olis koko ajan vastaamassa kaikesta. Mä sanoin C:lle kaksi vuotta sitten ensimmäisen kerran, että sun pitää ensimmäiseks hankkii lisäomistajia, ett tulee lisää näkemyksiä ja tulee rahaa ja tulee jämäkkyyttä tähän toimintaan. Ei ole kyse siitä, ettei rahoittajia löytyis, tällasia investoijia löytyis, mutt ne asettaa vaatimuksia ja ne haluaa omistaa tätä firmaa ja C ei lähe siihen.

M4: --- koska hän on itse luonut sen alusta asti, niin miksi antaa jotain semmoista, joka on minun niin jollekin toiselle.

M3: Ja se toimii tässä tilanteessa niin, että me eletään niissä raameissa, jotka meille annetaan. Silloin ei oo päästy sellaiseen keskusteluun, mikä pitäis ihan selkeesti C:n kanssa tehdä että kyseenalaistamaan tätä koko yritystä ja tää malli niinkuin positiivisessa mielessä. Asetelma on se, että ei meillä oo päätäntävaltaa siihen. Sanotaan niin, että jos me oltais omistajia tässä. Tätä on kysytty meiltä kerran, ja silloin oli niin huono tilanne, että kukaan ei halunnut lähtee, kun se näytti siltä, että me menään justiin. --- Jos me oltais omistajia, niin tilannne ois eri, mutta C ei halua, että kukaan muu omistaa, sillon hän ei sais yksin määrätä.

M7: --- se ei millään tavalla korostunut siinä talossa niinkuin se toimitusjohtaja-omistajan rooli sillä tavalla negatiivisesti niinkuin se korostuu nyt, että täähän on C:n firma, että eihän meidän tarvitse välittää mitään, täähän on C:n firma. Tai ei tartte tehdä mitään.

Appendix 3. A summary of the categories of leadership conceptions and conceptions included in them

* Number of the managers whose conceptions were included in the category

1. Leadership as a trait or traits of a good leader (7*)

- a good/effective leader possesses certain traits that include strength or decisiveness and morality of character: 4 managers (1, 3, 5, 6, 7)**
- traits required for good/effective leadership depend on the needs of the organization and the tasks of the leader 1 manager (8)
- leadership is a trait and the traits of the organizational leader are reflected in the functioning and culture of the company 1 manager (2)

2. Leadership as good leader behaviours towards subordinates/ styles of leading people (8) Preferred styles:

- providing sufficient information, communicating with subordinates, taking into account their views and allowing independence in their work: 4 managers (1, 2, 3, 4, 8)
- providing sufficient information and communicating with subordinates, supporting and motivating them and helping them to better achievements by making demands: 2 managers (7)
- clarifying subordinates' tasks and roles by giving clear orders, setting priorities and providing relevant information: 2 managers: (5, 6)

Leadership style of the CEO

- passive leadership: did not show concern towards subordinates; did not provide relevant information for them; did not take their views into considerations: 3 managers (2, 3, 8):
- good leadership: allowed the managers to take care of their work independently without interfering in details: 3 managers (2, 3, 8)
- bad-leadership: did not show concern towards subordinates, was not in contact with them when needed; did not provide relevant information; did not take their views into consideration: 2 managers (4, 7)
- non-leadership: did not show concern towards the managers and other employees; did not take sufficiently into account the different situations they were in: 1 manager (1)
- non-leadership: did not show concern towards the managers and other employees, did not provide relevant information; did not clarify what is expected from the managers: 2 managers (6, 7)
- seasoned: did not show concern towards subordinates; did not provide relevant information, or clarify what is expected from the managers, but provided feedback and takes contact occasionally: 1 manager (5)

The managers' leadership behaviours (5*)

- show consideration towards people and their needs by
 - o emphasizing that they are needed and taken care of :1 manager (1)
 - o displaying equality and taking into account the preferences of the subordinate: 1 manager (3)
- allow independence in subordinates' work; helped them with their work, showed consideration to their needs, informed them, discussed with them and took their views into account: 2 managers (2, 4)
- command and control subordinates: 1 manager (5)

^{**} The code of the manager holding the conception

3. Leadership as a good relationship between the leader and her/his subordinate (8)

Prefferred leader-subordinate relationship:

• reciprocal trust, mutual obligation: 8 managers

Relationship with the CEO:

- uncaring, no trust: 3 managers (3, 4, 6)
- distant, no trust: 2 managers (1, 5)
- reciprocal trust: 2 managers (2, 7)

Relationships with the managers' subordinates:

- distant and formal, no trust: 1 manager (5)
- natural and mutually suportive: 1 manager (4)
- collegial, equal: 2 managers (2, 3)
- paternal: 1 manager (1)

4. Leadership as being responsible for subordinates (5)

- taking care of subordinates and their needs and rights: 3 managers (2, 4, 5)
- being responsible and committed to employees: 2 managers (1, 3)

The CEO did not display being responsible for his subordinates

5. Leadership as tasks of a leader of a small enterprise (8)

- creating visions to develop the business, formulating strategies and creating common rules and processes to manage the operations and activities, clarifying roles, coordinating different activities and informing the managers about the company affairs: 1 manager (7)
- creating common rules, clarifying roles and responsibilities of the key members of the small company: 1 manager (1)
- planning, developing strategies, executing planned actitivies and following them up and informing managers about the company affairs: 6 managers (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8)

6. Leadership as leading local operations, units and employees according to the local situation (4)

- controlling employees and managing local activities according to the local situation: 1 manager (5)
- managing and developing local operations and employees according to the national and cultural context and the local situation: 3 managers (1, 3, 4)

7. Leadership as managing human resources of the company (6)

- recruiting people in a systematic way based on their skills and capabilities needed in the work, aranging their initiation to work and development and trying to retain them with the Company: 3 managers (2, 3, 7)
- recruiting people in a systematic way based on their skills and capabilities needed in the work, ensuring that they fit into the organization, developing them and trying to retain them with the Company: 1 manager (1)
- recruiting people in a systmatic way, developing them and trying to retain them with the Company: 2 managers (5, 6)

Human resource management of the CEO

- recruiting people from courses for unemployed or if somebody happened to come and ask for a job and not paying attention to retaining them: 2 managers (1, 3)
- recruiting people from courses for unemployed, and not paying attention to their initiation to work and to retaining them: 4 managers (2, 5, 6, 7)

8. Leadership as managing structure and change (5)

- a good leader develops the organizational structure and processes according to the changes in the operations, personnel and the context the company is operating in:3 managers (1, 3, 8)
- a good leader delegates some of his duties to others when the organization is growing: 1 manager (6)
- a good leader delegates some of his duties to others and does not retain all control of the company affairs to her/him when the company is growing: 4 managers (1, 3, 7, 8)

9. Leadership as decision making in the company (7)

- a good leader takes into account the views of subordinates in making decisions: 5 managers (1, 2, 5, 6, 7)
- a good leader understands the subordinates should be involved in making decisions concerning their work and the future of the company: 2 managers (3, 4)

In the small enterprise decision making was centralized to the CEO (8 managers)

10. Leadership as power vested in formal positions of authority (6)

- power deriving from high hierarchical positions: 3 managers (2, 4, 6)
- power deriving from managerial positions: 2 managers (1, 3, 8)

In the small enterprise there were no real managerial positions, but there should be: 6 managers (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8)

11. Leadership as influence based on being regarded as an expert (3)

• influence of an informal leader: 3 managers (3, 5, 6)

12. Leadership as ownership power of the owner-CEO (8)

• the CEO's pervasive power based on his ownership of the Company: 8 managers