EDITED BY
ANDERS ÖRTENBLAD

PROFESSIONALIZING LEADERSHIP

Debating Education, Certification and Practice

Professionalizing Leadership

Anders Örtenblad
Editor

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Foreword

A Foreword is normally written by a person whose work is not included in the book, to introduce the book's authors and work to the reader. I am not one of the authors included in the book, though I am pleased to see that some have taken me to task for my views. The book is enriched by having more authors than one can conveniently introduce individually. Again, as the Editor explains (Örtenblad, Chap. 1 in this volume), rather than being directed towards a single topic, it reports a "debate" about leadership that has a host of angles, again too many to introduce individually. So, failing to meet the conventional criteria, this Foreword reflects what I find in the book, along with some ideas evoked by its project.

What the debate about professionalizing leadership lacks in structure is made up by its relevance. Whether it is possible to professionalize leadership—or not, and our authors are divided on this,—leadership matters greatly in human affairs; on which all surely agree. But how to think, talk, and write about it with profit? This is a problem. As noted, the volume has a wonderful variety of authors and angles. Perhaps that is the whole point. There is no simple idea that can grasp the human condition securely—only death and taxes. We bring many varied ideas to our lives. Single ideas are the mark of dogmatics and bigots. Intelligence has been defined as the ability to hold two "contrary" ideas in mind and still function, to avoid being immobilized like Buridan's Ass. Our condition is one of constantly moving on, discovering we do not know, of being surprised, often unpleasantly. Note this only happens when we are able to observe what we had not expected, which requires having "contrary" ideas that lie outside what we expected, to wit, when we are being intelligent rather than dogmatic. We think about our lives pluralistically. Leaders help us deal with this fractured appreciation, persuading us to engage it rather than deny it, to resist the temptation to panic and hide under the pillow. Leaders help us engage these pluralities, endlessly changing and defying totalizing definition. It follows that leadership is endlessly fascinating, pluralistic, and challenging, as well as relevant and important.

But what can "professionalizing" mean, beyond asking how and why leaders are "looked up to"? Our literature shows the persistence of "traitism", the tautology that leaders are those with leadership qualities, and leadership qualities are those which make some individuals leaders. This has tempted us for centuries and undoubtedly will go on doing so for many more. Such sloppy thinking is often comforting. We see the search for leadership traits in ancient Greece, just as some search for them today, without bothering to read Homer. Traitism's claim of "traits" as "causes" stands against a longer history of leadership as the social, religious, military and political art of shaping other's lives (Tead 1935; De Pree 1989). Because this does not seek causes and so explain, it may be equally tautological—leaders are those who shape others' lives. Thinking about leadership today is about escaping these tautologies, not re-affirming them (Hunt 1999; Lowe and Gardner 2000).

One place for Western "moderns" to start breaking out is from our Enlightenment tradition, by examining the problems of creating and sustaining social order once we admit individual rights and legitimate the pursuit of individual freedoms that might conflict with others'. Many presume leadership is about the creation of order and direction among free individuals, especially social or organizational order. Writing in times of horrendous social upheaval and Civil War, Hobbes invoked the Leviathan, centralized "arbitrary" power over all citizens. Locke invoked the Commonwealth, a system of collectively generated laws under which free citizens voluntarily contract to live. A little later Rousseau saw natural social order disrupted by the pursuit of property and reputation, calling for a social contract articulating the "general will" to social order. Spinoza, of course, earlier denied individuals much of the freedom and agency which, post-Locke, we presume, pursue, and protect, advising instead the application of reason to living.

Not many courses in leadership take off from these political theorists, yet they remain seminal to Western thinking, including Marx. It seems our world's condition, and its ecological, political, economic, technological, and social upheavals are but modern variations of the situations Hobbes, Locke, Machiavelli, and others inhabited. Most of our thinking echoes theirs and has not advanced much beyond it, despite our computers, gene-splicing, and neuroscience. Professionalizing leadership may mean being skilled in applying these philosophers' thinking to our own times, which may differ from theirs only in the technologies available to us, especially public sanitation and "information technology". Have people changed? If not, is leadership today about applying medicine and computers to the ancient problems of creating and maintaining social order? Is it about evolving techniques of surveillance, real-time data, more powerful algorithms, or the AI that pushes us forwards to Kurzweil's "singularity"? No doubt many people think this is where managerial leadership is headed, for they presume there can be a formal or computable theory of leadership into which "professionals" can be trained—a curiously dogmatic approach that seems to deny our socio-historical circumstances, reminding us of the Icarus fable. No computing system will be able to anticipate humans' ability to mess up our society and thereby render leadership obsolete. A fully computable society is as dystopian as it is unlikely.

Leadership surely reflects the challenging business and political situations we inhabit, and our intuition that some people handle such uncertainties better than others. We applaud, or perhaps fear, such individuals. If this is a useful approach, then the notion of leadership can only be understood through the uniqueness of the problem situation. There are no generalities or perfect social order. Claiming there is some universal "trait" that enables individuals so blessed to deal well with uncertainty in every situation is curious. It implies people can be known in a way isolated from their circumstances, that people have some core characteristics. Yet not one of us knows our own 'nature' enough to know how we might deal with future situations. Which makes Edwards's anthropological account of leadership especially interesting (Edwards 2015).

The shift of research focus from the leader's traits to her/his circumstances and thence to more modest claims about leadership, is evident in recent studies spurred by our emerging social and organizational problems: inequity, financial collapse, gender bias, workplace harassment, automation, changes in the work place and in work, and so on. Rather than appearing for the first time, these problems are ever-present and simply pressing once again into our social consciousness. The overused term "disruption" must attach to something specific in our lives. Each category of "problem" implies a specialized leadership needed to create order in the face of disruption and disorder.

Is this trend merely an effect of how our academy works, of how "academic leaders" open new sub-fields to bypass impassable blocks on the path to a generic computable theory of leadership? We apply the scientific method because it facilitates publication and generating materials to teach, our bottom line. But does it clarify the thinking of those we call leaders and lead them to better practice? What we write about professionalizing leaders may have more to do with professionalizing our community, enabling us to separate us "leadership scholars" from the journalists, consultants, and snake-oil authors who write about the human condition without scientific method. Reading Rousseau, for instance, one cannot but be amazed at the power, economy, and relevance of his language, and its contrast with today's academic writings on leadership. His success lay in helping politicians and policy-makers characterize their political circumstances, facilitating their practice, less in suggesting generic science that dictated solutions or predicted outcomes. In short, is the point of our literature to professionalize "practitioners" or to professionalize us and our publication-driven careers?

In his Introduction, the Editor summarizes the principal means we have adopted to structure the "professionalization" debate (changing his list a bit):

1. There is a systematized "knowledge-base"
2. Used to control admission to leadership as a practice

3. Which is policed communally
4. To ensure responsibility in the social context and
5. To embrace a legitimated code of ethics
6. At the individual level.

The list stands on leadership writing's "axioms" or micro-foundations: knowledge, practice, community/society, individuals, ethics. Leadership is a term we use to point to managed relations between these axioms. Individuals are actors whose practice is shaped by others (leaders) in ways that can be evaluated socially. Curiously, the list implies rather than includes "the leader", the individual we deem to be shaping others' practice, presumed a different kind of individual. Which means the list pays little attention to the relationship between leader and led, or to the leader's mode of influencing the led. Which thus takes us towards researching the exercise of power, also of several types (e.g. French and Raven 1959). Ultimately leadership researchers must specify or imply a specific kind of power and hence a specific context wherein this power is present and, presumably, normatively and legally legitimated. There is much talk of leadership on the battlefield. There, some command while others have taken oaths and become duty/oath bound to obey, at the risk of their lives. Business leadership, probably the focus of most of our authors, is different. Perhaps there are monetary incentives, though doling these out is probably not what we mean by leadership. There is some discussion of non-monetary or "intrinsic" incentives (Osterloh and Frey 2000). Which frames business leadership as adept use of a broader range of incentives—analyzable per the context of their application.

The point here is that the discussion of leadership (in business) properly begins with ideas about its context with a "theory of the business firm". We are ambivalent about this. Our literature suggests two "contrary" master metaphors: the firm as a designable machine versus the firm as a community or mini-society (Morgan 1997). When the organization is presumed emergent, as in "organizational ecology" (Hannan and Freeman 1989), management is peripheral; there is no leadership. If the firm-as-machine is perfectly designed, constructed, and monitored, leadership is computational, maximizing resource use and systemic efficiency towards a known goal. Most of what we write about leadership lies between these two bounds. Which axioms can take us beyond the fully designed or fully emergent metaphors, perhaps towards some middle ground or "third way"? Each of the book's authors justifies writing about leadership in their own way. The reader is invited to compare their contributions in terms of the axioms they adopt, and ponder whether they cover the same topic or are actually divergent, whether the interplay between the contrary ideas expands or diminishes the discussion.

Incentives are crucial to the machine model. The community model is held together by talk. In both models, leadership is the successful exercise of rhetoric (persuasive talk). Obviously, there are many types of professional rhetorician: politicians, clerics, actors, even writers and teachers like us. The history of educating people for positions of social leadership—whether in the church, in the military, in politics, or in business—is a 2000 years' history of studying, teaching, and practicing rhetoric. From this point of view, business leadership means developing and delivering rhetoric that is persuasive in particular business settings. "Rhetorician" is a profession to the extent it stands on the body of knowledge produced by 2000 years of studying "rhetorical models of man" from Aristotle on—in contrast to standing the analysis on the "*homo economicus*" of the recent post-Walras era, on goal attainment or maximization. Persuasion is contrary to the use of incentives to shape others' rational decision-making. The definition of "rhetorical man" goes back, at least, to Isocrates and his axiom: "Men can persuade … and be persuaded". There is curiously little attention to teaching rhetoric within the leadership canon or elsewhere, save in vestigial programs in English composition (Peter Davis, Chap. 6 in this volume, touches on rhetoric in his critique of an essay of mine). Until the latter half of the nineteenth century, university teaching presumed students were headed towards socially influential settings, whether in the church, military, or society generally. The curriculum was based on the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. Rhetoric was foundational. Managers' interest in this kind of "persuasive leadership"—contrasted against "command and control"—is evident in a flourishing practitioner-oriented literature (e.g. Heinrichs 2017). Have today's scholars of business rhetoric much advanced much from Aristotle?

Professionalization may well hinge on a socially legitimated "body of knowledge" and institutionalized policing. It may well need moral and ethical content. But the litmus test of professionalization is skilled practice; if the audience's ethics do not matter to them, they are irrelevant to the leader. The medical profession has had many periods in which its professionals were practicing what we now regard as "incorrect science". Thus professionalization is more about contextualized practice than about empirically validated knowledge (science). The modernist intuition is that good practice is determined, or at least shaped by, "correct knowledge"—which leads us to emphasize validated science over history and practice. Professionalization suggests we go the other way and emphasize effective practice over the science available. By analogy, does it matter if successful competitive cyclists cannot explain how they ride? Or ride "wrong"? If business is legitimated as democratic capitalism's means to make economic profits and become stable, many business leaders show they can be professional irrespective of the scientific soundness of their rhetoric. Perhaps the unarticulated (tacit) aspects of their practice are more material than their conformance to some science. In other social contexts, who knows what professionalization might mean? Perhaps professionalization means adapting to the business manager's circumstances and helping hone her/his rhetorical practices rather than persuing the "higher aims" imagined by academic writers.

New York, NY, USA J. C. Spender

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Preface

The two debates that are dealt with in this book, firstly, whether leadership is, can and should be turned into a true profession, and secondly whether it is a good idea that higher education institutions (HEIs) offer bachelor programs in leadership, are both close to my heart. I have taught leadership at various HEIs since the beginning of the 1990s, and have become convinced that it is possible—albeit difficult—to teach and learn leadership in a HEI setting. I have become even more convinced that there is a huge need for good leadership education, and that leadership competence can be thought of as something general that can be executed by one person in various contexts (even if adaptations are necessary).

With this background, for many years I have had an idea to design and start up a bachelor program in leadership. During the years that I have had this idea, some colleagues have been very supportive and we have together tried to put the idea into practice. Other colleagues have met my ideas with a more skeptical attitude. Some of these skeptics have argued that the leader has to be very competent in whatever it is that the "followers" perform and, thus, that leaders necessarily must be recruited among those "followers", and for this reason leadership education should always only be a complement to another education and that it should not be the main education (thus, these people often argue that leadership education should be taken at the master level).

I am instead arguing that leaders very well may be less or virtually incompetent in the area that the "followers" are competent in and still do a good job as leaders, but that "leadership" may then have to be redefined. Thus, I agree that if leadership is about instructing followers what to do and controlling what they have done, then leaders may have to be experts in the same area as their followers. But if leadership instead is about organizing, encouraging, and getting the most out of people—for instance, by trusting that they know themselves what to do and how to perform it—and to facilitate for people's development, then leadership may very well be something that people can perform without having much expertise in the followers' occupation or the tasks that they perform. Instead, leaders could benefit from leadership expertise, which, in my opinion, is to a large extent knowledge about people (that is, psychology, sociology etc.).

I am not saying that a person can learn to become something other than what she or he already is through leadership education. But during a bachelor program in leadership, a person with a deep interest in people and leadership would be given the opportunities to reflect upon her- or himself, and to at least get to know her- or himself well enough to understand her or his habitual/automatic feelings, thoughts and behaviors, and be given training on alternative ways of thinking and behaving, so that she or he as a leader has a broader set of alternative ways of dealing with things than what she or he otherwise would have had.

For these reasons I believe that it is a good idea for HEIs to offer bachelor programs in leadership, that is, programs where the students are supposed to learn to become leaders. This, in turn, gives me reason to argue that leadership should be turned into a profession, which I think could possibly happen in the future, even if it will be challenging and time-consuming.

However, I have not successfully started up any bachelor program in leadership, despite attempting to with the help of colleagues. There is still a lot of resistance in academia against such efforts; possibly there is also resistance outside academia. Neither has it always been easy to explain to potential students what such a bachelor program is all about. Nevertheless, my own role in the failed attempts should not be diminished. However, I still believe in the idea, and if others have succeeded (especially in the US), there is no reason why I or other scholars should not succeed too. I would not be surprised if most universities around the world are offering bachelor programs in leadership in the future. I would guess that it will not take more than ten or fifteen years for this to happen.

A few years ago I was arguing for this in a Swedish professional magazine, but was met by the argument that "no, leadership is no profession" by another scholar. To me, whether leadership is or isn't a true profession is quite a different debate from the debate on whether or not it *should* be turned into a true profession, even if there, of course, are connections between the two debates. I agree that currently leadership is not a true profession but I believe that it can and should be turned into a profession.

The above is to give some kind of a personal background to why this book project was started up, a book project that to at least some extent has been different from other anthologies that I have edited. I usually like to invite contributions that function as a "counterimage" (Ohlsson and Rombach 2015) to the main book idea or the assumptions that the book rests upon, which I put in a section towards the end of the book. Such chapters tend to give books a healthy, additional dimension. In this book, however, the very idea has been to offer a broad variety of arguments in at least one of the two debates that are dealt with in the book: whether or not leadership is, can and should be turned into a true profession.

Being a proponent of leadership/management being turned into a true profession (see Örtenblad, Chap. 19 in this volume), and of bachelor programs in leadership being offered (see Örtenblad, Chap. 25 in this volume), it has been important for me, in my role as editor of the book, to do justice to all chapters in the book, even those I agree less with or even disagree with. My firm ambition has been to edit all contributions in an equal and unbiased way as possible. For this reason I have put those chapters in which the authors argue against leadership as a profession at the beginning of the book. This is meant to show respect for my antagonists.

Finally, I want to thank all the authors of the chapters for your hard work and valuable contributions. It would have been both fruitful and enjoyable to meet you all AFK (away from keyboard), but that will have to wait until some other time.

Bodø, Norway   Anders Örtenblad
12 October 2017

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Contents

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List of Figures

List of Tables

Part I

Introduction

1

Background and Introduction: Leadership as a Profession and as the Main Theme on Bachelor Programs

Anders Örtenblad

Would it be possible, even desirable, to turn something that today isn't even regarded as an occupation, but probably is best described as a role or function, into a true profession? In this academic book of debate, authors from various parts of the world present their differing arguments as to whether or not leadership is, can become and should become a true profession. Another, connected question debated in the book is whether or not it is a good idea to offer bachelor programs in *leadership*, in contrast to the much more common bachelor programs in management and/or business.

As could be expected from a book of debate, a broad variety of positions are reflected in the set of chapters. This is at least true when it comes to the main debate of the book, circulating around leadership as a profession—that is, the debate on whether or not leadership is already a profession, and whether or not leadership can and/or should be turned into a true profession. This stands in contrast to most of the previous works connected to

My thanks go to Victor Delacruz for his helpful comments on this chapter.

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this debate, which tend to contain fewer standpoints. This book is far more nuanced. Some authors argue that leadership should be turned into a true profession, while others argue against this. In some of the chapters, the main argument is that leadership cannot be turned into a true profession, while other authors argue that leadership could already be regarded as a profession. A few chapters are positioned between these opposites.

However, the other debate, whether it is reasonable for higher education institutions (HEIs) to offer bachelor programs in leadership, is reflected in this book in a more one-sided way. It has been quite difficult to find scholars willing to contribute with argumentations against the occurrence of such bachelor programs (even if critics do exist), something that could be explained by the relative newness of this debate—as well as of the phenomenon of offering bachelor programs in leadership per se.

As also could be expected from a book of debate, there is no unified conclusion in terms of a single position for or against the professionalization of leadership. In contrast, the very purpose of the book is to provide the reader with a diversity of arguments and counter-arguments. Each chapter is to be regarded as a stand-alone argument in one of the debates.

This introductory chapter gives a background to the two main debates, and is divided into three sections. In the first section, a brief background to the main debate on leadership and management as professions is offered, and the three sub-debates ("is", "can", and "should") are presented. In this section, reasons for prioritizing the term "leadership" in this book rather than the term "management" are also discussed, and a brief review of some literature that previously has debated *management* as a profession is offered. In the second section, the debate on whether it can be assumed to be a good idea for HEIs to offer bachelor programs in leadership is introduced. In the third section, the chapters in the book are introduced and briefly presented.

The Debate on Leadership/Management as a Profession

The debate on leadership/management as a true profession has been going on for some time. If not continuously, then it could at least be said to have popped up now and then. A relatively recent example of a publication that probably has triggered the debate is Rajesh Khurana's book *From Higher Aims to Hired Hands: The Social Transformation of American Business Schools and the Unfulfilled Promise of Management as a Profession* (Khurana 2007).

In most previous works, *management* as a true profession has been debated. However, the main term being used in this book is *leadership*. One reason for this is that some of the arguments put forward against turning management into a true profession may be eliminated when focusing on leadership instead. For instance, it may be somewhat easier to find a common knowledge-base for *leadership* than it is for *management*. Also, there is reason to explore if leadership, which perhaps is less thought of as an occupation than management, could really be turned into a profession. Yet another reason for focusing on leadership instead of management is that leadership could be said to be a broader concept than management, and thus it provides opportunities to include such themes as political leadership into the debate.

Nevertheless, the span of how various authors interpret and apply this terminology is broad, in that they have been given freedom to use any of the concepts. Thus, there are those who make a distinction between the terms and either use the term "management" or the term "leadership", and those who more or less use the terms as synonyms. Another reason for focusing on leadership instead of management is because it is easier to connect it to the other debate that the book deals with: whether it is reasonable to offer bachelor programs in leadership.

The debate on leadership/management as a profession could actually be said to consist of three sub-debates: whether or not leadership/management already *is* a true profession, whether or not leadership/management *can* become a true profession, and whether or not leadership/management *should* become a true profession. Just as in the literature that has previously debated management as profession, some chapters in this book focus rather on whether or not leadership/management *is* a true profession already, some chapters focus on whether or not leadership/management *can* be turned into a true profession, and other chapters focus on whether or not leadership/management *should* be turned into a true profession. In some chapters more than one of these three debates is addressed.

A Brief Review of Literature Debating Management as Profession

The results of a non-systematic, historical review of some previous works that have explicitly addressed the issue of management as a profession are briefly presented in Table 1.1. These works have undergone a "discourse analysis light", shown in the table. There are three main themes or "discourses" that the literature discusses, with a set of sub-themes for one of the main themes. These themes and sub-themes could be said to have appeared during the analysis, but, of course, not totally decoupled from existing frameworks of what a profession is and how professions come about (e.g. Abbott 1991; Wilensky 1964).

The most frequently occurring of the three main themes is defined as the *technical* theme. In this theme, the focus is put on whether or not management is, can become and/or should become a true profession in relation to a certain definition of a "profession", often together with a set of certain characteristics of a "profession". This theme could, in turn, be divided into six sub-themes, one for each of an element of how a "profession" may be defined: (1) social responsibility (the main objective is to serve the common good); (2) a systematized knowledge base (in terms of context-independent, systematized, and non-fragmented knowledge that is feasible to learn); (3) standardized admission (e.g. serves as a way of keeping out the under-qualified from the profession); (4) an ethical code of conduct (inclusive of an objective treatment of the customer/client); (5) an organization for self-criticism (helping to uphold high ethical standards); and (6) an individual responsibility (each individual can be held responsible, not as part of any organization/bureaucracy).

In addition to the technical theme, two other main themes were identified in the reviewed literature. In the *humanistic* theme, which is much less common than the technical theme but still is relatively frequently occurring, the focus is put on the exercise of management and its consequences for people (such as employees and customers) and the environment. This theme is often occupied with questions of ethics and whether or not it is more beneficial for people and the environment if management was turned into a true profession. The least common of the main three themes is the *capability/legitimacy* theme. In this theme, the focus is on the question of whom of (1) those with knowledge within the core operation, or (2) those who are specialists in leadership, make the most appropriate managers (see, e.g., Goodall 2010), but the theme also focuses on what to base authority on for managers (e.g. Paterson 1956).

The humanistic and capability/legitimacy themes overlap with the technical theme to some extent— for instance, the humanistic theme and the sub-theme (to the technical theme) of an ethical code of conduct both deal with ethics—but there is a difference: works categorized to the technical theme have the definition of a profession in focus, while the other two themes put the focus on other issues, that is, on humanism and capabilities/legitimacy (respectively), more or less isolated from any definition or characteristics of a "profession" or efforts to professionalize management.

This review could be regarded as a background for the current book, in which authors strengthen already existing arguments, put forth new arguments, and/or put the focus on *leadership* (in contrast to *management*) as a profession.

The Debate on Offering Bachelor Programs in Leadership

The other, related question that is debated in this book is whether or not it is a good and reasonable idea for HEIs to offer bachelor programs in leadership. To a considerable extent, the debate on leadership/management as a profession is connected to the debate on whether it is a good idea to offer bachelor programs in leadership, especially if the former debate is framed so that it is about *leadership* as a profession, but also when *management* as a profession is at stake. One clear connection between the two debates is that the existence of a certain education is one important criteria of a true profession (see Otterlei, Chap. 2 in this volume).

Literature which discusses the idea of bachelor programs in leadership is virtually non-existent. One of very few works is a piece in which the authors offer an overview of the few bachelor programs in leadership that were in existence when the article was written (Brungardt et al. 2006). What has happened since then is not clear, but from an unsystematically

Table 1.1 Some previous works on management as a profession, standpoints taken in this literature and a theme-based categorization of the arguments brought up

Author & work	Standpoint taken, and to which particular question (is, can, or should)		Argument							
				"Technical" theme(s)						
	Yes	*No*	Capability/ legitimacy theme	Social responsibility	Systematized knowledge-base	Standardized admission	Ethical code of conduct	Organization for self-criticism	Individual responsibility	Humanistic theme
Follett (1927/1989)	Yes, mgmt is a profession, and can & should be turned even more into a profession			X	X					
Paterson (1956)	Yes, mgmt can & should become a profession		X	X						X
Donham (1962)		No, mgmt isn't, can't & shouldn't become a profession		X	X	X	X	X		
Quay (1966)		Mainly: no, mgmt isn't & can't become a profession		X		X	X	X		
	Partly: yes, mgmt is a profession				X	X				
Schein (1968/1988)	Yes, mgmt is partly a profession			X	X	X		X		
		No, mgmt isn't fully a profession		X		X	X			X

(*continued*)

Table 1.1 (continued)

Author & work	Standpoint taken, and to which particular question (is, can, or should)		Argument							
				"Technical" theme(s)						
	Yes	*No*	Capability/ legitimacy theme	Social responsibility	Systematized knowledge-base	Standardized admission	Ethical code of conduct	Organization for self-criticism	Individual responsibility	Humanistic theme
Kanawaty (1977)		No, it isn't a profession, not yet		X	X	X	X	X	X	
	Yes, mgmt is making progress towards becoming a profession, and can & should become a profession			X	X	X	X	X	X	
Forrester (1980)	Yes, mgmt is already a profession				X					
		But there is a need for more relevant training			X					
Reed and Anthony (1992)	Yes, mgmt can & should become a hybrid-profession[a]		X							X
		No, mgmt isn't & can't become a profession[b]		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Grey (1997)		No, mgmt isn't a profession		X	X	X	X	X	X	
	It may be possible to turn mgmt into a profession			X					X	X

(*continued*)

Table 1.1 (continued)

Author & work	Standpoint taken, and to which particular question (is, can, or should)		Argument								
				"Technical" theme(s)						
	Yes	*No*	Capability/ legitimacy theme	Social responsibility	Systematized knowledge-base	Standardized admission	Ethical code of conduct	Organization for self-criticism	Individual responsibility	Humanistic theme
Khurana et al. (2005)		No, mgmt isn't a profession		X	X	X	X	X		
	Yes, mgmt should become a profession									X
Spender (2007)	Yes, mgmt can become a profession & it already is one			X	X		X			
Khurana and Nohria (2008)	Yes, mgmt should become a profession			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Barker (2010a)		No, mgmt isn't, can't & shouldn't become a profession			X	X	X		X	X
Barker (2010b)		No, mgmt isn't & can't become a profession			X	X	X			
Goodall (2010)		No, mgmt/ leadership can't & shouldn't become a profession	X	X	X		X		X	

(*continued*)

Table 1.1 (continued)

Author & work	Standpoint taken, and to which particular question (is, can, or should)		Argument							
				"Technical" theme(s)						
	Yes	*No*	Capability/legitimacy theme	Social responsibility	Systematized knowledge-base	Standardized admission	Ethical code of conduct	Organization for self-criticism	Individual responsibility	Humanistic theme
Iñiguez (2010)		No, mgmt isn't, can't & shouldn't become a profession				X	X			X
	However, mgmt can perhaps become a profession in the future		X		X					
Martin (2010)		No, for now mgmt isn't & can't become a profession	X						X	
	Yes, mgmt can be taught and perhaps become a profession in the future				X	X				

[a]In terms of a "hybrid-version" of profession, which the authors call "organizational profession"
[b]In terms of the traditional definition of a "profession"
mgmt management

conducted web search on "bachelor program in leadership" (and similar search entries), it seems that such programs are becoming increasingly common, at least in North America.

The kind of bachelor program in leadership at stake here is that in which students major in leadership (there are places where students can take leadership as a bi- or extracurricular activity, but this is *not* the kind of program debated in this book). Furthermore, the programs at stake here are those that approach leadership generally, not focusing on any particular sector or industry. Of interest are the bachelor programs in leadership that deal mainly with *leadership*, not management or business, and where it is presumed that the students will learn to practice leadership—that is, at stake are bachelor programs *in* leadership (as opposed to bachelor programs *on* leadership). Table 1.2 offers an overview of a few such bachelor programs in leadership. These were among the first programs found during a non-systematic web search that seemed to fulfil the criteria listed above.

From this search, it would appear that leadership positions are often suggested as career opportunities for graduates of such bachelor programs in leadership:

> The premise that leadership is a process and can be learned through understanding theory, analyzing scenarios, case studies and complex problems will provide the opportunity for students to acquire their learning experientially. The Bachelor of Science in Organizational Leadership is designed to give students the opportunity to develop the skills needed to be an effective leader in team and group settings within organizations. It is intended to help students move from an authoritarian paradigm to one of collaboration and integration. (National University 2016)

Bachelor programs in management and/or business typically include courses in general business, such as in finance, accounting etc., together with some courses in management of which often only a minority are in leadership, while bachelor programs in leadership instead have a strong focus on leadership, in terms of (1) leading people (not the business operations); and (2) a more broader perspective than "doing business".

Quite often, ethics' connection to leadership is an important part of such bachelor programs. For instance, one of the learning outcomes from the Bachelor of Science in Organizational Leadership at the National University is to "evaluate the ethical implications of leadership decisions and strategies" (National University 2016). Another ingredient often included in these programs is critical thinking. For example, Trident University states, about their Bachelor of Science in Leadership, that the students will "gain critical thinking and research skills" (Trident University 2016). Subjects within the fine arts and history, for example, are also common elements of these programs. Several of these programs are available online. Furthermore, it is also often explicitly expressed that the bachelor degree in leadership involves some (or sometimes many) elements of experienced-based or practice learning.

One example of an existing bachelor program in leadership is the "Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Leadership Studies", which the Jepson School of Leadership, University of Richmond, offers. It focuses mainly on leadership issues from a variety of perspectives, and includes topics such as environmental sustainability, social inequality, and international relations, and courses such as "Justice and civil society", "Critical thinking", "Theories and models of leadership", and "Leadership ethics" (University of Richmond, Jepson School of Leadership Studies 2017). In the "Bachelor of Science in Organizational Leadership" program offered at National University, the following leadership courses make up the major: "Introduction to leadership", "Leading diverse groups & teams", "Adaptive leadership in change", "Conflict/negotiation for leaders", "Leadership overview of organizational functions", "Advanced group dynamic theory", "Ethics and decision making", "Classic studies of leadership", "Research for leaders", and "Leadership capstone project" (National University 2017).

It is the kind of bachelor program in leadership that is described above, and of which some examples are offered in Table 1.2, which are debated in this book, even if the programs that the contributors to this book suggest differ, to some extent, from the programs presented in this chapter.

Table 1.2 Some existing bachelor programs in leadership

Institution	Title of program	Admission (other than courses & grades)	Online/ On-campus	Suggested career opportunities	Pedagogy (other than traditional)	Other
Colorado State University, Global Campus	Bachelor of Science in Organizational Leadership		100% online	"Organizational leader…in nearly any industry" General Manager Business Executive Corporate Trainer Management Development Specialist Senior Instructor School Administrator Entrepreneur/ Company Founder		19 specializations available

(*continued*)

Table 1.2 (continued)

Institution	Title of program	Admission (other than courses & grades)	Online/ On-campus	Suggested career opportunities	Pedagogy (other than traditional)	Other
Creighton University	Bachelor of Science in Leadership		On-campus	Leader		3 specializations available The foundational philosophy of the Leadership program centers around the following tenets: 1. We are all leaders, and we are leading all the time, well or poorly; 2. Leadership springs from within and it is about who I am as much as what I do; 3. Leadership is not an act, it is my life, a way of living; and 4. One never completes the task of becoming a leader but instead, it is an ongoing process

(*continued*)

Table 1.2 (continued)

Institution	Title of program	Admission (other than courses & grades)	Online/ On-campus	Suggested career opportunities	Pedagogy (other than traditional)	Other
Fordham University, The Fordham School of Professional and Continuing Studies	Bachelor's degree program in Organizational Leadership		On-campus	"Supervisor in many sectors and organizations, including business, government, cultural institutions, and non-profit organizations" "Manager in any field"	Optional internship	"Provides an alternative to specialty-oriented majors and to business programs that focus heavily on finance"
Humboldt State University, College of Professional Studies	Bachelor of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies, Option in Leadership Studies		100% online	"…develop foundational leadership skills that are critical for your success in public, private and nonprofit sectors"	Mentorship; students develop a Career Development Plan and a Professional Leadership Project	

(*continued*)

Table 1.2 (continued)

Institution	Title of program	Admission (other than courses & grades)	Online/ On-campus	Suggested career opportunities	Pedagogy (other than traditional)	Other
National University	Bachelor of Science in Organizational Leadership		Available as both 100% online and as on-campus	"Provides students who are interested in starting, or who are currently working in, business enterprises with theoretical and applied knowledge of leadership theories and frameworks" Leader in team and group settings within organizations	"The premise that leadership is a process and can be learned through understanding theory, analyzing scenarios, case studies and complex problems will provide the opportunity for students to acquire their learning experientially"	"It is intended to help students move from an authoritarian paradigm to one of collaboration and integration" "…leadership is a process and can be learned through understanding theory, analyzing scenarios, case studies and complex problems…"

(*continued*)

Table 1.2 (continued)

Institution	Title of program	Admission (other than courses & grades)	Online/ On-campus	Suggested career opportunities	Pedagogy (other than traditional)	Other
Northeastern University, College of Professional Studies	Bachelor of Science in Leadership	Statement of purpose Current resume	Available as both 100% online and as on-campus	Leadership and management jobs Higher-level management jobs Lower-level management jobs	"Practice-oriented approach to education, integrating theory and practice"	
PennState World Campus	Bachelor of Arts in Organizational Leadership		100% online	"…manage…in collaborative work environments, including manufacturing, service industries, government, communications, charitable and nonprofit organizations, multinational organizations"		

(*continued*)

Table 1.2 (continued)

Institution	Title of program	Admission (other than courses & grades)	Online/ On-campus	Suggested career opportunities	Pedagogy (other than traditional)	Other
PennState World Campus	Bachelor of Science in Organizational Leadership		100% online	"Prepare[s] you for a range of careers in which your leadership skills can contribute positively to the overall organizational climate and interpersonal interactions"		
Trident University	Bachelor of Science in Leadership		Online (but with some residency requirements)	"Leadership careers within a variety of organizations" "We do not imply or guarantee that students will find employment or be placed in any particular job as a result of completing an educational program"	"Our Learning Model emphasizes the development of real-world skills and experiences"	3 concentrations available

(*continued*)

Table 1.2 (continued)

Institution	Title of program	Admission (other than courses & grades)	Online/ On-campus	Suggested career opportunities	Pedagogy (other than traditional)	Other
University of Richmond	Jepson School of Leadership Studies: Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Leadership Studies	Application Faculty evaluation	On-campus	"Jepson graduates pursue careers in business, education, healthcare, politics, government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and more. Some Jepson School graduates may assume positions in the organization with which they completed their credit-bearing internship"	Internship Community-based learning	

(*continued*)

Table 1.2 (continued)

Institution	Title of program	Admission (other than courses & grades)	Online/ On-campus	Suggested career opportunities	Pedagogy (other than traditional)	Other
Villanova University	Bachelor of Arts in Leadership Studies		100% online	"Workers in management operations and above in a diverse array of businesses"		

Sources: Colorado State University, Global Campus (2017a, b), Creighton University (2017a, b), Fordham University, School of Professional and Continuing Studies (2017), Humboldt State University, College of Professional Studies (2017), National University (2016, 2017), Northeastern University, College of Professional Studies (2017), Northeastern University, Online & Graduate Professional Degree Programs (2017), Peart (2014, 2017), PennState World Campus (2017a, b), Trident University (2016, 2017), University of Richmond (2017), University of Richmond, Jepson School of Leadership Studies (2017), Villanova University (2017). Sincere thanks also to Carl F. Hansen, Humboldt State University, and Elizabeth DeBusk-Maslanka, Jepson School of Leadership Studies, University of Richmond

Note: With reservations for incomplete information

An Outline of the Remainder of the Book

The chapters in this book are grouped into five parts. Part I makes an introduction to the book, Parts II, III and IV debate leadership as a profession, and Part V argues that HEIs should offer bachelor programs in leadership. The chapters in Parts II and IV are categorized further into some sub-parts or "sections". To avoid the risk of creating too many categories (with only one chapter in each section), the chapters in these parts have been positioned according to their major standpoints, respectively, even if there sometimes also are other standpoints.

In *Part I: Introduction*, there are two chapters. In addition to the introductory chapter that you are currently reading, there is a chapter that defines one of the main concepts in this book, "profession", namely Chap. 2, "What Is a Profession, and What Are the Prerequisites for Being a Profession?", authored by Jill Beth Otterlei. More specifically, Otterlei discusses what qualifies as a profession and highlights some conditions of professional status. She also offers a brief history of professionalization research, which comes with examples from other professions (such as physicians).

The second part of the book, *Part II: Against Leadership as a Profession*, gathers the chapters that argue that leadership is not a profession, and cannot or/and should not be turned into a true profession. This part of the book is divided into three sections. In the first section, "Section A: *Is* not a profession", containing one chapter only—Chap. 3, "How and Why Management Has Not Become a Profession"—Haldor Byrkjeflot and Pål Nygaard argue that management is not a profession. Byrkjeflot and Nygaard offer a historical case study on three waves of attempts to professionalize top management in Norway and conclude that management is not a profession because managerial elites have not succeeded in achieving closure over management as an occupational field with distinct knowledge and qualification criteria.

In the second section of Part II, "Section B, *Can* Not Become a Profession", the authors argue that it is not possible to turn leadership into a true profession, even if one wanted to do so. Thus, these authors do not mainly argue against the advantages of turning leadership into a true profession, but instead focus on the possibility of accomplishing such a change. Susanna Fellman, the author of Chap. 4, "Management as a Profession: The Historian's Perspective", is also explicitly occupied with management as a profession. Fellman takes a historical perspective and puts forward two arguments as to why management cannot be turned into a true profession. Both arguments are heavily influenced by the historical perspective taken: a lack of consensus among management people, and the fact that previous attempts to turn management into a profession have failed. In Chap. 5, "The Professional Leader: Man of Many Talents or Jack of All Trades? Five Questions About Professional Leadership", Leif-Kristian Monsen considers it very unlikely that leadership ever can be turned into a true profession. Monsen argues that academic, practice-related and contextual premises are too divergent and contradictory, and concludes that there are no isolated conditions independent enough to qualify someone as a professional leader.

In Chap. 6, "Leadership as a Profession: A Special Case Dependent on Organizational Ownership, Governance, Mission and Vision", Peter Davis regards private ownership as a constraint against turning leadership into a true profession, and hence argues that leadership in the business management area never can become a true profession. However, Davis thinks that in the case of collective ownership, such as in co-operatives, it would be possible to professionalize leadership. In Chap. 7, "Can Leadership Become a Profession?", Frederik Hertel and Michael Fast discuss the case of a leader who was tasked with leading people who had a different occupation from himself, and point out challenges stemming from leading with "decontextualized" leadership knowledge and skills. Hertel and Fast claim that these challenges cannot easily be overcome, hence arguing that leadership cannot be turned into a true profession.

In the third section of Part II, "Section C, *Should* Not Become a Profession", the authors have instead turned the attention to the desirability of turning leadership into a profession—which they argue against—and are less occupied with whether or not leadership *can* be turned into a true profession. Kenneth Mølbjerg Jørgensen and Marita Svane, in Chap. 8, "Against Professionalizing Leadership: The Roles of Self-Formation and Practical Wisdom in Leadership", focus on a knowledge aspect of the professionalization debate. They argue that to execute leadership, it is necessary to learn practice-based knowledge and skills, something which they believe stands in sharp contrast to professionalizing leadership. With this background, Jørgensen and Svane strongly suggest that all attempts to turn leadership into a profession are avoided.

In Chap. 9, "The Case for Behavioral Professionalism in Leadership", C. Ken Weidner II argues not only that leadership cannot be turned into a true profession, but that leadership *should* not be turned into a true profession. Weidner interprets calls for the professionalization of leadership as a call for better leadership behavior, and argues for *behavioral professionalism* among leaders and managers but against *professionalization* of the field as such, as it could lead to the responsibility for leadership lying outside the individual. The final chapter in Section C, Chap. 10, "Professionalizing Political Leaders: Is This the Cure? Lessons from Political Theory", is authored by Hans Petter Saxi. He argues against turning political leadership into a profession, as it would threaten innovation and democracy. Saxi draws parallels with leadership in general, which he hence advocates must not be turned into a true profession.

Part III: In Between For and Against Leadership as a Profession contains two chapters that most reasonably could be placed somewhere in between the two endpoints and, thus, they neither argue for or against leadership as a profession—or, alternatively, they argue both. Alexandra Moskovskaya takes a neutral position in Chap. 11, "The Future of Management: Global Trends and Possible Scenarios of Development of Managerial Profession", and discusses trends that could shape the future of management in the coming decades and the likely scenarios of its professional development. In Chap. 12, "Management/Leadership: Profession, Professional, Professionalization", Rikke Kristine Nielsen, Thomas Duus Henriksen and Kenneth Børgesen do argue that management/leadership should be professionalized, but not that it should be turned into a true profession—they suggest instead that management/leadership is turned into a *semi-profession*.

Part IV: For Leadership as a Profession contains three sections, all of which include chapters where the authors argue for leadership as a profession. In "Section A, *Is* Already a Profession", there are two chapters. David Lutz argues in Chap. 13, "Leadership, Management, and the Common Good", that leadership could, in fact, already be considered to be a true profession, even if this is not how many people consider it. Lutz argues that leadership, when executed properly, does possess the one essential property of a true profession, namely that it promotes the common good. Victor J. Delacruz suggests, in Chap. 14, "Management Can Be Considered as a Profession", that "profession" is not viewed as a dichotomy—that is, something that occupations either are or are not—but that any occupation instead could be assessed along a professionalization continuum ranging from non-professions to true professions. Delacruz argues that management is an emerging profession, and the role of civil society as a determinant will remain a key variable in any assessment of occupations.

"Section B, *Should* but *Can* Not Become a Profession", contains only one chapter. Ewan Ferlie focuses on medical management in Chap. 15, "The Professionalization of Medical Management? The Slow and Chequered Case of UK Health Care". Ferlie argues that the professionalization of medical management would be a positive development from a societal and public interest perspective, in that it would bring advantages such as an ethics code and the inculcation of a sense of vocation. However, he is simultaneously unable to see any good prospects for this to happen.

In "Section C, *Can* and *Should* Become a Profession", there are four chapters in which the authors argue—more or less—that it is both desirable and possible to turn leadership into a true profession. In Chap. 16, "Leadership as a Profession: The Need for an Authentic Jurisdiction", Kelly C. Jordan shows how leadership could be turned into a true profession. Jordan claims that what needs to be done is to establish an abstract body of knowledge, and to develop an accepted scope of services and a code of ethics. Grace Wangui Kinyanjui is similarly arguing for turning leadership into a true profession in Chap. 17, "Should Leadership Be Considered a Profession?". Kinyanjui describes some leadership myths that she believes have led to poor leadership, and that leadership still is unprofessionalized. She sees a need to professionalize leadership, through, among other things, the articulation of ideals and principles, and the standardization and formalization of selection and career development procedures.

Chapter 18, "Leadership as a Profession? The Significance of Reflexive Judgment", is authored by Lone Hersted and Mette Vinther Larsen, who also argue that leadership both can and should be turned into a true profession. Hersted and Larsen propose that reflexivity, through reflexive dialogues, in organizational life is vital for turning leadership into a profession, and that without such reflexivity the professionalization project may be doomed. Chapter 19, "Preparing for Turning Leadership into a True Profession", is authored by Anders Örtenblad, who sees a need for an outline of the professionalization process, but in this chapter suggests some pre-professionalizing measures that he claims should preferably be taken before the actual professionalization process can begin, to facilitate the realization of such a process.

The final part of the book, *Part V: On the Need for Bachelor Programs in Leadership*, contains six chapters in which the authors argue that offering bachelor programs in leadership is a good thing. In Chap. 20, "Bachelor Programs in Leadership: The Beginning of a Profession", Allan Næs Gjerding, Kenneth Mølbjerg Jørgensen, René Nesgaard Nielsen and Jørgen Gulddahl Rasmussen suggest a bachelor program in leadership based on an integrative approach to practical wisdom and theoretical knowledge. In Chap. 21, "'As the Twig Is Bent, so the Tree Shall Grow': Developing Strategic Intuition Through Reflective Practices in Bachelor Programs in Leadership Studies", G. K. Cunningham and Richard M. Meinhart emphasize that bachelor programs in leadership could build a foundation for intuitive judgment, a key strategic leader attribute that could be enhanced by introducing self-reflective techniques in early educational programs. Daniel Belet advocates, in Chap. 22, "Yes, We Should Develop New Action-Learning-Based Bachelor Programs in Leadership", the need for bachelor programs in leadership that are based on an action learning approach. Chapter 23, "The Need to Consider the Context When Offering Bachelor Programs in Leadership", is authored by Andrew Bolt and Pandora Rupert Bolt, who argue that there is an acute need for taking the context into account when developing bachelor programs in leadership. In Chap. 24, "How a Bachelor in Leadership Would Fill a Gap", Kenneth Børgesen, Rikke Kristine Nielsen and Thomas Duus Henriksen develop a prototype of a bachelor program in leadership well-suited for the Danish educational system. Chapter 25, "Why Universities Should Give Bachelor Programs in Leadership" is authored by Anders

Örtenblad, who suggests what needs to be included in a bachelor program in leadership and argues why there is a need for such programs.

Enjoy reading!

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2

What Is a Profession, and What Are the Prerequisites for Being a Profession?

Jill Beth Otterlei

In this chapter, I will elaborate what is meant by a profession and show some central definitions and characteristics of occupational groups called professions. It is necessary to clarify this term for the forthcoming discussions about whether leadership may or should be a profession. However, because this is a very comprehensive discussion in this research field, it cannot be reproduced to its fullest here. I have chosen some of the most common characteristics and important issues about professions that I presume are relevant to the other chapters.

An underlying reason for asking whether management can or should be a profession is that professions have had special positions and roles in society that other occupations do not have. For society, professionalization can provide safety and an assurance for high qualifications and solid skills. For occupational groups, professionalization has given reputation, money and power; the search for this type of legitimacy can qualify

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leadership as a profession (Khurana 2007, p. 23). We see this clearly in traditional professions such as medical doctor, lawyer, psychologist and priest, which have historically held high prestige and power in society. Professionalization can thus be attractive to both the community and the professional groups themselves, and this book asks whether leadership itself should also be a profession.

In this chapter, I will not discuss this question, but look into what qualifies as a profession and highlight some conditions of professional status that will be particularly relevant in the discussion of leadership as a profession. I will do so by referring to definitions and characteristics of professions and then look into some of the professional studies that have analyzed contextual features that affect the relationship between professions, organizations, authorities and users. In spite of this demarcation, however, I would like to begin by referring to professions as a research field and some main features in this field.

About Professional Research

Though professions have been studied predominantly by sociologists, other researchers, such as historians, political scientists, economists, educators and psychologists have also studied professions using their distinctive academic approaches. Thus, professional studies have evolved into a specific field of research (Molander and Terum 2008, p. 21). The topics within this field of research have changed over time and have many phases. The main theme of this chapter, *characteristics of professions,* was a theme in the first phase of professional studies (Abbott 1988), and was also called the taxonomic approach (Saks 2012, p. 1). Fauske (2008) argues that this phase stretched until the 1960s, and, according to Abbott (1988), Carr-Saunders and Wilson's book, *The Professions*, from 1933, was one of the first comprehensive analyses of this period. Professionalization is related to general societal development and a development towards greater diversity in occupational groups. In general, industrialization and specialization in society increases the need for professional discretion in the workplace. This requires people with apt knowledge, who constantly update their skills and can work independently.

The studies in this phase attempted to find some unequivocal common features of professions that met these needs. These studies were later criticized for being mostly descriptive, without questioning the effects and consequences of professionalization, and without explaining the relationships between different factors. Ludviksen refers to criticism asserting that the taxonomic approach was: "… ideological, atheoretical, ahistorical and universalistic" (1993, p. 4).

This classical definition phase and taxonomic approach was followed by more critical studies of professional power until about 1990. Freidson's book, *Professional Dominance*, from 1970, and Johnson's book, *Professions and Power*, from 1972, are some examples from this phase. In this power phase, critical questions are asked about the criteria and basis for professions' status, and studies showed the unfortunate aspects of professionalization that come from specialization and professional monopoly (Khurana 2007). These studies also show examples of destructive conflicts between professions. A title that expounds on this is *The War in White – And the Purple Revolution That Went Away*[1] (Ramsdal 1994). And when the health sector experienced unexpectedly strong specialization and growth (Hansen 1979), the authorities saw the need to control costs by reducing the autonomy of the profession (Erichsen 1996). The need for professional discretion was also reduced, with increased standardization and more (comprehensive) regulations. In these studies, one sees both that the professional status does not follow clear criteria, and that professionalization also has several negative aspects. The third and final phase I will mention here has a more holistic approach that unites the different traditions (Fauske 2008, p. 31), as exemplified by Abbot's *The System of Professions*, of 1988, which uses the term *jurisdiction* to focus on the division of labor between professions.

This short and superficial review of the professional research field attempts to show that the answer to the question: "What are the characteristics of a profession?" is ambiguous, and its merits and criteria continuously challenged by the critical research tradition.

I will look further into what gives professional status, that is, what constitutes the premise of professional status, and then link this to the relationship between profession, government, organization and users—i.e., the context in which the professions are located. I start by presenting the definitions and characteristics of professions, which were important subjects in the first phase of professional studies.

Definitions and Characteristics of a Profession

The discussion of characteristics was, as mentioned, the central theme of the first profession studies and may also be called the "taxonomic approach". Early profession studies attempted to create a consensus around what a profession is, and describe the different characteristics that occupational groups must have in order to be a profession. Although the term is disputed and there exist several different lists of characteristics, we can say that the common general characteristics of a profession comprise occupations with **a long formal education, ethical guidelines,** and great **freedom and autonomy** in their work. It is also correct to note that the professional occupations have **a monopoly** on a particular positon and title (Torgersen 1972). Many lists have been developed with different content, but Freidson's definition is an example of one of the most acknowledged lists (Brante 2011, p. 5):

1. A body of knowledge and skill which is officially recognized as one based on abstract concepts and theories and requiring the exercise of considerable discretion.
2. An occupationally controlled division of labor.
3. An occupationally controlled labor market requiring credentials for entry and career mobility.
4. An occupationally controlled training program which produces those credentials, schooling that is associated with 'higher learning', segregated from the ordinary labor market and provides opportunities for the development of new knowledge.
5. An ideology serving some transcendent value and asserting greater devotion to doing good work than to economic reward. (Freidson 2001, p. 180)

Brante is skeptical of many of these definitions, and believes that this and many other definitions neither allows us to distinguish between professions and other occupations, nor say anything about what is common to professions. He suggests his own definition: "Professions are: *Occupations conducting interventions derived from scientific knowledge of mechanisms, structures, and context*" (Brante 2011, p. 17, emphasis in original).

While I do not have the luxury in this chapter of being able to delve into the entirety of this discussion, it is sufficient for the purpose of this book to explore the main points of Freidson's characteristics and the definitions presented above. These topics include: (1) Education, competence and discretion, (2) Autonomy, ethical rules and self-control, and (3) Monopoly.

1. Education, Competence and Discretion

When professions have *long formal education* in a scientific field, we may call them specialists or experts, as Abbott does:

> Professions were organized bodies of experts who applied esoteric knowledge to particular cases. They had elaborate systems of instruction and training, together with entry by examination and other formal prerequisites. (Abbott 1988, p. 4)

The "long formal education" consists of theoretical research-based knowledge paired with scientifically based methods that must be objective and neutral (Erichsen 1985, p. 165). This implies that the education was conducted at university level and has been extended to include a five-year master's program. Classic examples of such professions as these include doctors, lawyers and priests, while a semi-professional example would be a profession with only three years of education, such as teachers and social workers. Thus, there are differing opinions on what constitutes a profession in the most rigid definition of the term. If we are to follow Freidson's characteristics, a profession requires five years of training. Alternatively, others agree that a profession can be composed of three years of training, as long as the training and associated knowledge is research-based.

We also see that some characteristics of a certain profession or expertise are *esoteric* and exclusive; that knowledge is gained through years of study, and not readily available. This esoteric knowledge can be defined as knowledge "understood by or meant for only the selected few who have special knowledge or interest" (Abbott 1988, p. 4).

Discretion is a characteristic mentioned by Freidson (2001) to denote when tasks require specialized knowledge. If rules and standards were sufficient, there would be no need for specialists, experts or professional judgment. Subsequently, freedom and autonomy are a hallmark of professions.

2. Autonomy, Ethical Rules and Self-Control

A consequence of exclusive knowledge and professional understanding is that professions cannot be easily controlled, nor do they need to be, as they take care of many control aspects themselves. This gives the profession great autonomy and freedom in the actual workmanship. As pointed out in point 5 in Freidson's (2001) definition (see above), he believes that the quality of the work should be more important than economic reward. One way to ensure good quality work is to develop profession-specific ethical guidelines that the workers themselves control (Abbott 1988, p. 4). This applies not only to professions, but also to many occupations that have drawn up their own ethical guidelines. Ensuring and verifying that these ethical guidelines are followed can bring legitimacy and trust to the professions.

The thinking here is that it is the professionals themselves who know what qualifies as "good quality work", and thus what kind of education and competence is required; they know which skills are required for various tasks and thus how to divide labor. Abbott (1988) uses the term "jurisdiction" to show how the division of labor takes place, referring to an internal dynamics where professions compete for tasks. External relationships can also be part of the division of work. For example, authorities can give some professions authorization to complete certain tasks, and thus change the internal competition conditions between its neighboring professions.

Brante (2011) indicates that professions are the occupations that are deemed to provide access to the highest knowledge within a particular area, such as health. This gives legitimacy and authority, which in turn can explain that professions, under certain conditions, can control the division of labor or licensing within their area (without this control being granted externally).

Freidson also characterizes the autonomous position and self-checks of professions:

> Professionalism may be said to exist when an organized occupation gains the power to determine who is qualified to perform a defined set of tasks, to prevent all others from performing that work, and to control the criteria by which to evaluate performance. (Freidson 2001, p. 12)

3. Monopoly

The monopoly point referred to by Freidson (2001) means that professions can only be filled by persons who have acquired a particular education. The professional group thus receives exclusive rights to both the jobs and the occupation-title (Torgersen 1972). The authorities give the professions the monopoly (Mastekaasa 2008), but the professions themselves control education and division of labor. When the monopoly gives exclusive rights to occupations, professions will be separated from the ordinary labor market (Freidson 2001), and the professions avoid much competition between each other. Abbott's *jurisdiction* concept (1988, p. 86) also refers to division of labor between professions, and Abbott describes it as an interdependent system. In addition, there are different degrees or levels of division of labor—i.e. degrees of formalization. However, the monopoly is a highly formalized division of labor, involving government agencies.

The monopoly is an example of how outer contextual relationships operate. The state's authorization can change conditions of professions. I will look at some more issues that affect the status and position of the profession by addressing some contextual features that affect the relationship between professions, organizations, authorities and users.

Context: Relationship Between Profession, Government, Organization and Users

In this section, I will explore some topics from professional research that may be particularly relevant in the discussion of whether leadership should be a profession that is not only related to the characteristics of the professions themselves but also of more external circumstances. The contextual and external circumstances are, of course, very extensive, and the relationships between them and the internal professional relationships can be complex, but I have chosen two development features that problematize the profession's role: dedifferentiation, and de-professionalization.

Dedifferentiation

Composing the professions within new interdisciplinary and cross-sectoral organizational units is called institutional integration. This is a type of "dedifferentiation" that refers to a breach of the tendencies of specialization, or a reversal of the social differentiation process (Ramsdal et al. 1997). Sectors previously isolated from one another were integrated, while the organizational boundaries between them were demolished. One example is nurses who leave the health sector, or social workers who leave the social sector to become part of the education and training sector. Another type of dedifferentiation refers to the establishment of qualification profiles that span cross-established competence profiles and professions. Another example is horizontal centralization, which indicates that control over decision-making processes is divided between management and professionals so that management expands its decision-making authority at the expense of professionals. This expansion creates issues related to whether you can be both a specialist and, at the same time, safeguard the legitimacy of the profession, thus requiring interdisciplinary and comprehensive practice at the expense of specialist knowledge (Otterlei 1996).

Efficiency and financial management are on the agenda in most businesses. Bureaucratic management and control have become important instruments. Many businesses are influenced by New Public Management (NPM), with the introduction of market-like mechanisms and increased bureaucratic management. Another feature of the NPM is the user perspective, an idea that users should have greater influence on service design. These are tools and ideas that can come into conflict with the professional way of working and can limit professional work in key areas.

De-professionalization

Although many of the "new" professions are academized, development may not be one-sided in the direction of professionalization. Freidson (2001) is less concerned with the academicization of a profession, but instead interested in an organized profession capable of establishing a monopoly over certain tasks and their associated levels of control.

The professional work has its own logic that assumes special organizational preconditions for work. Freidson is concerned that professionalism loses against organizational forms based on market and bureaucracy. Monopoly is essential for professionalism, which directly contrasts the logic of a free market. Freedom to use discretion or to have a right of determination in work is inherently important for professionalism, which clashes with the management's view that efficiency is gained by minimizing discretion.

There is largely a monopoly for positions in both health and social services, and education. The state is a key player in establishing monopolies for certain professions and here the legislation is central. Over recent years, it may seem that the state has become more reluctant to protect the occupational groups' monopoly situation. Newer legislation requires, to a lesser extent, that certain occupational groups should be employed. Looking at the emergence of new occupations within the welfare field, these can also be interpreted from a deprofessional perspective. One example of this is User-Managed Personal Assistant (UMPA), a job category where the qualification requirements are linked to the needs of the particular user.

Freidson (2001) believes that professional work has its own logic that assumes special organizational prerequisites to function and is concerned that professionalism is losing business and market-based organizational forms. Ultimately, monopoly is essential for professionalism despite its contradictions with the logic of a free market.

The demand for education and skills concerning both questions about professional monopoly and labor (Mastekaasa 2008) also relates to the relationship between professions, science and clients, as Eckhoff (1967) refers to in his classical study. In this study, he shows that there is a mutual dependency between these groups. Science gives professionals the ability to make accurate and informed decisions. These decisions, in turn, represent the benefits of this science. Furthermore, one could say that those who benefit from the professional's decisions, the users, are those who validate the profession's existence. This relationship between authorities, professions and users is also shown in Knut Dahl Jacobsen's phrase, "Experts are a danger to clients who are not protected by experts" (Jacobsen 1965, p. 160).[2] Jacobsen shows in his study that a lack of experts or professions within a sector can lead to the exclusion of user interests in policy design for a given area. Yngvar Løcken (1985) has used this as a starting point in his analysis of the role of the profession in society, and shows that professionals can, among other things, be spokesmen and instrumental strategists.

Conclusion: Management as a Profession?

As Seljelid (1995, p. 13) states, management can be a profession of its own, but professional management can also be associated with more than just a term for an occupation. Looking at leadership as a profession in the light of theoretic definitions, its issues of ethics, values and norms are highlighted. Do leaders have common norms and values for professional practice? If leadership is a profession with its own scientific and knowledge base with a direct link to tasks, one can, as for the other professions, create predictability and common standards. This will allow for verifiable and internal control.

The status, position and autonomy of traditional professions depend on professional legitimacy and trust, while leaders, for their part, achieve this space of action and freedom inherent to the position itself. What does the professional status add to leadership as a profession? Insufficient legitimacy? Expertise is a legitimacy criterion that leaders can acquire. Other traits include common standards and values. One can ask if leaders have these characteristics, and, perhaps more importantly, if leaders want them. Democratic legitimization is important for leadership, especially in Norway, which requires transparency over leader's dispositions and ensures that decisions are justified (Byrkjeflot 1997, pp. 17–18). Can professional status be helpful in clarifying these justifications?

These are questions that arise from the review of the proficiency concept and professional studies, but I will leave this discussion for the following chapters.

From the hallmarks of professions, we can summarize some key points about what characterizes an occupation that is a profession: a long, formal education that provides research-based competence, the professional's own ethical guidelines, a high degree of freedom and autonomy, and monopoly. However, these characteristics are not absolute and they do not divide professions from other occupational groups. I have also shown that the research field is characterized by disagreement and that there are strong interests associated with professionalization. Ludviksen claims that political interests associated with professions, including their power and status, is a possible explanation for why the term is contested. The fragmentation reflects political opposites in the view of professions' place in the society (1993, p. 18).

In light of these circumstances, the conclusion as to what a profession is, as described by the criteria, is not clear and will depend on several different factors—including political ones.

Notes

1. The title is my translation.
2. My translation.

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Part II

Against Leadership as a Profession

Section A. *Is* Not a Profession

3

How and Why Management Has Not Become a Profession

Haldor Byrkjeflot and Pål Nygaard

Since the Second World War, an American ideology and movement related to the term "management and managerialism" has become influential worldwide. The emergence and development of this management ideology was outlined in a classic comparative study by Reinhard Bendix (1956/1974) and more recently by Mauro Guillén and Marie-Laure Djelic, who explained how American management ideas were transferred to other countries (Guillén 1994; Djelic 1998). In this paper, we will explore the question of why it seems so difficult in general to professionalize management not only in these new contexts, but also in the original American context.

The rather limited historical literature on the professionalization of management, at least relative to the literature on the managerialization of

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professions, emphasize that there has been a clash between an allegedly American model or ideology of management (later referred to as managerialism) and alternative ways of justifying organizational authority in Europe since the Second World War. The main alternatives to the justification of authority by management knowledge were justification by other kinds of expertise (like medicine or engineering) and also by arguments related to political and industrial democracy. The purpose of this chapter is firstly to discuss why it has been so difficult to professionalize management, and secondly to argue that a perspective that emphasizes the plurality of sources of managerial authority, and diversity in management qualifications depending on time and context, may be useful if the aim is to find out how and why management has not yet become a profession.

In the chapter, we will, first, outline the historical and scholarly arguments for and against the idea that management may become a profession. The literature referred to mainly departs from a view of professionalization based on Abott's jurisdictional perspective and a Neo-Weberian emphasis on social closure. These perspectives have been criticized both from an institutionalist perspective (Scott 2008) and from a European point of view for not taking sufficiently into account the societal context of management and professions, for instance, the industrial relations systems and welfare states in Europe (Whitley 1995; Adams 2015; Brante 2013). A perspective that to a greater extent draws on an institutional and more contextual approach to professions and professionalization in history is needed if the purpose is to understand the (so far) failed professionalization of management.

Secondly, and in alignment with such an argument, we will depict how Norwegian and European industrial and public management faced a challenge from American management ideas and managerialism. We outline how this happened in three periods (Taylorism, post-Taylorism, managerialism), when institutions and authority patterns in different societies and social spheres were contested in distinct ways. Authority may be related to functional spheres in society (e.g. technology and engineering, medicine, "the market"), or societal institutions/procedures (laws and settlements regulating industrial and political democracy and welfare states. Thirdly, we discuss the implications of our case for the discussions relating to the role of managerialism and professionalism in reforms and in the future of organizations and societies.

Prospects of Professionalizing Management: US Versus Europe

Historically, industrial management in Northern Europe has, to a larger extent than in the US, been legitimized by disciplinary knowledge. This was the case not only in manufacturing, but also in the administrative apparatus of the state, i.e. in order to justify authority, managers had to refer to expertise in engineering, economics or medicine, for instance. In the American management tradition, on the other hand, authority was to a greater extent derived from knowledge of management itself, or so-called general management (Byrkjeflot and Halvorsen 1996).

Management was the twentieth-century scholarly term used to describe justifications of authority while managerialism and later "leaderism" was a late twentieth- and twenty-first-century term, just like there has been a movement from studying professions to professionalism (Evetts 2010). Recent scholarship argues that management peaked its status in the 1950s and 1960s. Now, managers prefer to speak of leadership to describe their work rather than management (Brocklehurst et al. 2010; Reed 2016). This does not necessarily mean that a shift in justifications of managerial authority has occurred. It could be that the original managerial ideology has become institutionalized and taken for granted (Djelic 2016), which means that new words like "leaders", just like post-New-Public-Management (post-NPM) are mainly providing a new framework for understanding old practices under new circumstances.

According to Klikauer (2015, p. 1105), "Managerialism justifies the application of its one-dimensional managerial techniques to all areas of work, society, and capitalism on the grounds of superior ideology, expert training, and the exclusiveness of managerial knowledge necessary to run public institutions and society as corporations." Also in the US public sector, a stronger belief in separating politics and administration has prevailed, meaning the idea that public and private management was alike has had a stronger influence (The Wilsonian versus Weberian approach). Later, the rise of New Public Management expanded this view of the omnipotence of management to the public sector in many other parts of the world. One may perhaps speak of a paradox then, as the idea of management has expanded into new spheres of industry and society during the latter decades, while there has not been a simultaneous expansion of a distinct management profession (Grey 1997). This may relate to another paradox: while top executives' wages have increased continuously, there has not been a similar increase in managerial autonomy and power—rather the opposite (Mizruchi and Marshall 2016).

Both the scientific-management and human relations movements in management sought to develop management into a science and profession (Guillén 1994). Many arguments have been presented for why such a management profession is needed or why it is likely to develop in the future (Parsons 1937; Reed and Anthony 1992; Khurana and Nohria 2008; Leicht 2016). However, there are not many signs of the institutionalization of a distinct management profession in the occupational structure. As argued by Khurana (2007), even in the US it is hard to see a general management profession emerging. Several cases of professionalizing management specialties have been observed (Hodgson et al. 2015). Rather than a confirmation of a trend toward professionalization of management as such, however, this development may show the problems with integrating the various tasks associated with management in a unified system of knowledge and profession. The financial crisis also undermined the belief in management. Some business school activists, such as Khurana, have sought to restore management status as an occupation in the wake of that crisis, but their call for a "code of conduct" for management does not appear to have been very successful (Khurana and Nohria 2008).

Arguments Against and for Management as Profession

Richard Whitley is among those, along with Andrew Abbott and Chris Grey, who have presented arguments for why management has not become, and is not likely to become, a profession. Like most analysts addressing this topic, Whitley departs from the explosive growth and attraction of business education both in the US and on a global level.[1] This institutional expansion did not result in professionalization, mainly due to the nature of management knowledge as a "congery of overlapping yet disconnected topics, results and pronouncements with little in common except its institutional base (the business school)" (Whitley 1984, p. 387; see also Byrkjeflot 1998).

Whitley has argued consistently that management is a multidisciplinary field of knowledge, much more context-dependent than other so-called "sciences", and that it therefore cannot be professionalized (Whitley 1984, 1995). In so doing, he underlines the challenge to obtain one unified and standardized set of knowledge persuasive enough to justify managerial authority across all variances of sectors, divisions of labor, skill formations and industrial relations systems. Whitley concludes: "The process of professionalization of managerial skills on the basis of academic knowledge is, then, unlikely to develop very far, even in Anglo-Saxon societies where 'professionalism' represents an important occupational ideal" (Whitley 1995, pp. 102–3).

Andrew Abbott also targets management knowledge as he claims "… despite efforts, the area of business management has never been made an exclusive jurisdiction" (Abbott 1988, p. 103). In his view, management knowledge suffers from lack of content due to extreme abstraction. Consequently, several professions and experts compete, claiming that their knowledge covers the entire field of managerial activity. While Whitley points to the lack of a coherent, standardized management science as a reason for why management did not become a profession, Abbott's main point is the lack of social closure due to unsuccessful claims from expert groups on possessing useful, exclusive and abstract knowledge.

Grey (1997) argues that most professions, for example, medicine or accounting, have a fragmented knowledge base (Grey 1997, p. 713). On the other hand, the widespread attraction of management as a technical practice is, according to Grey, ignored by those who reject management as a profession. The growing influence of "management-speak-industry" is in one sense a jurisdiction (Grey 1997, pp. 705, 721). In sum, Grey agrees that it is difficult to define management as a profession as of today, but seems not to exclude the possibility that management may become a profession. In his view, a successful professionalization rests on the ability of managers and management educators to distance themselves from those whose interests lie in controlling managers' behaviors. In so doing, Grey emphasizes to what extent the knowledge base can justify autonomy, concluding that lack of autonomy is the main reason management cannot yet be labelled a profession.

While Chris Grey and other scholars from a critical management perspective state that management gains its high status from the claim that management is a science, Peter Drucker, who has been granted the status as "father of management" also argued that management cannot be a science in the way the British and Americans use the word. Drucker wanted to approach management as a liberal art or more in accordance with the German term *geistenwissenschaft*. He criticized the proponents of science for putting too much emphasis on efficiency and centring on "where can I be applying my beautiful gimmick" (Drucker 1974, p. 508, 1986, p. 227). Similarly, Enteman claims that American managerialism has been a failure because, "as management education grew, it increasingly divorced itself from its humanist background and pretended to be applied economics" (Enteman 1993, p. 168).

This scholarly debate on whether or not management is a profession highlights some of the struggles over definitions within the sociology of professions. Broadly speaking there have been two approaches, one emphasizing power or conflict, the other lists up various attributes distinguishing professions from other occupations. The attribute-approach usually refers to a body of abstract or scientific knowledge provided through higher education, monopoly controlled by a professional association, and a state certificate, as well as a high degree of autonomy supported by a code of ethics (cf. Brante 2011, p. 5). The power-approach emphasizes how occupational groups seek monopoly, power and status by claiming altruistic motives and exclusive knowledge (Sarfatti-Larson 1977; Freidson 1970; Abbott 1988). Recently, scholars like Julia Evetts have tried to overcome the struggles over the defining characteristics of professions within the sociology of professions by speaking of degrees of professionalism, and analyzing professionalism as a value or ideology (Evetts 2010, p. 124).

It is our contention that it is hard to speak of management as a profession, irrespective of these various approaches on what constitutes a profession. There is a fundamental difference between medicine and management in terms of how the division of labor has historically been structured, distributed and justified. Unlike doctors and lawyers, managers don't need a formal education or a license to practice, and states have not taken much interest in establishing such licensing. People would not be equally skeptical of having a layman as their manager as of having a layman as their surgeon. The managers, particularly in top executive positions in private firms, are more like politicians, who are often also amateurs or self-learned, and may thus be distinguished from the educated professional classes. This fundamental difference still exists. In some sectors of societies, however, the managers have to have the same education as those they are set to manage in order to be qualified and selected.

Most scholars arguing for the existence of a management profession point to what is perceived as a new process of imposing organizational "logics" to occupational fields previously dominated by professional "logics". For instance, physicians in the National Health Service in the UK think that their jurisdiction is circumscribed by a new health management profession. Noordegraaf and Van der Meulen similarly argue that a management profession has emerged in Dutch healthcare, although they admit the various schools providing education in healthcare management "provide no clear 'instruments' for defining and standardizing work" (Noordegraaf and Van der Meulen 2008, p. 1067). This may indeed be the case, but most research relating to public sector reforms still conclude that doctors and other health professions have been able to maintain a rather powerful position by developing hybrid roles. The managerialization of public sector thus can be used as an opportunity by various professions to (re)gain occupational control. Consequently, the status of management as such becomes unclear. Noordegraaf (2015, p. 1) has recently called for making "organizing a normal part of professional work – instead of a hybrid, 'uneasy' combination of professional and managerial principles".

Loosening the dichotomy between professionalism and organizations has been the primary objective for scholars promoting the concept of "hybrid professionalism" (Noordegraaf 2015). These scholars were not the first to object to the premise of an inherent conflict between professions and organizations. By combining historical, national, political and cultural contexts with theoretical analyses, a group of Northern European scholars studying professions showed a mutual relationship between professionalization and bureaucratization in Europe (Burrage and Torstendahl

1990; Conze and Kocka 1985). This historical–sociological approach stems from the insight that Nordic and Continental European professionalism is somewhat more integrated with bureaucracy and the state than Anglo-Saxon professionalism.

The professionalization of management based on a business management model is even less likely in such contexts than in the case of the United States, due to the strength of a civil servant tradition and a "privatbeamte" ethos, i.e. an ethos where private management is modelled upon the state (Conze and Kocka 1985). While battle over occupational fields in the tradition of Abbott (1988) has dominated the American context, the focus in this Northern European tradition has been more on the relationship between the state, public bureaucracies and institutions providing frames and contexts for the development of professions.

Disciplinary knowledge has been regarded as a major source of managerial power in Northern Europe. Moreover, the idea of industrial democracy and the institutionalization of tripartite cooperation (state, unions, employer associations) in macro-governance, as well as worker and user influence at shop-floor, has been an important alternative source of managerial authority—particularly in the Nordic countries, but also in Germany. Partly for this reason, Brante (2013) has found that the idea of a professional field involved in continuous jurisdictional conflicts does not fit that well with the Nordic context.

Rather, what characterized the professional field in Norway, for instance, was a high degree of state regulation and involvement in the development of an industrial sphere. The state involvement in developing welfare state professions also provided a strong impetus for cooperation across professional fields and across public and private sectors in the Nordic countries. However, proponents of managerialism seeking to import the American management tradition to Northern Europe argued that management demands specific knowledge and skills. The ideological battle over the foundations for and framing of management may be illustrated by the development in Norway.

We can identify three waves of efforts to import American-style management in Norwegian industry and public sector (Table 3.1). First, at the beginning of the 20th century: Taylorism; secondly, from the 1950s onwards: Post-Taylorism; thirdly, from the 1980s: managerialism

Table 3.1 An overview of attempts to professionalize management in Norway 1900–2010: Taylorism, post-Taylorism and managerialism

	Taylorism	Post-Taylorism	Managerialism
Americanization as attempt to establish managerial authority	Management science (1900–1930) Engineers	Human relations as management science (1930–1980) Marshall mission Productivity movement	Taken for granted belief in management as organizing frame (after 1980) Finance managers NPM
Alternative source of authority	Disciplinary management/ Engineering	Disciplinary management Industrial democracy Einar Thorsrud	Disciplinary management expertise/ bureaucracy Value management Communication
Agency for Americanization	Engineers Bernard Hellern	Marshall mission NPI George Kenning	Kenningism Shareholder value Financialization
Arguments against Americanization	Science and technology as bildung	The joint management tradition Management as art	Revival of professionalism Experts are the best managers due to their embeddedness in a collegial community of practice

(Byrkjeflot and Halvorsen 1996). Consultants, business practitioners and educators with ambitions to establish management as a science and a profession used the American model as their inspiration. The three waves provided opportunities to professionalize management, but in all three cases these efforts were unsuccessful. This case will be used here to illustrate the challenges of making management a profession in societies with a tradition for linking organizational expertise to other kinds of disciplinary expertise, as well as expertise linked to political–democratic processes. The Norwegian trajectory is of interest more generally since these waves were part of a transnational push for professionalization of management in the post-Second World War area, and the Norwegian authority patterns and industrial structures were also more similar to rest of Europe than the American authority patterns and industrial structures.

Taylorism: The Management Challenge to Engineering Dominance

At the turn of the nineteenth century, engineers had gained a dominant position in Norwegian industrial management and they were not challenged by any other profession until the rise of business economists in the 1980s. During 2009–2016, however, engineers have increasingly returned to top positions in industrial management (Amdam and Kvålshaugen 2016). Engineering did not provide input to a managerial profession as much in Norway as it did in the US (Shenhav 1999). Previous studies have concluded that functional competencies, rather than general management skills, have persisted as the most important source of authority in Germany and the Nordic countries (Byrkjeflot and Halvorsen 1997; Amdam and Kvålshaugen 2016). Thus, management has been an occupational field open for competition between professions rather than evolved into a management profession.

The ambition among some engineers to develop engineering into a profession that also took care of managerial tasks may be illustrated by the opening of Norway's only institute of technology in 1910. This event sparked a debate over whether management education should be integrated into the curricula. Engineers inspired by Fredrik W. Taylor's scientific management called for more management competencies based on an analysis of the economic success of the US and Germany in relation to the UK, claiming that the attention and perfection of organizational development was the key explanation (Halvorsen 1982, p. 160). However, although Taylorism sparked some interest among Norwegian engineers and industrialists, these ideas did not have serious impact, on either the education system or the practice of management. In addition, workers resisted Taylorism in Norway; as in most countries, they unionized and gathered political strength (Halvorsen 1982, p. 135; Guillén 1994, p. 109).

The industrial structure of Norway consisted mainly of small- and medium-sized enterprises, making the control of workers and the creation of efficient organizational structures less urgent challenges. These traits contributed to the rejection of Taylorism. Achieving authority was more about convincing the main owners that the managers possessed adequate competencies and knowledge. Thus, the engineering profession emphasized scientific and technological competencies as their source of authority, legitimizing occupational control of industrial management.

The Norwegian response to Taylorism in the first wave shed light on the contested nature of management authority and the problems with the argument about management in itself as a source of authority. Like the US, Norway did not have a dominant pre-modern elite culture like the field of literature in UK or middle class "bildung" in Germany. One could therefore expect that aspiring managerial professions were more inclined to follow the American trajectory since engineers dominated industrial management, and their main challenge in gaining managerial authority was acceptance from financial owners. As in the US, Norwegian engineers sought authority through knowledge, but they rejected Taylorism. Instead, Norwegian engineers cultivated technology as science and bildung as their source of authority, inspired by their close relation to the German engineering tradition. This case underlines the importance of including contextual explanations, and questions targeting sources of authority.

Post-Taylorism: The Joint Management Tradition

After the Second World War, the rather fragmented attempts at importing American-style managerialism were replaced by an institutionalized push for diffusion of American models of management and organization (Carew 1989, p. 161). Once more, engineers challenged these efforts to import American-style management, now in the shape of human relations personnel management. A committee set up to reform engineering education argued against introducing management courses at the

Norwegian Institute of Technology, claiming that their task was to "educate engineers not technical business economists" (Owe et al. 1952, p. 34). In their view, management competencies were best obtained through learning by practical experience. The Norwegian response to post-Taylorism turned the argument from American ideology of general management upside-down; instead of regarding management as a generalist skill, engineering knowledge was the generalist skill and management was a kind of specialization within engineering.

Despite the efforts made by the Marshall mission and the Norwegian Productivity Institute, human relations did not evolve into a central knowledge base for Norwegian managers, nor a starting point for professionalization of management. Although originally inspired by the human relations-tradition, the scholars funded by this institute directed the field of management and organizational knowledge into an alternative direction, focusing on workers' co-determination—the joint management model. This was quite similar to an alternative model later known as the Japanese management model.

In Norway, industrial democracy rose to a prominent position on the political agenda during the 1950s and 1960s (Slagstad 1998, p. 412). Both the major trade union and the Labour Party aimed for policies that gave workers more influence in corporations. They sought to empower workers by giving them codetermination over day-to-day operations, which again was believed to raise productivity. A grand research project aiming to test if self-governed worker-groups could raise productivity and ease employer–worker relations made a major impact on Norwegian regulations on industrial relations (Thorsrud and Emery 1969). The institutionalized tripartite cooperation encouraged industrial managers to justify their authority not so much by referring to their expert knowledge as to their formal role in the administration of the joint management system. However, this way of justifying managerial authority was not sufficiently flexible or dynamic to face the changes taking place in the industrial structure as a consequence of international competition. Consequently, this alternative to post-Taylorism could not serve as foundation to the professionalization of management.

At the same time, employers reported that most engineers were overqualified for the technical aspects of their work tasks, and showed disinterest and lack of motivation for the administrative aspects (Holter 1961, p. 155). Discussions over the experiments and reports, along with radicalization and critiques against industrial society, led to a decline in confidence among Norwegian engineers in terms of their managerial abilities (Nygaard 2013, p. 284). In effect, knowledge in science and technology had lost its power as a source of managerial authority as well. Combined with a development towards financialization, this laid the foundation for the transfer of managerial dominance from engineers to business economists, demonstrating that management was an occupational field open for competition.

Managerialism, Kenningism and New Public Management 1980–2010

The engineers' declining occupational control over industrial management coincided with the rise of a third wave of promoting managerialism and general management in Norway. Both the introduction of a modest form of divisionalized organizational structure in the public and private sectors, and the financialization of business in Norway, had a certain taste of Americanization. One management consultant in particular, George Kenning, pushed Norwegian industrial managers in this direction. Kenning, who had managerial experience from the automobile industry in the US, was brought in as part of the Marshall aid, and was frequently used as a management consultant by Swedish and Norwegian industry (Kalleberg 1991; Byrkjeflot 2002, p. 114).[2] In Norway, the shipbuilding company Aker became the main hub for Kenning's influence (Kalleberg 1991). Kenningism's popularity in a closed circle of managers boosted the confidence of top managers, but also gave birth to a counter-movement in the defence of traditional forms of management based on professional and local norms (Byrkjeflot 2002). At the end of the 1980s, the ideals of general management and financialization through internal markets was beginning to make an impact even outside the business community.

The very same managerial principles that Kenning formulated were also implemented in the Norwegian public sector, this time under the catchword of "unitary management". The ambitions on behalf of management were particularly strong in hospitals, but there were similar reforms in schools, universities and social services. The New Public Management movement in Norway was at first slow-moving, but there was a new strong push for reforming the public sector in the 2000s, with major reforms transforming the railways, hospitals and the postal services into enterprises. Furthermore, accountability mechanisms and management by results were introduced, as major principles in all state agencies and several agencies were merged and reestablished as state enterprises. Since then the reform activism has continued, although under new labels like post-NPM and New Public Governance.

Both Kenningism and joint management can be interpreted as modernist challenges to established organizational cultures. As noted by Kenning himself when discussing organizations, Norwegians referred to voluntary organizations, unions, political parties and so on, but not firms (Utnes 1955). Kenningism was a counter-movement both to popular democracy, with its emphasis on local and national political organizations, as well as to the democracy at work movement (joint management). Both forms of democracy challenge the ideology of general management as a source of authority because managers cannot justify their right to manage in such a system by referring to their formal position and management qualifications alone.

The Kenning controversy in the 1990s may have strengthened the mutual disrespect that developed between unions and academics taking an interest in industrial development on the one hand, and the Kenning supporters among a small group of top executives in Norway. The paradoxical outcome was that central industrial managers claimed to support the democracy at work movement in public, while they at the same time adopted many of Kenning's ideas of strictly hierarchical management (Sørhaug 1996). From the outset, a broader specter of American ideas of managerialism was mainly appropriated by actors in the practice field. This separation between the practice field and the academic field was an obstacle to the professionalization of management. Norway was not unique in this; the field of management knowledge connected much less with the academic system in all European countries than in the US and there was a great deal of resistance against importing the American management model among academics as well as educated industrialists.

Conclusion

Most scholars seem to agree that management cannot be labelled a profession, albeit with disagreement over explanations. We departed from Grey's (1997) critique of Abbott (1988) and Whitley's (1984, 1995) rejection of management's status as a profession. In Grey's view there exists a paradox, in that management as technical practice (managerialism) is widely acknowledged to be actually expanding, whereas managers as an occupational group have "failed to perpetuate its elite status" (Grey 2017, p. 124). While Abbott and Whitley in different ways explain the lack of closure with reference to the nature of management knowledge, Grey argues that other successful professions possess similar kinds of diverse knowledge bases. Thus, according to Grey, the lack of closure around management must be explained otherwise, and among his favorite explanations is the "new capitalism", which has undermined the traditional sources of legitimization for managerial power—knowledge about how to cooperate and how to control workers. Grey paradoxically predicts the end of management along with the expansion of managerialism (2017).

What constitutes a profession has proven to be a contested question within the sociology of professions. Our contention is that management hardly qualifies as a profession whether drawing upon the attribute-, closure- or more recent discursive approach. It has not been possible for managerial elites educated in business schools or similar institutions either to achieve closure over, or institutionalize, a distinct field of knowledge qualifying for management positions. The failure to professionalize top management in business is particularly crucial if seen from the perspective that industrial management is the hallmark of managerialism. Evidently, scholars arguing for the existence of a management profession point to management specialties within public and private organizations below the top management level, such as accounting, human resources or project management. However, these diversifying movements towards professionalizing management specialties *demonstrate* the problem with developing an integrated profession rather than the opposite. Moreover, the managerialization of the public sector may spark a professional response empowering the traditional professions rather than establishing a new managerial profession of government.

Although it seems difficult to professionalize management, it is not impossible for the professionalization to take place. In fact, recent developments render the future prospects for professionalization of management ambiguous. Some of the obstacles for professionalizing management have become weaker, such as labor unions, along with this the idea and institutions associated with tripartite governance and Nordic representative industrial democracy. The increasing impact of financialization may be noted as a reason for this development along with globalization, but this also undermines the autonomy of management. The rise of New Public Management has followed in the wake of a movement proclaiming critiques of professional power, and for making public organizations more business-like with general managers in charge, as in private firms. It has been argued that the influence of this reform approach was stronger in Anglo-Saxon countries than in continental Europe and the Nordic countries. Instead, the latter countries maintained many of the characteristics of the established framework, qualifying their reform paths to become "neo-Weberian" (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011; Byrkjeflot et al. 2018).

Values of democracy and expertise, as well as institutions and elites that are associated with such values, are supposed to balance each other in democratic and liberal societies. In such societies, and particularly in times of crisis and politization, managerial authority in itself (as general management expertise) may be difficult to justify. Recent events, like the financial crisis and the rise of right-wing and other kinds of populism, may indicate that we are in a period demanding new kinds of balancing acts, and new kinds of justifications for management. There is no lack of management scholars on a quest to professionalize management (Khurana and Nohria 2008; Romme 2017), but so far it has been difficult to identify any push in this direction in the "real world".

Notes

1. From 5000 MBA students in 1960 to 200.000 in 1995 in the U.S. (Locke 1989, p. 162, 1996, p. 28). Approximately 150 000 institutions now provide business degrees globally (Engwall et al. 2016, p. 223).

2. The Marshall aid was a large-scale American aid program in order to help Europe rebuild its industries after Second World War.

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Section B. *Can* Not Become a Profession

4

Management as a Profession: The Historian's Perspective

Susanna Fellman

Introduction

The emergence of bureaucratic, hierarchical large-scale firms has had extensive effects on management of companies and on top managers' backgrounds. Managing these big corporations required new skills and a new approach to the task and led to an influx of professional experts at various levels and in various positions. Top management positions were gradually taken over by a new generation of well-trained and highly experienced cadre of managers. To an increasing extent, this new generation consisted of salaried employees, without ownership in the firm. According to the American business historian, Alfred D. Chandler Jr, this led to a "managerial revolution", where old, ad hoc-based systems of management were replaced by systematic approaches to the managerial task (Chandler 1980). This has been equated with a professionalization process of top management. Although Chandler's views received criticism,

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he contributed with some important notions about the emergence of the modern large-scale corporation and the transformations in top management.

The question of managers as a new profession occurred as a result of—or in conjunction with—the development of industrial society and cannot be studied separately. Nevertheless, the question is complex and as I shall highlight here, these discussions go further back than the debates Chandler inspired. Not surprisingly, it has been going on since the emergence of the modern large-scale corporation; contemporary thinkers could well observe the development which occurred in society. Overall, it was not seen as an unambiguously positive development, but already early observers noted that there were negative effects from the process. For instance, in the 1920s, Adolf C. Berle and Gardiner C. Means observed that managers without a stake in the company often had different goals from the owners (Berle and Means 1932, pp. 119–25).

In this volume, the overreaching aim is to answer the question: *should* management become a profession? This connects closely to another question, namely whether management *can* become a profession. On the first question, my answer as a historian is: "it depends"—and on the second one: "only to a limited extent". Firstly, there has not been a clear consensus that management should become a profession, not within the business community, among management thinkers or even among the managers themselves (and their associations). Some wanted to promote such strives, while other opposed or were reluctant. Secondly, aims to become or form a profession have as a rule failed. Nevertheless, I will show that some kind of process resembling a professionalization process of the "managerial cadre" has indeed occurred.

I will in this chapter discuss: (a) the debates concerning management as a profession in historical scholarship; (b) what professionalization of management has been considered to mean at various times; (c) how the process resembling a professionalization process has been reflected in managerial background (education, work experience, recruitment etc.); and, finally, (d) when and why aims to become a profession have been particularly to the fore among managers.

In the first part of this chapter, I will address the main discussions in the course of the 20th century. I will highlight if the contemporaries considered that it was important to form a profession, if such a professionalization process was considered possible, and if so, how was it to happen.

In the second part, I will give a broad description of the historical development pattern(s). I will briefly discuss changes in the managerial profile, i.e. managers' education and careers, but also the role of professional "ethics" and identities. This was an issue which was on the agenda early on and it connects closely to the question of whether the managerial élite wanted to become a profession or not. I will concentrate on top managers. In the short conclusion, I will sum up the two questions set out at the beginning. The focus will be on the development in the Nordic countries, but I also discuss occurrences in other parts of the world. Historical analyses are usually comparative, both over time and across different areas and regions. To understand these transformations, it is important to look at the broader social, political and economic context.

Professionalization of Management and Modernization: Early Debates

One early proponent who thought that management could—and should—become a profession was the renowned management thinker, Mary Parker Follet, who drew attention to the subject in some of her lectures in the 1920s and early 1930s. The key questions she addressed seem familiar from today's perspective; one of her key messages was that managers should become "more" professional due to the challenges of the changing society. Management in modern society was, according to her, a task too important to be left to those who did not have the correct attitudes and competencies. Management was a task for which one was to be as well prepared for as for any other. It was also the duty of the managers themselves to advance their professionalization and to work actively towards the establishing of a profession. In modern society, a profession provided an important function. In order to become a profession, management was to rest on "a body of knowledge" and on a willingness to serve others (Follet 1925a/1942, p. 134).

Overall, during the early decades of the 20th century, discussions on what actually managers did and what the management function consisted of were frequent. This is well known from the work of, for example, Henri Fayol and Chester Barnard. Corporate management in large industrial enterprises was at the time in many ways a new function. The discussions were also motivated by the changing society. As Follet emphasized, the need for professionalism among managers came from, most notably, the increasing competition on the market and from a growing scarcity of labor (and other resources). In modern society, managers could only legitimize their authority by having the correct competence for the task (Follet 1925b/1942, p. 118). She also emphasized that the growing role of the large companies made them increasingly play a public service role (Follet 1925b/1942, p. 122). The large corporations had become influential actors, which gave them responsibilities. Follet, like many other thinkers of the time, also emphasized ethical motivations; managers are dealing with human beings, and therefore they need to pay attention how these workers were to be treated. This was not an argument against a more efficient and systematic management, but, on the contrary, by paying attention to good leadership, the productivity of the employees would increase.

This connected to the ideas of a more systematic approach to managerial problems which were to the fore during this period. Most famous is of course the scientific management movement and the work of Frederick Winslow Taylor. According to Taylor, detailed studies of the production processes could solve the problems managers met in their daily work (Taylor 1911/2014). These ideas were also influenced by the period's general belief in science as a tool for advancing the modern world. In fact, social issues could also be solved by a scientific approach. By addressing managerial problems in a rational and systematic way, firms would be better managed and eventually even the tensions between "labor and capital" would be eradicated.

These challenges required both new skills and new attitudes among managers. According to Follet, in order to become a real profession, a proper scientific knowledge base was important, but there was overall a growing interest in how leadership skills could be achieved. A rapid expansion in business education occurred in many countries in the first decades of the 20th century (see, for example, Engwall 2009; Locke 1984). Follet did not explicitly take a strong stance about which *type* of education was to be preferred. She acknowledged the work of the early business schools, but she also concluded that appropriate competencies could be achieved through talks, carefully selected readings, lectures, wisely led discussions and conferences. Collaboration between teaching institutions and practical business life could also be useful (Follet 1925a/1942, pp. 130–1). Nonetheless, systematic training and discussions would advance professionalism.

Follet was a strong proponent of professional associations. The associations would be significant for skill formation, but they were also to establish, maintain and improve professional standards and ethical guidelines (Follet 1925a/1942, p. 135). The association should also be responsible for overseeing that members kept to the standards and protect the public from those representatives of the profession who had not yet attained the acceptable standards or "willfully" did not follow them (Follet 1925a/1942, p. 136).

In the Nordic countries, these questions were on the agenda at the time. Early proponents of business schools and technical universities debated the role of formal education to meet the new demands from growing companies and fast industrialization. The first Nordic schools for business emerged in the early 1900s. Although the concept of "professionalization" (Swedish: *professionalisering, profession*) was not commonly used in the Nordic context at the time, it was increasingly argued that management was to be seen as an "occupation" (Swedish: *yrke*), for which specific competencies—and occasionally also a specific education—was required (Fellman 2000, p. 79; Fellman 2001). Another motivation was to lift the status of the business leaders to compete with the old élite (see, for instance, Engwall 2009). Leadership qualities were at the time still seen by many as something innate, while formal education was even regarded as something that could hamper the "entrepreneurial spirit" (Fellman 2000, pp. 76–82). Practical learning of the trade was therefore considered as the best way to start a successful business career. Systematic discussion in the business community about becoming a profession and how to advance such goals were not yet frequent.

Nevertheless, these discussions were part of a rapidly changing society. The first decades of the 20th century were a period of industrial progress, but also a time when in many countries the old class society withered away and was replaced by a meritocratic society (or at least the idea of it). In this environment, new opportunities gradually arose for strong professional and educational groups, like the engineers, to claim their leading role in the advancement of the modern industrial world. Occasional wrangles occurred between the engineers and the emerging business graduates about who was best suited to lead big corporations, and this made the groups formulate stronger professional aspirations.

Management as a Profession: The 1960s as a Watershed and the Backlash of the 1980s

In retrospect, the early thinkers propagating management as profession were few and the question only came strongly onto the agenda in the postwar period, especially the 1960s. During this period, the idea of "professionalization of everyone", as described by Harold Wilensky (1964), was to the fore. The idea that management was a "specialist function" and an "occupation" that required specialization and special competencies gained ground. As Thomas Imse (1960, p. 38) argued, it was not surprising that "thoughts of professionalization of this occupation should arise", as management had come (then) to play an important and visible function in society. During these decades, a belief in the development of a management science and a proper management education, which would provide particular leadership and management skills necessary to lead any kind of firms, irrespective of size or industry, grew strong. The "professional manager" became also increasingly equated with managers with a management education, i.e. an MBA or equivalent. For example, in the 1960s, Robert Gordon (1966, p. 318) defined professional managers as "salaried experts, trained by education and experience in the field of management". This was especially the case in the US, but the American business schools spread their "gospel" around the world and the heyday began (see further Locke 1996). As the US was the leading economy of the world, it followed that they must have the best managers and the most modern managerial methods.

Also in the Nordic countries, similar arguments were to the fore in this period. For example, Finnish business school graduates began to compete with engineers over top management and claimed expertise in management (Fellman 2000, p. 120). Until then, the university engineers had had an advantage in the "professional competition"; the technical education had hitherto been on a higher level than in the early business schools, while the role of technical expertise and branch-specific competencies had been considered crucial for developing the modern company during the catching-up phase. The Swedish business graduates were able to compete with engineers after World War II, but engineers were due to their technical competence frequently found in top management positions, especially within manufacturing companies (Carlson 1986; Engwall 2009, p. 122). In the 1960s, the idea of management education also got a tail wind in Nordic business. The significance of promoting skills taught in business education became especially to the fore in Finland, where big business gradually started seeking markets abroad. Business school education claimed expertise in doing business with foreign cultures (Fellman 2007).

In spite of professionalization efforts, the goals were not reached, however. One reason is to be found in the field itself. One fervent critic from within the business schools, Henry Mintzberg, has often stressed that management is not a science, although the study of management can apply scientific principles (Mintzberg 2004, p. 10). Moreover, JC Spender (2005) points out that while a rigorous body of knowledge did develop in the business field, there was a large gap between the scientific knowledge taught to business graduates and their work in practice. What is to be considered managerial competence is highly dependent on the specific organization in which the task is carried out and its context. Another reason is an inherent problem in forming a "proper" professional group. The MBAs and various forms of executive education grew fast after the Second World War and have continued to do so until today. Nevertheless, not even those with an MBA-degree have been able to monopolize management positions. Business graduates' associations have not been able to act as gatekeepers and regulate access in the same way as associations in the medical or legal profession. As Spender emphasizes, to become a profession is not only a question about developing a rigorous body of knowledge that shapes practice, but also about gaining monopoly power (Spender 2005, p. 5). Whether the obstacles of business graduates and/or managers to form a profession is a failure of the business schools or is due to the nature of the managerial function remains partly open.

Another important issue, but to a lesser extent debated, is the question of professional values, as we have discussed already using Follet. According to Rhakesh Khurana (2007, p. 146) many deans of American business schools aimed to create an education that would enable the formation of a managerial profession in the first part of the 20th century. This was to be done by bringing into the studies traditional professional values such as objectivity, self-discipline and disinterested commitment to be transferred to the larger community. These values are quite similar to those put forward by Follet. However, these values, commonly attributed to university education, did not particularly excite the employers in private corporations, neither were scholars within the field unanimously in favor of assigning such goals to business education. The business schools advanced the idea of creating professional management skills—and marketed them as such—but the schools were quite disinterested in providing their students with "higher" professional values. I will return to this in the conclusion.

Traits of the Professionalization Process: Transformations in Managerial Background

The transformations in top management gained early interest among scholars. Empirical investigations of changes in, for example, managers' background were already carried out prior to Alfred D. Chandler Jr.'s (1980) work. In the 1920s and 1930s, managers' origins and social backgrounds were especially the focus of attention (Taussig and Joslyn 1932; Miller 1949). Soon also other factors, like educational background and careers, were investigated. In her famous book, *The Big Business Executive: The Factors that Made Him,* which is based on a detailed investigation of the background of three cohorts (1900, 1925, 1950) of top managers in big US corporations, Mabel Newcomer (1955a, b) gave a detailed account of how industrialization, the growth of big business and the transformation in the educational system had changed executives' backgrounds. Newcomer showed that industrial and corporate development had not only been marked by a transition towards selecting managers from outside the owning family, but it had also profoundly transformed the profile of the big business executive. Among other things, the amount of formal education had increased and managerial recruits had to work more years before reaching top positions. Moreover, management had become a full-time task and managers became more tightly tied to the firm and committed to their work. These notions show similarities with the characteristics of the classical professions, the last one resembling a "professional ethics". In fact, according to Newcomer (1955a, pp. 143–4), modern professional management signified a prominent position in relation to the surrounding society and this position required high moral values. Big business leaders had obligations to contribute to "the community chest". This is interesting in relation to Mary Parker Follet's arguments as she emphasized the role of serving society. Thomas Imse (1960) emphasized that a professional status for managers should include taking a greater responsibility towards both employees and customers.

Newcomer's results, which are seminal in the scholarly field, gained support in later research, although some refining and additional aspects have been entered into the debate. For example, the role of MBAs and executive education in top management has increasingly been in focus.

In scholarly literature, discussions on "the professionalization of management" have often focused on the separation of ownership and management. Professional managers are even considered as the same as "full-time salaried managers". This is a very simplistic view of the concept, however (Fellman 2001, 2013; Hall and Nordqvist 2008). Nevertheless, when looking at historical research in this field, there is indeed a path away from the owner managers towards salaried managers. As the demands for competencies and profound skills grew, it also opened up opportunities to climb to the top for young ambitious contestants without the right kinship relations or ownership in the firm.

One of the most notable transformations in managerial background was the increasing level of education. The big corporations became increasingly dependent on graduates with high skills. There have been national differences in the educational background of managers. The recruitment of managers is historically and culturally embedded. In, for example, France, Germany, Sweden and Finland, a large share of top managers have a higher education. In UK and the US, the level of education has been somewhat lower. Business managers in the UK have also had a more diverse educational background, for example, degrees in the classics, humanities or in political science (see Cassis 1997, p. 133). There was in fact a shortage of business education until the 1960s. Reed and Anthony (1992) quote a famous book by stating that in the 1980s there was still too little provision of management training in Britain and that it had come too late, and it was for far too few. This phenomenon led to active efforts to improve professionalization among business management. The development process has also looked different in different countries and often it did not occur along an even path. Fellman showed in her research that in the case of Finland, it was swifter at some points and slower at other times (see Fellman 2000, 2003). Nevertheless, in all countries the level of education has grown steadily over time. A gradual convergence towards education for business has also occurred (for instance, Kaelble 1980; Cassis 1997; Fellman 2000). This can be seen as evidence of a professionalization process, too. However, in no country have managers with one type of education been able to monopolize top management positions, and national divergences continue to persist.

Although the importance of formal education grew and opened up new career opportunities, top managers, especially in big business, continued to come from the top layers of society long-into the 20th century (Miller 1949; Taussig and Joslyn 1932; Fellman 2000). This is perhaps surprising, but there are several reasons for this. Students at university-level institutions have largely come from upper- and middle-class backgrounds and business schools tend of course to attract sons and daughters with a "business-friendly attitude" often from business families themselves.

Students from the upper strata of society have often accumulated social and cultural capital, which makes them move easily in a variety of social contexts. Sons and daughters from business families have often acquired tacit knowledge about the managing of a business enterprise. Such capabilities are undoubtedly useful in career advancement (see, for example, Maclean et al. 2006, p. 91). In many countries, like France and the UK, there are specific élite schools and universities from which a considerably high proportion of the top layers in business and civil service come. Whether these educational institutions provide the best education and competencies, or provide platforms from which students get access to the right networks, or just provide a strong signal effect of correct attitudes and values—or all of these factors together—is often difficult to evaluate.

Interestingly, the share of top managers in big business that could be classified as "sons and daughters of business owners or business leaders" increased, for instance, in Finland until the 1970s (Fellman 2000, pp. 66–7). This seems at first to be quite paradoxical, as the share of owner managers and heirs decreased rapidly. One explanation was a fast economic and industrial change in the early 20th century, which meant that the number of "business owner and business leaders" increased overall in society. Another reason was the growing role of an education suited particularly for the business sector (business schools, engineering) in the corporate career. This type of education attracted especially sons and daughters of businessmen and -women. Finnish business is also today reluctant to recruit graduates with other types of education than business or engineering. Cultural factors affect career and recruitment patterns.

Education and career patterns are also closely interlinked. The growing number of years of schooling meant that young men and women entered the practical business life later than during early industrialization. Instead, careers moved faster; as managerial candidates started their careers later they moved faster "up the ladder". In fact, future top managers were often fast-tracked, but they were also to show their ambitions early. Managers' careers increasingly occurred within the corporate sector. During early industrialization, it was not uncommon to have worked in other fields prior to management positions. Experience from management positions became also increasingly important. Due to the growing hierarchies and new middle-management positions, there were growing opportunities for this (for an overview of literature, see Fellman 2000, 2003; Vinkenburg and Weber 2012). A growing tendency towards outside recruitment has also taken place. The rise in managers' educational level—and a development towards some form of "general managerial skills"—resulted in managers becoming more mobile between firms. The development is not completely straightforward, however. The preference for recruiting top managers from inside or outside has varied between countries and between firms.

In conclusion, empirical research has shown that managers' career patterns became more similar over time. In Finland and several other countries, this development occurred irrespective of the managers' ownership in the firm (Fellman 2000, p. 159).These features can be seen as signs of a professionalization process.

Scholars have also discussed other dimensions, which could be seen as indicators of professionalism among managers, but which are more difficult to put into quantitative terms. Professionalism could, for instance, be observed in the introduction of meritocratic values, routinization and systematization of procedures and formalization of structures (for an overview, see Stewart and Hitt 2012). These aspects are important both in family firms and in firms managed by salaried experts, but it is often assumed that family firms more often suffer from nepotism and lack of meritocratic values and formalization. On the other hand, as Fellman (2013) showed, many family managers were during early industrialization better educated and often better prepared for their task than their salaried colleagues were. This was a result of owning families' responses to increasing competition from career managers. In any case, routinization and systematization is to be considered a part of the professionalization process.

Concluding Remarks

Today, there is widespread agreement among scholars that the professionalization of management did not signify the transformation of management into a fully-fledged profession resembling a classical liberal profession. Aims to monopolize management through educational credentials have failed. The idea of creating a general management education, which provided the students with generalist managerial competence suitable in any firm, irrespective of size, branch or nation, has also been rejected. Alas, no specific knowledge base which could form a specific platform for a "managerial profession" has developed.

Nevertheless, some kind of development resembling a professionalization process occurred. For example, Michael Reed and Peter Anthony (1992, p. 600) argue that managers could be considered as a "prototype of an 'organizational profession'". Managers do display some specific characteristics, which are central for a professional group, like the ability to exclude and exercise limited monopoly control of the knowledge base. Managers have over time developed a knowledge base that can provide some protection against competing groups, although the control and exclusion is much more limited than for a traditional profession. Managers have also special techniques and languages which others do not have (Wilson and Thomson 2006, p. 173). Nevertheless, managerial knowledge is highly context-dependent. There is quite large organizational- and task-related heterogeneity among managers and among members of their professional associations. According to Reed and Anthony (1992), there is also quite high internal differentiation and hierarchical stratification within the group. Such features are not typical for strong professional groups.

So we can conclude that managers cannot form a strong professional group. But should they aim for that? What have their goals been in this respect? An interesting question concerns the role of professional ethics, values and (possible) professional identities and loyalties, which can be considered important indicators if a group want to form a profession. A profession, as mentioned, is expected to have a professional ethics and a strong identity with—and loyalty to—the profession. Mary Parker Follet was a strong proponent of managers forming a profession. Nevertheless, if the group develops strong professional—and ethical—values (duty to serve a broader purpose, dis-interestedness etc.) and loyalties, these might clash with the loyalty to the company and expectation of the employers. As Khurana emphasizes, there was not even unanimity within the scholarly community about aiming to make business school graduates able to enter a pure profession. According to Reed and Anthony, efforts to improve the professionalization among business management in the 1980s was, ironically, not well received by either the business community or employers. It was feared that managers' commitment to the companies would be threatened by the managers' growing commitment to the profession and increasing mobility on the labor market. This is in fact probably the main reason why managers and business graduates have been reluctant to aim towards developing management into a profession in the strictest sense.

It is often emphasized that business schools tend to educate people with similar ideas, values and attitudes and that this is what makes them attractive to employers. However, these values are seldom professional values as described by Follet or Khurana. On the contrary, to show their loyalty to the company and to the art of making business are values the employers often look for in top-level employees. On the other hand, this one-sidedness of the business graduates occasionally receives criticism from the business community. As Spender argues, some executives prefer to recruit arts graduates or even PhD physicists. They find them more adaptive and creative, while the MBAs' "imaginations seem calcified by irrelevant—but rigorous—theory, and questionable ethical attitudes" (Spender 2005, p. 1290). So perhaps a little more of professionalism, in the form of traditional professional values, would in the long run be advisable?

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5

The Professional Leader: Man of Many Talents or Jack of All Trades? Five Questions About Professional Leadership

Leif-Kristian Monsen

Introduction

While it is easy to question the complete roundness of a circle or the straightness of a line, it is far from simple to define if a person possesses all the criteria to be a leader. On the other hand, it is possible to question the criteria that are often conclusive in determining who is suitable and qualified for leadership positions. Using five such questions as a frame of reference, I will discuss some of these criteria in order to clarify to what degree professionalization of leaders is possible and meaningful. Although some of these questions may be answered somewhat unambiguously, others are not quite as easy to address. As part of my concluding remarks, I will argue that both formal schooling and relevant experience can make individuals competent and help them to become more professional in their practice of leadership. However, there is good reason to believe that this type of professionalization cannot lead to any particular professional designation.

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The Professional Leader

There are at least two obvious reasons that it is difficult to provide a distinct definition of the term, professional leader. One is that, beyond duties, responsibility, power and authority as formally viewed aspects of the leader position, there is also the term, leadership. There are just as many answers to the question of what leadership is as there are experts in the field. Most who have tried would claim that it is easier to become a leader than it is to practice leadership; and not just due to the lack of applause. Surveys show that leaders are uncertain whether what they do can be referred to as leadership (Mintzberg 1989). The other is that professionalization within the field of leadership is difficult to compare with professionalization and certification of practitioners within established professional disciplines. One discernible difference is that there are no specialized or accredited degree programs licensed to issue leader certificates in the way that such programs certify individuals within the fields of law, medicine or economics, for example. This is a steadily recurring theme in the discussion of whether leadership can be professionalized (Khurana et al. 2005). In various ways, all of the questions I examine in this chapter will enter the debate on whether leadership education can provide candidates with quality assurance and some guarantee that they will practice good leadership.

Because being a leader consists of filling a role that is generally tied to substantial and unrealistic expectations, the definition is embedded in some sober criteria for success in the leadership role. Thus, one definition of the professional leader could be a person who has proven him-/herself capable of practicing normative leadership in one or more organizations and businesses, and who has done so by establishing and maintaining an authoritative position based on recognition and support as a leader within complex systems. This would be a person who could appear and be sought out as a professional leader for a wide range of different operations.

In other words, as the basis for this chapter there is a belief that leadership can be learned; to a certain degree, in a certain capacity and without implied guarantees about the type of practice in which such knowledge will be manifested. Although this assumption implies that most people can become leaders, it is probably here more than anywhere that skills and ambitions are somewhat connected.

Doubts, skepticism and criticism, however, may easily be raised about the idea of the professional leader—and with good reason. Clearly enough, such an opposition may not have a principled or normative basis, in that the market occurrence of professional leaders is already quite substantial and there is no empirical foundation for claiming whether or to what degree these leaders practice better or worse leadership than others who do not fall into this category of leaders. On the contrary, it is possible to raise the question of what types of knowledge, insight, skills, characteristics and behavior may be viewed as constituting a professional leader, in addition to questioning how and in what contexts such constitutional characteristics may be preferred over leaders who are recruited based on more traditional criteria tied to their discipline-related and professional degrees and production-specific competence. Here, I will limit myself to posing five such questions.

1) Can a Person Lead an Organization Without Professional Competence in the Core Production?

Many would immediately respond to this question with an unconditional *no*. Yet hospital directors who come from the banking industry, bank directors who come from heavy industry and school administrators who become industrial leaders are all examples demonstrating that comprehensive knowledge or formal competence within the operations they have been recruited to lead has not been a necessary prerequisite. Why, then, have they been chosen above others? Part of the explanation may lie in the fact that they are hired to lead organizations that are characterized by high levels of internal and external complexity. Internal complexity refers to the size of the organization, the competence level of employees, professional inventory, organizational structure and culture, task structure, technological structure, institutional characteristics and the amount of production diversity. External complexity refers to the characteristics of suppliers, customers, competitors and collaborative partners.

Additionally, not only national economic and political frameworks and conditions are included, but also international conditions that increasingly have an influence on the provisions for the actions and strategic choices of organizations. For this reason, the attention of many leaders is largely directed at the surroundings, both near and far, while the daily routine consists of formulating solutions and strategies that will contribute to adapting the organization to the requirements and expectations of the surrounding world on which it depends.

Leaders in organizations that are characterized by high levels of internal and external complexity, may therefore face considerable challenges and demands, whereby only a small portion of their tasks can be directly tied to the ordinary production process. In other words, where internal and external complexity is high, most of the leader's duties may require completely other types of knowledge and insight than the specific formal competence on which the running of core technology depends at all times. The more complex the organizations and their surroundings, the less significant professional core technological competence is to the practice of leadership, and the more significant the leader's analytical skills and competence in leadership, strategic development and external alliance-building become. This hypothesis, however, does not derive from the idea that professionally specific core technological competence necessarily involves an introverted, narrowly gauged and operationally bound leadership focus. On the contrary, it takes for granted that the sphere of leader duties that lies outside core technology's professional domain will be considerably expanded and become far more demanding with increasing degrees of internal and external complexity. Because this sphere of tasks cannot be effortlessly managed with the help of so-called sound reasoning, it is likely that a broader and higher level of competence in leadership will be useful and have its own legitimacy as a professionalized function in organizations. Thus, both empirically and theoretically, it is easy to conclude that it is possible to lead an operation without specific professional competence within the core production.

2) Can a Professional Leader Practice at All Levels in the Organization?

It is natural to answer this question with an unconditional *no* as well. A brain surgeon's operating team obviously needs to have a neurosurgeon as its leader, just as any practicing expert group must be led by a specialist. Brain surgery is an extremely complicated profession and no other competence beyond clearly defined medical and technical support functions are relevant during surgical procedures. With a few flaps of our wings, however, we come high enough up to see the neurosurgical operating room as one of countless rooms in a large building where a wide range of other specialist services are also carried out. Additionally we see a swarm of staff within a large number of non-medical professional fields with the mission of ensuring effective coordination and facilitation of the hospital's many services. The interaction between all of these groups of actors is marked by insufficient resources, time constraints and conflicts. From even higher up, we may catch a glimpse of how the hospital encounters pressure in the form of demands and expectations, rules and decisions, norms and morals, ideas and reforms, praise and gratitude, and complaints and critique that stream in from near and far.

Outside of the operating room, in other words, the brain surgeon will be viewed in no uncertain terms as an amateur in relation to all the tasks that lie in wait for the hospital to manage which, in scale and nature, fall outside this surgeon's core technological competence. From such a perspective, this professional person may be compared to a chief engineer; with a captain on the bridge—he or she can focus on ensuring the forward momentum of the ship without worrying about its course. The captain can leave the engine up to the chief engineer, the mess to the chief steward and maintenance to the boatswain. The objective of the journey is determined by the shipping line, just as the hospital director sets the course for his organization according to the goals and guidelines set by senior authorities. What the captain and director have in common is that both are agents for their principals. They carry out the orders given and, as leaders, are evaluated according to the degree to which they achieve their goals and the costs that are incurred. Nonetheless, there are considerable contextual differences in the challenges faced by the captain and the director. While nobody becomes a captain without certification and documented competence, the director is more often hired on the basis of merits and good faith, thereby based more on a risk-calculated hope of suitability than on formalized proof of qualifications. And while mutiny is considered the worst-case scenario of opposition to the captain, there is no expressed limit on how far one may go when working against a hospital director. However, above all the captain can carry out his course with great accuracy and reach his goals precisely with the help of instruments and exact longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates, and by listening to the meteorologist's weather and wave height forecasts for the seas to be crossed. For his part, the director has several equally important and often conflicting goals, likely with no definitive clues as to the current coordinates on the chart and, thus, no idea of where they should set course for. She or he has to navigate according to theoretical models, ambiguous analyses, previous experience and qualified assumptions, and does not have such reliable long-term forecasts for what types of bad weather may be on the horizon. Statistics also show that, overall, there are far more directors than captains who end up shipwrecked.

Here, it must be concluded that we find the professional leader primarily in complex organizations; first and foremost, at a level where the organization's politics are being formulated and where no simple professional degree provides formal competence that constitutes a step up from others. In other words, the professional leader belongs to levels that lie above the leadership of core operations.

3) Does the Professional Leader Need to Have Particular Personal Skills and Characteristics?

The discussion about whether each individual's skills to lead may be explained by raw natural talent dates back to Thomas Carlyle (1840/1888) and his Great Man Theory. Criticism of this thinking has been connected to the idea that historical events cannot be explained by an individual's skills without being primitive and unscientific (Spencer 1896), and that individuals do not create historical situations but can have particular skills to exploit situations, transform them and give them direction (Hook 1950). Larger empirical studies conclude that there are no particular human characteristics that definitively make individual people capable of being leaders in a myriad of dissimilar situations. One of the most recognized studies points to the fact that the correlation between a large number of mental and physical characteristics and leadership was either insignificant or quite minimal and unstable (Bass 1990). After having tested approximately 1,400 correlations between various personal traits and leadership, another study summarized that the variation was too substantial and the coefficients too low to be able to claim that the leader's personal characteristics were meaningful (Mann 1959).

The lack of conclusive correlations between personal skills and leadership led to a shift in focus from characteristics to behavior and leadership style. In particular, the Ohio Studies (Stogdill and Coons 1957) and the Michigan Studies (Likert 1961) have supported this distinction. The findings from these studies strongly contributed to the term "good leadership" being viewed in light of the individual's leadership style and the degree to which she or he is personally supportive and relation-oriented or goal- and task-oriented. Disappointingly, research in this field has not produced any positive results either. Since the end of the 1960s, decades of comprehensive research have not been able to demonstrate substantial correlations between leadership style and goals on a range of effects that various types of leader behavior presumably should have an impact on. The only consistent finding, though nonetheless moderately correlated, is that considerate leaders have more satisfied co-workers (Yukl 2013).

The durability of the theory on situation-based leadership (Hersey and Blanchard 1977/1993) has not fared well either in research that has attempted to empirically verify it. This theory builds on the leadership-style theories and is based on the premise that the leader's behavior should be adapted to the co-workers' levels of development and competence in addition to their skills and willingness to carry out the tasks they are meant to perform. The theory has certainly been one of the most commonly applied in the field of Western leadership education[1]; however, several studies show that here, as well, there is little correspondence between the theory's hypotheses and what has been empirically revealed (Goodson et al. 1989; Graeff 1997; Vecchio 1997).

In short, the purpose of this keyword-related presentation of two main areas within leadership research is to put away some of the most persistent perceptions of what characterizes good leaders into an already overcrowded drawer of myths about leadership. The central point is that nearly 100 years of very extensive research on the relationship between leadership and effectiveness has not been able to result in findings that provide a basis for claiming that a leader must have a specific package of personal skills and characteristics in order to succeed. Nonetheless, and equally important in this context, it must be added that the question of what leadership is meant to be has been substantially limited to the question of how leaders can best transform the working force into effective contributing factors.

Today, researchers within the field of leadership are considerably focused on leadership as the production of meaning. In and of itself, this is nothing new; as early as 1957 Philip Selznick published a book that is still considered a cornerstone of leadership literature. With the launch of the term, "institutional leadership", he laid the foundation for how a leader should, first and foremost, be an expert at promoting and safeguarding values. The idea is that the meaning we add to what we do in an organization, and the understanding of who we are and what we represent, is the key to how we relate to the work, the tasks, each other and the surroundings. Moreover, it is precisely the incorporation of the surroundings as a significant part of the leadership context that supported the idea of leadership as relating to more than groups in closed organizations and causal correlations between leadership and effects. The surroundings are not stable, predictable or replete with meaning. On the contrary, they are dynamic, demanding, unclear and complex, and the organization's very existence depends on how it manages to adapt to constant changes, new demands and volatile conditions for taking action. It requires that someone in the organization have both knowledge and opinions about what is going on out there. Traditionally, staying on top of this has been viewed as a typical responsibility of leadership. Such as reality has developed and acclimated, there are now many others who, with legitimate rights and professional authority, may compete with the leader in asserting what knowledge is relevant and what opinions are correct at any given time. Alongside an increasing tempo of change in constantly more convoluted surroundings, an accelerating technological development, democratization of working life, a higher educational level among co-workers and an even sharper and more finely meshed division of labor have made it necessary to seek out forms of leadership that can handle such circumstances. The keywords for the new trend in leadership research are charisma, vision and transformation. They are focused on the idea that the organization's performance or output is not only dependent on the drawing powers of pecuniary and personal rewards. Values, visions, community and belonging should provide a driving force and spirit of volunteerism. However, in order to prevent co-workers' efforts from being at odds, it is crucial to have an almost collective understanding of the business the organization is running and in which direction it is meant to go. The vision expresses what is desired, while the transformative refers to what is necessary. The charismatic leader communicates both aspects, but relies on being able to promise and to keep promises, since it is as equally powerful to have the skills to realize what is desirable as it is to convince others of what should be desired.

Paradoxically enough, we then come back to skills, characteristics and behavior. One of many reasons for this is that leadership undeniably has something to do with talent. However, it must be concluded that research and academic literature give us few grounds to determine which personal skills and traits should be sought after beyond the premise that the professional leader needs to be adequately intelligent and considerate.

4) Can Leaders Be Professionalized Through Learning and Education?

Research on leadership is somewhat similar to research on humor; there is little theoretical knowledge on why we laugh at a particular joke that helps to increase our sense of humor, just as leadership theory does not particularly seem to help leaders improve. The reverse would naturally be that, while it is completely unnecessary to learn to laugh at something that is perceived as being obviously funny, leaders can learn to improve just as easily by trial and error and by studying their inner selves as they can from theories on leadership and behavior. Let us delve into this argument somewhat more deeply.

Roughly speaking, knowledge of leadership can be learned in three different ways. One method is experience-based and points to how leaders develop themselves through trial and error. This provides a type of realistic competence that is often decisive in relation to the recruitment of leaders; substantial leadership experience is valued as a beneficial learning process that, in and of itself, seems qualifying and professionalizing. However, there are at least two aspects of such experiential learning that give reason for skepticism. On one hand, experience is a personal interpretation of everything one undertakes and takes part in. From this perspective, experience is an individual cognitive process that is naturally expressed when two individuals have had a simultaneous experience and, thereafter, individually portray or summarize it in two very different ways. Therefore, there is no objective quality assurance of the competence that is referred to as experience.

On the other hand, nor can experience be measured by the results a leader has achieved. That the sale of electricity increases when winter is approaching is seldom something the power plant manager takes credit for. Rather, leaders are applauded when things go well and dismissed when things go poorly when the correlation between leadership and results are not so obvious; i.e. when core operations are advanced, production is diversified, the organization is complicated and the surrounding actors are unpredictable. The causal correlation is drawn as a line from the leader, blindly and without break, through organizational and institutional systems to output. Competent leaders have to go if the symbolic effect of their departure dictates that it is necessary, while mediocre ones can stay if circumstances on which they have had absolutely no influence have contributed to success. For such reasons, neither experience nor results can easily be held as objective criteria for the professionalization of leadership.

The other way to learn leadership is through individual participation in leadership development programs that have primarily been organized for personal development, conceptual understanding, skills training and feedback (Conger 1993). The effects of this type of learning have been very controversial. It is difficult to find studies that conclusively demonstrate that leader development is reflected in the form of better or more effective leadership. On the contrary, there are more researchers who conditionally claim that leader development can lead to positive results and changed behavior (Avolio and Bass 1998; Kelloway et al. 2000). Research shows that individual prerequisites play a central role in the benefits that are gained by program participants (Conger and Kanungo 1988; Fleishman and Mumford 1989). Among other things, Fiedler (1995) discovered that leaders who scored highest on IQ tests were the most distinct and explicit in the leader role and functioned best in groups. Perhaps there are methods that compensate, to some degree, for an unreachably high IQ, but there are no research-based grounds that indicate that such compensation is achieved through leader development programs.

Secondly, it is difficult to transfer experience and instinct from one situation in a given organization to another situation in another (Baldwin and Ford 1988). Thirdly, there are many methodical problems associated with measuring the effects of leader development because the parameters for effectiveness can be quite varied, making it therefore difficult to come to agreement on what is actually measured (Cameron 1984; Yammarino and Bass 1990; Yammarino and Atwater 1997). Last but not least, the designation, leadership, is basically an empty and multi-dimensional term that is difficult to objectively evaluate (Barker 1997; Northouse 1997).

The typical person- and skills-oriented leader program has largely focused on the leader's transformative duties and responsibilities; particularly on idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized attention (Bass 1985; Day 2001; Mabey and Finch-Lees 2004). These terms point back to what Birkinshaw (2013) refers to as the simple, obvious and plausible moves that help to increase a leader's influence and authority and that have to do with giving co-workers challenging tasks, support and breathing room, in addition to being complimentary and inspiring. The simple things, however, presuppose insight into the constitution of the complexity; just as the tribe's ritual leader knows that the rain dance will have greatest effect right before the rainy season, all leaders can benefit from a contextual knowledge that reaches beyond knowledge of a repertoire of concepts on personal development in the role of leader. This is completely in line with those who, based on extensive studies, conclude that the prerequisite for any leader development is that it has to be grounded in a thorough analysis of the organization for which each individual participant in the development program will function as leader (Ostroff and Ford 1989; Tannenbaum and Yukl 1992).

Then we approach the third way to learn leadership. It has to do with appropriating substantial theoretical knowledge on leadership and organizations. The ambition must be to develop competence that goes way beyond what is elementary in the field. It presupposes an extensive effort on the part of the student. Reading through the literature on organizations alone is a lifelong project, both in volume and in the number of various disciplinary contributions. Reducing such a task by targeting particular relevance criteria requires a considerable overview of the field, in addition to the fact that it would involve a subjective evaluation of quality and relevance. The same applies to leadership literature, where large parts are also clearly normative or belong to the "how to"-genre. The point is that, although literature studies can provide substantial and useful insight, it is not possible to direct the actions of leadership in the same way as it is in the fields of language or economy, for example, or the natural sciences such as dentistry and medicine; even though many would immediately retort by bringing up examples from the instrumental toolbox of concept literature. Rather, it is far more important to emphasize the absolute strength of organization and leadership theories; i.e., that they are generally quite valuable in that they constitute substantial aggregate knowledge that represents useful and often competing analytical perspectives. They contribute with types of insight that, in many contexts, may be considered necessary prerequisites for leadership but that, nonetheless, are far from sufficient when it comes to taking action.

A few decades ago, it was claimed that the education of leaders had to break with the old paradigms of leadership and rather focus on future challenges (Rost 1993; Barker 1997). Has leadership research changed the focus since that time and brought back other knowledge that has changed the content and form of educational programs in ways that help to professionalize leaders to a greater degree than previously? Naturally, the question is too far-reaching to adequately answer in this context. However, there seems to be a trend in leadership research to include context and specific characteristics of the practice in which the leader is involved (Avolio et al. 2009) and to be more concerned with what Alvesson and Spicer (2010) define as post-heroic leadership. It has to do with directing one's gaze towards the everyday and the prosaic to view the leader interacting with his co-workers in daily contexts and in his or her most demanding element—in practice. For the researcher, the most challenging aspect is to find out whether the leader undertakes something that gives the practice meaning and direction, and whether this can be communicated and taught. As I have previously asserted, such as daily working life has developed, this research-related challenge could rather reveal how practice takes direction and is filled with meaning, quite detached from what the formal leader endeavors to do. In that case, it would constitute a type of leadership within which it is quite difficult to professionalize oneself.

That today's practice of leadership is different than what was practiced a hundred years ago is only due in small part to our theoretical knowledge on leadership. On the contrary, working life and behavior in organizations primarily reflects the institutional pressures that every leadership faces in the form of laws and rules, demands and expectations, and distinctive features of the functional domain of which the business is a part. When such institutional characteristics and qualities of society change, it affects how leadership may be practiced. And just as one who sits at the water's edge notices that the sea is rising, research also observes that circumstances are changing. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that the sea rises even when researchers are not present.

Comprehensive world knowledge on leadership is available everywhere. However, first and foremost, there are constitutional, political and cultural conditions everywhere that provide direction for how leadership can and should be practiced. To a large degree, theories on leadership serve only as empirically based advice for those who are struggling to make it happen. That, in itself, is far from insignificant but certainly not conclusive.

It must be concluded that academic education of leaders can, to a substantial degree, lead to significant knowledge *about* leadership, but only to a modest degree *in* leadership. While knowledge *about* leadership is primarily abstract, knowledge *in* leadership is internalized and embodied. Metaphorically speaking, solid theoretical knowledge on leadership can have the same practical significance for someone practicing leadership as complete theoretical knowledge on the effects of centrifugal force and gravity has for someone learning to ride a bicycle.

5) Professionalization: Based on Talent or Knowledge?

Evaluation of a leader's professionalism probably has more to do with an overall impression than with the weighing of specific talents in one or more fields. Theoretically speaking, herein could lie the basis for criticism that may be directed at the idea of professionalizing leaders. However, in such case, talents and skills must be kept separate from knowledge and competence rather than being considered as an amalgamation of personal traits. Rhetorically speaking, it may be claimed that, while a chess player does not win the game through his charm but with knowledge and an analytical eye, a charming leader can win allegiance with his alluring nature. The statement shrouds the point that an analytical eye is just as much a question of talent as the art of charming has foundation in empirical trials of method. Distinguishing between innate and individually acquired skills, and theoretical knowledge and schooling is an exercise that can be done in a model, but which, in practice, is almost impossible to achieve. Schooling is transformed through individual cognitive processes and personified when it takes place in the individual, formed and characterized by that person's skills and intellectual capacity and other individual social and cultural constitutions. When I nonetheless set up such an artificial distinction between acquired knowledge and innate characteristics, it is to come closer, if possible, to some critical points associated with the practice of professional leadership that have been previously only minimally addressed.

One phenomenon that makes it appropriate to distinguish between characteristics and knowledge is that organizations are not static, instrumental devices where one form of leadership is an everlasting well-functioning concept. One point is that recruitment of leaders often involves something conservative; by hiring someone who meets expectations and is perceived as the most reasonable candidate, it is often the one who most closely resembles the ones authorized to hire him or her. Another issue is that the type of leadership desired is generally dependent on where the organization finds itself in the development process, as the theory indicated several decades ago (Greiner 1972; Adizes 1985). On one hand, it indicates that the characteristics must be suited to situational conditions, as Adizes prescribes the application of his archetypes. The professional leader does not constitute an individual archetype with a standardized set of traits, but is rather perceived as a category of leaders with different characteristics, each of whom are relevant under given contextual conditions. On the other hand, it requires that a professional leader also have competence and language that lays the foundation for a more clinical than impressionistic analysis of situational circumstances and, thus, an understanding of what types of leadership are possible or necessary.

Another area that may be related to leaders' characteristics and knowledge is the individual organization's particular culture. Social and emotional intelligence is of considerable help to one who comes from outside and will lead co-workers who may represent perceptions, norms and values that differ from those of the new leader. An organization's culture, metaphorically speaking, can be like a peculiar soil where not all seeds, in the form of ideas, values and visions, find nutrition and take root. But this metaphor also involves something static. Ideas about what is possible and desirable are generally conditioned upon how situations and contextual relations are understood and defined, and are therefore susceptible to influence. Thus, the transformative mission that is tied to changing interpretations and attitudes is best achieved by one who knows how to win allegiance rather than one who has read the most books or is an expert in his or her field. One naturally does not rule out the other. But in this case, academic theories do not serve as notes for the musician; it has to do with an improvisation that quickly distinguishes the talented from the helpless.

A third and closely related area that is natural to associate with characteristics and knowledge is the leader's power and influence on people's actions. Previously, the leader could generally base his or her authority on foundations in formal positional power and the power of professional expertise. A wide range of structural changes in working life has led to the fact that these forms of power are no longer sufficient. Leadership must also be substantially legitimized in the leader's abilities to understand and motivate his or her co-workers and to create allegiance to values, attitudes and strategic moves that provide the business with content and direction. The question of who has power is therefore less about who decides and mostly about who gets people to pledge loyalty. In the end, it is about personal skills more than position and formal competence.

The fourth and last area I will address touches on the quintessence of this chapter: does professional leadership have more to do with innate talent or learned instinct? Within the three previous areas to which I have related characteristics and knowledge, it may be concluded that both formal and actual competences are necessary prerequisites to effectively lead complex organizations. At the same time, it seems equally essential to have the types of talents associated with social and emotional intelligence and the ability to understand and analyze processes in the organization that lie stratified both superficially and internally in the many different procedures and technical and operative routines. This conclusion may seem obvious and naive. Nevertheless, it is an expression of how far research on leadership has come overall. In their various fields, researchers will protest by presenting empirical evidence and advanced theories that may reject such a claim. The challenge, however, will be both to give their findings a general validity and to make the theories practically saleable and manageable. Contrary to the law of gravity and other natural phenomena, social scientific truths are largely tied to context and are, therefore, not as true at all times. Keeping in mind how many organizations and leadership positions there are, it may thus be both desirable and sufficient to have a natural law that does not indicate anything other than the need for a leader to have relevant competence and the appropriate personal skills to fill the position and that, the more he or she has of both, the more professionalized he or she may be considered.

An important point, nonetheless, is that a continuum that stretches in one direction towards the untalented, and in the other towards talent, will be an unsuitable measuring stick to estimate the skills of leaders. The tyranny of normal distribution lies in overlooking the unresolved. A person with many talents is a person who must meet expectations. "Young and promising" was once the origin of one who eventually became neither young nor promising anymore. First and foremost, a talent is a potential and, in and of itself, neither art nor perfection. "Practice makes perfect" is referred to as an encouraging expression. It indicates that the mediocre, with great effort and considerable training, can reach long past the point the talented reach with less effort. For a Jack of all trades, the master of none, practice involves the will to adapt one's skills to many fields. To an equally large degree, it can apply to the interpersonal areas as well as the technical ones, and in equally substantial reach in the strategic field as within the art of winning trust and enthusiasm. Leadership, therefore, has just as much to do with ambitions and willpower as it does with talent. However, as mentioned before, when making conclusions, we cannot get around the fact that skills and ambitions have a tendency to stick together. The assumption, therefore, will have to be that the successful professional leader will more likely be a person of many talents than a Jack of all trades.

Conclusion

Based on five questions, the discussion in this chapter has led us to the idea that there are no isolated conditions that are independently sufficient to qualify someone in the designation of professional leader. On the contrary, there are several essential conditions that must be met before such a definition makes sense. Among these is the prerequisite that the person must be suitable and have talent while also having competence to lead people and handle duties connected to central strategic and operationally political questions. As I have indicated, one problem is that there is no research-based foundation or academic consensus that indicates which leadership traits are the most significant and, fortunately, there are no predominant and stable normative theories and doctrines described as "good leadership" either. An education-based professionalization at one institution could thus be quite different from that of another, and could be as precise about content and qualities as the collective term "fruit" is for apples, avocadoes and tomatoes. Being positive to the idea of professionalization of leaders, therefore, must involve disagreeing with or overlooking the fact that academic, practice-related and contextual premises are too divergent and contradictory to standardize leadership education programs in a way that could lead to a collective professional term.

Another considerable problem that stems from my five questions is that a leader's capacity is primarily measured on the basis of the results he or she achieves. A candidate who is newly educated in leadership—regardless of the leader degree programme completed—will be hired for significant positions only in very few cases without first having proven in practice that she or he is capable of leading people and realizing goals. For a person who has chosen leadership as a career path, and who wants to go from one leadership position in one business to another leadership position in another, yesterday's results will be the parameter for his or her professionalism. As evident from this text, I can therefore hold onto my introductory definition of a professional leader as a person who has proven her-/himself capable of practicing normative leadership in one or more organizations or businesses and who has done so by establishing and maintaining an authoritative position based on recognition and allegiance as a leader within complex systems. Thus viewed, professionalization of leaders is, first and foremost, an individually practice-conditional project where formal education in leadership is of less significance and subordinate to experience-based learning.

Perhaps Aristotle's distinction between scientific knowledge, know-how and wisdom is a good starting point for further debate, particularly while wisdom grows with experience and is an insight into both people and practice; and, thus, into the changeable and the concrete. Knowledge is theoretically abstract and has to do primarily with the changeable. The debate on professionalization could, therefore, just as easily revolve around whether it is the knowledge-rich or the wise leader who is preferred, and what one involves in relation to the other for those who wish to develop professional studies in leadership.

Notes

1. According to Hersey and Blanchard themselves (1977/1993, p. 215) this theory was incorporated into the leadership programmes of 400–500 of the presumably leading companies within the field at this time in the USA.

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6

Leadership as a Profession: A Special Case Dependent on Organizational Ownership, Governance, Mission and Vision

Peter Davis

Introduction

This chapter is written from the standpoint that is against the idea of turning "management" or "leadership" as general categories into a profession. The management element of the practice can only be professionalized, we will argue, on the basis of specific human-centered values and purpose in the leadership element of that practice. Such professional practice can only be applied in the context of a field of social action that itself has a human-centered purpose concerned with human *emancipation.* The flight of capital to authoritarian regimes and to countries that either have not signed up to important UN and ILO conventions on labor standards and human rights, or where there is weak compliance, is evidence of the gap between the business school rhetoric and the reality of business practice. People need professional leadership to get free of those things, forces and classes that limit realization of their individual potentialities. Organizations like co-operatives, credit unions, trade

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unions and other not-for-profit organizations delivering food and commodity production, health services, housing, education, and social economy services are some of the fields of social action and opportunities for association where leadership and management could be turned into a genuine profession.

Outside the context of ownership and purpose, the language of professionalism relating to management is essentially misleading. Human Resource Management, for example, is not human-centered but a capital-centered activity, yet the British "professional" association, The Chartered Institute of Personnel Development (CIPD), would claim to be human-centered and a profession. To be a profession there needs to be a human-centered ethic driving the knowledge base and techniques. If one is serving a capital-based organization, then the human element is only considered from a purely instrumental standpoint. In this approach one can certainly argue to be good to people is good business, but that's not being ethical, just manipulative or recognizing pragmatically the human elements' countervailing power to that of the organization.

J.C. Spenders' essay (Spender 2007, pp. 32–42) on management as a regulated profession commences with a discussion of professionalism in terms of specific disciplines. His definition of a discipline is a group of people whose practice is shaped by training and credentialing against a proven and rigorous body of knowledge (Spender 2007, p. 33). This definition avoids the issue of purpose and runs into the reality that management covers too wide a range of activities and contexts. The guild model is also seen to be a poor fit for the development of a regulated management profession for similar reasons (Iñiguez 2010, pp. 10–11). Spender recognizes that management is an awkward fit in terms of a specific discipline and seeks to utilize instead the metaphor of manager as artist to find a model of educational accreditation from which to professionalize management (Spender 2007, p. 36). This artist metaphor assumes a "re-imagined management community of creative professionals" supported by management education geared to the formation of such a community based upon an education for creativity. Spender's concluding definition of management as a profession is so full of qualifications and vague admonitions such as "serious", "communicative", "reflexive", "hard work", "consideration of impact on others" (Spender 2007, p. 40) that it hardly seems a basis for measuring standards of practice or accrediting knowledge. Khurana and Nohria (2008) approach professionalization from the idea of establishing ethical standards for management actions and suggest a management version of the Hippocratic Oath supported by a series of vows and promises (Khurana and Nohria 2008, pp. 72–3). However, they provide no analytic basis or tool to assist managers to decide how they should apply the vows and the promises inherent in a code of conduct or handle the conflicting interests that arise in the world of business. Certainly Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian calculation (MacIntyre 1991, p. 234) raises too many ethical questions concerning the treatment of minorities to be worth serious consideration. The golden rule cannot be applied in capitalist relationships either, as the objective of commercial success inevitably leads to the ruin of others with no possible means of guaranteeing even the greatest good for the greatest number. Duty ethics also raises more questions than answers when looked from a stakeholder management perspective.

Contrary to these approaches, this chapter presents the idea of a profession as an association incorporating and dispensing knowledge and skills whose core values and purpose is the basis for *a vocation for human emancipation*. Emancipation uncovers hidden truths, enabling human beings to achieve their potentialities. It is a model that requires its own typology if a professional practice and a professional association is to be established. The author will illustrate his approach with an analysis based upon the Co-operative Movement to justify and define an ideal-type "co-operative leader" in terms of the differentiating elements found in the Co-operative Movements' ideas, history and contemporary identity that fits the above definition of profession. The ideal type to be constructed is closest to Weber's concept of a theoretically conceived pure type arising from normative action where the actor is not merely responding to stimuli but making an effort to conform to an ideal pattern of conduct (Parsons 1947, p. 12). Weber's ideal types are not therefore classifications but a methodology for explanation applied in specific fields of social action (Rosenberg 2015, p. 86).

The case for an ideal type co-operative leader is grounded in the ideological consistency of co-operations vision which brings it into positions that present questions in terms of the writing on legitimation/compliance and resistance by Max Weber and Michael Foucault. Although the discussion is conducted around the co-operative case, the points at issue are relevant to all forms of professional leadership that could be established on the basis of the standpoint taken here. The adoption of Weber's ideal type approach applied to co-operatives does not imply that co-operative leadership or any truly emancipatory professional leadership as a sociological type is concerned with legitimating dominance predicated on the basis of values that facilitate domination (Rosenberg 2015, p. 98). Neither does it participate in Foucault's axis of subjectification (Simons 1995, p. 2). On the contrary, the ideal type co-operative leadership is legitimated by the cause of emancipation and the leader's personal vocation to that cause. Leadership that is not concerned with the emancipation of those being led cannot be considered professional. Leaders whose knowledge and purpose remains *hidden* from those being led are lacking in transparency and integrity. Their claim to be professional lacks legitimacy and their application of knowledge and skill either mercenary or egocentric, or both.

The ideal type is a template to judge leaders. It helps selection processes for managers and CEO's of all human-centred organizations. It aids the development of affective domain teaching and learning strategies and materials supporting leadership development. It provides a goal against which to judge the organizations' overall performance *as a human-centred organization; in this case a co-operative one*. The CEO's leadership values and vision are recognized to play a critical role determining organizational culture (for a review of this literature see Daft 2005, part 5; Jackson and Parry 2008, ch. 3). Paradoxically the nature of the CEO for human-centred or social economy organizations, particularly co-operative ones, receives hardly any attention in academic research (Cornforth 2015, p. 95). Yet the "hidden truth" of managerialism, and the threat of memberships' or clients' continued subjugation that a manager's practice could impose, remains an implicit theme in the co-operative literature on governance and identity. In all professional practice there remains Foucault's challenge that knowledge confers power which leads to domination not liberation (Rabinow 1991, pp. 6–7).

An ideal type professional leader uncovers these hidden truths and defends organizational purpose, identity and governance. This type of professional leader can be formulated with different emphasis in other non-co-operative human-centred fields of social action concerned with public service delivery in areas such as health, housing transport and of course education, but only in the context of publically owned or not for profit/social economy organizations.

Professional Leadership as Liberating Not Subjugating

In Foucault's early *Archaeological* period his focus was to seek examples to explore rules *unknown* to the actors which regulate their behaviors and practices (Burrell 1998, pp. 15–17, 22). An example of this within the co-operative movements' practice today is their "civil service" model of governance which implicitly accepts "management science" as a neutral servant of the elected board, rather than as Foucault would see, management as *subjectification* (Simons 1995, p. 2) and before him Weber's view of management and leadership legitimation as establishing "patterns of rationality" (Parsons 1947, p. 12) *in a quest for an imposed order,* and Michels' (1962) concern with the *leaders' power of subversion.* With all three writers, leadership's connection to management is an essentially *political process.* The failure to take account of this has left co-operatives and other social human-centered organizations vulnerable to dilution/distortion and in the co-operative case, demutualization from within.

Foucault's response to the limitations and hidden controls of professionals in the field that he analyzed was to propose an "ethic of permanent resistance" (Simons 1995, p. 6). Should this apply to co-operatives? It is an important precondition to our case for a special co-operative leadership model that we demonstrate that these co-operative principles applied to leadership *do not* articulate Foucault's "strategically codified field of knowledge" upon which management's "normalizing gaze" exerts control of its subjects (Ball and Carter 2002, p. 552). The raison d'être of co-operative principles is to build solidarity or universality and commonwealth as power *against* domination (Foucault 1991a, p. 377). Thus co-operative principles provide *measures of the leader's performance*—co-operative leaders do not control but mobilize. In terms of democratic governance *they* are controlled and judged. Foucault admits as a *critical principle* the possibility of collective action as consensus, but raises the problem of *unsanctioned* power relationships that inevitably exist because any organization will provide such opportunities (Foucault 1991a, pp. 378–9). Foucault concedes that even if an unrealizable fiction, the pursuit of consensus (the common good) might pragmatically bring about better results than any alternative but urges to always question the degree of non-consensus that exists and whether it can be justified.

Whilst wanting to identify with those writers who justify collective action as the exercise of power *against* domination, there is another defense that can be made for the co-operative position, which goes to the heart of Foucault's philosophy of permanent resistance. For Foucault, resistance is ultimately an *individual* exercise. Foucault sees subjugation as a different form of domination or limitation from "ordering" (Foucault 1991a, pp. 379–80). This I interpret to be a reference to domination based upon the individual's repression of self-identity and/or the imposition of others' morality and personality. In defense against this sort of subjugation, Foucault advocates an undefined and presumably therefore unlimited liberty (Simons 1995, p. 5).

Foucault's project is to negate all limitations whilst allowing there can be "consensual disciplines" (Foucault 1991a, p. 380). This means his principle of permanent resistance is a project limited to the individual. Co-operation as a strategy depends on solidarity, but as a goal its vision is one of emancipation ultimately for individuals. Co-operators agree with Foucault's call for permanent resistance against unnecessary and inhuman limitations. The co-operative emphasis, however, is on both the value of working together and the aim of enabling individuals to reach out and achieve their *potentialities*, and on this later point Foucault is silent. Co-operation proposes the establishing of the human-centered focus of liberation from the "controlling discourses" *through solidarity in the struggle for a future vision*. Contrary to Foucault, co-operators recognize we cannot escape limitations but we can realize our *potentialities*, which is for Aristotle the only true good we can aspire to (Lear 1988, pp. 19–22).

Co-operations' morality goes beyond consensual disciplines resulting from the power exercised against domination to the assertion of our individual dignity, which is fundamental for human freedom. Yet Foucault asserts "Nothing is fundamental" (Foucault 1991b, p. 247). Co-operators insist on the *eternal* dignity of the individual that is grounded in humanities' truest or most perfect expression of selfhood, which is *the ability to give ourselves*; not out of fear, instruction or indoctrination, but according to the rule of love (agape). To be in Foucault's "ethic of permanent resistance" to the rule of love is simply an act of self-destruction—a denial of our defining human potential to love.

Co-operation provides an eschatological, moral and social framework that is certainly compatible with Christianity *but is not confined to it*. Co-operation, like Catholic social doctrine, *is a necessarily secular statement,* an invitation to *all* women and men of goodwill to join together not for conformity, as Foucault fears in "unbearable group pressure" within a utopian community (Foucault 1991b, p. 247), but for the exercise of *citizenship*. It is a universal invitation to all, whatever personal rules they adhere to, to work together for the emancipation of the individual to be free to pursue their personal potentialities. This is the ultimate goal for all professional leaders in whatever field of social action they practice. All professionals aim to provide the health, the education, the built environment, the materials and the technologies to enable the individual to be free to realize their potentialities. The co-operative business model is one that in its intention and ownership model can facilitate this professional goal without conflict of interest/objectives.

Co-operative Purpose and Principles: An Ideological Statement Informing Co-operative Professional Leadership

Catherine Webb's account of the first UK Co-operative Congresses between 1830 and 1832 (Webb 1904, p. 58) identifies the movement's original statements of aims and values, including the unity of all forms of co-operative to work together for the united co-operative commonwealth. Brett Fairbairn (1994), writing on the Rochdale Pioneers' objectives and principles established in the 1840s and later revised in the 1850s, provides evidence for the continuity with the 1830s. Catherine Webb, in 1904, looking back on two decades of growth in all aspects of co-operation, wrote "The last twenty years form an 'Era of Expansion' of the Co-operative Commonwealth" (Webb 1904, p. 10). The Commonwealth dreamed of by co-operators in the 1830s, through the 1900s until today, is a society in which the means of production and distribution are in the ownership and democratic control (one member, one vote) of associations of members operating with open access, voluntary membership, education (as an end as much as a means), and where wealth is accumulated for investment for the common good and distributed on the basis of use, not capital. Development, peace, sustainability and fraternity arise because all co-operative associations are committed to co-operating with each other and to the building up of a society based on fraternity and universality. The vision gets lost, but as the literature referenced here indicates, there have always been prominent leaders and intellectuals calling for renewal (see, for example, Barnes 1926; Goedhart 1928/1995; Mercer 1931/1995; Carr-Saunders et al. 1938; Cole 1947; Garnett 1966; Backstrom 1974; and for a detailed dictionary of the key historical figures and organizations 1870 to 1997 see Shaffer 1999).

In her history of the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA) between 1910 and 1950, reviewing the ICA's work across two world wars and the Cold War, Rita Rhodes poses the question—what was it that enabled the ICA as a working-class organization to remain united when its sister organizations, the trade unions at the international level, split along the lines of the global conflicts (Rhodes 1995)? Rhodes concluded that one key feature was the lack of nationalism or chauvinism in the delegates who made up the alliances' collective leadership (Rhodes 1995, p. 386). She quotes the French co-operator Fauquet as being correct to describe the co-operative spirit that permeates co-operatives as a living organism—a shared set of beliefs leading to toleration and goodwill between members (Rhodes 1995, p. 386). Rhodes notes that:

> …delegates to ICA meetings and Congresses appeared to think of themselves first as Co-operators and secondly as Britons, French, Swedes or other nationalities. (Rhodes 1995, p. 378)

We find in the 1995 issue of the *Review of International Co-operation,* the journal republished the 1928 paper by Goedhart, and the 1931 paper by Mercer. Referring back to the Rochdale Pioneers in the 1840s, Goedhart, having noted how much the movement had become erroneously trapped in the conception of co-operation as being purely for the pursuit of economistic ends, wrote:

> The aims of the promoters of the co-operative idea at the time were much broader; they emphasised the great necessity of building up slowly, but continuously, a new moral world and a better system of society. (Goedhart 1928/1995, p. 7)

At the end of his paper, the former president of ICA wrote:

> It is undeniable that as long as the members and leaders of Co-operative Societies of the whole world fail to realise that the Co-operative Movement is the best and noblest way to raise human society to a higher level, that is to say, so long as they do not see in their membership of the Co-operative Movement a moral command to the utmost minute of loyalty to the co-operative ideal, the attainable satisfaction and joy in our principles will not be realised. (Goedhart 1928/1995, p. 10)

Thomas William Mercer, referring to the Rochdale Co-operative Society principles of the 1840s, wrote in 1931:

> …no man or woman who wished to join their number was ever shut out. Here is a fact of immense significance. Behind it lays the greatest principle mankind will ever discover—the Principle of Universality…Before the impact of that principle all the barriers of race, colour, creed, class and party are broken down. (Mercer 1931/1995, pp. 11–12)

For Foucault and many others today, we would add to that list sexual identity, as well as people with physical and mental disabilities. In this principle of universality, co-operatives have the facility for all to express themselves and not be limited in that expression except by the need not to harm others. Universality offers a clear protection against Foucault's valid concern with subjugation. It is important to distinguish here between universality or openness of membership to all humankind, which requires toleration and freedom of difference, to one of forced agreement with difference. Here liberalism becomes an instrument of dominance. Free expression of belief is essential for the authentic practice of education, which is another key principle of co-operative identity. In a co-operative practicing universality, there will always be a tension between the right of self-expression and identity and the right to criticize. The resolution of this tension depends ultimately on empathetic understanding of the other and acting on that empathy in expressing one's own views (Natale et al. 2017).

Mercer looked forward to the establishment of other international co-operative wholesale, banking, transport institutions, which

> …one day is needed to sustain the structure of the International Co-operative Commonwealth. (Mercer 1931/1995, p. 14)

Protecting this wider view of the co-operative purpose was a significant motivation for the review of co-operative values and principles, leading to the adoption of a new ICA *Statement of Co-operative Identity* (MacPherson 1995). The author of the preliminary report investigating the need for a review of ICA Principles (International Co-operative Alliance 1995), Sven Åke Bȍȍk, a former member of the Swedish Co-operative Advisory Board, wrote:

> We need to be in agreement about future global perspectives, because co-operatives have as much as ever to contribute to the future of mankind. With this in mind global solidarity should be considered as the fundamental basic principle. (Bȍȍk 1992, p. 6)

Co-operative Leader: An Ideal Type for a Co-operative Future

Rosenberg (2015) insists that Weber's sociological ideal types:

> …reflect their specific elements, which can be tentatively summarized as (1) configurations of *generally* intended subjective meaning to which

> (2) modes of *recurrent* social action are oriented, in the context of (3) *communal* or *associative* social relationships. (Rosenberg 2015, p. 85)

We have argued above that co-operation demonstrates a historical phenomenon with a generally accepted social philosophy (subjective meaning) influencing recurrent social actions, oriented towards communal or associative social relationships upon which a clearly differentiated model or ideal type of leadership legitimation can be constructed. Both in its morality and in its processes, co-operations' alternative business model carries within it an *alternative* political order for regulating conflict (Rosenberg 2015, p. 95). An alternative political order requires its own ideal type of leadership embedded in its distinct mode of *recurrent* social action oriented, in this case, towards a *co-operative social movement for the Co-operative Commonwealth*.

The idea of leadership types mirroring types of governance is not a new idea. In the *Politics* Aristotle discusses different classifications of *polis* and their types of leader but also wrote concerning the importance of associations in the wider *politeia*—one way of translating this is as civil society. Aristotle saw these associations as being able to engage in positive ways to improve the lot of those living within the *polis* and even to produce peaceful change in the *polis* itself (Aristotle 1962, p. 195). Aristotle argued the success of any form of *polis* required a supportive *politeia* made up of various associations and the formation of a leadership and citizenship with the appropriate attitudes and values to match the type of government exhibited by the *polis* (Aristotle 1962, pp. 215–16). Aristotle's definition of citizenship is that the citizen is a person who *participates* in government and he recognized that this definition best suited the democratic form of government (Aristotle 1962, p. 102).

Co-operative leadership and management is vocation for human emancipation measured by the realization of co-operative member's level of citizenship in the *existent* Co-operative Commonwealth. That is, the degree that the member has engaged with co-operative spirit, its ambition and vision, as being actively generated within the current co-operative organization. The degree members see themselves as Co-operators. The ideal type for such embedded co-operative leadership we define in the paragraph below.

Co-operative Leadership

Legitimation is rooted in commitment to the vision of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and its values and principles. Co-operative leadership is always based on transparency and the communication of truth. It is a co-operative value-based leadership committed to the engagement, development and mobilization of members and other stakeholders in the governance, commercial, educational, and wider social and joint co-operative activities of the co-operative, credit union or trade union to which they belong.

To elaborate, a co-operative leader is first and foremost committed to implementing the co-operative vision by gradual, peaceful but transformational co-operative strategies. They explore in all the day-to-day operations of the co-operative or credit union ways to move the wider project forward, in collaboration with other co-operatives and associations, particularly trade unions, which as democratic associations of workers, can be won for the cause of co-operative production. Some trade unions in the UK even had "co-operative production" in their aims and objectives, and in France in 1828 a society named *The Duty* combined both trade union and consumer co-operative functions (Lambert 1963, p. 205).

Co-operative leadership is always expressed in terms of a prophetic analysis of the contemporary context applied to the attainment of the co-operative vision. Co-operative leaders will measure their own success by the degree they achieve member engagement in the commercial, governance, educational and wider social and inter co-operative activities of their co-operative, recognizing *all these dimensions to be of equal importance as part of a leadership strategy.*

In their personal morality, co-operative leaders, particularly in the role of CEO, will seek to keep their remuneration within a ratio that does not distort their solidarity with the members and staff and is equitable. Truth is the essential foundation of moral discourse (Davis et al. 2017). This implies not giving false information or non-disclosure of information that harms the interests of stakeholders. It is in competitive markets within this moral compass acceptable not to disclose information to protect decisions to purchase, invest and to protect patents, inventions ingredients etc. But all decisions/information in the co-operative context must be shared with the elected board for their independent evaluation.

A co-operative leader does not seek to control but rather to *defend* the co-operative in terms of its ideals, values and vision. They *moderate* the democratic decisions on the equitable retention for development and distribution to all stakeholders of resources in a manner that promotes the fulfillment of the co-operative vision and values. They gradually build up the Co-operative Commonwealth of the future in the present. What is the measure that will best demonstrate the successful co-operative leader? It is the quality of *citizenship* within the co-operative association. This depends on the quality of the citizen, which is always a combination of character, education, vision, potential and opportunity. The leader's role is to ensure the co-operative provides the education, the vision and the opportunity. The member brings their character, their potential and their needs. The successful co-operative ensures that in meeting needs, it also provides those educational opportunities for vision to prompt character, and character to realize potential. The individual with the vision and character to strive to reach their potential who has the opportunities to do so and who wants the same for their co-citizens is an emancipated citizen. It is not freedom without limits, but freedom to be all we can be.

Conclusion

The idea of professional leadership presented here may, to the general reader and indeed even to many committed to the co-operative cause, be read as hopelessly idealistic. But what should we be aiming for in leadership if not the highest possible ethical standards and the clearest commitment to the emancipation of those for whom the leader acts? No amount of codes, and no matter how creative the model of management education we can come up with, can create a professional practice in such broad-based categories of human activity as management and leadership. Technical skill and knowledge must have as their goal the further emancipation of humanity and the defining of this as a professional practice can only be within a specific field of social action in which this skill, knowledge and purpose combines. Co-operative leadership is one example of such a profession.

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7

Can Leadership Become a Profession?

Frederik Hertel and Michael Fast

Introduction

Can leadership become a profession identical with, or at least somehow comparable to, the professions of, for example, nurses, carpenters or physiotherapists? This is the question we would like to address in the following chapter. Before doing so, we wish to emphasize that despite, or because of, being employed at a school of business, we agree with Mintzberg (2013) and reject the very idea that leadership is a profession in itself. However, among the number of reasons one could list for not accepting contemporary leadership as a profession is the lack of a community of practice based on a code of conduct and probably also the lack of a code of ethics (cf. Barker 2010). Basically, leadership is connected to a certain way of being in a context, and therefore, a community of practice can only exist on a general level, and not as a universal principle. The lack of a code of ethics is problematic in several ways, and that it is problematic must be understood in connection with the idea of profit,

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power and competition—and thus with the discourse of the company and the market. In his/her everyday practice, a leader is caught in dilemmas and paradoxes, and a code of ethics must therefore be regarded as an aspect of the leader's everyday thinking and actions, and not only an aspect of a certain universal leadership discourse.

Based on Podolny (2009), one might claim that students at business schools, who are going to be future leaders, actually share some common values, but these seem to differ from the values of professionals since they are short-sighted and certainly not aiming for a better world. In addition to this, Vedel and Thomsen's (2017) research indicates that compared to other majors, freshers at business schools have a higher tendency of the "dark triad" (narcissism, psychopathy and Machiavellianism). Vedel and Thomsen (2017) argue that due to the lack of longitudinal studies, it is still unclear whether such tendencies are further developed during studies. On the other hand, our everyday experience, which is supported by Koris et al. (2017), is that students at business schools might be just slightly more diverse, and at least some have a slightly broader approach towards both work and life. However, rather than outlining well-known reasons for not comprehending leadership as a profession, we would like to turn the question upside-down and focus on two interrelated research questions: is leadership an immanent and latent aspect of professions, and could this somehow be one of the important key differences between a profession and contemporary leadership? Inspiration for these research questions derives from Foucault (2009) and Cleary (2004, p. 72), as well as from Lave and Wenger's (2003, p. 58) short remark on leadership and professions.

In order to answer these questions, we analyze a case study based on participatory observation produced in an organization during a period of six months. The case study introduces a new leader in charge of a group of different professionals. The leader, who is a male, describes his own leadership as a profession similar to those presented by the professionals. The professionals, on the other hand, reject this understanding of leadership and somehow seem to be longing for a fellow professional to take control of the organization. When directly asked, the professionals are unable to describe how, where and when they think a professional actually develops the skills and competences required for managing fellow professionals. After dealing with leadership as an immanent and latent aspect of professions and discussing whether this could be one of the key differences between profession and leadership, we hope to break the spell by offering a paradoxical answer to the utopian question: What would it actually take to make leadership a profession in the future, thereby enabling such professional leaders to meet both the professionals and the challenges of leading organizations of professionals?

Building a New Organization

The case study involves a brand-new organization created by merging independent educational institutions located in the same area. The newly established board breaks with tradition, both by recruiting a new type of leader and by offering him a performance contract expected to ensure continual progression and goal achievements. In this chapter, the leader will obviously be anonymous, but for reasons of convenience we will refer to him here as Richard. The consequence of the board breaking with the principle of professionals leading fellow professionals is a new organization involving two or more different, and often contradicting, principles of leadership. Richard, the new leader, comprehends and publicly declares his leadership to be a profession similar to that of the remaining professions represented in the organization. This understanding means that leaders are expected to acquire knowledge, skills and competences built through education at a business school, for instance. Richard is an MSc in Economics & Business Administration and has leadership experience from different, but still somehow similar, organizations. Since employees apparently assume that leadership should follow the principle of professionals being led by fellow professionals, and since this is how it used to be, the recruitment of Richard marks the beginning of an era with tensions and conflicts. The involved parties are anchored in their own approaches, and they do not appear fully conscious of the main reasons for the conflicts. Despite our knowledge about a number of reasons for the internal challenges, in the present chapter we will deal with the tension and conflicts as a result of leadership and thus the contradicting leadership principles established. The situation escalates, and we note examples of what we will define here as context-independent leadership, and examples of employees compensating from what they perceive as paradoxical leadership decisions. One of the strategies applied by employees can be described as the production of open interpretations of leadership decisions in order to legitimate what we define here as compensating and context-customized actions. This means that the employees create interpretations of decisions legitimizing actions, which, from their own perspective and experience, they comprehend as most suitable and appropriate.

During interviews, Richard indicates that he perceives the previous leadership as an example of unprofessional leadership. This is probably caused by the understandable irritation and frustrations one might experience when dealing with new people, organizations and environments (cf. Malinowski 1989), but it is also a clear example of how the previous leadership has been quite radically downgraded. Richard's perception of the previous leadership is a by-product of the storytelling established by Richard and by the board. The story-telling must basically be understood as an attempt to install, legitimate and empower the board as well as the new leader of the organization. The story marks a clear discontinuity from the leadership principles previously applied, but it should also be interpreted in the context of the leadership discourse present in society. This is a discourse establishing leadership as a profession and a discourse with an immanent and latent definition of leadership as the dialectical contradiction to non-professional or unprofessional leadership. An aspect of this contradiction identifies leadership as closely connected with a certain quality, thus separating it from the inadequacy or at least the lack of quality connected to the unprofessional leader. In this perception of leadership, the unprofessional leadership becomes somehow inappropriate since it produces a low profit or a low quality in the products and/or processes of the organization. Obviously, level of quality can also be connected to the evaluation of other types of processes taking place; for example, during development processes, decision making. Moreover, we might also include the ability to develop, maintain and change internal and external relations. This discourse on the quality of leadership (cf. Mintzberg 2013) might develop into a context-independent approach to the leadership concept, rendering it unable to grasp the practice of everyday leadership. Applying a leadership concept based on an implicit quality assessment might be effective when building a power position for the board and the new leader. This clearly marks a discontinuity with previous principles and a completely different way of defining concepts such as profession, professionals and a community of practice. Thus, new dialectical contradictions are established between the board/new leader and the employees/professionals (cf. Benson 1977).

A deeper understanding of Richard's approach to leadership is produced when we noticed that he rejects taking responsibility for human resource management; this is left to lower-level leaders, who are probably quite pleased to take on this responsibility. However, one of the leaders is actually disappointed to not be offered any supervision or counselling on her own performance. The leader states that she is left with the impression that the new leader does not really care about daily operations. Richard states that he is simply trying to avoid getting caught by daily operations in order to have time and space for being the leader. This indicates another pair of contradicting concepts, that is, the distinction between professional leadership perceived as a full-time job and non-professional leadership understood as part-time work (cf. Poulfelt 1997). This approach presupposes that full-time leadership has a significant impact on the quality of the leadership actions, but this is actually disproved by Mintzberg's (2013) leadership studies. Leaders who are not working full-time as leaders are not necessarily any worse or better.

Richard's approach to professional leadership is not easy to define (cf. Poulfelt 1997). This is probably one of the reasons why Mintzberg (1989, 2013) rejects the very existence of professional leadership and the notion of leadership as a concept that can be studied from a scientific perspective. This rejection of a scientific approach to leadership is quite interesting since it is probably the result of a mismatch between Mintzberg's empirical studies on leadership and his nomothetic definition of science. In our interpretation, Mintzberg thinks that leadership does not follow principles and methods from natural science, but is instead based on intuition, which is in contrast to the ideal of nomothetic research. Since, according to Mintzberg, it is impossible to create a scientific (nomothetic) definition of leadership, it also becomes impossible to create a formal education that might lay the foundation for a specific leadership profession. This means that Mintzberg also rejects the conceptualization of professional leadership. The rejection of leadership as a profession and of professional leadership is based on the notion that a contradiction exists between non-conceptual leadership practices and theoretical and context-independent knowledge mediated through the traditional scholastic teaching leading to a certain leadership profession.

As Møller (2007) shows in his studies, the notion that small and independent institutions must merge into new and much larger organizations based on professional leadership was not invented by a random board or a new leader. This is quite obviously an essential element in the public leadership discourse, which, according to Møller (2007), derives from the *new public management* trend. The introduction of this NPM leadership discourse marks a major change in the leadership approach from a previous leadership of profession to what is allegedly a more lasting and professional leadership. Richard therefore bases the definition of his own leadership as professional leadership on the leadership discourse created in society by the *new public management* trend. Moreover, this may be an attempt on his part to create an internal discourse legitimating, as well as creating support, understanding and acceptance, for the new leadership. However, it is also an attempt to justify and achieve acceptance of the additional resources required for establishing a new level of leadership. What really challenges Richard is that the Ministry of Higher Education and Science does not cover all costs associated with the merge process and with establishing a new layer of leadership. The effect of this will be clear to the reader in a short while.

Leading Professionals

As mentioned above, the employees want to return to the principle of professionals leading fellow professionals. This is probably not a major surprise since creating a new organization by merging independent organizations is a quite challenging process for all involved. Richard spends time holding meetings to inform the staff about the challenges faced and to encourage everyone by telling them about better times to come. He advocates that coping with and overcoming today's challenges will most certainly pay off for all involved in the end. The essential argument presented by Richard is that of a much better and more professional future organization governed by a professional leader. Richard is either unaware of, or disinterested in, employees being provoked by the claim of equality between their professions and his leadership. Open staff meetings are introduced in order to improve the connection between leadership and employees and to circulate the information required for developing a new organizational strategy. Developing a new organizational strategy is quite challenging since it involves a range of stakeholders with contradictory interests, and this is probably the reason why the final strategy appears slightly blurred. The employees state that deteriorated working conditions make it difficult for them to engage in and focus on the future organization. One of the reasons for work conditions being affected is the lack of funds for the merge process, and this becomes a vehicle for increasing turnover and decreasing organizational costs. Richard launches initiatives to increase the turnover, encourages all members of the organization to decrease spending, centralizes the financial management, and hires a new CFO to manage the overall budget. Moreover, an external consultant is hired to examine the employee's job satisfaction, and the first-year report shows poor job satisfaction, while the following shows slight improvements. Reports on the employees' job satisfaction force Richard and the leadership group to monitor the employees' exit in order to ensure that core employees with key competences, skills and knowledge are retained. This might be comprehended as a reactive act, but staff meetings and meetings on general collaboration is way to offer employees some room for voice in order to avoid their exit.

Employees might be unable to explain precisely how, where and when leadership of their profession is being developed, but they still have an understanding of leadership which involves self-management, managing one's own practice and that of others. This understanding of leadership is deeply connected with the learning and socialization processes making newcomers part of the community of practice. Leadership is partly immanent, implicit and therefore a tacit knowledge closely connected to a specific community of practice (cf. Lave and Wenger 2003).

The leadership of professionals is probably most visible during the socialization processes leading newcomers to become members of the community. Such socialization processes are described by Lave and Wenger (2003) as processes in which the newcomer gains a legitimate peripheral position from where the collaboration of more experienced professionals can be observed. The peripheral position also offers newcomers the opportunity to fight for and gain a less peripheral position from where they can interact with, and learn from, more experienced professionals. Basically, a profession requires that members share a certain mindset (for example, a certain vocabulary, ethos, logos etc.), which is adjusted and maintained through social control, and such social control can obviously be comprehended as part of the leadership aspect included in a profession. In essence, social control is a matter of self-control (cf. Mead 2002, p. 196). In this context, it means that self-control or self-management is the tool professionals use in order to ensure that their acts are in accordance with the ethos and the values of the community of practice.

Another leadership aspect runs from professionals coordinating, planning, acting and evaluating their own work. Obviously, this type of leadership is not only produced by members of the community of practice; it also involves interactions with other professionals, patients, clients or customers. Plato (2004) offers an interesting example, describing the relation between the patient and the physician. Undoubtedly, the patient submits to the leadership of the physician but only because the patient accepts the rationality of doing so. Plato stresses, therefore, that rhetoric is an essential skill which must be mastered by the physician and applied in order to convince the free man about the advantages of submitting to the leadership of the physician. When exploring the relation between the physician and the patient, we notice two important aspects. The first is obviously that rhetoric, ethos, values and the specific jargon are essential for the profession in order to dissociate from other professions and subjects. Secondly, we mark what we will define in this context as a profession, based on the recognition produced mainly in the interactions between the essential actors (cf. Honneth 1995). In the present context, the expression *profession-based recognition* is intended to describe the mutual recognition of the positions or roles occupied by the parties involved in the interaction. Moreover, it describes recognition of the actors' contributions to the common goal achievement. Obviously, the expression *profession-based recognition* also implies its opposition (cf. Honneth 1995), which could be described as a type of misrecognition of the contribution, position or profession. This is what is at stake whenever Richard begins to talk about professions.

When Richard claims that his leadership is a profession comparable to other professions, his main intention seems to be to identify with the employees in the organization. However, this is not the only instance in which Richard applies the comparison since he occasionally also uses it as a response to employees who annoy and/or provoke him. In a front-stage situation when Richard seems unable to react directly, he sometimes launches an indirect attack. A final use of the comparison seems to be Richard's attempt to tease employees who speak or think too highly about their own professions. However, the comparison triggers employees since it unintentionally deconstructs the employees' implicit definition of a profession. The profession concept applied by the employees' must be defined **negatively** by what it is not. A number of things that are non-identifiable with a profession might be mentioned, but in the case study, one of the most obvious examples of non-identifiability is actually the very image of a business school and its graduates. The latter also includes the lack of a community of practice based on a common code of ethics and short-sighted values not aiming for a better world.

The Immanent Aspects of Leadership

Now seems to be the right time to return to the questions asked in the introduction of this chapter. Here we will deal with leadership as an immanent and latent aspect of the profession. We will also discuss whether the close connection between leadership and profession is actually one of the main differences between profession and contemporary leadership. The analysis of the case study presented above shows that in this case, we are dealing with at least two very different approaches to essential concepts such as leadership, profession, practice and probably also to the community of practice. While analyzing professionals' understanding of their own professions, we can see that leadership is an immanent aspect of a profession and consequently of a practice. The immanent aspect of leadership is apparent in the socialization processes taking place in the community of practice. It is linked to the relation between newcomers and more experienced professionals. Another important leadership aspect seen in the socialization processes is the internalizing of self-management required in order to become a professional and to be accepted as a professional and consequently as a member of the community of practice. The conceptualization of a profession presented in the case by Richard is founded on an attempt to legitimize his own leadership and gain acceptance from professionals. However, it is also based on the contemporary leadership discourse, which seems to be inspired by and emanating from *new public management*. It is an understanding seen as a conscious or unconscious attempt to re-frame the existing use of concepts such as profession, practice and the very community of practice. In the next section, we will focus on what will be required to develop a future leadership profession enabled to lead professionals and organizations of professionals.

A Paradox Named the Professional Leader

In this section, we make an attempt to break the spell and find an answer to the question: what would actually be required to turn leadership into a profession, thus enabling professional leaders to meet the challenges of leading organizations of professionals? Based on our analysis of the case study, we can somehow conclude that enabling a professional leader to lead an organization of professionals requires a leader who is able to establish a position quite different from that taken by professionals and from the position taken by Richard. The position of a professional leader appears to be somehow paradoxical since it cannot be any of the two positions introduced, nor can it be a position produced as a result of the dialectical law of the negation of the negation (cf. Adorno 2008). If such a position were to be established, it would result in an entirely new type of meeting between leader and employees. In this context, a meeting is a concept developed by Buber (2004) and describes different types of interactions between human beings. However, if such a meeting were ever to be possible, it would probably appear to be a highly paradoxical meeting. In the following paragraph, we will explain why such a meeting and approach cannot be based on the positions introduced in the case study.

The professionals are obviously longing for a professional to take the position as leader. However, the type of meeting between leader and professionals we are searching for cannot be based on simple identification with the professionals since this would reduce the leader to an ordinary member of the community of practice. A leader who only reproduces the logic of the community of practice is quite comparable to what anthropologists intend to describe using the expression "go native". This means eliminating one's own character of otherness, which, for anthropologists, results in vanishing in the culture one is supposed to be studying. Going native makes the anthropologists unable to disseminate the knowledge produced during their ethnographic field studies. A leader who goes native abandons the very idea of being a professional leader. A professional leader must somehow be able to differentiate themselves from the community of practice they are expected to lead. The acting must somehow reflect the leader's ability to produce an entirely new type of meeting based on a logic which is radically different from the logic already presented by the community of practice and its members.

In the case study, the opposite situation is noticed when Richard introduces himself as a professional leader with a significantly different profession. Lévinas (1996) shows how meeting others can result in comprehending the other/s as a matter of pure otherness and thus as somehow significantly different from the subject involved. He also shows how a person can reduce the other/s to pure firstness, as noticed in the case study. This refers to a leader being unable to recognize the other/s as unique and thereby significantly different from the leader him- or herself. According to Lévinas (1996), this is what happens when the subject's experience takes command and reduces the face, and thus the character, of the other to an image already present in the mind of the subject. In Lévinas' (1996) ethics this becomes an example of how, intentionally or unintentionally and consciously or unconsciously, the subject ends up colonizing the other.

Lévinas' (1996) ethics is founded on the subject being responsible for the other. Transferred to our case, this means that we are searching for a leader with a sincere interest in the other person for the other person's own sake. If ever possible, this would require a leader who was able to attend meetings with others without letting their previous experiences frame and thereby overshadow the meetings. This would result in a distinct new type of meeting which would produce radically new experiences for all involved. We understand this as a meeting where the leader perceives the professionals' utterances as a number of apparently independent islands located in a large sea (cf. Andersson and Furberg 1979). When first observed by the leader, each island might appear as an independent and isolated island. However, underneath the surface of the water, the islands might be interconnected by underwater mountain ranges. The leader would leave it to the others to lead a dialogical investigation of how they would consciously or unconsciously connect the apparently independent islands. This investigation would be an attempt to fully comprehend their own assumptions and presumptions as well as those of the others. It would require a dialogue to reach this point, and it would result in the production of a deeper understanding of one's own and the lifeworlds of the others. This would be a sincere meeting between subjects, or, using the expression of Buber (2004), a meeting between I and you.

As we learn from Socrates (Xenofon 2000), it is not enough for a professional leader to investigate the understandings and assumptions of others. A leader must know him- or herself in order to obtain the self-reflection required for rejecting pure egoism and fulfilling Socrates' important demand of acting well in relation to others (Xenofon 2000, p. 138)—in the case study, the professionals and their community. This self-reflection consists of the combination between self-governance and knowing one's own matrix of perception (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2004, p. 104). The latter is a matter of how the leader perceives the social world as a consequence of their symbolic capital in a specific field. Symbolic capital includes cultural, social and economic capital and probably also other types of capital recognized in the specific field. This also means that the matrix of perception is a result of habitus—the internalizing of the social from a highly specific position. Self-reflection also requires self-governance, which is a matter of the leader applying the technologies of the self (cf. Foucault 1997, p. 223). The leader must observe her or his own inner processes and acts by creating a distance to him- or herself (cf. Foucault 1997). It obviously takes time to conduct such observations, but it also takes a reflective discourse of the self to analyze and comprehend the observations. These processes can be described as a form of self-meditation and enlightening of the leader. Enlightenment must be followed by self-discipline, self-control, empathy and social intelligence, enabling the leader to adjust the ongoing inner processes and acts. If all this was possible, it would certainly create a professional leader able to lead professionals and their communities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have analyzed a case study on the leadership of an organization consisting of professionals and their communities of practice. We used the case analysis to show that the ongoing discussion on leadership as a profession must be understood as part of a more general discourse in society on concepts such as profession, practice and leadership. We could probably claim that several of the issues we have uncovered in the analysis are interrelated with challenges produced by the traditional discourse on the role of the leader. Rather than doing so, we applied the case study in order to show the type of challenges occurring while trying to turn leadership into a profession. This is not a matter of Excel-leadership and cannot be reduced to a matter of the ability to apply Excel. The concept of a professional leader presupposes a person with the ability to understand his or her own practice as a certain way of being-in-the-world. It involves essential themes from management philosophy (Kirkeby 2010) such as self-knowledge, sincere curiosity and ability to get to know others. This certainly involves the leader's ability to attend dialogues, to remain reflective and continue to act ethically. It also involves a fundamental discussion of consciousness, the ability to reflect, the development of a leadership community of practice and probably many other skills that the leader will need to learn during his/her leadership. We doubt that these requirements can be met, and our conclusion is therefore that leadership will probably never become a profession comparable to the professions of, for example, nurses, carpenters and physiotherapists.

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Section C. *Should* Not Become a Profession

8

Against Professionalizing Leadership: The Roles of Self-Formation and Practical Wisdom in Leadership

Kenneth Mølbjerg Jørgensen and Marita Svane

Introduction

The idea of turning leadership into a profession is appealing. Closer consideration, however, questions whether this idea is appropriate. Leadership education is a research and teaching discipline, which is rich, multi-voiced, and complex. It is interdisciplinary and nurtured by many different disciplines: philosophy, sociology, psychology, economy, engineering, pedagogy, learning, gender studies, ethics, religion, and spirituality. The leadership discipline is hence a heterogeneous, contradictory, and paradoxical field of discursive forces. It is vibrant and dynamic. We may compare leadership discourse with Deleuze and Guattari's metaphor of the *rhizome*. Accordingly, there are no linear or singular lines of development but many different lines that are related to one another but that do not

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form a unitary path. They note that there is no mother tongue, only power takeovers by dominant languages (Deleuze and Guattari 2013, p. 6). This reflects the complexity of the subject matter. It is a result that many different people, from many different disciplines and places, are engaged in leadership. Furthermore, leadership discourse evolves around practical problems, which differ in their temporal, spatial, and material locations.

Within this complex, multi-voiced space, students of leadership have to start finding their way towards becoming practitioners. We propose two interconnected terms that characterize their journey: *self-formation* and *practical wisdom*. Together they constitute a holistic notion of being, which perceives the formation of the self as relational engagement with the world and includes practical wisdom—that is, situated sensitivity and awareness of how to act and relate properly to others and to oneself (Eisner 2002). Practical wisdom is derived from Aristotle's knowledge framework, which also comprises rational knowledge (episteme) and skills (technê). Rather than seeing practical wisdom as a separate type of knowledge from episteme and technê, we suggest that the three types are entangled and condition one another. The complex pool of knowledge that is divided into these three main knowledge types can be seen as many fragments of discourse that need to be put together in the shaping of a possible future (Boje et al. 2016). Practical wisdom entails a holistic notion of being in which mind, heart, soul, hand, community, and the world are interconnected. It is suggested that educating for self-formation and practical wisdom requires a practice-based educational program as well as a free space to explore, experiment, and create. It involves engagement, involvement, and self-directed learning.

Thus, we argue against professionalizing leadership. Any attempt to monopolize leadership—to seize the power of leadership language—conflicts with this freedom to explore and engage in a self-directed way. In other words, we are afraid that professionalization implies monopolization and centralization, whereby the power to construct leadership will ultimately end up in the hands of powerful universities. Furthermore, leadership thrives on creativity and transformation, which fit badly with standardized learning goals, curricula, and pedagogy. This development does not improve the quality of leadership education. Rather, there is the obvious risk that it will become more traditional and mono-voiced.

Our position, opposing the professionalization of leadership, is grounded in two concepts that we suggest are essential for leadership education: *self-formation* and *practical wisdom*. Symptomatic for our argument, such concepts will probably be even more marginalized by professionalization. They have always been on the borderline of what is commonly accepted in leadership studies. In these studies such concepts are considered inferior to evidence-based rational, universal, and epistemic instrumental knowledge. Leadership can, however, be seen as *the performance of practical wisdom*.

The chapter is structured in the following way. First, we explore the notion of leadership and self-formation. This is followed by a discussion of practical wisdom as well as technical and epistemic knowledge in relation to the notion of leadership and self-formation. Third, we discuss leadership education as a process of dialogical self-formation informed in particular by practical wisdom. This discussion allows us to identify the key principles of practice- and dialogical-based leadership education supporting leadership self-formation and wisdom. Finally, we present our conclusions on the discussions.

What Is Leadership?

The first question is: what is leadership? In the dominant leadership discourse, leaders are considered to be very different from managers, who are good administrators and capable of budgeting, structuring jobs, staffing jobs, and measuring performances (Kotter 1990). Management is about doing things right: following the rules, guidelines, and procedures, and executing them to perfection. Leaders, in contrast, are persons who do the right thing (Drucker 1974). They take organizations into the future and they develop vision, engagement and motivation. Becoming a leader is a hard and emotional process. Hill (2003, p. x) argues that it entails three essential learning processes: (1) learning technical, human, and conceptual competences, (2) changing one's mind, and (3) changing oneself. While management concerns technical and economic administration, leadership concerns people management. It requires both dialogical capabilities to work with others and capabilities to work with the self.

Consequently, the leader is represented as a "Great Man" (Spector 2016). It is an image of the leader that resembles what Foucault calls *pastoral power*, which, according to him, is a dominant image of power in Western societies. It has four characteristics: (1) it is a form of power of which the ultimate aim is to ensure salvation in the next world; (2) it is not only a form of power that commands; it must be prepared to sacrifice itself for the life and salvation of the flock; (3) it is a form of power that looks after not only the community but each individual throughout her entire life; and (4) it is a form of power that cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, and without causing them to reveal their innermost secrets (Foucault 2000, p. 333). Maybe this comparison is unfair and inaccurate, but it takes the point to the limit in terms of how highly leadership is valued today. The leader is represented as a great father or mother, who shows and helps his or her followers (the employees) along the right path in the organization.

The theoretical vocabulary and toolbox taught in many business classes today contain many elements that are consistent with leadership as pastoral power and hence for creating followership. The discourse on leadership reproduces the idea of a hierarchical leader–follower relationship, in which leaders lead and employees follow. It is manifested in a theoretical understanding of organizations as hierarchical structures in which leaders are at the top or in the center. Even many of the "softer" tools that are part of leadership education today reproduce— often unconsciously— this leader–follower relationship. These tools acknowledge the need for dialogue, communication, and learning but in a way in which the organization's goals and strategies are seen as the highest context.

These tools are used for submission to and the internalization of corporate values. Edwards (2008) calls them confessional practices. These include, among others, personnel counseling, group dynamics technologies, psychological techniques for self-examination, and psycho-therapy (Ibarra-Colado et al. 2006, p. 49). They are premised on the belief of knowing oneself as self-awareness, and this knowledge is achieved by turning inwards towards a true or real self (Townley 1995, pp. 274–5). They are used with the purpose of improving oneself in the name of the company. This comparison may again seem to be rough and unfair, since these tools have produced many valuable contributions. We wish, however, to point out the inherent dangers. They entail a narrow and rather normative conception of self: the subject must talk in a particular way, must relate to others in a particular way, is expected to work on the self in a particular way, and is expected to learn and be flexible. She or he also has to accept being categorized by personality profiling as well as being continuously measured and evaluated.

As a contrast to the pastoral conception of leadership, we suggest instead that leadership is about nurturing common human traits: cultivating the self at the same time as learning about organizations and management. This includes understanding how one can engage with organizations and the world in proper, creative, and answerable ways. To lead—to perform practical wisdom—is linked to the alternative to self-awareness that Foucault also traced, namely self-formation. It operates with other assumptions, namely that leadership takes place in the midst of many different people with different motives and intentions. It entails human plurality (Arendt 1998, p. 7) and acknowledges difference as a resource. Self-formation is self-mastery and implies the care of activity and the details and routines of what one does, thinks, and feels (Townley 1995, p. 275). Further, it sees the self as being formed through active engagement with others, whereby action is judged on one's performance with others. Self-formation is about finding the good life. Self-mastery implies that we are all leaders and masters of our life. As such, education—including leadership education—is about self-formation and nurturing practical wisdom. Self-formation requires freedom, because freedom is the ontological condition of ethics, which on the other hand is the concrete form that ethics takes when it is informed by reflection (Foucault 1997, p. 284).

The freedom to experiment and reflect on one's activities together with others is—along with new affordances for action—perhaps the most important and dearest possession of education. Frequently, however, education is also used and framed as a disciplinary field for shaping particular subjects according to fixed ideas about what the future will bring. This futuristic vision often entails standardized learning goals, accreditation standards, and standard curricula and assessment procedures, and it often materializes under a professionalization narrative. The play between these two forces—formalization and freedom—is a manifestation of one of the central dilemmas of education. How much should be formalized and structured? How much should be left for freedom, creativity, and experimentation? Put differently: how much formalization and structure is needed for freedom, creativity and experimentation to flourish? Thus, it is not a choice between one and the other. It is a question of finding an appropriate balance of a structured learning space that at the same time can work as a *space of appearance* (Arendt 1998, p. 198). For Arendt, this space is where people can appear as unique subjects with their own motives, interests, and intentions. Thus, it is a space that is structured but also a space where free women and men can meet, co-create, and shape the future. A space of appearance entails the principle that education does not educate for a fixed, imagined, and planned future but that it should enable people to create their own future (Todd 2009). Self-formation involves making one's unique appearance in the world as a unique and different human being. It requires motivation, commitment, engagement, and an interest in exploring, learning, collaborating and communicating.

The traditional understanding of leadership puts too much emphasis on the leader as a person and on his/her personality attributes. It reproduces an idea of a great hero (Spector 2016, pp. 18–19). Instead we argue that leadership is an approach to the world that any member of the organization may display and exhibit through her or his actions. Leadership is a craft, a skillful or an artful performance that takes place with others. Performance denotes the active shaping of, and intervening in, reality. In organizations this performance can comprise multiple interacting practices and involves both discursive (beliefs, ideas, knowledge, and so on) and material (techniques, systems, artefacts, and so on) affordances (Mol 1999, pp. 74–5). Leadership is thus collective and relational.

To lead is to perform practical wisdom. This resides in practical know-how, feelings and senses. It entails the development of wise action, judgment, and decision making, stimulating curiosity and engagement, growing dialogical capabilities, and nourishing historical and practical sensitivity towards complex organizational problems. We are worried that these dimensions of leadership will be under-prioritized if leadership is turned into a profession. Professionalization means developing a common, explicit knowledge base. This conflicts with the ideas concerning self-formation, which is conditioned on freedom. Secondly, practical wisdom—or for that sake any other ethical approach to leadership—has never been part of the recognized vocabulary of leadership education. Instead, the dominant approaches to leadership have been founded on episteme and technê, understood as the practical application of episteme. Practical wisdom differs essentially from these knowledge types. Practical wisdom, episteme, and technê are unfolded and related to leadership formation in the next section.

Leadership Implications of Practical Wisdom, Episteme and Technê

In describing practical wisdom, we use the classical distinction that Aristotle (2009) makes between phronesis (practical wisdom), technê, and episteme. This knowledge framework has experienced a renaissance in management literature. Attention has been directed towards the way in which phronetic practical wisdom differs from other ways of learning and knowing, as well as how it matters to leadership formation. The attention to practical wisdom is also due to an increasing interest in ethical leadership. While the instrumental and rational learning processes are related to technê and episteme, the dialogical and self-formative processes of learning are primarily associated with practical wisdom. Following Nonaka et al. (2014), who also draw on Aristotle, we advocate a distinction between phronetic wisdom on one hand and technically oriented knowledge on the other. Both ways of knowing matter to professional leadership formation, but they imply different ways of learning in practice. Furthermore, episteme presents a third way of knowing and learning, which additionally has implications in regard to the professionalization of leadership.

Practical wisdom is used as a translation of phronesis to emphasize that this form of knowledge is grounded in praxis and related to our actions and doings. Practical wisdom is about things being done. Aristotle (2009) distinguishes practical wisdom from technê because technê is about things being made. Wisdom is related to phronesis, understood as a good action. According to Aristotle, practical wisdom "is a true and reasoned state of capacity to act with regard to the things that are good or bad for man" (Aristotle 2009, p. 1140b). The good action has itself as its end, which means that the good and wise are immanent in action. Practical wisdom secures what is good through wise actions. It is not enough to deliberate and reason about what is good and wise to do. To be practically wise implies acting. Wisdom happens (Kirkeby 2009, p. 98). Practical wisdom is thus associated with practical knowledge and ethics.

As practical wisdom serves the greater good, it transgresses the interests of the individual. Practical wisdom thus addresses the capacity of the human being to guide and develop her- or himself ethically (Kirkeby 2009, p. 70): to become wise in judgments, decisions and actions for the sake of the good life for the individual and the community. Consequently, practical wisdom can be reduced neither to a personal trait nor to a cultural trait of a specific cultural form of life. As Kirkeby (2009, p. 70) states, practical wisdom implies a relational capacity that is developed in relation to the being of the other person. Hence, practical wisdom involves the free space for growing the capacity to co-receive and co-create. Phronesis is thus linked to both dialogical learning and self-formation.

Technê differs from practical wisdom because technê has an end other than itself in being purpose and goal-oriented. In producing and making things, technê addresses the capacity to create, make, and produce things (Aristotle 2009, pp. 1140a and b). Technê thus comprises technical competences. These may relate to the application of epistemic knowledge, but they can also relate to the knowledge and creativeness of craftsmanship.

Differing from practical knowledge, Aristotle's concept of episteme addresses the knowledge that is learnt and taught as universal truth (Aristotle 2009, pp. 1139b 25). Episteme is therefore concerned with scientific and theoretical knowledge, which is assumed to be universal, general and abstract, as well as written, documented, and empirically verified (Chia and Rasche 2015, p. 37). Teaching thus starts from what is already known and implies a much more deductive and analytical way of learning (Aristotle 2009, p. 1139b). For that reason episteme is related to expert knowledge and rational knowledge.

Technê and episteme combined express the instrumental and rational ways of knowing and learning. The practical application manifests in codifiable techniques or practical instructions that are made available through explicit and linguistic explication, making the knowledge accessible and teachable (Chia and Rasche 2015, p. 37). Because the end is separated from the activity of making in technê, epistemic and technical knowledge operates with the distinctions between means and end, behavior and intentions, and producer and product. In combination, episteme and technê may thus enhance the instrumentalization of practices (Chia and Rasche 2015, p. 37) and of human beings, as well as the life of the organization and its surrounding world.

In the contemporary capitalist world, with its focus on performance, production, consumption, proficiency and efficiency, rational and instrumental competences, skills, and knowledge are considered to be valuable. The rational and instrumental approach conceives of the world as controllable, predictable, planned and designed. It offers technical, hands-on, and codified recipes to solve organizational problems and gives straight answers. It is easier to sell and is therefore more likely to be favored by the professionalization of leadership. Professionalization will thus imply that it will become even more a matter of developing theoretical expert knowledge, competences, and skills for analyzing, designing, and planning as well as for optimizing, organizing, and strategizing. In the worst-case scenario, professionalization will imply that a leadership program that emphasizes practical wisdom will no longer be recognized as a leadership program.

Consequently, we are opposed to the professionalization of leadership. It risks destroying the simultaneous development that is taking place along with the increasing rationalization and instrumentalization of knowledge. This development is an increasing call for ethics and wisdom (Nonaka et al. 2014, p. 370). As practical wisdom in action seeks no other outcome than its own self-realization (Chia and Rasche 2015, p. 37), ethical judgment is actualized in the moment of the action and not *after* the act. Retrospective judgment of the act already performed does not direct us beyond the outcome and performative consequences of the act (Shotter and Tsoukas 2014, p. 379).

The formation of leadership is thus a matter of building the phronetic capacity to be prepared for new and challenging events and to be capable of judging, choosing, and acting wisely; As opposed to the technical, rational, and instrumental knowing and learning that separate the producer from the product and evaluate the product without reference to the producer (Nonaka et al. 2014), phronetic knowing centers on the ethical growth of the human being in relation to others. The action therefore cannot be separated from the agent who performs it, as "self is drawn into action" (Nonaka et al. 2014, pp. 268–9).

Furthermore, practical wisdom constitutes a practical, embodied, tacit, and unarticulated knowing. The learning and knowing grown through the experience of acting and doing in the world are internalized into the body as an embodied tacit knowing of how to do and how to act in new situations occurring in an infinite world of unforeseen and unexpected events and happenings. Practical wisdom thus entails an embodied capacity to cope with the unprepared and surprising and to act, judge, and choose wisely. Practical wisdom presupposes the cultivation of relational, ethical, and practical capacities of human beings in general, as well as the working out of the free space. We consider those features as key elements of becoming a leader, yet they have never formed a prominent part of leadership education and leadership studies. This is no surprise. Practical wisdom is tacit, embodied and situational and is therefore difficult to transmit. Its answer to organizational problems is "it depends." In a world that favors the commodification of knowledge and quick solutions, practical wisdom will always "limp behind." Professionalizing leadership will probably make the situation worse. It is, however, also in such a world that practical wisdom is needed more than ever. We will discuss the features of practical wisdom in the next section.

Dialogical Learning and Self-formation in Leadership Education

In our argumentation we will emphasize (1) the nature of *practice* and what practice can contribute to leadership education; (2) the importance of a *free space* for experimenting and exploring the world; and (3) the importance of designing education as a *collective and dialogical learning process*. Our approach does not only imply an integrated approach, in which epistemic knowledge, technê, and phronesis are combined and integrated in a holistic way in education. The development of phronetic wisdom and the formation of the self are an iterative process, which includes a sense of history, space, art, craftsmanship, dialogue, communication, ethics, and the world.

The rational and instrumental form of knowledge addresses a type of knowledge that is transmittable, explicit, and articulated. This idea is embedded in most leadership educational programs today. Tools, instruments, models, and theories are assumed to be transferrable and transmittable, making it possible to apply "vertical learning and monological teaching." Such learning includes practical instructions, the adoption of codified techniques and procedures, and internalization of what is assumed to be the right and true understanding of scientifically based theories and knowledge. Teachers are, according to this view, in the business of disseminating information, and learning is seen as mechanical reproduction (Freire 1996; Jørgensen et al. 2012).

The competences associated with epistemic knowledge are important and necessary. However, they do not make people leaders. They are only tools that should be subordinate to technê—understood as art and craftsmanship—and phronesis. If these epistemic tools are misunderstood as the ultimate goal of leadership education, everything meaningful concerning leadership is lost. Furthermore, epistemic knowledge can be understood in a different way from universal and general knowledge. For us, the knowledge covered by episteme is part of the language and vocabulary of management and leadership (Pålshaugen 2001). They are part of practical experiences and as such are indispensable discursive affordances for exploring organizational life with the purpose of figuring out something new.

In this sense, epistemic knowledge is an ingrained part of technê and phronesis, which also means, however, that epistemic knowledge cannot be elevated to some superior position. Leadership is about passion, commitment, engagement, and exploration, which are what dialogical and self-formative learning addresses. This kind of learning descends to the particular concrete, chaotic, and complex events of the world. Thus, practical wisdom is assumed to grow through learning based on our experiences of being in and coping with occurring and unforeseen events, giving rise to a sea of possibilities, tensions, and confusions, and unpredictability and surprises (Shotter and Tsoukas 2014). By being responsive to those situations that life throws at us, and by sensing a particular event in all its complexity and potentiality, practical wisdom grows as a relational "self-cultivating activity" (Chia and Holt 2006, p. 91).

Consequently, leadership education should be about the exploration of the *practices* in which people are engaged. Exploration happens not through information but through "sharing experiences" (Benjamin 1999). This is a holistic and embodied learning process whereby people share important experiences with one another. It is embedded in the design of education as an explorative process of figuring out what the world is like, how others perceive the world, and what the world potentially could be like. The world—the assemblage of practices—needs to be an ingrained and important part of leadership education. Otherwise, dialogical and self-formative learning cannot work. The world is a very personal and interpersonal matter. When leadership students look people in the eyes, feel and sense them, work with them, and share their worries and concerns, they have the feeling that this is not just applying theory to practice. Integrating organizational practices and leadership education is thus not a matter of applying theory to practice. It is about practice itself. Understanding and solutions have to grow from that practice. Students have to work with and understand practices from within and learn how to twist, transform, reassemble, and revitalize the discursive and material affordances of practices. "Real-life" vibrant organizational spaces are as such an explorative ground for figuring out who one is, what one stands for, and what one wants to become.

Self-cultivation and self-formation differ from epistemic learning. Practical wisdom embraces our ethical and practical relation with others. We do not inhabit the social world through individual agency but find ourselves inseparable from it, embodied and embedded in the midst of things and others. Practical wisdom thus implies embodied and reflexive learning occurring through dialogical exchanges with others and with ourselves (inner dialogue). Practical wisdom constitutes an immanent and relational process of forming ethical leadership identity and leadership practices. This leads to the second point in the argument for how leadership education can be designed to shape dialogical learning and self-formation: the importance of a *free space* for experimenting and exploring the world.

Education has the potential to be what Arendt (1998, p. 198) calls a space of appearance—a collective and relational space where people can appear to one another with their own voices, motivations, and interests. A space of appearance requires self-directed learning, that is, the freedom to frame, explore, and reflect on the world in a free space where students can thus bring something new to the stage. In practice-based leadership education, students are at the borderline between organizational practices and education. They are engaged in but not part of organizational practices. Furthermore, their performances are measured not by their contributions to organizational practices but in relation to how systematically they can reflect critically and work with these practices. It is a double position of being both inside and outside organizational practices at the same time.

This is an important argument against professionalizing leadership. Professionalization implies more or less strict boundaries for what can be considered inside and outside leadership. It conflicts directly with the idea of self-formation and the freedom to experiment with whatever is interesting. This includes, for example, philosophy, art, narratology, poetry, theater, music, filmmaking, neuroscience, and quantum physics. Setting boundaries for legitimate and illegitimate knowledge might destroy the adventurous exploration that leadership studies might be.

The space of appearance is also important in regard to the third point: the importance of designing education as a *collective and dialogical learning process*. A space of appearance is a collective and relational space and is thus a space that makes it possible to act collectively. This concerns the relational and ethical character of competently sensing the event and coping with its inherited social, material, and historical complexity. "Learning" practical wisdom cultivates the competences in sensing, experiencing, and understanding the complexity, uniqueness, and possibilities of the concrete event-shared-with-others. Acting is always acting together with others, and therefore practical wisdom entails the development of (1) dialogical resources enabling human beings to co-receive and co-create as a way of relating to the world, (2) sophisticated sensitivity in embodied listening and sensing from within the relational event, and (3) co-reflexive questioning and inquiring into coping acts and interactions as well as their performative consequences. Apart from collaborating with practice, there also has to be a more systematic focus on shaping learning spaces that both facilitate and train dialogical resources, sensitivity, and reflexivity, all of which are hardly compatible with professionalizing leadership.

In regard to the first point, practical wisdom does not only imply being *practically* wise in judgment, choices, and doings. Being practically wise may be associated with reason and deliberation, but these cannot define practical wisdom (Aristotle 2009). Practical wisdom instead embraces a *practical ethical* dimension, which comprises deeds and virtuous acts and doings. These deeds and virtues are to be conceived as a transforming social identity anchored in responsive dialogical and self-formative learning. Being an active, responsive participant compels a person to commit to the dialogical preconditions by engaging her- or himself "…wholly and throughout his [sic] whole life: with his [sic] eyes, lips, hands, soul, spirit, with his [sic] whole body and deeds. He [sic] invests his [sic] entire self in discourse, and this discourse enters into the dialogic fabric of human life, into the world symposium" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 293). Developing dialogical competences for facilitating a dialogical space and for entering into the dialogue as resourceful conversational participants constitutes crucial competence development in leadership formation and learning, which may be overlooked and set aside in the professionalization of leadership.

Secondly, developing sophisticated sensitivity towards the nuances of the event adds to and intertwines with the development of dialogical competence. Sensitivity is a derivation of the Latin word *sensibilis* and concerns our senses and our ability to make life sensible through our experiences and sensing of our surroundings (Cunliffe and Coupland 2011, pp. 67–9). There is a close relation between sensitivity and embodiment, which is conceived of as an emotional and sensed bodily experience. Thus, sensing the event is a matter of being capable not only of co-receiving the dialogical utterances through the spoken words but also of being embodied and responsive to the vibrating voices, facial expressions, and bodily gestures. The past experience-based learning and knowing from having been engaged in the events of the past are stored and internalized in embodied memory and operate as tacit knowledge of the body. In other words, they cannot be codified and assessed. Educators and students have to experiment and use their imagination to develop these abilities in a way that is hardly consistent with the professionalization of leadership.

Reflexivity constitutes the third essential resource in dialogical and self-formative learning. Reflexivity encompasses the dimension that connects tacit knowing and explicit knowledge (Cunliffe 2002, p. 35). The multi-voiced exchanges of worldviews, questions, doubts, and critical counter-arguments and alternative interpretations give rise to (self-) reflexive learning in terms of reflexive thinking of "the relations of acts to surroundings and to own identity" (Shotter and Tsoukas 2014, p. 379). Participating in reflexive learning dialogues contributes to the development of critical and responsive practitioners. Reflexivity differs from reflection, as the latter constitutes a process unfolding at a distance from the world in terms of reflecting on the world, events, performed acts, and performative consequences. Reflexivity constitutes "a living in"; that is, being reflexive in the moment of the act towards why and how we account for our experience in the way that we do to explore alternative understandings. Hence, reflexivity is to recognize the situatedness of the reflexive act and in mutual responsiveness to deconstruct, contest, evoke, evade, imagine, and confront constructions of realities (Cunliffe 2003, pp. 986, 989; Cunliffe and Coupland 2011, p. 69).

Through reflexive dialogue learning, we thus enter into the self-formative learning through which we develop a unique relational identity. Together with dialogical resources and sensitivity, reflexivity is hard to formalize and codify. All these abilities are similar in the sense that they require something different from what was always considered in mainstream leadership research and education. We cannot say anything certain about what promotes dialogical self-formation and practical wisdom, and no results can be guaranteed. Nevertheless, two elements are crucial: (1) an inspirational and supportive learning space and (2) the freedom to create and explore. Both these elements risk being jeopardized by the professionalization of leadership.

Conclusions

We have argued for leadership education based on self-formation and practical wisdom and have conceptualized what such leadership education may look like. It is a practice-based free space for experimenting and exploring the world and is characterized by collective and dialogical learning processes. These features have never been dominant parts of leadership education. Therefore, there is good reason to expect that they will play only a marginal and peripheral role if leadership is professionalized. The institutional forces that govern traditional leadership education are strong. The control and standardization of leadership language that threaten to take over leadership education as part of the professionalization of leadership are not attractive. Our position is supported by recent developments in Denmark. Here, higher education has undergone a process that has included accreditation, standardization, and more explicit learning goals, individual assessment, and measurement. Standardization of the curriculum has still to come—hopefully it never will. Professionalization understood in that sense standardizes, separates, and individualizes. It creates competition among students and linear learning paths that do not encourage experimentation. These have nothing to do with creating a collective, collaborative, and dialogical learning space. We warn against such professionalization of leadership education. It will instrumentalize leadership instead of creating leaders with practical wisdom.

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9

The Case for Behavioral Professionalism in Leadership

C. Ken Weidner II

In this chapter I explore the nature of leadership and the nature of a profession and conclude that it is neither practical nor appropriate for the former to become the latter. Close examination of the roles and responsibilities of leadership reveals that certification of leaders is fraught with practical issues. In lieu of licensure or certification, I propose *behavioral professionalism* as a more appropriate ideal for individuals at any level of an organization. Further, in positions of formalized authority, leaders/managers can strive to make behavioral professionalism normative within their organizations.

First, I describe the nature of a profession and distinguish it from the process of professionalization and follow with a discussion of the nature of leadership. Next, I outline a few intractable issues precluding the professionalization of leadership. I conclude by sketching the contours of a more workable alterative, behavioral professionalism (adapted from Maister 1997), which has potential to enhance ethical business conduct across a range of occupations.

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Conceptual Clarity of Professions, Professionals, and Professionalization

A review of the literature on professions, professionals, and professionalization suggests that these terms have often been used interchangeably with the unintended effect of undermining conceptual clarity of each term. As prelude to the main discussion, I propose and use the following classical conceptions of each of these terms:

A ***profession*** is a formalized occupation or group of occupations, and is typically sanctioned by a government entity (hereafter, “state”). State recognition of a field as a profession usually limits the practice in that field to individuals who are licensed, registered, or certified by either the state (e.g., state bar examinations) or by third parties (state-specific medical boards). For example, establishment of a profession prevents unqualified individuals from declaring themselves “attorneys” or “physicians.”

A ***professional*** is an individual who is a member of a profession in good standing (e.g., with the state, professional board/association, or both). Professionals’ work is often subjected to peer review, and typically professional membership association will have power over a professional’s continuing credentialing required to practice. In law or medicine, a professional can be disbarred or lose one’s license to practice medicine by the bar or medical association in that jurisdiction.

Professionalization is the process, long studied by scholars in sociology and other fields, of how an occupational group becomes a profession (see Weidner and Kulick 1999). The process of professionalization involves an occupational group gaining legitimacy in the eyes of the public and the government. In the absence of an established profession, any individual can declare themselves to be a practitioner of anything from acupuncture to consulting to human resources to industrial engineering.

Unfortunately, scholars have often used these terms seemingly interchangeably (see Carvalho et al. 2016; Dekker et al. 2015; Castro 2016), which has muddied rather than clarified the above distinctions. These distinctions are vital when considering the case for or against professionalization of leadership.

The Nature of a Profession

Professions are a public and widely accepted recognition of the ***specialization*** of a body of knowledge and the ***criticality*** of that knowledge to a society (Torres 1991). Professions are typically state-sanctioned, and may be governed by a combination of licensure, certification, or registration, any of which may be required in advance of legal practice. Professions are typically characterized by the autonomy of the individual professional in using their judgment to make decisions or offer advice. In the US, employment was long considered to compromise professionals' autonomy, and some argue that employment has risked undermining the status of a number of professions, such as engineering (Krause 1996) or nursing (see Weidner 1998). Sociologists and social scientists in other disciplines have long been interested in studying professions because they represent an accumulation of power by a subgroup within a society, often gatekeeping the admission of new professionals to their field, sometimes with the effect of limiting competition among practitioners within a profession.

Specialization and criticality are vital in distinguishing between a profession and a discipline, trade, or occupational group. For example, members of contemporary society may appreciate that a discipline such as sociology or anthropology, and occupations such as photography or culinary arts, are characterized by ***specialization***. None of these occupations, however, are perceived as inherently possessing such ***criticality*** to society that entry to those fields should be governed in some way by the state. Established professions such as medicine or law and occupational groups such as airline pilots and flight attendants are regarded as requiring knowledge both specialized *and* critical that licensure and/or certification is required to engage in the field.

Functions of a Profession

Professions function in numerous ways in contemporary society. Professions provide a form of occupational control, excluding others from encroaching upon specified job titles, tasks, or responsibilities (for an indepth discussion, see Weidner and Kulick 1999). In broad terms, establishment of an occupation as a profession serves as a barrier to entry to individuals not deemed "qualified" to perform specified functions or claim a specific job title. When backed by the power of the state, licensure, certification, and/or registration requirements bar an individual from legally claiming to be an "attorney," "surgeon," "psychotherapist," or "architect," among other "professions." Note that although verifying the credentials of employed professionals is critical to their employers, the aforementioned titles cannot be conveyed by an employer; they are bestowed by the professional organization, often via the state. Job titles given by an employer (or by the individual themselves) do not a profession make; titles are highly fungible if they fall outside of those recognized by statute or regulation as a "profession." For example, the title "consultant" is depreciated through overuse, and when appearing on a business resume is often interpreted as filler between periods of employment.

Formal establishment of a state-sanctioned profession prevents non-physicians from opening an office as a medical doctor or surgeon—we are justifiably horrified when imposters are exposed, both for trust misplaced and harms committed. Professions perform an important "cueing" function to the public, signaling that members of a profession can be relied upon to provide their service with care and put clients' interests first.[1]

In academia, particularly the humanities and social sciences, interdisciplinary work crossing disciplinary lines is sometimes encouraged, making possible fluidity between disciplines (e.g., Chomsky, Fish, Pinker). This is possible because these fields are perceived as possessing lower levels of criticality to the public interest in an academic field (e.g., linguistics, literature, psychology) than in state-sanctioned professions.

Recipe for a Profession

Wilensky (1964) identified a model of sequential steps as the process of professionalization that lead to status as a state-sanctioned professional:

1. becoming a full-time occupation;
2. establishing a first training school;

3. establishing the first university school;
4. establishing the first local professional association;
5. establishing the first national professional association;
6. establishing the first state license law; and
7. creating a formal code of ethics.

Of the above, all but the state licensure through the law (6) can be achieved by members of an occupational group. Certification or a licensure must be imposed on an occupational group by the state (at the municipal, provincial/state, or national level). For example, in fall of 2003, the US Congress established an Federal Aviation Administration (FAA 2008) certification requirement for flight attendants effective December 11, 2004.

Although licensure can be maintained at any level of government, in the US, most professional licensure occurs at the state (provincial) level. For example, in my home state of Pennsylvania, twenty-nine boards and commissions manage licensing of facilities and occupations ranging from hospitals and swimming pools to accountants and veterinarians. The specialization and criticality of the knowledge required to conduct that work is publicly recognized and regulated, whether related to public hygiene (e.g., barbers, cosmetology), health (e.g., medicine, nursing, pharmacy), or public safety (e.g., architects, crane operators, engineers, navigation of rivers). The applicable board or commission is charged with safeguarding "…the public from harm caused by unqualified persons…", and engages in conducting examinations, initial and renewal of licensure, revoking or suspending issued licenses, and maintaining a registry of practitioners (see Pennsylvania Department of State 2017).

To illustrate Wilensky's formulation, consider two fields: chiropractic and massage therapy. Chiropractic medicine has navigated its way to status as a nationally recognized profession in the US over the past several decades. Three decades ago, the field of chiropractic found itself outside the medical mainstream and excluded from many health insurance plans. Chiropractors and their state and national associations worked collectively and persistently to secure government studies reporting on the efficacy, safety, and cost-effectiveness of chiropractic care (Alaska Chiropractic

2017), which resulted in licensure and funding by national health programs. Chiropractic is no longer considered an "alternative therapy."

In contrast, massage therapy is not as well developed a profession in the United States, and possesses less legitimacy and recognition. Forty-three states offer either licensure, certification, or registration to massage therapists, but only thirty-eight states require licensure to use the title "massage therapist." Beyond state requirements, some US municipalities require a license to practice any type of massage.

Worldwide, even greater variation exists. In some countries (e.g., China, New Zealand) massage is not regulated by the government, in others (e.g., Canada), massage therapy is licensed by some but not all provinces. In other countries, massage therapy is regulated (e.g., India), while in other countries (e.g., South Africa), massage therapy is regulated but poorly enforced. Thus, although massage and/or massage therapy occur around the world, its practice is diffuse; in many locations no barriers exist to entering the field.

Claiming Profession Status

Members of occupational groups often form membership associations that self-proclaim a status as a ***professional association***. While there is no harm in striving to bring greater ***professionalism*** to a field—a theme I will return to later in this chapter—there is a clear distinction between behaving professionally and professionalization of a field. Some membership associations require admission to a profession as a precondition of membership (e.g., American Trial Lawyers Association), but admission to a membership association does not establish an obligation for the state to license practitioners.

Within the field of management, the list of membership associations which do not meet reach the threshold of a profession includes, but is not limited to: The Academy of Management, Society for Human Resource Management, WorldatWork (until 2008, the American Compensation Association). While the knowledge in these fields is specialized, the fields do not rise to the level of criticality to the public interest such that these occupations requires state control or restriction. Some membership associations offer *certifications of skills*. Some examples include:

- Project Management Institute's Project Management Professional (PMP);
- Society for Human Resource Management's Certified Professional (SHRM-CP) and Senior Certified Professional (SHRM-SCP);
- American College of Healthcare Executives' Fellow of the American College of Healthcare Executives (FACHE); and
- Chartered Institute of Management Consultants' Chartered Management Consultant (ChMC).

While these credentials might carry weight *within* a specific field, these credentials are far less recognized *outside* their respective field. Although these credentials are each competency-based, created with sound social science practices to define and assess competencies, competencies alone do not call for a professional licensure. This comment is not meant to disparage the competencies called for or valued in each field, but is simply to note the lack of formal recognition is based on lower criticality—preventing the field from being considered a profession (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). For example, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has become institutionalized within corporations, but has simultaneously been marginalized because it is perceived as a supportive staff occupation (see Risi and Wickert 2017) rather than an externally recognized profession. The term "professionalism" clearly has appeal in the marketplace, whether as part of marketing appeals to customers or in its frequent appearance in organizational mission statements (Evetts 2011).

At the core of licensed professions is the responsible application of their critical and specialized knowledge in an autonomous manner. The judgment of the licensed individual is called upon in a wide range of unstructured situations. Criticality may be a function of risk of tragic—and preventable—failure by the professional: poor legal representation, surgery gone wrong, or a fatal building collapse. The subordination of members of a profession to non-autonomous employees has been a recurring concern across professions throughout the modern "corporate" era.

Professionalization of a field creates an implicit exchange: the public is asked to trust practicing professionals who are in turn protected from market competition (Weidner and Kulick 1999). That protection is substantive; Kleiner and Krueger (2010, 2013) have shown that after controlling for education, occupation, and other variables, licensing commands a 15–18 percent premium in income.

Since laypeople do not have sufficient expertise to review or critique clinical or professional practice, peer review is then required for a profession to maintain its privileged status. One of the criticisms of established professions (medicine, law, accounting) is that peer review tends to be too permissive, with members of a profession fairly unlikely to call peers out for poor practice save for the most egregious cases. Emergent fields face an uphill climb in attaining legitimacy and public understanding and support for their establishment as a legally-sanctioned protected field of practice (see Roigt 2012). A prospective profession needs to reach critical mass and internal solidarity while making the case that its knowledge is specialized and critical. Established occupational groups such as human resources have had difficulty gaining acceptance as a profession, in part because laypeople have well-established notions about HR and its functional predecessors, including employee relations and personnel.

Although licensure may be state-sanctioned, professional associations can and do speak with moral authority about issues in the public sphere that affect their domain. However, occupational solidarity can shift over time: given the expansion of knowledge and subsequent sub-specialization of medicine, after enactment of the Medicare and Medicaid Act of 1967, physicians' membership in the American Medical Association (AMA) shifted to specialty associations (such as the American Academy of Pediatrics). AMA membership fell from 73 percent of physicians in 1963 to 35 percent by 1999 (Weimer 1999). Doyle et al. (2016) found similar fragmentation in Germany among consultants and their firms.

Based upon this understanding of professions and professionalization, we turn our attention to the nature of leadership and assess the appropriateness of its status as a profession.

Nature of Leadership

In contrast to the formal structure of professional occupations—distinct competencies, license requirements, definition of scope, legal status—leadership is amorphous and thus not easily defined (Yukl et al. 2002).

The literature on the history of leadership is recounted in countless texts, tracing its roots from the "great man" era through the present day. Leadership is practiced or demonstrated as a natural process of social organizing.

Leadership and Celebrity

Leaders and their leadership are regularly profiled in the popular/business press and in academic literature (including case studies). In the latter, fawning or damning descriptions of leaders and their decisions have given rise to a "celebrity" of leadership coverage (e.g., Jobs, Gates, Welch). By crowning heads of corporations as exemplar leaders, American media has embedded "leadership" in popular culture to the point that US high school students applying to college are commonly expected to have demonstrated "leadership" well before reaching the age of majority. Thus trait-based leadership, despite being discredited long ago, persists within American society.

Ubiquity of Leadership

Underlying the notion that young people can provide evidence of their leadership or leadership potential is the idea that leadership happens in both formal organizations and informal interactions, i.e., leadership is such an integral part of social interactions that it is, like oxygen, all around us. A similar case could be made for other lenses through which we view society: "law," "ethics," "the environment," "inequality," "sexism," "institutionalized racism," "class structure," and the like. However, the pervasive presence of leadership doesn't imply that a corresponding profession exists. With so many competing models of leadership, one point of departure is to distinguish between leadership and management. Unfortunately, this muddies the waters more than it clarifies the issues because the conventional management literature—still present in today's academic textbooks—defines "leading" as part of the task/process of management (planning, organization leading, controlling).

While leadership *per se* may be widely understood to be important, leadership by itself does not rise to the level of criticality, and the settings in which leadership is or can be practiced are so varied, and practicing leaders so heterogeneous, that satisfying the notion of specialization is unlikely.

Although the frequent mentions of "leadership" in the media might suggest we are inundated with too much leadership, polls of public opinion express dissatisfaction with both corporate and political leaders. "Leader" doesn't appear on most C-level executives' titles, because leadership is both what they are expected to provide and what they do. Regional and national differences complicate our conception of what "leadership" is.

Leadership and Outcomes

Should leadership be evaluated in terms of outcomes? Consideration of both existing professions and leadership history would suggest that is not the case. An exemplary surgeon will still have operations that do not succeed; by design, half of trial attorneys lose their cases. Tragic outcomes in fields as diverse as pharmacy, nursing, engineering, and commercial aviation often reflect systemic—rather than individual—failures. For example, automobile crashes may provide evidence of a failure of vehicle design, engineering, and manufacturing, highway design, engineering, construction, conditions, or driver-related factors (e.g., Ford/Firestone rollover), of which a number of organizations' leadership may or may not be a contributing factor (see Perrow 1984).

Organizations are social constructions, and all organizations are not created equally. The achievement of an individual organization's outcomes may not be in the best interests of larger society (e.g., Shrekli's pricing of pharmaceutical drugs). If a company's goal is to attain monopolistic power, leading a company to achieve such a goal is not in the interests of society, and may be illegal. Indeed, a criminal leader could be considered highly effective depending upon the measures used, although the prospects for certifying politicians, or leaders in the world of criminal enterprises or repressive political regimes, are slim.

Another less considered variable when discussing leadership is time. Leadership is exhibited by people, and people do change and grow over time. For example, assessing Steve Jobs' leadership at Apple earlier and later in his career would likely result in different assessments of leadership success in terms of both outcomes and process. Winston Churchill was a world-saving hero after the Second World War ended in Europe, but was a defeated politician by the time the war ended in the Pacific months later.

Leadership, Culture, and Accountability

Decades ago, Schein (1990) recognized the symbiotic relationship between leadership and organizational culture. Formal leaders of an organization have a disproportionate influence on its culture and have a responsibility for culture within an organization. At the same time, organizations exist within a larger social structure, a culture with norms and expectations about what organizations and its leaders can and should do in the conduct of business (see Schein and Schein 2016).

Instead of a professional body or peer review holding corporate leaders accountable, the marketplace of social opinion has considerable leverage over companies concerned about public opinion. Consider three companies in a span of a few short months where corporate executives were held accountable by a combination of mass media, social media, and public pressure: (1) Fox News lost its president and co-founder and its top personality, (2) the CEO of United Airlines was denied elevation to Board Chair as a result of a single service response, and (3) the co-founder/CEO of Uber and a board member were forced to leave the company. In each of these cases, the media, the internet, and intense public and pressure—including scorn—were sufficient to hold executives accountable for the culture of their organizations.

Frustration with Unaccountable Leadership

The common thread running through each of the preceding examples is a shared public frustration with unaccountable leaders who are unresponsive to social pressure and concerns. This presents a bit of a paradox: Rather than have leaders who see what is popular before they decide what they believe is right, we would prefer to have principled leaders who can decide what is right and then proceed to do it (Pfeffer and Sutton 1999). Unfortunately, few reliable levers exist to directly hold formal leaders to account. Currently, the controls we have on leaders engaging in undesirable behavior come from one of several sources: legal/regulatory constraints, marketplace pressure from customers, financial pressure on a firm's stock or debt. The most pre-emptive of these, legal and regulatory constraints, are specific to a leader's individual role (e.g., CEOs and CFOs under Sarbannes-Oxley) or an organization's role (e.g., stress-testing a bank after the Great Recession), liability (e.g., revocation of FDA approval), public safety (e.g., Takata airbags), and exposure to risk (from shareholders, or a combination of the above-referenced constraints).

Given these frustrations with ineffective or even toxic leadership, it is perhaps inevitable that those responsible for teaching leadership (in academia) or developing leaders (in organizations) would turn to education, development, and training in the hope of improving leaders and leadership outcomes. However, the track record for "learning transfer" to the workplace from training in general is inconsistent at best, and leadership growth appears to be more related to an organization's culture (i.e., leadership in context) than the educational methods or training techniques (for two examples, see Henriksen and Børgesen 2016; Elmholdt et al. 2016).

Another outcome of professionalization is the normative expectation that practitioners in a field will possess professional liability insurance (PLI). Weidner and Kulick (1999) observed that this may be a critical litmus test that could be added to Wilensky's (1964) seven steps to becoming a profession. Normally, professionals (e.g., attorneys, CPAs, physicians, nurses, accountants, social workers) will not engage in providing any professional services without having PLI protection in place without risking their entire career. Employed professionals may have PLI provided by their employer's policy, but in solo practice are expected to provide their own coverage. An insurance firm underwriting PLI would have a difficult task assessing risks specific to an individual leader. What kinds of issues would be flagged as reasons for denying PLI coverage to a corporate leader? At what level of an organization would PLI be needed—or desirable?

Efforts to make leadership a profession fail to recognize that leadership is a function of basic social interaction, likely predating human ability to communicate in words. Leadership emerges in any social system, and with 7 billion people, that means there are countless leaders in countless social settings. Assuming professionalization, what would the boundaries of leadership be; what would be outside the purview of "professional" leaders? It is difficult to imagine how such boundaries would be drawn, much less enforced.

I interpret calls for the *professionization* of leadership (e.g., Elmholdt et al. 2016) as a call for "better" *leadership behaviors*. Frustration seeking better preparation of leaders and greater accountability does not seem viable given how professions operate. Instead of attempting to structure leadership into a profession—a task that, considering the above, faces long odds, at best—I suggest we consider a more modest proposal: *behavioral professionalism*.

Behavioral Professionalism: An Alternative to Professionalization of Leadership

Based upon Maister's (1997) *True professionalism*, behavioral professionalism works from the assumption that "professional" is not a title one self-administers, but an adjective that others attribute to you. Maister distinguishes between two groups: ***technicians*** who are technically competent, and ***professionals*** [sic] who are also competent and also demonstrate that they ***care*** about their people and their clients. Central to behavioral professionalism is the idea that holding ***oneself*** accountable for behavior and decisions is the foundation of ***peer*** accountability.

Maister's (2003) empirical research on characteristics of highly effective professional services firms validated his earlier (Maister 1997) conceptual framework for "true professionalism." In this section, the main components of behavioral professionalism are linked to the extant academic and practitioner literature on leadership, organizational culture, and ethics. As described herein, behavioral professionalism can be practiced by individuals whether or not they are in a position of formal leadership (see Lowney 2017); an organization's culture characterized by behavioral professionalism can have profound implications for both organizational effectiveness and efficiency. Thus, behavioral professionalism is operationalized (initially) at the individual level, and differs from the *organizational professionalism* described by Reed and Anthony (1992). If and when behavioral professionalism becomes normative within an organization, the result would be an organizational culture in which leaders behave in an ethical and caring manner. Such a culture would likely result in a commitment to maintaining those norms as new managers join (or are promoted from within) the organization.

1. Behavioral Professionalism Means Demonstrating Caring

As a starting point, Maister (1997) distinguishes not between professional and non-professional as a matter of one's title, occupation, or qualifications. Instead, professionals are defined by their behavior, specifically behaviors that demonstrate that they care about their clients/customers, their people, and their firm, and consistently place that concern for others' interests ahead of their own. As Maister (1997, p. 16, emphasis in original) puts it, a "true professional" *care* is—and "…the opposite of the word *professional* is not *unprofessional*, but rather, *technician*." A technician is technically competent in that they can perform the tasks, but behavioral professionalism means competence with additional understanding of, and commitment to, substantive improvements. In a way, this might be considered reflective of the distinction we often draw in organizational behavior between leadership and management.

Based on this framing of behavioral professionalism, every individual in the workplace has the potential to exhibit behavioral professionalism, vis-à-vis how one completes their work—rather than a term proclaimed for oneself or believe is entitled to as a result of degrees, certification, or licensure.

2. Behavioral Professional Is Founded on a Commitment to Excellence

A second hallmark of behavioral professionalism is a passionate commitment to excellence. Maister (1997) describes professionalism as including a contagious enthusiasm for excellence among one's colleagues. Maister (1997, 2003) argues that professionalism is symbiotic with, and reinforcing of, personal enjoyment drawn from one's work. This tenet of behavioral professionalism is consistent with Burns' (1978) notion of transformational (rather than transactional) leadership and with social exchange theory (Blau 1964).

3. Behavioral Professionalism as Adherence to Values

A third tenet of behavioral professionalism is an unwavering adherence to an explicit set of values (Maister 1997). In positions of formal authority, adhering to a firm's values means a behavioral commitment to a firm's agreed-upon strategy (Argyris and Schön 1974; Pfeffer and Sutton 1999). Values are not espoused, but enacted. Coupled with this commitment to putting values into concrete action is an intolerance of violation of those values. Leaders who encounter colleagues compromising those values respond with support, coaching, and development (see Maister 1997, 2003).

4. Behavioral Professionalism as a Commitment to Learning

A fourth tenet of behavioral professionalism follows from the first three. A commitment to excellence manifests itself into a continuing commitment to learning, development, and improvement regarding (1) clients'/customers' needs and their business, (2) one's own new skills and knowledge (3) actively working to learn what to do differently when expectations of excellence are not upheld (Argyris 1990; Maister et al. 2001). Behavioral professionalism, then, involves a posture of humility and mindset of curiosity (Greenleaf 1977), a bias for inquiry in advance of advocacy (Argyris 1990).

5. Behavioral Professionalism as Accountability

Accountability protects and advances the previous four tenets. Members of a licensed profession rely upon peer review (either routinely or in response to adverse outcomes) and fiercely defending professional/occupational autonomy (and jurisdiction). With behavioral professionalism, accountability means individuals ceding some autonomy in the service of upholding espoused values and agreeing to be influenced and/or managed by one's peers (Maister 1997). Here, accountability is less a matter of compliance and more a social function which enforces agreed-upon norms and expectations (Schein 1990). Maister (2003) provides empirical evidence that [behavioral] professionalism can be made normative within organizations, resulting in greater effectiveness.

6. Behavioral Professionalism Is Determined by Others

Unifying the preceding five tenets of behavioral professionalism is the idea that behavioral professional is assessed and recognized by others about one's motives, lending credence to the (variously attributed) saying, "They don't care how much you know until they know how much you care." Behavioral professionalism is about demonstrating one's motives—the extent to which one subordinates their own gratification or reward to the needs of the client, group, or firm instead of their own (Greenleaf 1977). Behavioral professionalism is how we might hope and aspire to be perceived.

Accountability is also a social function, as Burns (1978) observed. Leaders exhibit behavioral professionalism when they regularly employ two complementary forms of coaching (Maister 1997) with their firm, colleagues, and direct reports: (1) support and (2) demand. It is critical to maintain both—one without the other is far less effective.

7. Behavioral Professional Is Hard, Not Soft

While behavioral professionalism as described here might be perceived as "soft," it is arguably "hard" because it takes a long-term view of the firm's value and calls for sacrificing short-term gain for more sustainable long-term gains. Many corporations, despite implementing "balanced scorecards" and "triple bottom lines," find it difficult to insulate themselves from short-term goals and maintain focus on the pursuit of longer-term success.

8. Behavioral Professionalism and Organizational Culture

A large literature has consistently found a direct relationship between organizations with humanistic culture and high levels of organizational effectiveness (see Pfeffer 1995). Based on this literature, making behavioral professionalism normative while creating an organization where individuals—no matter their level or position—find it normative to be treated as professionals would likely create a formidable organization capable of both long-term and short-term effectiveness and efficiency (see Adizes 1988).

How might such a change come about? Behavioral professionalism is underpinned by deontological or rights-based ethics, and rejects consequentialism (utilitarian) ethics (Bentham 1789) and egoism. Arguably, most disappointing leadership behavior throughout history has been due to leaders' egoism or utilitarian ethics in which the rights of other stakeholders were not affirmed; further development is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it is clear that behavioral professionalism by leaders will require deeper understanding and more consistent affirmation of their moral responsibilities.

Conclusion

The thrust of this chapter is that asking "Should leadership become a profession?" is the wrong question, not only because it is moot, but such framing places responsibility for leadership conduct outside the individual. Instead, we should be asking: Why don't leaders exhibit greater professionalism?

Notes

1. For consistency, throughout this chapter I use "client" or "clients" to refer to the recipient of professional services; when referring to medical professions, "client" is a proxy for "patients."

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10

Professionalizing Political Leaders: Is This the Cure? Lessons from Political Theory

Hans Petter Saxi

Introduction

In this chapter, I will argue against professionalizing political leadership through education. Guided by historical experience and political philosophers, I claim that political leaders should not be an educated elite because this will threaten innovation and democracy.

To be a political leader you do not need to have any education, despite the fact that politicians have to handle cases of high complexity both from a technical and ethical point of view. Today, we also face growing skepticism and cynicism of politicians in the general population. These legitimization problems have many sources, such as political corruption, lack of efficiency in the public sector, manipulation of opinion by political leaders etc. Can professionalizing politicians through education provide a cure to these political illnesses? Should we train and select political leaders at universities in order to ensure that the best brains are connected to power, or should we rely on political amateurs, as is now the case?

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In this chapter, I will present two examples of professional political leadership. The first is *Republic* in which Plato presents his vision of the ideal state, where statesmen make up a meritocracy led by philosophers who have studied dialectics. The second is Vladimir Lenin's attempt to educate political cadres for the elite party in USSR. They were educated in historical materialism, which guided them in the forming of socialism. It has not been possible to find examples of professionalized political leadership in the contemporary Western world. France could have been an example in that the majority of the presidents, prime ministers and other elite politicians are alumni from two elite universities (Kuper 2013). However, this is not formally a professional system, despite the domination of students from these universities since the Second World War.

The departure point in this chapter, then, is two historical suggestions for professionalizing political leadership. I will briefly reconstruct the debates connected to them and their practical outcomes. I would also like to present some lessons from political philosophy, which I think illustrate some of the dangers of professionalizing political leadership.

The Debate on Professionalizing Leadership

After the Enron scandal in the US in 2001, there was a breakdown in trust and self-policing in business. To solve these legitimation problems, Khurana and Nohria (2008) suggest that management should be made into a true profession with more focus on business studies programs being given to responsible conduct and trustworthy leadership. They find that the true professions of law and medicine do act responsibly, which they regard as a result of the code of ethics on these studies. There does not exist, however, any agreement on this matter. Richard Barker, for example, responded very negatively to this suggestion by stating that "management is not a profession at all and can never be one" (2010, p. 3).

I agree with Barker, but concerning political leadership, I would like to add the normative claim that it *should* not be a profession. I will also take up another perspective than he to support my statement. I find it highly problematic that a professional body can have the power to recruit and dismiss leaders. This contradicts pluralistic views about democracy. Political leaders are different from leaders in general because they are elected by ordinary people to leading positions as members of parliament (MPs), as ministers of governments, as presidents etc. On the one hand, they are to represent the interests and values of the people who have elected them. On the other hand, they are to be leaders who decide the direction in which society is going.

Problems of legitimacy are not solely a characteristic for business management. Political leaders also have to face decreasing election turnouts, lower memberships of political parties in democratic states, as well as politicians' lack of legitimacy. In the old democracies of Europe and America, we nowadays face challenges from populist movements which fiercely oppose "the establishment". In the new democracies emerging after the collapse of the Soviet Union, new types of "hybrid regimes" develop, appearing to be democratic, but in reality manipulating to keep the rulers in power. In other countries we see a wave of anti-democratic movements getting into power.

How is this to be prevented? Political scientists have come up with many suggestions for healing the contemporary problems in our democratic societies. One of them is "epistocracy", government by the knowledgeable, which is supported by Jason Brennan in his book *Against Democracy* (2016). However, this is not about professional political leadership, but about changes in the electorate. Brennan argues that most voters are ignorant, irrational, and misinformed; here he discusses, for example, John Stuart Mill's (1859/1998) suggestion of giving extra votes to citizens with university degrees. Another contemporary example is the workshop in The European Consortium of Political Research in 2016 with the title: "Was Plato Right? Should the Experts Rule?" Articles and books have also been regularly published debating this question (Holst and Molander 2017; Mercier 2011). These contributions are, however, mostly concerned with the relationships between politics and administration, not about professionalizing political leaders.

The Philosopher King

The debate on making leadership a profession is by no means new. In fact, it started at least 2400 years ago, when Plato published his famous work *Republic* in about 375 BC (Lee 1975). Here, he presents an ideal state, ruled by the best philosophers who have passed a systematic and long-lasting education. Until the age of eighteen, these pupils had learned to read and write. They had read literature and practiced gymnastics. Until about thirty, they underwent physical and military training as well as mathematics. Thereafter the brightest students were given the highest level of education, the dialectics, which today we call philosophy. This was supposed to be a strict meritocracy, in which women could also be philosophers and leaders. Plato claimed that philosophers could find the absolute truth in a transcendental world, a world not visible for ordinary people without philosophical education. After studies in dialectics, the best students then had to practice as trainees until the age of fifty, before they could be selected as leaders of the republic.

Plato thought that education was of paramount importance. The students were not only supposed to learn science, but also to be good citizens in the moral sense. Plato claimed that virtue is based on knowledge and that "no one acts unjustly against his will" (Plato 1972, p. 369). The study of leadership should not only teach the students the differences between what is the truth and what is not the truth, but also the difference between right and wrong.

Plato's aim was to professionalize political leadership through education, implying that university professors could control access to the status of being statesmen because they controlled the examinations and the certification. Furthermore, Plato believed that leadership and politics were exact sciences (Saunders 1972, p. 33). The method of dialectic could be used both on society and on nature, and he did not make any distinction between the social and natural sciences.

Phronesis as Intelligent Leadership

Aristotle was a student and a colleague of Plato at the Academy for twenty years. He managed to develop his own ontology, epistemology and ethics, very different from his teacher. Aristotle did not believe that ideas existed in a transcendent word with their own existence. Instead of dualism between ideas and their material expression, Aristotle placed ideas in the concrete existing phenomena in the world. Inside living phenomena he saw the potential for their development and realization. Aristotle paid attention to living creatures through empirical studies of nature and society.

Regarding leadership, he claimed that good leaders practice prudence or *phronesis*. Aristotle claimed that it was impossible to learn the most important skills for a political leader at school. Leadership was an art, and could not be taught. You have to learn *phronesis* through practical experience because it is not an exact science. To understand *phronesis* he recommended concrete studies of what good leaders actually do: "To grasp what intelligence (*phronesis*) is, we should first study the sort of people we call intelligent" (Aristotle 1985, p. 153).

Phronesis is used as a contrast to theoretical wisdom, *Sophia. Sophia* is about things that cannot be otherwise, like the laws of nature. The laws in society can be affected by our interpretations and also by political action, and thereby be changed. *Phronesis* "is a state grasping the truth, involving reason, concerned with action about what is good and bad for human being" (Aristotle 1985, p. 154). It involves good deliberation, "that reflects what is beneficial, about the right thing, in the right way and at the right time" (Aristotle 1985, p. 163). Further, *phronesis* is not limited to individual interests. To live well, a citizen has to consider the community as a whole because his welfare depends on it. The aim of *Sophia* is to find the truth, while the aim of *phronesis* is to act intelligently in a concrete situation. Theoretical knowledge is universal, invariable, and independent of context, whereas *phronesis* is based on the analysis of norms and interests with action being the aim.

Plato's Practical Impacts on Leadership

Plato's visions of a good society were never realized. The citizens of Athens selected their political leaders, not university professors. However, when it comes to education, as headmaster and teacher at the Academy, Plato may have had an impact on several political leaders. Because Athen was an intellectual center in the Mediterranean, Plato was also used as an adviser on several occasions. He travelled a lot, and in 388–387 BC, he visited Syracuse in Sicily, invited by the brother-in-law of the tyrant

Dionysius I. He made an attempt to change the tyrant into a philosopher, but he failed when Dionysius I felt offended by Plato. Plato was nearly sold as a slave, but managed to return to Athens with the help of friends (Lee 1975, p. 19). When Dionysius I died, his son Dionysius the younger came to power, and Plato was again invited to teach the tyrant. He returned to Sicily to teach the new king, but this attempt also failed.

After his failure, Plato gave up the idea of changing political leaders in power into philosopher kings. Instead, he founded the Academy as a school for coming statesmen. Teaching children and youngsters seemed a better starting point in order to enable change. Plato's Academy did have significance in teaching elite groups for more than 300 years, gaining a considerable reputation for expertise in political and constitutional matters.

It is not completely clear if Plato thought that his ideas in *Republic* should be implemented. This topic has also been debated amongst experts on Plato (Lee 1975, p. 21; Saunders 1972, p. 28). However, I base my critique of Plato on Karl Popper's interpretation in his masterpiece *The open society and its enemies* (2002). Popper claimed that Plato saw the principles in *Republic* as ideas that should have practical application. Whatever the case may be, I think that theoretical principles do have an impact, and especially so when you are a teacher, as Plato was. Did he ever educate a coming philosopher king? The answer here would seem to be no. The quality of philosophers from the Academy seems far removed from the ideals put forward in *Republic*. At least nine of Plato's pupils ended up as tyrants with Karl Popper claiming that:

> The Academy was notorious for breeding tyrants. Among Plato's pupils were Charion, later the tyrant of Pellene; Eurastus and Choriscus, the tyrants of Skepsis … and Hermias, later tyrant of Atarneus and Assos. (Popper 2002, p. 672)

The Elite Cadres

In 1902 Vladimir Lenin published the pamphlet *What is to be done?* in which he argued for a political party consisting of professional revolutionaries dedicated to the leadership of the proletarian revolution. He claimed that studying Marx and Engels was a prerequisite for developing "scientific knowledge" about society and politics. Just like Plato, Lenin thought that he had found the absolute truth based on the method of dialectics. Lenin also claimed that the working class was not able to develop such scientific knowledge by themselves.

Lenin's pamphlet was a central topic at the Russian social democratic party meeting in London in 1903. Yulius Martov argued against Lenin's revolutionary professionalism. He wanted a large and open social democratic party. The debate ended up in a vote, which Lenin lost. He was, however, unwilling to accept the result and formed a faction called the Bolsheviks (Sakwa 1999, p. 8). Since then, the question of the elite party has been a crucial characteristic of the Marxist–Leninist party in Russia, and later on in other such parties around the world.

After the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks proposed to build a new society and a new kind of human being. Education was placed at the center of this transformation. The Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros) took charge of developing the education system based on "Soviet values". "However, what exactly constituted these 'Soviet' values was hotly contested during the 1920s" (Weiner 2006, p. 72). The leaders claimed to have "scientific knowledge" based on the theories of Marx and Engels, and the nature of "science" became central grounds for dispute. Two camps emerged: for one party, science was an open system pursuing knowledge of the world for its own sake, implying that the students should be trained in independent and critical thinking. For the other part, the radical Marxists, science was a source of "certain" knowledge, and the aim was to change the world. The dispute was won by these radicals, and the former group was criticized for being misguided, and also for being politically disloyal.

To become a member of the Communist Party, one had to be approved by several committees where the applicants were scrutinized closely. Some years after the establishment of communist regimes, a typical career for a communist leader was to become a member of the Young Pioneers as a child, a member of the Young Communist League at the age of 14, and a member of the Communist Party if they had demonstrated the necessary sustained party discipline. The cadres had to study the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and were also required to carry out "social tasks". Over time there were variations regarding how open the communist parties were to admitting new members. The party membership grew rapidly between 1929 and 1933 as part of the New Economic Politics. However, Stalin feared that "social-alien elements" could penetrate the party ranks. After the Moscow processes during the period 1936–38 in which 700.000 cadres of the communist party and ordinary peoples were executed, and an equal number were sent to camps in rural areas, party membership was drastically lowered (Getty 2002).

The Practical Outcomes of Leninism

The cadres educated in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union can hardly play the part of an ideal for political leadership. Despite the fact that Stalin managed to hit back after Hitler's attack on Russia in the Second World War and rebuilt the Soviet Union after the war, his brutality was irrational and unbelievable. The victory in the Second World War came despite him ordering the merciless killing of 90 percent of the generals and 50 percent of the other officers in the Red Army before the war. Experts estimate that Stalin was responsible for the death of millions of Soviet citizens (Werth 2002). During the decades after Stalin's death, the Soviet Union became a "gerio-cracy". The rule was that the leaders held power until they passed away. The Soviet Union did have some advantages related to the Western world in the 1950s and 1960s, when it managed to develop its economy through fiveyear plans, and move ahead of the US in the space race. However, productivity then decreased, and society and culture stagnated. It was transformed from a society led by dedicated revolutionaries who gladly gave their lives to socialism, to a geriocracy led by old bureaucrats. Mikhail Gorbachev was an exception, when he took over leadership in 1985, at fifty-four years of age. He also played a significant role in the transformation and break up of the Soviet regime.

Professionalizing Political Leadership Threatens Innovation

Khurana and Nohria (2008) claims that professionalizing leadership need not stifle innovation. They use the field of medicine as an example, where rapid discovery and creative progress accelerated in the wake of professionalization. I agree with them regarding the developments in medicine, which have been highly innovative and successful. However, the science of leadership is not, and will not become a science such as medicine. This has to do with the differences between the natural and the social sciences.

One crucial characteristic of a real profession is that it is based on a scientific paradigm. This implies that the professionals agree on what the crucial scientific questions are, what theories can explain the findings, and also that there exists a strict methodology. Medicine is a good example of this. It is based on multiple disciplines such as chemistry, biology, physics and so on, but these disciplines do basically agree upon how to build evidence-based science. This then facilitates developments on to how to make a diagnosis and how to treat the illness in question.

Natural science is paradigmatic, which implies that there is consensus concerning basic ideas, values, and methods in the scientific community (Kuhn 1970). The situation for the social sciences differs greatly in this respect. The social sciences are multi-paradigmatic. There is no agreement regarding the central questions, theory, methodology, and design. Unlike developments in the natural sciences, knowledge in the social sciences does not accumulate. This has crucial impacts for leadership. At best, theories about leadership can come up with rules of thumb.

Henry Mintzberg has studied what leaders in business companies actually do, and has compared his findings with recommendations in the literature of leadership. He then discusses "folklore and facts" concerning managerial work, and concludes that it is folklore that management is a science:

> Brief observations of any manager will quickly lay to rest the notion that managers practice a science. A science involves the enaction of systematic, analytically determined procedures or programs. If we do not even know what procedures managers use, how can we prescribe them by scientific analysis? And how can we call management a profession if we cannot specify what managers are to learn? (Mintzberg 1989, p. 14)

The other argument against professionalized leaders in relation to innovation is the problem of groupthink, where members of a group avoid raising controversial issues and where there is loss of individual creativity and independent thinking (Janis 1982). The "ingroup" overrates its ability to handle problems, with severe failures as a consequence. Another common consequence is that the "outgroup" is dehumanized. Janis used the failed invasion of Cuba in 1961 as his prime case, but the Stalinist era in the Soviet Union would also have been a good case. Plato's description of the philosopher kings, living isolated from ordinary people, with the belief of having reached the truth, would have been another case—if it had been realized. To let a group with common and long-lasting education lead the society would almost certainly have resulted in stifling innovation. However, this would not have been a problem for Plato, in that he wanted to construct a harmonious society without change. He perceived change in societies as decay, facilitated by internal strife and material egoism (Popper 2002, p. 44). However, the stagnation of Lenin's elite party was highly problematic because the communists wanted radical changes—both of society and humans.

John Stuart Mill (1859/1998) claims that the freedom to think and act is a prerequisite for new ideas. To let original ideas be expressed publicly, even if they seem silly or absurd by the majority, will facilitate innovation. When such ideas are allowed to be expressed and discussed, they can correct wrong ideas among the majority. Even if these original ideas are completely wrong, they can help us to corroborate our ideas of the world. These liberal ideas concerning innovation are supported by the empirical evidence of Cass Sunstein (2009), who has studied decision making in federal judges, deliberating groups and presidential administrations. He found that such groups tend to go to extremes when they consist of like-minded people. Extremism and errors are then a result of group-isolation from people with ideas they do not like.

Professionalizing Political Leadership Threatens Democracy

Both Plato and Lenin had many reasons to criticize the societies in which they lived. Plato had experienced that his friend and teacher Socrates had been sentenced to death by a jury of elected citizens. Lenin experienced that his brother was hanged because he took part in a plan to assassinate the Tsar. However, the cure they prescribed proved to be worse than the illnesses. Plato's alternative to democracy described in *Republic* is in reality an autocratic police state, where hardly any freedom exists for the people. The government of the philosopher king implies that an educated elite dictate, and the rest obey. For a democrat, this is a dystopia, where the rulers are solely the ones who know and command. For Plato the rulers can use any measure necessary to secure the interests of the state. He proposed, for example, separating parents from their children and deporting all citizens above the age of ten from the city. When this had been done, the philosophers, who were of course not to be deported, monopolized the socialization and upbringing of children.

Plato seems to accept any means necessary to secure the realization of his vision of the good society, for example, falsehood, myths and propaganda:

> It will be for the rulers of the city, then, if anyone, to use falsehood in dealing with a citizen or enemy of the good of the state; no one else must do so. (Plato 1975, p. 144)

Plato established a barrier between the rulers and the ruled. Only the ruler could communicate with the divine world, and he or she could not be criticized by ordinary men in the republic.

In contrast to Plato, who did not experience his ideal society in reality, Lenin and his comrades in the Bolshevik party were able to realize their ideas of the good society when they seized power in 1917. They did not receive much of a recipe from Karl Marx, who did not describe a hypothetical utopia. Another considerable limitation was that Russian society was one of the poorest and most backward societies in Europe when Lenin came to power.

At first, the Bolshevik party acted as an educated elite basing their decisions upon deliberation of how they ought to develop Russian society. The cadres were educated intellectuals and strong leaders. All of them, with the exception of Stalin, spoke several languages, and the debates on philosophical principles and practical problems inside the party were fairly open. When Lenin died and Stalin came into power, the openness of the party was shut down. In the late 1930s, when Stalin implemented his mass terror, the Communist Party changed into a dictatorship.

Not surprisingly, a close connection exists between elitism and autocracy. When it comes to professions such as lawyers and doctors, their monopoly is anchored in an exclusive knowledge of the law and natural science. They possess power as members of a profession, but this power is limited to their practice as professionals. With regard to political leaders, there are no limitations as to what a political topic is. Politics can be anything which comes up on the political agenda. To claim that political leaders are the experts of politics implies power without restrictions, that is, dictatorship.

Political Leaders Ought to Be Amateurs

There is no shortcoming of educated professionals in the public sector in democratic societies today. In administration and in public service we can find expertise of nearly every kind. At the apex of governments, political leaders can get all kinds of advice and help from big staffs of experts and spin-doctors. Therefore, we do not need a new profession of leaders. The elected politicians have another role to play. Firstly, they are to reflect the values and interests of the people. They are representatives who have to build and preserve their legitimacy by showing their followers that their interests are taken care of.

Secondly, the politicians are leaders, finding new solutions for the problems on the agenda, or constructing narratives which legitimize their practical decisions. Thirdly, the politicians have to bring "common sense" into the system in cases where the experts disagree, or where there are strong conflicting interests amongst groups of citizens. In such cases, the politicians try to find a solution by using *phronesis*. In some cases this takes the form of a compromise, most typically in economic questions. In other cases, where values and ideologies are in conflict, deliberation and voting have to be used to solve such problems.

If the distance between the elected elite and the ordinary people is wide, the momentum for populism will increase. Experts are by no means neutral. An economist, an engineer and a biologist will, for example, view a phenomenon such as a water power plant differently. A long-lasting education will not only give students facts, they will also learn perspectives which in turn will affect which types of topics, questions, interpretations, and solutions they focus on. Through taking these educational programs, they become different from ordinary people and from one another, both with regard to values and interests. France is an interesting example in case, where the majority of presidents and prime ministers after the Second World War are former students from two elite schools (Kuper 2013). The growth of Front Nacional claiming to represent ordinary people, with the other parties in turn representing the elite, can be interpreted as a voter response to this situation.

Democratic leadership also implies that there is peaceful turnover amongst leaders. Both in Plato's theoretical republic and in practice in the Soviet Union, there was no time limit on leadership. Both the philosopher king and the elite cadres stayed in power until they passed away. In the Athenian democracy the time limit for elected members of the council of 500 was one year, and in contemporary presidential democracies, periods are normally limited to two. Even in parliamentarian systems, where there do not exist formal limitations of time for the prime minister's power, regular elections do result in turnover. This implies that a lot of people learn to know the system from the inside. The democracy is then well equipped with political leaders possessing experience, which in turn increases the stability of the system.

Conclusions

My examples illustrate that professionalizing political leadership is highly problematic. Firstly, I claim that the effects of professionalizing political leadership will constitute a threat for innovation. The notion of an elite which alone knows how to handle political questions is incorrect. Political leadership is not based on science such as, for example, medicine. The consequence of Plato's and Lenin's ideas of political organization will be groupthink, where new and original ideas will have only small chances to survive. Further, individuals and "outgroups" will also run the risk of being dehumanized, as exemplified by the Stalin epoch.

Secondly, I claim that turning political leadership into a profession is a threat to democracy. Despite many shortcomings, the idea of democracy is supported by the majority of the population in nearly all the countries of the world (Stoker 2006, p. 28). It is a crucial characteristic of democracy that the citizens are able to select and eventually dismiss their political leaders. Free and fair elections are a core characteristic of democracy. This implies that it is not necessarily the wisest persons who attain power, but those who actually manage to gain support. This indicates that political leadership is for amateurs, despite the fact that society is becoming more complex and is affected by a great multitude of factors.

Finally I question the whole debate about how to pick the best political leaders. With Popper, we should instead ask: "*How can we so organize political institutions that bad or incompetent rulers can be prevented from doing too much damage?*" (2002, p. 132).

I think this advice also has significance for leadership in general. In a business company for example, the chief executive officer (CEO) has to be effectively controlled and balanced by the board. If being CEO becomes a profession, the CEO will gain more power in relation to the stakeholders and the board.

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Part III

In Between For and Against Leadership as a Profession

11

The Future of Management: Global Trends and Possible Scenarios of Development of Managerial Profession

Alexandra Moskovskaya

The professionalization of management took place from the second half of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century (Khurana 2007). However, over the course of the 150 years of professional formation management has never become completely professional as it cannot secure a "market closure" from amateurs and the most successful and well-known business executives usually do not have MBA degrees. There is a contradiction between the professionalization based on the model of learned professions and the real practice of management that relies on the interests of business and the decision-making under conditions of uncertainty. This contradiction restrains the advancement of management as a profession and requires new ways of forming management knowledge. Otherwise management may face deskilling. Attempts to overcome this contradiction and risk assume different scenarios of development of management in which it plays various roles: the role of a super-profession, a super-authority or an enterprising management service.

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At the core of the professionalization of management, which covers the transformation of management into specialized professional activity with its standards of practice, professional education and formation of scientific knowledge, were objective processes. Professional management developed as a result of the growth in the social division of labor and the separation of ownership from management, noted by Karl Marx. In the twentieth century this led to the creation of large hierarchical business organizations with a high share of corporate bureaucracy, which allowed discussion of "managerial capitalism" replacing the "invisible hand" of the market with the "visible hand" of the manager (Chandler 1977).

The other significant factor that fuels the professionalization of management was public enthusiasm for the development of social sciences with its confidence in the possibility of "scientific organization of labor" in the early twentieth century (Taylor 2011; Khurana 2007). Against this background, the demand for professional managers from large corporations and the development of management as an academic discipline led to the emergence of business schools at universities.

Although US business schools are still esteemed as best practices of professional education in the field of management and entrepreneurship, even thirty years ago, some experts have signaled serious flaws in the professionalization of management.

They are related to the separation of management education and all attributes of its "professionalization" from the practice of companies and managerial efficiency. In this regard management as a specialized activity that can be mastered at the university is increasingly declared questionable and even illusive (see e.g. Livingston 1971; Mintzberg 2004). Which factors contribute to the degradation of professional management, and which ones are paving the way for its new professional future, are considered next.

Imperfection of Professional Management or Management as a Semi-profession[1]

Some of the arguments against the acquisition by the management of independent professional status are now widely recognized thanks to the discussions of the last fifteen years. Scandals around well-known US companies in the mid-2000s, followed by the global financial crisis, have revealed to the public what was previously known only to some experts. "Professional management" as such is neither a source of companies' economic efficiency nor a mechanism of the satisfaction of clients' interests. To a lesser degree it meets society's interests. A wave of public frustration in large corporations around the world gave rise to anti-capitalist criticism and the social movement, Occupy Wall Street.

Management as a professional project turned out to be a tool of senseless production of goods and the growth of fictitious capital. As a result, society received in kind of professional managers the new "hollow people" heading for nowhere (Waddock 2004). The system of management education modeled on other learned professions unwittingly led to the creation of a layer of managers, very far from the practice of organizations, but operating with mathematical models that confer academic character to business analytics. It is with this professional layer that the substitution of goals for satisfying clients' interests by the orientation toward capitalization as the main criterion of the company's effectiveness is associated (Khurana 2007). As a result, the exclamations "we need managers, not MBAs" are getting louder (Mintzberg 2004).

The lack of a direct link between a business-school diploma and management effectiveness is sometimes attributed to the erroneous conception of management education (Mintzberg 2004; Bennis and O'Toole 2005). An attempt to improve the model applied by leading business schools in recent years through demanding that 90–100 percent of professors have successful experience of entrepreneurial activity in real companies is stimulating the empirical orientation of one side of the education process—the professors. Most students (with the exception of those in further professional education) do not have management practices and knowledge of the real life of companies. Moreover, improving the quality of education in business schools has led to an unexpected result: many graduates refuse to pursue entrepreneurial careers, having faced real practical cases in the learning process (Graevenitz et al. 2010).[2]

However, this is only the visible side of the problems in the implementation of professional management. In the last 30 years, there have been other changes in management. The appearance of the computer has led to a significant distance between a manager and the object of management. This can lead to increased ignorance of managers, to a partial depersonalization of the relationship between employees and managers and to predominance of control functions compared to cooperation (Orr 2006; Zuboff 1988; Paton 2012). According to Orr, managers usually do not understand how technologies are used in the workplace. Therefore, their reasoning about the future of work is not based on what workers actually do with the help of technologies, but on general rhetoric that reveals the lack of knowledge of the specifics of the work of subordinates (Orr 2006).

The remoteness of managers from the real working processes has another unpleasant consequence: the manager tends to identify work instructions and formal requirements for qualifications with actually performed functions and competences. In many cases, the work of specialists is "highly skilled improvisation", which "cannot be easily codified" (Orr 1998, pp. 439, 440). In this case, managers not only poorly visualize it but also underestimate the qualifications of employees (Brown and Duguid 1991; Orr 1998). As a result, formalism becomes an integral feature of the management of large organizations, which ultimately reduces the labor performance and innovation potential of these organizations. Further movement along this path can lead to a large-scale replacement of workers with computer technologies, but this will reduce the need not only for specialists but also for managers. In addition, non-codified creative elements will still remain in production. The question is who will perform them, specialists or managers?

Specialization exclusively in management functions is partly the result of the deepening division of labor. On the one hand, harmonization, adjustment, the transfer of decisions and control over the compliance of work with corporate goals and norms are increasingly necessary due to the deepening specialization of employees and, as a consequence, to the growing need for integration, for which managers are actually responsible. On the other hand, the manager is no longer required to be a better practitioner than those he/she manages (Drucker 2001). However, this is not acceptable in all spheres of activity. In professional organizations, i.e. those with a high share of intellectual services in the operational core, a leader who is not the best in the profession not only loses credibility, but becomes unable to make competent decisions – so both he and those managed by him become deskilled. This concerns vital spheres of activity such as health care, education and science. As a result, the decision-making system that enhances the power of managers does not correspond to the conditions and aims of the production of services that require participation in the decision-making of highly qualified specialists. As noted already in the 1960s, the main disadvantage of hierarchical business organizations in the development of professionalism was not so much that they limit professional autonomy, but rather that they weaken the "service ideal" (Wilensky 1964). In other words, they reduce it to the instrumental framework of market efficiency, breaking its relationship to public interests and expectations.

The way to mitigate these risks is to appoint best practitioners to top positions as well as involving practitioners in management activities (Kipping 2011; Dent and Whitehead 2002). However, the existence of activities where the best manager is a practitioner limits the scope of "professional management". If, according to forecasts, the share of intellectual labor increases with time, the demand for "professional managers" will decrease, or "managerialism" as a redundant power of managers will strangle the "service ideal".

The professionalization of management has also problems with the identification of its sphere of knowledge. If management is what remains on the sediment after the separation of workers' labor, its adherence to instructions and abstract prescriptions is logical enough, although essentially it is harmful. This indicates the lack of a specific body of managerial knowledge. Theories of organizations cannot be of great help here, because they are too general, and at the same time they rely on too different theoretical conceptions. Difficulties in developing a general theory of management could be explained by the lack of a single basis for managers' work and by the absence of a serious common cause. In addition to other shortcomings, this is not the most creative and intellectual part of management, which can be divided among employees of medium qualification, and in the future transferred to computer technology.

According to some forecasts, computer automation could affect more than a third of workers in the coming decades (Frey and Osborne

2016). Production, office and administrative support, management, and business and financial services are considered at-risk sectors. The more repetitive routine operations and the more certainty that is reflected in the evaluation of the result, the more likely it is that the computer will win the competition with man (Bakhshi et al. 2015). Obviously, management will be divided by these trends. If some of its types (e.g. administrative subdivisions of large organizations and routinized private services) are referred to as the "liquidation" group, others (such as strategic units of large organizations and non-codified business consulting areas), on the contrary, can be preserved and strengthened insofar as they strive for intellectualization and customization of services.

The lack of a common cause is compensated for in the development of professional management in two ways: (1) splitting into sub-disciplines inside and outside management – from project management and logistics to managing clinical research data and leadership in nursing; (2) an orientation toward the accumulation of a private experience linked to concrete cases which is difficult to teach in the professional education system. As a result, either sub-disciplines begin to depend on the knowledge of other professions or the accumulation of private empirical managerial knowledge is referred to art rather than to a profession (Mintzberg 2004).

In the case of assimilation to art, knowledge is especially volatile: it cannot be mastered differently than on the basis of practice, the quality of which is difficult to verify in some cases. The result is often neither verifiable nor falsifiable, since it does not possess the scientific criteria of truth, is associated with the personal qualities of the knowledge holder, and does not represent formal tools for distinguishing qualitative work from imitation. For comparison: in market-driven versions of well-established professions, private services are still subject to professional control and maintain connection with science. So, consultations of a psychologist have underlying an evidence-based scientific knowledge and system of training, while management depends, first of all, on the conditions "here and now" i.e. on immediate tasks, market conditions, profits, and the interests of a specific customer.

Are there any grounds for overcoming these problems in the future and attaining a sustainable professional perspective by management?

Management on the Way to Super-Profession

Despite these problems, there are grounds to assume positive prospects for management.

A new era may be an era of management, but partly for reasons other than those of the twentieth century. The key factors here may be the deprofessionalization of other professions, including a crisis in the system of professional education, the evolution of control, and the spread of "professional business".

Deprofessionalization of Professions

Deprofessionalization of other professions can turn management from a semi-profession into a super-profession.

First, there is a rapid weakening of existing professions and the classical professional project as self-regulation of professionals at the national level. Practitioners lose control over their field of work, which is being replaced by an orientation toward supply and demand.

Secondly, increasing specialization, the changes in technologies and needs of customers lead to the multiplication of professional projects. "Professionalization of everything", first mentioned by Wilensky (1964), now becomes deprofessionalization since it devalues professional exclusivity and the special social significance of some professions. In addition, new occupations do not have the accumulated and proven knowledge base to inspire stable channels for its transfer, a system for checking professional conformity, and levels of skill development, but they are capable of imitating some of these signs for monopolizing the market. Imitations of professions lead to devaluation, not to the equalization of the position of different professions.

Thirdly, the acceleration of changes caused by the globalization of information and communication flows and markets undermines the institutions of professional control (such as professional education and professional standards) and leads to their accelerated obsolescence. Institutions that require the coordination of interests and complex decision-making procedures inevitably lag behind global changes. In professional education, this is supplemented by a time lag between the recognition of the need for new skills, the development of curricula, and the graduation of specialists.

Fourthly, the “stiffness” of professional institutions in their adaptation to changes is compensated for by the massive involvement of amateurs in the production of goods and services. Companies attract consumers to develop products, internet bloggers compete successfully with journalists for the dissemination of ideas; in a licensed and strictly regulated medical profession, a non-professional who replaces a doctor is the patient who regularly engages in self-medication, buys drugs at his/her own discretion and makes a self-diagnosis over the internet. Ironically, professional market closure has been jeopardized in conditions when, one would think, informatization should stand in the service of professions, making signals about deviations from professional requirements and promoting the dissemination of professional knowledge.

Fifthly, the use of government to legitimize support, which helped the professions strengthen social status and their service monopoly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, now more often contributes to the conservation of obsolete practices. On the one hand, the power of the state itself has been undermined by the globalization of political and economic life; on the other, state institutions and procedures are even less flexible than the structures of professional self-control, and have not kept pace with external changes.

Eventually, among the “three logics” in which people improve the production of goods and services – market, bureaucratic and professional (Freidson 2001), only the first has sufficient flexibility and speed of adaptation to match contemporary changes. It is based on the dynamics of supply and demand, hence the increasing dependence of professional activity on the labor market and the market of goods and services. But if practitioners are unable to protect their activities from professional erosion, management is the only discipline that could replace them in this role by mastering the function of integration, knowledge, and responsibility for the final result.

The Evolution of Control

Hopes that the increased demand for intellectual labor and the spread of electronic means of communication will lead to the democratization of governance have bitten the dust. If in the times of Marx, Taylor, and Ford, the knowledge of how to produce a product or a service in response to consumer demand was separated from the majority of workers and belonged to managers because of the division of work into simple operations that did not require qualification, under the new conditions the alienation of knowledge from workers touches highly qualified personnel. Regarding that, the "new Taylorism" is on the agenda (Paton 2012).

With increasing specialization, highly qualified specialists possess knowledge of increasingly narrow segments of the work whereas managers by their specialization are focused on the knowledge of an organization as a whole—that is, how the organization functions, how the product is produced and how it meets consumers' needs. They can also influence the introduction of desirable changes through the setting of goals, the formation of strategy and control over its implementation. In such conditions, setting tasks for practitioners is an indispensable function of managers for ensuring the coherence of processes and the integrity of the organization. The reverse side of this situation is the alienation of workers from the results of their work (Braverman 1974; Adelstein 2007; Paton 2012).

In order to prevent a decline in professional responsibility for the results that may be a consequence of this alienation, the management of organizations is forced to seek ways of "softer" coordination that would give room to elements of professional discretion necessary for intellectual work. An appeal to professionalism, mobilizing the ideology of professional commitment, manipulating status resources to motivate employees, and promoting the services of the organization as "professional services" will activate the professional self-control of employees, although all this takes place within the company and in its interests (Fournier 1999).

The development of information and communication technologies creates a contradictory situation in ensuring the coherence of processes in the organization. On the one hand, they equip management with powerful control resources, including the transparency of employees' private lives; on the other hand, they may enhance the capacity of employees to act together in their own interests. Good management seeks to lead the process by creating corporate electronic platforms for "knowledge development" (Murphy and Salomone 2013; Tiwana and Bush 2005).[3] If properly organized, these platforms serve simultaneously to enhance employee loyalty, mobilize professional resources to solve corporate tasks, to increase manageability and to get feedback from employees on a variety of issues, bypassing the established functional channels of interaction within the organization. If grassroots professional integration is emerging under these circumstances, this is a controlled integration, which is easy to use for disintegration based on the "divide and conquer" principle, whenever required (Burton-Jones 2014; Zuboff 1988; Moskovskaya 2016).

The demand for the design and maintenance of electronic communication platforms in the interests of companies is a new area of responsibility for management. This demand may be both the driving force and the holder of knowledge, which has a mobile and self-increasing character. The efficiency of such specialized social media is confirmed not only by the example of corporate electronic platforms, but also by platforms for the development of "open user innovations", in which non-professional consumers participate in the development of new products upon the initiative of company management (Mount and Martinez 2014; Füller et al. 2014). Respectively, the whole set of results does not belong to the participants; it is primarily managerial innovation and managerial knowledge.

Organizations are also changing their form. Spatial dispersal, divisional organizational structures, the vertical disintegration of firms, the project nature of work and temporary labor collectives, and the creation of global value chains pose new tasks for management, which cannot be solved by any other discipline. Regarding Beniger's famous expression about "control revolution" as applied to business organizations and management looks more like an evolution that awaits a new Taylor to create global scientific management (Beniger 1986).

Professional Business

The development of markets and services, together with the decline in the share of state enterprises in social services, means that an increasing proportion of intellectual work is fulfilled in flexible and mobile private enterprises for private clients. The concentration of professionals in such firms and their relatively small size gave birth to a new phenomenon—professional service firms (PSF), which refers to firms in which the operational core of the organization consists of highly qualified practitioners who control the conditions and results of the production of services (Kipping and Kirkpatrick 2013).

In the literature on professions, the emergence of the PSF has generated controversy and a justification for a new professional model—the so-called market-driven professionalism,—based on professional self-organization within a business enterprise and the high status of international professional associations, rather than on national self-regulation and state support, as in the "classical" model of professions. PSF can be created on the bases of both the new and old professions (Nordenflycht 2010; Muzio and Kirkpatrick 2011). Examples of the former are service firms in the areas of auditing, programming and business consulting; examples of the latter are private low-capital intensive health services, legal consulting companies, and project and architect offices (Nordenflycht 2010). It is easy to see that from the point of view of the sociology of professions, the main feature of such organizations is the merging of the "three logics" of Friedson (2001), which could be considered a quasi-professional project, however promising and curious. Given the fact that these firms provide empirical knowledge and customer satisfaction, they can hardly be seen as only a figure of speech (Kipping 2011). The problem, however, is with the "service ideal", using Wilensky's words, as service may not grow here to the level of society's tasks when it serves only to increase the added value of a client (Muzio et al. 2011).

For management, the PSF phenomenon reveals new perspectives.

Firstly, they serve to legitimize "professional management" for those who believe that formal independence from corporations and a connection with an influential professional association are mandatory criteria for creating a profession.

Secondly, they allow a balance of professional and managerial tasks of the personnel of firms (Kipping 2011; Dent and Whitehead 2002).

Thirdly, they change the nature of professional knowledge. At its core it is already not the learned body of knowledge, although it can play some role in formation of the professional group. But they complement it with the accumulation of experience in solving business problems imposed by market competition and market uncertainty and a strategic vision of possible company responses.

Fourthly, they also have an institution responsible for the publication and protection of professional standards in order to maintain the higher status of the professional groups. At the national level it is difficult for such an institution to gain a foothold without the support of major corporations and influential international organizations. Therefore the latter are those who substitute functions both of the state and of national professional associations regarding the "classical" professions. Entering the international level is necessary because the markets become global, even if the PSF does not have foreign customers (Muzio et al. 2011).

Fifthly, in the form of PSF, "professionals in management" participate in competing "collective mobility projects" in order to occupy key positions and get involved in the decision-making of large firms (Muzio and Kirkpatrick 2011; Suddaby and Viale 2011). PSF perform an institutional framework that occupies a certain organizational space, forming areas of professional practice and participating in the organizational design of other organizations (Muzio and Kirkpatrick 2011). This gives a chance but not a guarantee to form a managerial professional community. The question for what purpose this is done remains open. If this happens in the interests of improving the practice, this brings PSF closer to a professional project, whereas if the only purpose is to occupy a market segment, it brings PSF away from the professional perspective.

How Do These Processes Affect the Overall Management Perspective?

The future of management can be represented in the form of several radical scenarios that reflect described limitations and possibilities in different roles (Table 11.1): (1) as a super-profession, which alone retains a special position over others, thanks to a combination of properties to bind various processes dealt by (narrowly) focused professionals, who are not responsible for the whole and the result. This perspective generally corresponds to the special mission of management described by

Table 11.1 The main characteristics of the scenarios for the development of management in accordance with its three different roles

	Main characteristics of management			
The roles of management	Professional education	Possession of knowledge	Acceptance of responsibility	Professional status
Super-profession	The universalization of education in the direction of acquired versatile skills; the development of the ability to learn and adapt knowledge to conditions in different industries and to different control objects; the combination of wide basic knowledge in different disciplines with a focus on the management of specific industries.	Holistic knowledge about the control object and conditions of its embedding into the environment; understanding the specific problems which are solved by the staff of the control object; the cooperation of managers and the managed in the process of creating new knowledge.	Responsibility for collective results belongs to managers; the results are subjected to their professional assessment	Raising the professional status of management in comparison with other professions
Super-authority	Formalizing management techniques; the final detachment of the management discipline from the managed objects; the expansion of digital mediation in the management of various objects.	Possession of access to diverse knowledge and the inability to learn and to understand it; the view of the object is reduced to the set of its formal characteristics, which can be arbitrarily combined or split; the identification of management either with control or with the formalized procedures that provide it; the digitalization of control.	Responsibility for collective results belongs to managers but the results as a whole rarely receive professional assessment; assessment often is political or disciplinary in nature.	Sustaining professional rhetoric in the absence of professional content; the deprofessionalization of management in connection with the loss of understanding of the object and the lack of critical (professional) evaluation of their actions.

(*continued*)

Table 11.1 (continued)

	Main characteristics of management			
The roles of management	Professional education	Possession of knowledge	Acceptance of responsibility	Professional status
Enterprising management service	Splitting management into small sub-disciplines; the convergence of management and entrepreneurship.	Knowledge is distributed among different management experts; the integration of different aspects of knowledge depends on the entrepreneurial efforts of the company-customer and the company-contractor.	Responsibility is distributed and depends on the balance of power and knowledge in the relationship between the company-customer and the contractor.	Further professionalization of management sub-disciplines; the convergence of the status of management with other types of intellectual services; the association of management and professional entrepreneurship.

Drucker (2001), which has become an independent and extremely important occupation. In this way the manager becomes a professional thanks to a mastery of knowledge; (2) as a super-authority with the ability to disintegrate into parts, the intellectual labor that is increasingly limited by narrow specialization, with the possibility of an arbitrary recombination of its resources and results in the interests of power, and not knowledge. In this role, management has power, while knowledge becomes disintegrated and therefore nobody's, or in the worst case, owned by random actors, a dangerous perspective; (3) as enterprising management service, acting as a consulting office for companies and complex projects involving the state, business and NPOs, which serves various needs of customers and is responsible only for the results of its own work. This is the management of the isolated technostructure. It is innovative and risky and draws upon the convergence of entrepreneurship and professionalism. But still has a limited impact because it lacks an important function—responsibility for the final results. All three scenarios can develop in parallel and it is important which of them becomes the leading one.

Conclusions

As an independent sphere of activity, management has been stuck in between profession, art, the imitation of other professions in the interests of business, and the concentration of control functions. The position "in between" is not sustainable; therefore, factors contributing to and hindering the professionalization of management will sooner or later lead to a change in its professional content and status. An important role in this process is played by the change in the position of other professions facing global challenges such as the internationalization and instability of markets, the narrowing of the space of professional self-regulation, the crisis of professional education lagging behind changes in knowledge and needs, the spatial disunity of company divisions, and the evolution of control mechanisms that acquire an increasingly remote and distributed character.

These processes are creating objective conditions for the professional advancement of management, but only if it overcomes the barriers that make it semi-professional today. In this case, the advantages of management as compared to other professions could be realized in several scenarios and are based on the power of knowledge (super-profession), the power of control (super-authority) and the power of entrepreneurship (enterprising management service, transforming the managerial experience of others in a new service that can be sold to a customer). All three are associated with different ways of forming and maintaining competencies, both in the field of practice, in cooperation with other actors, and in the sphere of professional education. From this it follows that the current crisis of management education can be successfully overcome through the sequential elaboration of steps to the realization of the desirable future of the management profession, given the likely scenarios of its development.

Notes

1. The term "semi-professionals" was coined by Etzioni (1969) as applied to teachers and social workers whose professionalization is incomplete due to incomplete market closure and lack of self-regulation of their work. For the same reason it is applicable to management.
2. In this paper, we are not going to examine the question of the extent to which entrepreneurship and management training differ, since both occur within the framework of established business schools, include standard courses in the main sections of management; the differences between entrepreneurship and management are rather far-fetched, if we take Drucker's approach to management (Drucker 2008). A good manager should be a bit of an entrepreneur in the sense that ensuring the connectivity of processes in the real life of companies involves the willingness to use elements of innovation to solve intricate/tricky questions or if something goes wrong in the process. A simple transfer of instructions from the top down and monitoring compliance with instructions and regulations did not call management to become a profession.
3. The electronic platform does not become an effective management tool in itself. To be such, it must meet the interests of employees; otherwise even the best intentions of managers will not be realized (Venters and Wood 2007).

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12

Management/Leadership: Profession, Professional, Professionalization

Rikke Kristine Nielsen, Thomas Duus Henriksen, and Kenneth Børgesen

Introduction

> Sheer luck beats leadership any day, but you may be running out of luck. (Anonymous leadership development professional, quoted in Nielsen and Nielsen 2016, p. 80)

Echoing the famous statement of the *Dirty Harry* character played by Clint Eastwood, a central question is: do we feel lucky when it comes to leadership quality and performance? Is leadership a question of survival of the lucky or survival of the fit and the professional? Kanter emphasizes that from a natural selection theory perspective, "luck plays a more important role than

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strategic choice—a useful reminder that not all success is the result of planning or active will" (1992, p. 28), or indeed, of "good leadership," however defined. Undeniably helpful as luck is, practitioners and researchers alike agree that the leadership impact is not only a question of sheer luck. For instance, the 2016 PricewaterhouseCoopers (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2016) CEO Survey of top managers' views on the future competitor and competency situation concludes that leadership is the decisive factor for business success. This conclusion mirrors the majority of the results of leadership analyses conducted in recent years. This conclusion may seem trivial at first glance, but judging from a Gallup (2015) analysis of management conducted in the United States, there is nothing banal or trivial about enacting good leadership in practice. This analysis finds that only 13 percent of the entire global workforce feel engaged at work, and the primary cause of this condition is leadership or lack of it. Furthermore, the conclusion echoes similar analyses in emphasizing that organizations with high employee engagement are characterized by higher productivity, fewer accidents, lower employee turnover, and higher customer satisfaction. Although the specific numbers vary, the overall conclusion of most leadership analyses is that leadership matters for performance, responsible management, workforce engagement, and productivity (e.g., Gallup 2015; PricewaterhouseCoopers 2016; Ulrich et al. 2017; Ulrich 2016; CBS and Megafon 2017).

Similarly, an impressive amount of research has demonstrated the adverse impact of "bad leadership" in the sense of being corrupt, incompetent, destructive, or even psychopathic (Erickson et al. 2007; Kellerman 2004; Schyns and Schilling 2013). For instance, according to the 2009 research by The Ken Blanchard Companies, less-than-optimal leadership practices cost a typical organization as much as 7 percent of its total annual sales (The Ken Blanchard Companies 2009). Moreover, at least 9 percent and possibly as much as 32 percent of an organization's voluntary turnover can be avoided through better leadership skills, and most organizations operate with a 5–10 percent productivity drag that better leadership practices could eliminate. The consequences of management are significant, and although superherofication of top managers, such as Steve Jobs or Jack Welch, in the media and in airport bookstores may be an expression of wishful thinking about the impact of management, research supports the public sentiment and wisdom that good/bad management matters, not only at a personal level but also for meso- and macro-level outcomes.

Leadership: High and Increasing Expectations, Yet Scarce and Often Unskilled Talent!

> In a hierarchy, every employee tends to raise to his [sic] level of incompetence. (Peter and Hull 1969, p. 22)

Leadership researcher Warren Bennis reminds us, “In the best of times, we tend to forget how urgent the study of leadership is. But leadership always matters, and it has never mattered more than it does now” (2007, p. 64). Leadership and management are difficult endeavors in and of themselves, but recent surveys of the future competitive landscape and derived competency demands call for more, better, and qualitatively different management. The post-financial crisis “new normal” is characterized by high and increasing expectations of managers in terms of handling sustainability, market disruptions, automation, and the millennial workforce, among others (e.g., Deloitte 2016; Industriens Fond 2016; McKinsey & Company 2017; PricewaterhouseCoopers 2016; TATA Consultancy Services 2013; World Economic Forum 2017). The importance of leadership has also caught the attention of politicians and governments, in that leadership is perceived as a parameter of national competitiveness, as well as the survival of the welfare state. Mirroring the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development’s point of departure, self-leadership competence has been defined as one of the ten competencies in Denmark’s national competency account (Ministry of Education 2005). Recently, the Danish government has initiated a disruption council to explore the ramifications of digitalization for governance in Danish organizations (Ministry of Finance 2017). A leadership commission has also been formed to look into seizing the opportunities for better governance, management, and leadership of public sector organizations, thus assisting in the maintenance of an all-inclusive welfare state in a period of increasing cost pressures and legitimacy issues (Ministry of Finance 2017).

Other more practical concerns direct our attention to the significance of professional leadership. First, leadership is a scarce talent. Based on manager responses, a 2015 Gallup survey concludes that only one in ten people possesses a natural talent for leadership. We cannot afford the luxury of relying solely on natural talent, making it necessary to tap into a larger talent pool, as well as enlarge the pool by professionalizing potential future leaders. In the 2016/2017 Talent Shortage Survey, senior/executive managerial positions are ranked eighth on the talent shortage list (Manpower Group 2017). This competency deficit is also expressed in a 2017 Mercer survey where "leadership/inspirational leadership" is on the top organizations' list of competencies in demand (Mercer 2017). Additionally, the lack of leadership talent is an often-cited bottleneck when pursuing business opportunities; for instance, global leadership talent in multinational enterprises (Nielsen and Nielsen 2016).

Second, the 2016/2017 Talent Shortage Survey (Manpower Group 2017) also reported that the number of employers who offer training and development to existing employees as a means to fill open positions has doubled from one in five employers to over half of all surveyed employers—an interesting point in connection to the deliberations (see Part V of this book) exploring the timeliness of a bachelor's degree in leadership. The development of leadership competencies is a complicated endeavor, however. Numerous studies have uncovered how efforts fail or are ineffective or outright harmful (e.g., Arnulf et al. 2016; Ghoshal 2005; Gurdjian et al. 2014; Ready and Conger 2003). Leadership development initiatives may also be hampered by the lack of manager motivation and top management attention. A 2016 survey on leadership development effectiveness found that less than one-third of the leadership development professionals surveyed rated their organization's activities as "efficient/highly efficient" (Network of Corporate Academies, Society for Human Resource Management, and European Foundation for Quality Management 2016). One of the perceived main obstacles to increasing organizational leadership development effectiveness is the lack of top management attention and priority.

Third, leadership skills are difficult to detect and select. The 2015 Gallup analysis mentioned in the previous section also concluded that organizations more often than not select the wrong people for managerial positions (up to 80 percent "bad hires"). This case might be due to nepotism or unprofessional recruitment practices where gut feeling is the primary basis of the selection decision. Although the recruitment and selection process is one of the most intensely researched and meta-analyzed areas of human resource management, practitioners often rely on their instincts. At the same time, leadership is a highly contextual competency, complicating cross-candidate comparison, as well as the detection of relevant skills for assessment. A related yet separate issue that also poses a challenge for the detection of capable leaders involves the paradoxical situation of the shortage of effective and inspirational leadership vis-à-vis the availability of persons aspiring for managerial careers. Therefore, the difficulty of hiring competent managers may not be a result of poor recruitment practices but of the poor quality of the candidates, thus stressing the need for efficient leadership development, as well as onboarding practices. Additionally, the talent management literature (e.g. Holt Larsen 2012; Thunnissen et al. 2013) directs our attention to the fact that talent management still equals traditional career management, where a career is synonymous to a managerial career in many organizations. When no other career advancement alternatives (such as a specialist or a project manager) exist, ambitious employees with aspirations of advancement remain on a career plateau from where a managerial position is the only way forward—a situation that is hardly conducive to securing the best talent pool for leadership.

Fourth, if human resources are our most valuable assets, tied to optimum use of taxpayers' money or securing corporate competitiveness, then the management of such resources is central. The Cranet Network (2011) survey testifies that managers play a major role in human resource management in practice. Leaders themselves constitute a group of human resources, but who takes care of the caretakers? It is paradoxical that managers comprise a scarce and often unskilled type of labor in the sense that they assume managerial positions with relatively little training or preparation for this role.

Finally, leaders occupying formal managerial positions have access to and decision-making power over resources. Their span of control or sphere of influence is broader than that of any average employee, which in itself merits attention as leaders are in a position where their actions have greater impact. Facilitating a positive managerial impact seems timely. Although the ramifications of managerial actions conducted from formal positions should not be overestimated because leadership behavior is not restricted to persons in such positions (Johnsen 1978), managers are generally paid higher salaries and thus constitute resources to be optimized from a cost perspective.

In summary, the cost of incompetent leadership and the upside of professional leadership deserve focusing on the development and deployment of professional leadership competence. The stakes are high, yet the talent is scarce, difficult to detect, select, and train. Professional leadership is an issue that may not attract sufficient attention and motivation from managers themselves, partly owing to the fact that ambitious talent is *de facto* forced into managerial positions due to the lack of alternative career paths. As discussed in the next section, these challenges involving professional leadership and leadership professionalization are exacerbated by the absence of consensus on, or a unified view of, what leadership is from a theoretical perspective, diffusing debates and specific initiatives on professional leadership.

Leadership: Professionalization of What Exactly?

> Fortunately, growing attention is devoted to qualifying leadership as well as contesting bad leadership. Practicing "discount" leadership becomes increasingly difficult. (Top management respondent quoted in Holt Larsen et al. 2015, back cover)

Proceeding under the assumption that for better or for worse, leadership matters yet is a scarce and hard to detect and select competency, this begs the question: What are we looking for exactly? Leadership practice is diverse and contextual. Even researchers cannot add theoretical clarity to a jungle of opinions, anecdotes, and contradictory evidence (Poulfelt 1997), along with several competing paradigms and perspectives (Rennison 2014), leading some scholars to ask if the quest for good leadership is in fact a search for a mirage in the desert (Örtenblad et al. 2016). There is no grand unifying theory of leadership, or as Bennis cautions us,

"…we must remember that the subject is vast, amorphous, slippery, and, above all, desperately important" (2007, p. 62). Leading the way on a slippery terrain, Bennis emphasizes the shift in the manager role requirement to less control and a more commitment-oriented style, in effect suggesting the separation of leadership from management. While this distinction may mirror important developments in the conduct of managerial work, it may also be viewed as an Anglo-Saxon peculiarity. For instance, the Danish word *ledelse* captures both these dimensions, while perceiving management as different from administration (which in turn can be associated with the previous Anglo-Saxon use of the term; for example, one of the currently most influential management journals bears the name *Administrative Science Quarterly*, established in 1956). In effect, the leadership and management terminology is not necessarily helpful in establishing common ground.

A plethora of management/leadership definitions exist, highlighting different aspects. For instance, the grand old man of Danish leadership/management research, Erik Johnsen (1978), portrays leadership behavior as a combination of goal-setting, problem-solving, and language-creating/communicative behaviors. This definition may be a reflection of a particular Danish view of management, however. For instance, the GLOBE study (Javidan and Dastmalchian 2009), exploring the degree to which different nationalities' preferences for leadership converge or diverge, finds that despite common denominators, there are also notable deviations across nations. Additionally, common ground on, for instance, charismatic leadership is likely a label that embraces very different specific behaviors in diverse (national) cultural settings. A similar point is made in the literature on Scandinavian management, noting a shared and particular leadership style of Scandinavian management, differentiating Scandinavian from American management, for instance (e.g., Grenness 2003; Holt Larsen and de Neergaard 2007; Smith et al. 2003). Thus, a global or multicultural discussion on leadership must consider potential national differences, in line with a comparative/institutional and intercultural view of personnel-related management practices (Brookes et al. 2011).

Other researchers point out the importance of the hierarchical level at which leadership is exercised, emphasizing that different elements of leadership may have different weights at various levels and situations, such as forming the backbone of the leadership pipeline concept where the role and responsibilities of managers are seen as a function of their hierarchical level (Charan et al. 2010). Similarly, life cycle and business development considerations have been put forth as significant differentiators of leadership (Greiner 1972). A plethora of management/leadership subareas have been explored as separate management disciplines, such as public management (Klausen 2014), change management (Kotter 1996), global management (Osland et al. 2006), virtual leadership or recession management (Charan 2009), to mention some. In effect, we are advised to proceed with caution when attempting to standardize leadership or arrive at a commonly accepted definition of management. The contours of leadership as a theoretical domain are blurry, and leadership practice is highly diverse and tied to both context and situation. Nonetheless, the stakes involved in securing professional leadership, as well as actively working to develop and facilitate professional leadership, call for the establishment of a common ground (with ample room for localization/contextualization) to be able to grasp and further hone leadership capability in practice. In the following section, we suggest that leadership be established as a certifiable semi-profession to prepare such a common ground, which in turn could accelerate the professionalization of leadership.

From Professional Leadership to Leadership as a Semi-Profession

> Leadership is still not considered a skilled trade or profession in many organizations. The best man [sic] is promoted into boss. Few companies offer alternative career paths. (Top management respondent quoted in Holt Larsen et al. 2015, back cover)

The term *profession* constitutes a category of practitioners who enjoy certain privileges, including the claim to having a high level of expertise, autonomy, and discipline (Jary and Jary 1995), as well as authority on a particular matter (Hjort 2004). Early functionalist descriptions portray professions as motivated by public service (Flexner 1910) and selflessness

(Parsons 1964). Subsequent and more critical traditions account for the power and self-interest of professions. These critical traditions stress how professions provide their members with advantages (Hughes 1952), which are not only for the benefit of their clients (Johnson 1972), while gradually establishing a professional monopoly and defending their position against the emerging competition. As a practice, a profession exercises legitimate authority on a subject, such as medicine or law, and consequently its associated status.

According to Hjort (2004), professions are under constant pressure, partly due to developments that make specialized knowledge freely available and partly from retailoring through procedure, which limits a profession's autonomy to perform what Dale (1998) describes as the ability and authority to plan, conduct, and evaluate a particular practice. While traditional professions, such as law, medicine, and theology, have long enjoyed their privileges, the so-called semi-professions (e.g., nurses, teachers, and social workers) have struggled to achieve similar status by becoming professions themselves. Regarding how authority and occupational monopoly are being put into question, Hjort (2005) asks whether such brand is viable to pursue in today's society. In the following subsection, we state the case that it is conducive to the professionalization of managerial work and leadership to position leadership as a semi-profession, trying to achieve professional status in its own right.

Establishing Leadership as a Semi-Profession

Leadership practitioners must be established as a category to enjoy the privileges commonly associated with a profession. This also implies establishing a demarcation to separate members from non-members. As mentioned earlier, the privileged positions of true professions are enforced by law; for example, preventing non-medical doctors from practicing as medical doctors or keeping non-licensed pilots on the ground. In our opinion, enforcing such a restriction on leadership practitioners is both unrealistic and potentially counterproductive in the pursuit of leadership impact quality. First, it is simply not viable to keep non-members from practicing leadership, not even when restricting the exercise of leadership to those formally employed in managerial positions, considering that managerial talent has already reached a bottleneck. Second, full professionalization of leadership, including monopoly rights, may turn the aspiration of developing as much leadership talent as possible into an exclusivity battle of professions where members strive to limit their total number to secure the rarity and non-imitability of their resource (and thus its price). In such a case, professionalization of leadership may become an end in itself rather than a means for generally upgrading leadership quality for the benefit of a larger group of stakeholders, such as shareholders, employees, and societies. As an alternative to full professionalization, leadership can be established as a so-called semi-profession, which enjoys somewhat similar privileges but without governmental enforcement. A semi-profession can still strive to achieve professional monopoly but relies on a more voluntary approach and on establishing a critical mass of supporters. Finally, the demarcation factor must be made available and meaningful to those who depend on the services of the semi-profession.

One approach to establishing such demarcation is through certification, which is a common procedure of quality assurance among private and public organizations. For instance, coaching and mentoring practitioners can be accredited through the European Mentoring and Coaching Council (EMCC—The European Coaching & Mentoring Council 2017, "Setting the Standards for Mentoring and Coaching"), and the American Society for Human Resource Management has been actively involved in the development of certification schemes for human resource professionals (SHRM—The Society for Human Resource Management 2017, "Why Seek SHRM Certification?"). On rare occasions, the pursuit of quality assurance or accreditation is grounded in legislation, but most often, certifications provide a competitive advantage or are required by customers. In Denmark, several semi-professions are maintained by professional associations and unions, which grant membership to those who comply with a set of requirements. While anyone may call himself or herself an architect, only those with a Master of Arts in Architecture (MAA) are accepted into the architects' union, allowing each member to present oneself as an MAA and a member of the Danish Association of Architects.

A more elaborate approach is found among Danish psychologists, but with the addition of a strictly regulated system for further education. Only through participation in certified activities can psychologists achieve public authorization and become specialists or supervisors. Consequently, psychologists become organized in a functional hierarchy, where advancement is only possible through participation in certified activities within that system.

A similar system could be devised for certifying leaders. In Denmark, several professional associations of leaders already exist, but the membership is not exclusive. Rather than making membership exclusive based on arbitrary criteria, the model for further educational activities could be adopted to place leaders in a functional hierarchy; for example, based on their certification index. This index would be calculated on the basis of a leader's participation in certified educational activities, which would grant him or her a score. The scheme could be administered and made available by the particular union/association, which would also be responsible for certifying educational activities to ensure the validity of the index. If the aim was to ensure continuing participation in educational activities, the index could be set to gradually diminish personal scores over time, thereby providing an incentive for continually developing each member's leadership capability.

A certification index would allow organizations to have a better estimation of a candidate's qualifications, especially to what degree that candidate has been upgrading his or her credentials to keep up with professional standards. It would also enable organizations to perform a quality assessment and be assured of their leadership capability, such as by only recruiting leaders with an index score of 4+ or by ensuring that everyone in senior management has an index score of 6+. As anyone with leadership ambitions may join the professional/association union and begin working on one's personal leadership index, this system would be non-exclusive with regard to educational background. If the system could gain a foothold in reputable organizations, the indexation would similarly become individually appealing. However, as anyone could take up a leadership position, the system would only have an effect in contributing to establishing leadership as a semi-profession if it is able to achieve critical mass.

Conclusion

All professions have their leaders, who have either risen through the ranks or have been chosen for their professional contributions to the orchestration of particular organizational processes. While leaders who have climbed the corporate ladder tend to maintain a professional identity linked to their practice, those who are brought in generally associate themselves with other leaders, thereby assuming a particular identity. Rather than perceiving leadership/management as comprising capabilities added to an existing repertoire, leadership education should be viewed as a continuous matter in terms of professional identity, and a gradual socialization into a community of leadership practice should be emphasized. By shifting the emphasis from managing a group of nurses or leading a hospital department, for example, to being a manager or a leader in an organization, a professionalized leader can change his or her focus on particular groups or units, concentrating instead on collaboration, coordination, and development across organizational units. Establishing leadership as a semi-profession can support the process of becoming a leader, directing stakeholders' attention to the (positive/negative) impact of management and leadership, to the fact that both comprise a set of skills that needs to be developed and can be learned/improved, and legitimizing the allocation of resources and capital to the softer aspects of management that reach across professional differences.

Cartoon wisdom as expressed through the basic concept of the Dilbert principle asserts "…that the most ineffective workers are systematically moved to the place where they can do least damage: management" (Adams 1997, p. 11). Unlike Dilbert, we argue that management is a force field for failure and success; the consequences of management are significant, making it worthwhile to seek new avenues for safeguarding the professionalization of managerial leadership competency.

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Part IV

For Leadership as a Profession

Section A. *Is* Already a Profession

13

Leadership, Management, and the Common Good

David Lutz

We should understand leadership and management to be a true profession. A profession is an occupation which, when practiced properly, promotes the common good. Since this is true of leadership and management, it is a true profession theoretically. But leadership and management is not generally taught and practiced as a true profession because it is not generally understood to be a true profession. Therefore, we need to begin understanding it to be what it already, in fact, is, so that we can teach and practice it as a true profession.

Although this chapter focuses on business leadership and management, we should understand the leadership and management of non-commercial organizations also to be a true profession. Furthermore, given the potential of leadership and management to do both great good and great harm to the world, it is imperative that we begin to understand it as a true profession as soon as possible.

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Leadership and Management

Although using “leadership and management” as a singular noun is awkward, it is preferable to the alternatives. The terms “leadership” and “management” are not synonyms. One manages both human and nonhuman resources; one leads only persons. But the two concepts are not separable because no one can be an excellent leader without being a manager and no one can be an excellent manager without being a leader.

Nothing exists that approaches a consensus regarding the relationship between leadership and management. Some authors consider management to be above and beyond leadership: “Management is a specialized kind of work which represents a maturation of leadership. A manager is a particularly competent, knowing, and, hopefully, most effective kind of leader” (Allen 1964, p. ix). Other authors consider leadership to be above and beyond management: “The critical difference between management and leadership is reflected in the root meanings of the two words—the difference between what it means to handle things and what it means to go places. The unique role of leaders is to take us to places we’ve never been before” (Kouzes and Posner 1995, p. 36). And various attempts have been made to explain the difference and relationship between leadership and management in other ways: “The words ‘manager’ and ‘leader’ are metaphors representing two opposite ends of a continuum. ‘Manager’ tends to signify the more analytical, structured, controlled, deliberate, and orderly end of the continuum, while ‘leader’ tends to occupy the more experimental, visionary, flexible, uncontrolled, and creative end” (Hickman 1990, p. 7). Although there is agreement that leadership and management are related, there is no agreement concerning how they are related.

Excellent executives are both leaders and managers. In searching for a single word that encompasses both leadership and management, one might settle on “administration.” But this word is rarely used in the context of business, except to identify a course of study or academic degree within an academic institution. Therefore, it seems best to use “leadership and management” as the name of that which should be considered a profession.

The Professions

Many authors have pointed out that "vocation" is at its root a theological concept. To have a vocation originally meant to be called by God to do something. Fewer authors note the religious root of "profession." The term's Latin root is *professio*, meaning an open or public declaration. "Profession" was first used in the English language to mean a formal vow made upon entering a religious order. From there it gradually took on the meaning of an occupation in which one professes to be skilled.

Professions are traditionally distinguished from "trades." John K. Davis (1991) provides a helpful way of understanding the difference between a profession and a trade: "For the professional person work must be justified by *reasons* independent of the preferences of the consumer who purchases that work" (p. 168; emphasis in original). For the tradesman, "the consumer's money, taken in trade for the work, is the basis for justifying the way the work is done" (Davis 1991, p. 168). While this analysis is correct as far as it goes, it points to a deeper and more significant difference: the tradesman works to obtain money; the professional seeks an end higher than money.

The higher end at which the professional aims is the "common good," the "well-being of a community considered as a whole" (Marcum 2001, p. 73). A true community, in turn, is something more than a mere collection of individuals. In the latter, each individual's pursuit of self-interest can and frequently does conflict with the self-interest of other individuals. In a true community, there is harmony between the good of the community as a whole and the good of its members. All human persons seek their own happiness as their final end and seek intermediate ends that they perceive as good for themselves, as contributing to their own happiness. According to the collective wisdom of the Western intellectual tradition, with its roots in the ancient Mediterranean world, the secret to attaining true happiness is recognizing that there is a hierarchy of human goods and that true happiness involves more than the goods of pleasure, fame, and fortune. We all love ourselves; to love oneself properly is to prefer higher-order goods to lower-order goods. To make the point with an extreme case, Aristotle explains that the soldier who sacrifices his life in defense of his country "awards himself the greater good" (Aristotle 1985, 1169a29–30). If scarce goods such as pleasure, fame, and fortune were the highest goods, conflicts of self-interest would be inevitable. But, because the higher goods of a virtuous life are not goods of competition, it is possible for the members of a true community to pursue their own true happiness without conflicting with other community members' pursuit of their true happiness.

Various attempts have been made to define the concept of professionalism in terms of some set of criteria that professions must meet. For example, Abraham Flexner (1915) tells us: "Professions involve essentially intellectual operations with large individual responsibility; they derive their raw material from science and learning; this material they work up to a practical and definite end; they possess an educationally communicable technique; they tend to self-organization; they are becoming increasingly altruistic in motivation" (p. 904). Louis A. Allen (1964) defines a "profession" as "a specialized kind of work practiced through the use of classified knowledge, a common vocabulary, and requiring standards of practice and a code of ethics established by a recognized body" (p. 87). And Bernard Barber (1967) offers yet another set of defining criteria:

> A high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge; primary orientation to the community interest rather than to individual self-interest; a high degree of self-control of behavior through codes of ethics internalized in the process of work socialization and through voluntary associations organized and operated by the work specialists themselves; and a system of rewards (monetary and honorary) that is primarily a set of symbols of work achievement and thus ends in themselves, not means to some end of individual self-interest. (Barber 1967, p. 18)

Asserting that a profession is an occupation which, if practiced properly, promotes the common good, assumes a distinction between essential and accidental properties. An essential property is one that something must possess in order to be the kind of thing that it is. An accidental property is one that something has, but that is not an essential property. For example, oviparity is an essential property of all birds; being able to fly is an accidental property of most birds. Promoting the common good when practiced properly is an essential property of all professions. Each of the three sets of defining criteria above includes something similar: altruistic motivation, standards of practice, primary orientation to the community interest. The other criteria in the three lists are non-essential, accidental properties.

If we first decide which occupations are professions and then identify their features, we get "many differing ad hoc lists of attributes" (Saks 2012, p. 2) with no distinction between essential and accidental properties. But if we then ask the reason each property is a property of a profession, we can distinguish the essential from the accidental. Promoting the common good is not a means to the ends of possessing an educationally communicable technique, having a common vocabulary, having a high degree of self-control, etc. These are means to the end of promoting the common good, which is the purpose of all true professions.

The Profession of Leadership and Management

The distinction between pursuing profit and pursuing higher goods is found at the very roots of the Western intellectual tradition. Thales of Miletus (c. 624–c. 546 BC) is considered to be the first Western philosopher. He is also reputed to have been a part-time businessman. Aristotle relates a story, according to which Thales turned a significant profit, in order to make a point about philosophy:

> He was reproached for his poverty, which was supposed to show that philosophy was of no use. According to the story, he knew by his skill in the stars while it was yet winter that there would be a great harvest of olives in the coming year; so, having a little money, he gave deposits for the use of all the olive-presses in Chios and Miletus, which he hired at a low price because no one bid against him. When the harvest-time came, and many were wanted all at once and of a sudden, he let them out at any rate which he pleased, and made a quantity of money. Thus he showed the world that philosophers can easily be rich if they like, but that their ambition is of another sort. (Aristotle 1999, 1259a9–18)

Plato provides one of the earliest theories of leadership. In portraying the ideal city-state, he describes relationships between different classes of citizens and different excellent character traits, or virtues. The ruling class is characterized by the virtue of wisdom, "which does not deliberate about any particular matter but about the city as a whole" (Plato 1974, 428c–d). The rulers' purpose is to promote the common good of the city-state. Furthermore, the rulers of Plato's ideal city-state are not wealthy. He rejects oligarchy as an unacceptable form of government, which tends to ruin because of its rulers' "insatiable desire of wealth, and their neglect of other things for money-making" (Plato 1974, 562b).

One of the earliest theories of management is given to us by Aristotle, who distinguishes two ways of acquiring wealth. One kind of wealth acquisition belongs to household management (in Greek, *oikonomia*, the root of the English word "economics") and uses money as a means to the end of securing the goods necessary for the household's members to live good lives. This way of acquiring wealth has a limit, "for the amount of property which is needed for a good life is not unlimited" (Aristotle 1999, 1256b31–32). The other kind of wealth acquisition, according to Aristotle, is practiced by merchants. Money is not a means but the end, and the acquisition of money is unbounded, for merchants "increase their hoard of coin without limit" (Aristotle 1999, 1257b33–34).

Since "the modern business firm, historically speaking, is an offshoot of the household" (Mueller 2010, p. 256), Aristotle's distinction between household and business management can also be understood as a distinction between two different ways of leading and managing a modern firm. One way is to understand some financial variable as the end and to understand goods and/or services as means, as is related in Alfred P. Sloan's (1965) account of leading and managing General Motors Corporation: "The primary object of the corporation, therefore, we declared was to make money, not just to make motor cars" (p. 64). The other way is to understand excellent financial management as the means to the end of producing goods that are truly good for society and/or services that truly serve society.

The traditional professions—foremost among them law, medicine, and religious ministry (including teaching)—have been understood to promote the common good. Although professionals were remunerated, sometimes handsomely, their aim was understood to be higher than financial gain. To be sure, within the traditional professions there have always been individuals who did, in fact, aim at amassing wealth for themselves, but such persons were understood to be charlatans, not true professionals.

In order to live good lives, we require an array of goods and services. Although some are provided by the traditional professions, many services and most goods are provided by business. Whatever may be the historical reasons for distinguishing business from the professions, there is no reason to continue doing so. Business executives and the organizations they lead and manage have enormous potential both to benefit and to harm society. We need to understand the common good as the proper end of business, and financial management as a necessary means to that end, so that business benefits society. The urgency of understanding business leadership and management as a true profession is intensified by the current trend to convert most of the traditional professions into branches of industry. If law, medicine, engineering, etc. were to become species of business while the purpose of business was considered to be making money, that would be the death of the traditional professions.

A Critique of Rakesh Khurana's Argument

Rakesh Khurana has given us an excellent account of attempts to professionalize business leadership and management in *From Higher Aims to Hired Hands* (2007). His conclusion is that "the delegitimation of managerial authority and the abandonment of the professionalization project in business schools have created conditions in which the ultimate purposes of management and of business schools as institutions are now up for grabs" (Khurana 2007, p. 382), providing us with an opportunity to try anew to get it right. While I agree with his conclusion, I maintain that management already is a true profession. What we need to do is recognize it for what it already is. I would also like to suggest some ways in which his argument could be strengthened. When Khurana looks to tradition for wisdom to guide us today, he seldom looks further than Max Weber. While we can, indeed, learn much from Weber, my suggestion is that by looking at a longer sweep of intellectual history, we can find even more wisdom to guide us today.

Khurana sometimes writes about "virtues": "The reinvention of management itself along the lines envisioned for it by our predecessors… would have obvious benefits for society if it helped foster such virtues as custodianship, duty, and responsibility" (Khurana 2007, p. 381). But he also writes uncritically about "values": "At its founding, as we have seen, the American research university…attempted to maintain a delicate balance between the goals of instilling future elites with the character, values, knowledge, and skills that would contribute to the common good, and providing individuals with the means of economic and social advancement" (Khurana 2007, p. 367). The concept of "virtues" has a long and respectable pedigree. Virtues are necessarily good and are opposed to vices, which are necessarily bad. While "value" has a long history as an economic concept, it is of relatively recent origin as an ethical concept. The term "traditional values" is an oxymoron because the concept of moral "values" originated only in the nineteenth century. "Virtues" are opposed to "vices," and are necessarily good. "Values" are opposed to "facts" and can be either good or bad, depending upon what one happens to value. The concept of "values" is too weak to play a role in the professionalization of leadership and management.

Khurana is also uncritical of calls to subordinate self-interest to the greater good: "In sum, discipline, self-restraint, and a willingness to renounce individual self-interest to preserve the good name of the professional community and advance the greater good are hallmarks of professionals in the sense that the original advocates for the professionalization of management understood the term" (Khurana 2007, p. 374). But renouncing individual self-interest is contrary to human nature. Although the neoclassical understanding of human persons as self-interested utility maximizers is inconsistent with reality, "mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good" (Aristotle 1999, 1252a2–3). According to the mainstream of the Western intellectual tradition for the two millennia preceding the Enlightenment, to progress from living unethically to living ethically is not to love oneself less and others more, but to love oneself better by seeking higher-order goods. Because it is natural for human persons to live in community, loving oneself better necessarily involves loving other persons. The contrast between vicious self-love and virtuous self-love is qualitative, not quantitative. To become a professional business leader and manager is not to renounce individual self-interest in order to promote the common good, but to promote the common good by promoting one's own true self-interest.

Khurana argues correctly and persuasively that agency theory, which asserts that the purpose of business management is to maximize shareholder value, is incompatible with understanding business leadership and management as a profession:

> In keeping with the concept of the corporation as a mere nexus of contracts, and in contrast to the notion that the interests of the professional manager would be aligned with the interests of those institutions they were charged with leading, agency theory defined the interests of managers as separate and distinct not only from shareholders' but also from the organization's. Thus managers were no longer fiduciaries or custodians of the corporation and its values. Instead, they were hired hands, free agents who, undertaking no permanent commitment to any collective interests or norms, represented the antithesis of the professional. (Khurana 2007, p. 325)

But Khurana sometimes suggests that stakeholder theory, which asserts that managers should promote the interests of all of the firm's stakeholders, is a satisfactory corrective to the errors of agency theory. He associates "stakeholder interests" with the much richer concepts of stewardship and the common good: "Agency theory dissolved the idea that executives should be held—on the basis of notions such as stewardship, stakeholder interests, or promotion of the common good—to any standard stricter than sheer self-interest" (Khurana 2007, p. 323). And he follows a description of factors that "may be rendering the investor capitalism model unstainable" (Khurana 2007, p. 365), with a suggestion that stakeholderism can help us discover the way forward:

> Yet these and other developments in the world since the rise of investor capitalism suggest that a new model—one akin to the stakeholder model that reigned in American capitalism during the era of managerialism, one that recognizes the legitimate economic and social interests of many mem-

> bers of society other than shareholders—may well be called for. (Khurana 2007, pp. 365–6)

The fundamental problem with agency theory is not that it considers us to be self-interested, but that it considers us to be isolated individuals. If the firm is merely a nexus of contracts between individuals, there can be no harmony of interests. Stakeholderism is an attempt to correct agency theory (or its profit-maximizing ancestors), without going to the root of the problem. Stakeholder theory is no less individualistic than agency theory. The difference is that agency theory tells managers to promote the interests of one collection of individuals, the shareholders, while stakeholder theory tells leaders and managers to promote the interests of many collections of individuals, without any guidance about what to do when one group's interest conflicts with another's. Agency theory at least has the virtue of telling managers to aim at one target; stakeholder theory tells managers to aim at many targets simultaneously.

Although stakeholder theory and the theory that leaders and managers should promote the common good may appear similar at first glance, they belong to rival traditions of political theory. Stakeholderism is rooted in the social contract tradition of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and their successors. The concept of the common good belongs to the tradition of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and their heirs. With stakeholder theory, there is no common good, only the aggregate of the interests of the firm's various stakeholder groups. Khurana is correct in maintaining that "the purpose of management and corporate leadership necessarily goes beyond 'maximizing shareholder value'" (Khurana 2007, p. 366). But it also necessarily goes beyond satisfying the interests of stakeholders.

Conclusion

Leadership and management is, by its very nature, a true profession. We urgently need to understand, teach, and practice it as a true profession. Because it promotes the common good when practiced properly, it possesses the one essential property of a profession. Whether it should acquire the accidental properties that some of the other professions possess is a question independent from the question of whether it is already a true profession.

The distinction between theoretical reason and practical reason explains many of the differences between leadership and management, on one hand, and professions such as law and medicine, on the other. While all of these professions involve both theoretical and practical reason, law and medicine required a greater proportion of theoretical reason, and leadership and management requires a greater proportion of practical reason. Consequently, the knowledge required by members of the legal and medical professions is more amenable to being generalized and systematized. This also makes it easier to establish certification standards in law and medicine. The knowledge required by professional leaders and managers is no less intellectual, but is more practical and, therefore, more difficult to generalize and systematize. Becoming an excellent leader and manager requires years of experience. But this does not mean that leadership and management is inferior to law and medicine as a profession.

The distinctive characteristic of the professional leaders and manager is excellent judgment, the habit of consistently making right decisions in situations where no theory or algorithm can tell us what decision to make. This habit of excellent judgment is the virtue of prudence or practical wisdom. According to James O'Toole (2008), "such practical wisdom is the prerequisite of 'moral excellence,' the *sine qua non* of *leadership*" (p. 197). Agency theory "discredited the idea of training managers to exercise judgment and responsibility" (Khurana 2007, p. 333). Rather than constraining leaders and managers' discretion in order to force them to maximize shareholder value, we should help them exercise professional judgment. Only when leaders and managers understand themselves as true professionals will they be able to actualize their full potential to promote the common good.

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14

Management Can Be Considered as a Profession

Victor J. Delacruz

Differentiating between occupations and professions can be problematic. Approaches to such an endeavor are numerous and remarkably contextualized, and to apply any approach with success would necessitate some degree of alignment or conformity to a universally accepted set of criteria. Which occupations are true professions or degradations thereof? Why would such a designation matter and who would make these determinations? Key to answering these questions is to consider the role of civil society and the underlying client–practitioner relationship. Currently, the management occupation is not regarded as a true profession for an array of reasons (Barker 2010; Birkinshaw 2010; Khurana and Nohria 2008; Moskovskaia 2012; Spender 2007). However, the management occupation can be considered as a profession when viewed through the lens of a new professionalization framework that provides a means for assessing distinct levels of professionalization (Delacruz 2014).

In this chapter, the views held by scholars in the professions arena asserting that management is not a profession in both the European

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Union and the United States are challenged. Such absolute claims are based largely on civil society as a determinant of true professions, and the lack of alignment between occupational traits and professionalization attributes. In this chapter, we apply newly developed levels of professionalization coupled with the use of long-established attributes and criteria (Delacruz 2014). We seek to both understand and highlight, where appropriate, the activities supporting the professionalization of the management occupation. The true profession of medicine is used as a point of reference to assist in the assessment of the management occupation, and the degree to which the occupation is progressing along a professionalization continuum. Key conditions are brought to the forefront of the professions debate such as the client–practitioner relationship surrounding the exchange of services in particular. Traditional determinants of professions are examined to enable a greater understanding of the limited scope of their applications. Ultimately, this chapter concludes that the management occupation can be considered as a profession when assessed at a certain level of professionalization.

The Challenge for Management as a Profession

In the article, “No, Management is Not a Profession”, Barker (2010) explains how management is not and can never be a profession. He claims that the management occupation is absent of a professional body with control, it does not enforce ethical standards, and it lacks a discrete and accepted body of knowledge. Spender (2007) also claims a lack of a rigorous body of managerial knowledge and the unlikelihood of one that would actually be relevant to the practice of management. Similar to Barker (2010) and Spender (2007), Billsberry and Birnik (2010) compare the management occupation to the professions of law and medicine, and they emphasize the critical role of university-based management education. Specifically, they suggest that management students must undergo a postgraduate internship where they are “placed in real organizational settings under the tutelage of people who can properly help them learn” (Billsberry and Birnik 2010, p. 177), thereby mirroring the experience of doctors and lawyers as they transition from student to practitioner. What is noteworthy about these views, and others that repudiate management as a profession, is their direct reference to attributes commonly used to describe professions and the absence of any accompanying holistic assessment framework. The 'have or have not' nature of the arguments appears disconnected from the reality of practice where degrees of progress are discernable, as described throughout this chapter.

If the management occupation was ever to be considered as a profession on par with that of the medical and legal professions, a comprehensive framework consisting of agreed upon attributes must be applied to enable the determination. It is plausible to claim that the management occupation falls short of having a single governing body, universally accepted body of knowledge, fully integrated and enabled supporting educational system, and enforced codes of ethics. However, such claims are not absolute and applicable in all circumstances. Instead, to consider management or any other occupation as a true profession or profession at a subordinate level, each attribute or element would need to be assessed and categorized individually, followed by a collective assessment and subsequent overall determination. In this chapter, the full breadth of the management occupation will be considered as a profession through the selection and application of common attributes/elements and related conditions.

Civil Society as a Determinant of True Professions

In the broadest sense, for contemporary civil society to exist and indeed thrive there must be supporting systems to enable its sustainment. For instance, the exchange of goods and services are made possible by markets and associations in concert with the political state, which collectively act to meet an array of foundational and essential societal needs (Pérez-Díaz 2014). Scott (2003) describes how organizations are subsystems of larger social systems and they are "connected in numerous and vital ways" (p. 325), resulting in an inextricable link. The interrelationships between organizations and civil society are collective in nature—organizations employ personnel and societies consist of individuals. Similarly, the interdependencies between organizations and civil society are also collective—organizations depend upon financial resources from society and society needs goods and services provided by organizations. These collective attributes are important to acknowledge because they allow for a macro view that helps explain why some occupations are considered as true professions when civil society is the primary overarching determinant.

Defining and describing professions is a formidable task, and the extant literature is replete with points of both divergence and convergence. Early descriptions of professions identified the occupations of medicine, law, and divinity with an emphasis on education, association, and specialization (Addison and Steele 1711). As the medical occupation advanced, an additional emphasis was placed on service to the public, advancement of intellectual knowledge, and regulation by the government (Black 1840). Lowell (1923) explained how the common consciousness and spirit of the group, advancement of specialized knowledge, establishment of principles, and necessity of a university-level education contributed to a true profession. Theories and descriptions of professions continued to evolve to include lists of common attributes and criteria asserted as key determinants (Carr-Saunders and Wilson 1933; Greenwood 1957; Wilensky 1964). While these theories tended to represent a merging of ideas, other theories explored various conditions as determinants of professions (Abbott 1988; Olgiati 2010) and were, therefore, more distinct. The references to the occupations of medicine and law as professions are consistent throughout literature, and this observation is further supported by the indisputable service of physicians and lawyers to civil society.

The critical needs of civil society—physiological needs to survive and security needs for law and order—are plausible determinants for the recognition of the medical and legal occupations as true professions. While this macro view supports such a determination, a more individual-focused micro view allows for increased differentiation. For instance, doctors and lawyers as individual practitioners receive comparatively greater levels of deference, trust, and compensation from clients seeking their services (Abbott 1988; Adams 2010; Khurana and Nohria 2008; Olgiati 2010).

This client–practitioner relationship highlights the individual and indeed personal exchange in the context of a professional service wherein the client requires specialized services that they cannot provide for themselves. This micro view also enables us to understand the intricacies of the exchange whilst appreciating how this activity underpins the overarching macro view and role of civil society. Civil society, therefore, plays a key role in the determination of true professions and the individual practitioners that thrive in these occupations.

Establishing the Occupational Baseline

Civil society refers to a collection of citizens with common interests and associations (Pérez-Díaz 2014). It is largely through civil society that economies function to enable sustainment. Individual employment is surveyed and codified by most nation states with results disseminated through various labor and occupational publications. In the European Union (EU), occupations are codified in the European Classification of Skills/Competencies, Qualifications and Occupations catalogue (European Commission 2013), and in the United States (US) occupations are codified in the Standard Occupational Classification system (US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 2010a). Tables 14.1–14.4, *Occupational Classification Levels and Descriptions*, are samples of occupational information from EU and US classification systems, and they highlight the medical and management occupations. According to the EU classification system, doctors are codified and described in the General medical practice subcategory and two tiers subordinate to the major group titled Human health and social work activities (Table 14.1). Similarly, in the US classification system, physicians and surgeons are codified and described in the Physicians and Surgeons subcategory and two tiers subordinate to the major group titled Healthcare practitioners and technical occupations (Table 14.2). In these two nation-state occupational classification examples, we observe the true profession of medicine codified within the third level of classification, and this position within a recognized structure establishes a baseline from which other professions can be discerned. In his research on systemic aspects of professions, Abbott (1988) used similar analyses of labor force data to compare and contrast the medical profession to other occupational areas, resulting in an ability to assess related professional authority and influence. Hence, a holistic and systemic view of professions involves underlying research of labor force classification systems and structures.

Table 14.1 Occupational classification for general medical practice

	Occupational classification levels		
Geographic area	Level 1—major group	Level 2—minor group, subcategory 1	Level 3—minor group, subcategory 2
European Union (EU)	Human health and social work activities	Medical and dental practice activities	General medical practice[a]

[a]Description of general medical practice—doctor private practice, doctor's surgery, family doctor service, general medical practitioner, homeopath (registered medical practitioner), medical consultation and treatment (general), medical group practice, osteopath (registered medical practitioner), school medical officer health board, medical officer health board

Sources: Central Statistics Office (2014a, 2014b), EUROPA (2010) and European Commission (2013)

Table 14.2 Occupational classification for physicians and surgeons

	Occupational classification levels		
Geographic area	Level 1—major group	Level 2—minor group, subcategory 1	Level 3—minor group, subcategory 2
United States (US)	Healthcare practitioners and technical occupations	Health diagnosing and treating practitioners	Physicians and surgeons[a]

[a]Description of physicians and surgeons—physicians and surgeons diagnose and treat injuries or illnesses. Physicians examine patients; take medical histories; prescribe medications; and order, perform, and interpret results from diagnostic tests. They counsel patients on diet, hygiene, and preventive healthcare. Surgeons operate on patients to treat injuries, such as broken bones; diseases, such as cancerous tumors; and deformities, such as cleft palates

Sources: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010a, b, c, d, e, 2017)

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, management is not regarded as a true profession, and one of the major reasons for this assessment is the broad and general nature of the management function and the accompanying role of the manager (Barker 2010; Spender 2007). Drawing from our analysis of the medical profession, we can apply the same baseline structure to analyze the management occupation. According to the EU classification system, we observe the management occupation in the major sectoral reference group titled Professional, scientific and technical activities. The first minor subcategory is titled Activities of head offices; management consultancy activities, and within the second minor subcategory titled Activities of head offices, the full scope of the management occupation is described (Table 14.3). In comparison, the US classification system establishes a major group titled Management occupations, with the first minor subcategory titled Top executives. The management occupation is described in the second minor subcategories titled Chief executives and General and operations managers. The chief executives are described as having roles at the highest level of management with distinct responsibilities for devising strategies and policies along with planning, directing, and coordinating activities for their organizations. The operations managers also plan, direct, and coordinate; however, their duties and responsibilities are largely diverse and generalized beyond any of the supporting functional areas of management or administration (Table 14.4). Similar to the true

Table 14.3 Occupational classification for activities of head offices

	Occupational classification levels		
Geographic area	Level 1—major group	Level 2—minor group, subcategory 1	Level 3—minor group, subcategory 2
European Union (EU)	Professional, scientific and technical activities	Activities of head offices; management consultancy activities	Activities of head offices[a]

[a]Description of activities of head offices—activities of centralized administrative offices, corporate offices, district and regional offices, activities of head offices, activities of subsidiary management offices, head office of company operating abroad, head office of holding company, holding companies management activities

Sources: Central Statistics Office (2014a, 2014b), EUROPA (2010) and European Commission (2013)

Table 14.4 Occupational classification for chief executives, and general and operations managers

	Occupational classification levels		
Geographic area	Level 1—major group	Level 2—minor group, subcategory 1	Level 3—minor group, subcategory 2
United States (US)	Management occupations	Top executives	Chief executives[a] General and operations managers[b]

[a]Description of chief executives—determine and formulate policies and provide overall direction of companies or private and public sector organizations within guidelines set up by a board of directors or similar governing body. Plan, direct, or coordinate operational activities at the highest level of management with the help of subordinate executives and staff managers
[b]Description of general and operations managers—plan, direct, or coordinate the operations of public or private sector organizations. Duties and responsibilities include formulating policies, managing daily operations, and planning the use of materials and human resources, but are too diverse and general in nature to be classified in any one functional area of management or administration, such as personnel, purchasing, or administrative services. Excludes first-line supervisors
Sources: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010a, b, c, d, e, 2017)

profession of medicine with doctors classified within a second minor subcategory, the management occupation consisting of head offices and chief executives are classified at the same level reflecting a small population of an overarching occupation. To consider management as a profession begins with the establishment of a baseline for comparison. Hence, the EU and US occupational classification systems are not only long-established frameworks for assessing occupational data, but also key sources from which a holistic perspective of occupations and professions may be derived.

A Professionalization Framework for Assessing Management

Although the broad and general nature of management can be partially addressed through the lens of occupational classifications, another more holistic lens focused on the process of professionalization allows for an additional assessment of management as a profession. Professionalization is a process that renders or makes a person, and the related occupational group professional (Muzio and Kirkpatrick 2011; Wilensky 1964). Accordingly, an occupation becomes recognized as a profession when specific criteria and attributes are discernable in some categorical manner. Although a debate continues regarding the meaning and efficacy of professionalization (Abbott 1991), the process and accompanying constructs continue to evolve.

The management occupation can be assessed and recognized as a profession using a new professionalization model. Unlike Wilensky's (1964) landmark process of professionalization model, Abbott's (1988, 1991) single condition-focused jurisdiction theory, and numerous other attribute models used to describe professions, the professionalization framework depicted in Table 14.5, *Professionalization framework—assessment of the management occupation in the United States*, consists of five levels of professionalization presented in a graduated order, with ten specific framework elements to enable a comprehensive qualitative assessment of any occupation (Delacruz 2014). When populated with occupational information, each level facilitates the determination of an overall subjective assessment and distinctive category for a profession—in this particular case, the management occupation. Level 1—Very Low, represents <u>non-professions</u>, and information in this column would indicate a nascent occupation with the potential of advancing to an emerging profession. Level 2—Low, represents <u>emerging professions</u>, and information in this column would indicate initial progress across several framework elements and the presence of enduring activity to advance the occupation. Level 3—Medium, represents <u>aspiring professions</u>, and information in this column would indicate a mature occupation having achieved remarkable progress across many framework elements. Level 4—High, represents <u>advanced professions</u>, and information in this column would indicate a mature occupation having maximized progress across most framework elements and establishing a degree of linkage to the needs of civil society. Level 5—Very High, represents <u>true professions</u>, and information in this column would indicate a long-standing occupation having maximized progress across all framework elements and establishing a direct linkage to civil society through the client–practitioner relationship.

Table 14.5 Professionalization framework—assessment of the management occupation in the United States

Framework element	Level of professionalization: Level 1—Very Low, Non-professions	Level 2—Low, Emerging Professions	Level 3—Medium, Aspiring professions	Level 4—High, Advanced professions	Level 5—Very high, True professions
1. Active national-level association	Strategic Management Society	American Management Association National Management Association Information Systems Audit and Control Association	Project Management Institute Institute of Certified Professional Managers Chartered Financial Analyst Institute	Society for Human Resource Management Association for Operations Management	
2. Formal body of knowledge		Strategic Management Strategic Planning	Project Management Operations Management	Human Resource Management	
3. University-level education		Bachelor of Management Bachelor of Business Administration	Master in Management Master of Human resources Master of Finance Master of Information technology	Doctor of Management Doctor of Finance Doctor in Information Technology	
4. Established certification program	Strategic Planning Professional	Certified Manager Strategic Management Professional	Project Management Professional Certified Information Security Manager Chartered Financial Analyst	Society for Human Resource Management Certified Professional	

(*continued*)

Table 14.5 (continued)

Framework element	Level of professionalization: Level 1—Very Low, Non-professions	Level 2—Low, Emerging Professions	Level 3—Medium, Aspiring professions	Level 4—High, Advanced professions	Level 5—Very high, True professions
5. Enforced code of ethics/conduct	Established but no significant enforcement	Strategic Management Society Guidelines for Professional Conduct	Project Management Institute Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct	National Management Association Code of Ethics	
6. Societal sanction	No direct influence upon management occupations				
7. Established licensing program	No requirement for management occupations				
8. Autonomous nature of employment	Limited based on organizational setting				
9. Advancement of professional knowledge	Advancements but no requirement		Yes, active and contributing membership	Yes, peer-reviewed articles and studies	
10. Established continuing education requirements	Established but no significant enforcement	Yes, frequent conferences with training and educational opportunities	Yes, established programs for recertification and continuing education		

Sources: Barnett et al. (2006), Delacruz (2014), Chartered Financial Analyst Institute (2017), Information Systems Audit and Control Association (2017), Institute of Certified Professional Managers (2017), Rollinson (2011)

With five levels of professionalization established, each framework element can be applied and a subjective assessment of the level achieved can be determined. The following lists the framework elements followed by descriptions and applications as applied to the management occupation highlighted in Table 14.5:

1. An active national-level association
2. A formal body of knowledge
3. University-level education
4. Established certification programs
5. Enforced code of conduct
6. Societal sanction
7. Established licensing program
8. Autonomous nature of employment
9. Advancement of professional knowledge
10. Established continuing education requirements

An Active National-Level Association

For a profession to exist, there must be some form of overarching governance which represents and upholds the collective interests of its individual practitioners (Abbott 1988; Greenwood 1957; Noordegraaf 2011; Wilensky 1964). An active national-level association is required for professions to advance because many activities must be orchestrated to recruit, indoctrinate, govern, and sustain a highly specialized workforce. Moreover, these associations must collaborate with respective nation-state governments to affect policies and regulations, thereby ensuring standards are upheld and enforced as appropriate. Using the medical profession as an example, the European Union of Medical Specialists (2017) organization represents the majority of medical specialists (i.e., doctors and surgeons) practicing in 34 countries. Correspondingly, in the US, the American Medical Association (2016) represents the majority of physicians and surgeons (Sullivan 2017). These associations are involved in a myriad of activities to advance the true profession of medicine.

Building upon the previously discussed occupational baseline for the management occupation, a selection of active national-level associations focused on management are identified and included in Table 14.5. The largest and most active associations focus on the Top executives minor occupational group and they categorize primarily from Level 2 to Level 4 of the framework. These noteworthy associations representing the management occupation are diversified among functional lines (i.e., operations, finance, sales, information technology, and human resources) except for the Strategic Management Society, which is closely aligned with the Chief executives management subcategory. An assessment of Level 3 for the active national-level association framework element is predicated upon the categorized information, though not all inclusive, provided in the framework. More precisely, this information indicates that the management occupation is represented by active national-level associations to a medium degree and consistent with that of aspiring professions. Although there is no single governing body for the entire management occupation, this ideal criterion does not even exist for the medical and legal true professions. The nine remaining framework elements require the attention if not full support of respective national-level associations.

A Formal Body of Knowledge

As occupations evolve, their employees and related associations or institutions continuously gather, develop, and codify the various forms of knowledge and experience required to perform the full scope of related roles, responsibilities, and associated tasks (Greenwood 1957; Khurana et al. 2005). This comprehensive and detailed collection of information is referred to as a body of knowledge and it consists of not only the written (e.g., books, articles, and studies), spoken (e.g., audio), and otherwise displayed (e.g., visual) knowledge of the collective occupation, but also its less tangible, experiential, and ontological meanings (Olgiati 2010; Scott 2003). Using the medical profession as an example, Freidson (1985) explained the existence of a significant "knowledge gap" between the medical knowledge of the practitioner and that of the health consumer

(p. 18). For instance, medical practitioners will control, codify, refine, communicate, and augment the medical profession's body of knowledge and skill (Freidson 1985, p. 30). However, health consumers are generally not educated and skilled in such knowledge and this is why they seek out health care professionals. For occupations to advance toward recognition as a true profession, they must develop and sustain a formal, comprehensive body of knowledge from which their practitioners are enabled to provide specialized services. Moreover, these practitioners are expected to contribute to the continual effort to advance the body of knowledge through research, collaboration, practice, training, education, and embracement of technological advancements.

With full acknowledgment of the broad nature of the management occupation, formal bodies of knowledge have been developed for both the general occupation and specific functional areas. Management education is codified and taught in university-level programs and at all levels. Major formal bodies of knowledge are also codified and in practice and several of them are identified in Table 14.5. The most prominent, codified, and formalized bodies of knowledge for the management occupation categorize primarily in Level 3 of the framework. For instance, Project Management, Operations Management, and Human Resources Management are well-developed management bodies of knowledge, and they serve as primary sources for developing educational and certifications programs.

University-Level Education

Professions require members to not only embrace a vast and evolving body of knowledge, but also to achieve specific levels of education through academia and prior to entry into the workforce (Evetts 2011; Olgiati 2010). A university-level education is often required to function as an expert in certain occupations. Olgiati (2010) explains how in the case of modern society, the cognitive and operational expertise enabled by higher education is an "absolutely qualifying professional attribute" (p. 830). Higher education is delivered mainly in three modes to include undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate studies. At the undergraduate level, the aspiring professional will gain foundational knowledge and some degree of specialized knowledge and related skills (Wilensky 1964). However, at the graduate and postgraduate levels, the student focuses on advanced and systematic theory (Greenwood 1957) while being socialized to the professional field and "social and moral sides of professional behavior" (Noordegraaf 2011, p. 470). Using the medical profession as an example, in the US, medical students complete four years of undergraduate school, four years of medical school, then three to seven years in internship and residency programs (US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 2017). In this instance, the achievement of a graduate-level degree, albeit essential and invaluable, is merely a milestone along the path toward becoming a member of the true profession of medicine.

Management education at all levels is readily available at most universities and several degree granting programs are identified and included in Table 14.5. Educational programs specific to the management occupation range from bachelor to doctoral level degrees. This sampling is not all-inclusive as degree programs for the many subsets of management are also offered. University-level education programs for the management occupation are broad in scope and account for the various subsets of management (i.e., finance, information technology, and business administration). An assessment of Level 3 for the university-level education framework element is predicated upon the categorized information, though not all inclusive, provided in the framework. More precisely, this information indicates that the management occupation is supported by numerous educational programs at all levels of education, thereby allowing members of the aspiring management profession to obtain foundational and advanced formal education.

Established Certification Programs

Professions increasingly require members to obtain and maintain one or more certifications in order to practice in the particular occupational specialty (Daniels 2011). Ideally, certification programs are logical extensions of formal university-based education. Yet the requirement for certification is not limited to the professions or limited occupational context. Rather, organizations are also establishing requirements for certification to ensure the highest standards are in practice by employees (Daniels 2011) and supporting organizations (Scott 2003). What is important to note about the certification programs is that they represent a form of accountability—the practitioner or organization must demonstrate a measurable degree of competence prior to engaging in work or related activity. Building upon a widely accepted body of knowledge, inclusive of related university-level education and research, a certification program enables associations to assess the knowledge and expertise of its members and to confer appropriate credentials. Using the medical profession as an example, following the formal education phase, medical students advance to internships and residencies whereupon they must achieve national-level board certifications for their specialty area (Freidson 1985).

Associations that govern or otherwise advance the US Management occupation or EU Activities of head offices sectoral reference group offer an array of certification programs for their members. Several of the most established and active certification programs are identified and included in Table 14.5. Consistent with the active national-level association and formal body of knowledge framework elements, the established certification program element focuses on the Top executives' minor occupational group, and it categorizes primarily from Level 2 to Level 4 of the framework. The certification programs listed reflect the rigor of the program and the degree of involvement of the association to advance the program and other framework elements. An assessment of Level 3 for the established certification program framework element is predicated upon the categorized information, though not all inclusive, provided in the framework.

Enforced Code of Conduct

Professions establish and enforce codes of ethics or conduct to ensure the highest of standards in practice are adhered to thereby enabling the trusted client–practitioner relationship—clients value and trust their practitioners, knowing that they are specially educated, trained and skilled

(Greenwood 1957; Khurana and Nohria 2008). For instance, after eight years of research and revision, the American Medical Association (AMA) published an updated AMA Code of Medical Ethics that more effectively aligns with the true principles of the profession (Moran 2017). Regarding the management occupation, there are several codes of conduct or ethics developed and disseminated by active national-level associations. However, neither of these codes are enforced to such a degree that the management practitioner would be subject to legal action or loss of job (Barker 2010; Khurana et al. 2005). As a result, an assessment of Level 1 for the established code of ethics/conduct framework element for the management occupation is indicated in Table 14.5.

Societal Sanction

The practitioner provides specialized services to clients to meet their unique needs in such a way that the practitioner's work is extremely valued (Greenwood 1957; Olgiati 2010). In turn, the client extends considerable deference and trust. On a larger scale, the client represents the community, and indeed civil society, coexisting with the function and power of the government. Societal sanction is therefore the linkage between professions and civil society that yields mutual benefits and responsibilities (Greenwood 1957; Olgiati 2010).

Regarding the management occupation, the requirement for social sanction does not directly apply. Management practitioners do not rely upon civil society as much as they rely upon the organizations that employ them. Instead of treating, curing, and addressing the most critical of human conditions, management practitioners focus on the organizational problem set to produce and provide goods and services. There are instances where managers link to civil society by means of corporate social responsibility; however, such an outreach is limited in its contribution to social sanction (Porter and Kramer 2007). Of all framework elements, societal sanction limits the degree to which any occupation can professionalize should that occupation not directly address critical societal needs. In the case of management, an organizational sanction is more applicable because managers directly address the organizational problem set. However, the organizational sanction framework element is not yet fully developed (Delacruz 2014). As a result, an assessment of Level 1 for the societal sanction element for the management occupation is indicated in Table 14.5.

Established Licensing Program

Professions require members to obtain and maintain one or more licenses in order to practice in the particular occupational specialty or related capacity (Adams 2010). A licensing program is an element of a profession that represents a tangible and significant milestone for the members of that profession. Building upon a widely accepted body of knowledge inclusive of related university-level education and research, a licensing program enables assessment of knowledge and expertise and confers appropriate credentials. Unlike certification programs, licensing programs are required by an enforcing body and sanctioned by local, state, and federal-level government entities. Licenses serve as a formal means to allow practitioners to engage in work under a sanctioned credential and to achieve minimum standards of practice (Flood 2011).

Regarding the management occupation, there is no requirement for licensing. Management practitioners are not constrained nor enabled by licensure. One reason for this situation involves the lack of an explicit client–practitioner relationship. Unlike physicians and lawyers, managers directly serve their organizations first and foremost. Managers are accountable to the needs of their organizations, and any form of license to perform their duties is not enforced outside of that organization as a condition of employment. As a result, an assessment of Level 1 for the established licensing program element for the management occupation is indicated in Table 14.5.

Framework Elements Assessed as Negligible

The ten professionalization framework elements are listed in ascending order from foundational (1–5), to advanced (6–8), and sustaining (9 and 10) (see Table 14.5). Assessment of the management occupation as a profession is sufficiently accomplished using the first seven framework elements. The autonomous nature of employment framework element refers to the practitioner's relatively unhindered ability to make decisions that directly address client needs (Wilensky 1964). Specific to the management occupation, the absence of societal sanction and accompanying licensing render this element as negligible. The advancement of professional knowledge builds upon the formal body of knowledge framework element, and it involves, for instance, practitioners conducting studies and writing peer-reviewed journal articles. While these activities occur within management occupation, there are no established requirements and this element is assessed as negligible. Similarly, the continuing education requirements framework element builds upon formal education and required certification/licensing requirements. While forms of continuing education are in implementation within the management occupation, there are no established requirements and enforcement resulting in this element as negligible.

Summary of Assessment

The management occupation is in a state of professionalization as evidenced by the presence of national-level associations that are active in advancing requisite education and certification identified in Table 14.5. Foundational framework elements (1–4) are assessed at Level 3—Medium (Aspiring Professions) and they are supported by other framework elements (5, 9, and 10) assessed at Level 1—Very low (Non-professions). The management occupation as a profession is constrained by an absence of societal sanction and accompanying regulation. Advanced framework elements (6 and 7) are assessed at Level 1—Very low (Non-professions). Lastly, the management occupation is limited by negligible efforts to include enforcement of a code of ethics/conduct, autonomous nature of employment, advancement of professional knowledge, and requirements for continuing education. As a result of assessing each framework element and determining an overall average, the management occupation in the US is assessed at Level 2—Low (Emerging Professions).

Conclusion

The debate surrounding the determination of occupations as professions will continue to endure given the absence of a universally accepted set of criteria and accompanying framework to enable application. Moreover, civil society's role in the determination of true professions will remain as a key variable in any model of professionalization. This chapter reflects the application of a new professionalization framework to enable the identification of distinct levels of professionalization to enable a subjective assessment of the management occupation. Practitioners in the management occupation may or may not fully meet the requirements associated with framework attributes/elements, but the levels allow for an acknowledgment and assessment of where practitioners plot along a continuum towards recognition as a true profession.

Despite the claims of the management occupation falling short of being recognized as a true profession, there is evidence of management's advancement along a path of professionalization. The management occupation in the US is assessed as an *emerging profession* (Level 2) based on individual and collective assessments identified and assessed using this new professionalization framework. Numerous active national level associations represent the management occupation. Formal bodies of knowledge have been assembled and published for the management occupation and its subsets. Management practitioners hold university-level degrees and they maintain various types of certifications. Hence, the progress achieved by the management occupation is remarkable given the paradigm of civil society as a determinant of true professions. Further advancement of the management occupation would involve a greater and concerted role of organizations in the context of sanctioning. Rather than societal sanction as a driver for determining which occupations are true professions, a form of organizational sanction could drive the determination of occupations as advanced professions, arguably the pinnacle of professions that indirectly serve an array of civil society needs.

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Section B. *Should* but *Can* Not Become a Profession

15

The Professionalization of Medical Management? The Slow and Chequered Case of UK Health Care

Ewan Ferlie

Introduction

Health care was the site for the development of an outstandingly successful profession, namely medicine, in the mid-nineteenth century. More recently, nursing has engaged in a similar "professionalization project", although with limited results. Other aspirant groups (midwives; health visitors; physiotherapists) constitute a complex system of health care professions, trying to build up their own turf and jurisdictions (Abbott 1988; also see Montgomery 2013 for a recent overview of the development of various health care professions). So historically, health care has been both a highly and also multi-professionalized sector.

The question explored here is: *is medical management developing as a new profession in health care?* The term "medical management" implies the management function is undertaken by doctors (and nurses) taking on hybrid clinical–managerial roles; conversely, *not* undertaken by lay (or non-clinical) general managers. Since the 1980s, repeated policy-driven

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attempts tried to upgrade management capacity in increasingly expensive health care systems (see Pettigrew et al. 1992, on the UK; Scott et al. 2000, on the US), so the question of where any enhanced management function "falls" is important.

This chapter will, firstly, review some academic literature to orientate the discussion theoretically. It will, secondly, briefly explore the history of national policy towards medical management in the UK's NHS (National Health Service). It will, thirdly, benchmark UK developments against findings from comparable US studies (Montgomery 1990; Montgomery and Oliver 2007). It concludes with broader reflections about possible reasons for the slower professionalization of medical management in the UK than the US and some wider implications of the analysis developed here.

Normatively, it is here argued that the professionalization of medical management would be a positive development from a societal and public interest perspective. This view suggests professions are—at their best—associated with an ethics code and the inculcation of a sense of vocation. Professions also often seek to develop a systematic knowledge base to inform practice, diffused through educational credentials. They should be sensitive to the quality of services delivered to their clients as well as cost. These traits are as useful in ensuring the more trustworthy, client-facing and knowledge-informed management of complex health care organizations as in front-line clinical practice. These qualities could also rebalance the agendas of health care organizations to prevent capture by over-narrow financial objectives. The professionalization of medical management is to be welcomed normatively; however, the empirical evidence suggests progress is mixed or even slow, notably in the UK. These arguments have obvious implications for other health care systems internationally but they could well also have wider repercussions for the style of management that may be preferred in a wider and important set of other professionalized or knowledge-based organizations, notably including law, accounting, universities, science-based firms and management consulting.

Academic Literature: Sociology of the Health Care Professions

Sociologists of the professions (Freidson 1970, 1985; Larson 1977) have been fascinated by the health care sector as it produced historically high levels of professional control, although recently this pattern has been challenged. The possession of an expert body of knowledge inaccessible to outsiders is a key claim that professions make, associated with a strategy of credentialism (Montgomery 1990). There is typically a claim for self-regulation rather than imposed external regulation from lay outsiders. Clinical professionals are socialized into the profession through a long and intensive education, originally as a student in medical school.

Such professional dominance exerted strong effects at the organizational as well as at the patient level. Classically, modestly styled “administrators” in professionalized organizations—including hospitals—displayed an indirect and facilitative form of management (Mintzberg 1983), with senior clinical professionals forming an operating core. Successful professions achieve market closure and construct a labor market shelter, controlling market entry and exit by individual professionals, and also insisting on educational credentials. They also self-regulate, for example, through the UK royal colleges in the case of medicine.

This traditional professional dominance model (Freidson 1970) was challenged by New Right governments of the 1980s, including those led by Ronald Reagan in the US (Scott et al. 2000) and Margaret Thatcher in the UK (Ferlie et al. 1996). The objectives of New Right health care reforms were to: contain cost escalation; increase transparency; empower health care consumers or their proxies and strengthen market forces and user choice. This New Public Management (NPM) reform recipe combined building stronger markets *across* the health care sector with more assertive lay management *within* health care organizations (Ferlie et al. 1996).

Some writers speculated about the radical deprofessionalization of health care (Haug 1988). One implication was that power would shift from clinical professionals to a new cadre of general (lay) managers. A second and more nuanced argument was that the medical profession would display internal restratification (Freidson 1985) so that a new medical management elite emerges from within the profession rather than from outside it. One question is whether this new hybrid elite would still support professional control or become distant from the professional rank and file. Waring (2014) developed Freidson's initial typology, identifying (amongst others) a new corporate clinical elite as co-owners of equity in growing private sector health care organizations. Waring (2007) pointed to the resilience and adaptability of clinical professionals: his study of the local implementation of new patient safety systems suggested clinicians could regroup and claw back organizational territory from general managers in new and clinically dominated decision-making systems.

Against these arguments, two contrary considerations suggest medical management might struggle to professionalize. Firstly, while medicine underwent a rapid professionalization process around the 1850s, subsequent professionalization processes were slower, more contested or have stalled. Muzio et al. (2011) suggest that modern societies may be less receptive for profession building, given weaker basic values of social deference and trust which historically underpinned such processes.

Secondly, why should medical management professionalize when management as a broader occupational group has long struggled so to do? The longstanding UK Chartered Management Institute (for a description of current activities available on their website, see CMI 2017) has so far achieved little market closure. Reed and Anthony (1992) argue that dominant forms of UK management education are too mechanistic and intellectually weak to support management developing as a reflective, self-governing profession.

A Brief History of NHS Management Reforms

Historically, UK health care displays a largely publicly funded system and only a small private sector. As such, the NHS has been vulnerable to successive imposed top-down policy "reforms" (Klein 2013) from the Department of Health. Three policy initiatives with strong implications for NHS management will now be considered.

Up to the mid-1980s, a classically Mintzbergian (Mintzberg 1983) pattern of organizing within a professional bureaucracy was evident, which produced informal dominance by the health care professions (especially medicine). During the 1970s, a consensus management-based system involved medicine, nursing and administrative groups but implied only a modest role for "administration". Clinical groupings could easily veto unwanted change. During the 1980s, there was an increasing political perception that the NHS was immobile, unable to progress top-down demands for rapid retrenchment (e.g. hospital closures).

The Griffiths Report (Griffiths 1983) led to an important NHS management reform strong (lay) general management, introduced in the mid-1980s. Griffiths argued empowered general managers would increase the local drive needed to achieve national policy objectives and reduce large implementation gaps (Pettigrew et al. 1992). The initial focus was on attracting senior managers from the private sector, although this policy had very mixed success and in practice the new general managers were often younger NHS administrators who knew the sector. Pettigrew et al. (1992) found they generally welcomed a broader role and sought to progress strategic service changes, including accelerating the hospital closures demanded in national policy. They did not adopt a heroic or individualist leadership style, but often worked in small mixed teams, including with senior medical and nursing leaders.

Griffiths (1983) produced two less remembered but important proposals: more patient feedback and (of interest here) support for "getting doctors into management", with appropriate administrative support and better-developed clinical and financial information systems. The Department of Health sponsored local pilots to take this clinical management agenda forward.

A second major reform was the 1990 Health and Community Care Act, which replaced the old planning-based system by a quasi-market designed to mimic supposedly beneficial market forces. Although the NHS remained in public ownership, newly created and separate purchasing and providing organizations now related through contracts rather than hierarchy. On the provider side, the old directly managed hospitals became operationally independent NHS "Trusts" which in principle could compete for contracts from purchasers (although in reality the quasi-market remained highly managed). The purchasers could let contracts to independent and non-NHS providers. This basic purchaser/provider split has endured since 1990, although with frequent—if often superficial—reorganization, especially on the purchaser side.

As the Act required hospital services to be costed, marketed, made more efficient and quality assured, so medical management capacity needed to be upgraded (as Griffiths 1983, earlier suggested). Clinical managers might well have greater knowledge of the key dimension of health care "quality" than lay general managers. A clinical directorate model pioneered in Guy's Hospital in London (borrowing from Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, US) (Coombs 2004) now spread widely across the NHS. They were usually led by a part-time clinical director who retained some clinical practice, but who worked closely with a senior nurse and a general manager/accountant in a triumvirate. Further clinical managerial hybrids emerged in the 1990s (Ferlie et al. 1996), including primary care physicians recast as clinical managers in new and more managed primary care organizations and also Directors of Public Health in purchasing organizations, tasked with assessing population needs and (hopefully) reflecting them in contracts with providers. In the early 1990s, these hybrid roles were new and supported by intensive educational and training programs but such investment tailed off.

A third and more recent policy text is Cm 7432 ("High Quality Care for All") (2008) which strongly supported the revival of *clinical* leadership, criticizing earlier general managerially led approaches that reduced clinical engagement and initiative. Lord Darzi led the writing of the report, being a junior minister in the Department of Health at the time (under the New Labour government) and also an eminent professor of surgery and a major health policy leader. Cm 7432 (2008) led to renewed policy activity and investment in clinical leadership, including in a cohort of so-called "Darzi Fellows" selected as younger clinical leaders and provided with a development program. Thus significant national resources were again made available for clinical leadership programs.

The Professionalization of American Medical Management

The professionalization of American medical management was examined by Montgomery (1990) and Montgomery and Oliver (2007). We will review both articles and benchmark their analysis against the UK case. Montgomery (1990) argued that the 1980s cost containment-orientated US health policy reforms opened a niche for a new managerial jurisdiction that might in principle be filled by clinical/managerial hybrids. As well as favorable structural conditions, subjective processes of resource mobilization were needed for this profession to develop, including: (i) "discovering colleagueship" or recruiting potential members and building a collective professional identity, and (ii) legitimacy building and creating an externally recognized jurisdiction.

Significant activity went back to the 1970s. In 1975, the American Academy of Medical Directors was formed (the title was itself significant in claiming a new identity). In 1979, it morphed into the American College of Physician Executives (ACPE), which acted as (Montgomery 1990, p. 189) the national professional accrediting association exclusively recognizing and certifying physician executives. The American Medical Association was supportive, giving the college (1984) a seat on its house of delegates and recognizing its educational programs.

ACPE sought recognition from the American Board of Medical Specialties (ABMS) as a new speciality but its requirement for "teachable and testable" knowledge was not easy to fulfil and this ambition remains unrealized. Various educational programs were offered by different universities in clinical leadership but with weak standardization and the College had little direct control over curricula offered.

Overall, there was found to be a mixed or an "uncertain picture". Structural conditions for creating a new jurisdiction of medical management were favorable and processes of resource mobilization underway. But "the prize was far from assured" (Montgomery 1990, p. 194) as: (i) the occupational identity was still unclear; (ii) a body of "teachable and testable" knowledge was not agreed and (iii) there was (and remains) no ABMS recognition.

Fitzgerald et al. (2006, pp. 169–70) benchmarked UK developments against Montgomery (1990), but saw only very limited progress. Hybrid roles were widely evident, but often narrowly concentrated on operational management and covering only one clinical specialty. There was limited attention to wider service improvement or change management issues. Day-to-day operational pressures could be overwhelming: “The conclusion is more pessimistic than much of the earlier literature which has assumed relatively broad role definition.” There were major education and training needs and medical management in primary care was very weakly developed. There were problematic relations reported between clinical managerial hybrids and rank and file clinical colleagues.

When benchmarked against Montgomery (1990), “we again found evidence of only a very limited professionalization process” (Fitzgerald et al. 2006, p. 170) and again: “more fundamentally, the hybrid group does not yet have a coherent work identity or credentialized knowledge base” (p. 170). There was no formal recognition of medical management as a specialty. They found (p. 170): “Other medical professionals do not consider clinical management to represent a medical speciality, rather clinical managers uncomfortably span the managerial clinical divide and are not full or influential members of either occupational group.” Many hybrids reported they did not want to remain in clinical management. Fitzgerald et al. (2006) called for more research into the “remainers”.

More recently, Ham et al. (2011) studied a cohort of 22 current or former medically trained NHS CEOs, characterizing them as “keen amateurs” who were vulnerable in post and who needed more professional development. These CEOs were often motivated by the opportunity to undertake large-scale service improvement activity level. But they had generally received little structured advice or guidance and highly variable education and training opportunities. No one qualification was mandatory. Most abandoned clinical work given the pressured demands of the CEO role. Many reported shifting personal identities and now saw themselves as leaders who combined clinical and managerial experience as opposed to simply being clinicians. The high turnover of post holders could adversely affect their careers. Ham et al. (2011) benchmarked their findings against Montgomery (1990) and Fitzgerald et al. (2006), again suggesting slow UK progress (p. 118).

Montgomery and Oliver (2007) examined how a new social entity comes into being by constructing boundaries around itself. They developed a general four-stage process based model which they then applied to American medical management as a case study.

In a long Stage 1 (1950–1974), informal networking from a like-minded grouping of institutional entrepreneurs created a provisional institutional entity. As early as 1950, the American Association of Medical Clinics (AAMC) was founded as a representative body for relevant health care organizations (notably, large group practices), which then provided networking opportunities for clinic directors. A proposal to set up a body to represent these individuals was passed at its 1973 AGM. The American Association of Medical Directors (AAMD) was created in 1974 with only 64 founding members.

In a short Stage 2 (1975–80), this nascent grouping engaged in outward-facing activity to import new members and make initial domain claims externally. The AAMD quickly founded its own journal and put on educational programs with prestigious universities where nationally recognized management scholars taught. CME credits were secured from the AMA in 1976. The entity renamed itself as the American College of Physician Executives to broaden its appeal, modelling the approach of well-established medical colleges.

The critical Stage 3 (1981–1995) marks the period when a new social identity crystallized, coinciding with a rapid take-off in ACPE membership. This period combined intensive inwards facing (or centripetal) work in forging a group identity, alongside still making more domain claims externally (or centrifugal work). Montgomery and Oliver (2007) argued (p. 673): "evidence began to appear, by the 1980s, of a switch to centripetal forces to generate membership exclusivity and a standardized social identity". Fellowship awards were introduced (1981). More educational programs and credentials were established, partnering with leading universities. Their journal (*Physician Executive*) became refereed (1989). The group leadership (1987) called for a code of behavior and quality standards to be adopted by the association and all its members.

Stage 4 (1996 onwards) displayed a process of institutionalization when the new entity became a legitimate actor in the field and achieved stability. They conclude in a relatively optimistic manner: "the profession of physician executive had been well recognized and taken for granted in the field" (Montgomery and Oliver 2007). Membership stabilized at about 10,000 members, their journal was indexed and refereed and they partnered with leading universities to offer masters in medical management. A new award of Distinguished Fellow (2001) provided a further credential, designed to celebrate individual achievements in clinical leadership (so publicly reinforcing a new identity amongst fellows).

More recently, the entity renamed itself as the American Association for Physician Leadership (see AAPL 2017). "Leadership" was now preferred as a broader and softer word than "Executive". Its journal was renamed the *Physician Leadership Journal*. AAPL offers extensive networking and career development opportunities.

We comment that there are limits to the American project's success: medical management is still not recognized by the ABMS as a speciality. A Masters in Clinical Management remains permissive and not mandatory and there is no standard curriculum. There is no requirement for a state license affirming clinical *management* credentials rather than clinical ones.

The UK Case: Slower Progress?

The British Association of Medical Managers (BAMM) (1990–2011) was the first UK national organization promoting medical management. It went into insolvency in 2011, not because of any wrongdoing, but for failing to generate secure income in difficult financial times.

An analysis of its filed annual accounts (Companies House 2017) suggests BAMM adopted aspects of a professionalization project: it sought individual membership subscriptions from clinicians and like-minded others (but this pluralism suggested weak exclusivity); it had a peer reviewed journal (*Clinician in Management*) originally published by an academic publisher but later renamed *Clinical Leader* (2009) and brought in house (so producing a lack of continuity); it produced other publications (but its annual reports indicate they were not easily written in practice); held an annual conference and offered day seminars (but no Master's program). There was no report of any elaboration of an ethical code.

These texts suggest many activities remained small scale, sometimes struggling to survive. BAMM's annual income was only about £1m.

BAMM was an important contractor in supporting NHS clinical management development (e.g. the "Fit to Lead" program). Its 2009 annual report indicated most income came from such project work rather than membership subscriptions. This NHS portfolio was jeopardized by substantial reductions in NHS management costs brought in by the new government (elected in 2010), which had given a broader pledge to limit government spending. BAMM quickly built up a financial deficit and went into receivership. As the Statement of Proposals from the appointed Administrator (2010) (Companies House 2017) put it: "The company had expected to have its financial situation relieved by the NHS filling its funding gap. However, following the general election, the newly elected government had announced restrictions in terms of funds available. The NHS carried out a review of BAMM.s operation and subsequently decided to withdraw funding."

The interpretation advanced here is that BAMM moved from Stage 1 to Stage 2 but not onto Stage 3. Liquidation instead marked a move back to Stage 1, where there is a network of supportive individuals but no institutional base. But BAMM's closure provoked renewed activity from senior figures in Royal Colleges to protect medical management from institutional collapse. Their activity was potentiated by the recent national policy level call (Cm 7432 2008) for better clinical leadership.

The Faculty of Medical Leadership and Management (FMLM 2017) created in 2011 was supported by the Royal College of General Practitioners (RCGP) and the Royal College of Physicians (RCP) and endorsed by the UK Academy of Medical Royal Colleges. It was not a royal college but was termed a faculty (so it had academic connotations). It launched profession building and credentialing initiatives, including a quarterly and peer-reviewed online journal (BMJ Leader) (2017), closely linked to the *British Medical Journal*. There is an annual conference of leaders in health care. They award fellowships, and also senior and founding fellowships, assessed against their own competences and standards. They offer an electronic book club and partner with other bodies to provide events, short courses and resources (but not a Masters degree). They developed evidence-based standards for clinical leaders, reflecting concern for a research base. But many initiatives are recent and at an early stage. Membership policy is inclusive and open to medical students and non-medical professionals; yet this pluralism paradoxically may retard a strong professionalization process.

Its 2015 annual report (FMLM 2016) suggests expenditure remains at just over £1m, so is small scale. The financial model is partly based on subscriptions from clinicians (£266K) but again "other" sources of income (£659K) remain important and the text refers to short-term NHS contracts (e.g. GP coaching scheme). One question arises: will BAMM's problematic funding pattern be replicated?

Benchmarking against the Montgomery and Oliver model (2007), the UK case appears to move back from Stage 2 to Stage 1 with the closure of BAMM in 2010, but back to Stage 2 with the creation of the new faculty in 2011. There now appears to be (2017) an intent to move to Stage 3 but it is too early to assess success. There are major challenges: there is still no Royal College of Medical Management and Leadership. Clinical leaders do not have to join the FMLM. There is no prescribed or standardized curriculum for aspirant medical managers or a well-established and high volume Masters degree (although in 2017 the FLML offered some bursaries on a new Masters in Medical Leadership offered by Cass Business School in London). Budgets remain small scale with (yet again) a danger of weak membership subscriptions and overdependence on short-term NHS contract work.

Comparative Analysis and Future Research: Why Might the UK Project Be Slower?

Montgomery and Oliver (2007) suggested the US medical management field reached Stage 3 in the 1980s and Stage 4 by the late 1990s. By contrast, the UK field will struggle to reach Stage 3 by 2020 and may not do so at all. Despite limitations to the American project, it seems significantly further ahead. Nor did the American system experience the equivalent of the BAMM's sudden closure.

So what might explain this variation? Here we present some preliminary arguments. One possible reason is that the US system is more market-led, whereas the UK system is still largely in the public sector. So the greater pressures to secure competitive advantage in the US might have stimulated medical management with its particular advantage in clinically facing fields of patient safety and quality, so important for building external reputation, legitimacy and finally competitive advantage.

It is the case that there were also quasi market-style pressures on NHS Trusts from 1990 onwards. They faced strong performance pressures and targets from regulators (Rosenberg Hansen and Ferlie 2016), including in the field of patient quality and safety where visible clinical leadership is key. Nevertheless, "real" competition may still be less in the UK than in the US so, for example, the NHS-wide tariff-based pricing system means no cost-led competition. It would be interesting in future research to analyze the content of the annual reports of US and UK hospitals to explore any variation in the attention paid to clinical leadership as a theme and also in the showcasing of particular clinical leaders.

Other arguments need to be explored. Secondly and concretely, there appears to have been overdependence on volatile NHS short-term contract work and underdependence on membership subscriptions by BAMM. This problematic portfolio may be repeating itself with the new faculty. Behind this pattern may lie a failure to build a base of support amongst the clinical managerial hybrids themselves.

Thirdly, the favorable pre-history of US field formation goes back to 1950 with the initial creation of the AAMC. By contrast, UK primary-care practices have been until recently smaller scale and often run as small businesses by individual clinician owners. The American field is seen by Montgomery and Oliver (2007) as moving to Stage 2 by the late 1970s. By contrast, Griffiths (1983) was the first UK national policy push to develop clinical management, and initially in the hospital sector. So the US field displays a longer and more favorable pre-history than the UK.

Fourthly, there appears to be an earlier and more extensive development of Masters programs in clinical leadership and management in the US, perhaps linked to a more market-like higher education system that is more open to outside influence and sponsorship (e.g. from big hospital chains). The chances of success of a “credentialist” strategy appear higher in this field with its buoyant supply side. The UK field still shows very modest investment in clinical leadership development, as yet there are relatively few programs in top-tier universities, with more reliance on in-house NHS leadership development programs.

Fifthly, and finally, in a publicly funded and nationally driven health care system (e.g. the UK’s NHS), there are strong cycles of reforming and policy attention (Klein 2013). Developing clinical managerial capacity oscillated as a policy issue; it was fashionable in the late 1980s and early 1990s and again after 2008, but largely forgotten in between. Day-to-day crisis management instead often dominates attention in the politically visible health care field. Given no sustained national policy push or investment, there was a long period (say 1995–2008) when building clinical management capacity remained low priority.

This important policy and academic question of the problematic professionalization of UK medical management needs more research. The initial assessment advanced here suggests there is a slow pattern of development over a long period of time that will not easily change. Normatively, we started by asserting that the professionalization of medical management would be a positive development from a public interest point of view; but the empirical evidence (at least from the UK) suggests this process is a slow and chequered one. These findings may have relevance beyond the health care sector and pose questions for the optimal approach to the management of other professionalized or knowledge-based sectors which are of growing and strategic importance in a knowledge-based economy.

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Section C. *Can* and *Should* Become a Profession

16

Leadership as a Profession: The Need for an Authentic Jurisdiction

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While not yet a true profession, leadership can and should aspire to become a legitimately recognized professional activity to provide validity to the study and practice of leadership and precision to the term "leader." The analysis in this chapter uses a threefold analytical framework as a heuristic to show that the areas where leadership falls short as a profession relate to establishing and controlling the abstract body of knowledge that provides its jurisdiction and helps to highlight that doing so is essential to the professionalization process. Developing an accepted scope of services and a code of ethics will help resolve the jurisdictional "ownership" of leadership and elevate its study and practice from a routine organizational activity to a legitimate profession that makes a unique and meaningful contribution to society.

To evaluate an activity as qualifying as a legitimate profession objectively, one can make use of three different approaches to conduct an assessment that is both comprehensive and holistic. These approaches can be characterized as: *Definitional*, *Essentialist*, and *Functionalistic*. Conducted separately and then combined to form a holistic assessment,

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one can not only determine if leadership is a legitimate professional activity but also what it must do to become and/or remain a legitimate professional activity.

As a result of conducting these three assessments, I argue that, while not a true profession at present, leadership could and should become a true profession soon by establishing control over the abstract body of knowledge that provides its jurisdiction—defined by Andrew Abbott as “the link between a profession and its work” (Abbott 1988, p. 20). This jurisdiction would include a code of ethics and an agreed upon scope of services, the control of which does not have to be absolute or total, since the boundaries of a true profession are always in dispute. For example, business has tried to lay claim to leadership as part of its jurisdiction, as has psychology and other liberal arts. It is clear that resolving the jurisdictional “ownership” of leadership is perhaps the single most important obstacle to be overcome before one can make the case for leadership as being a legitimate professional activity.

Definition of a Profession and of a Professional

When assessing leadership as a profession, beginning with a definition against which this assessment will be made makes sense. Don Snider, who has done extensive scholarly work regarding the US army as a profession, provides a definition that is both accessible while also being richly apportioned by the most important scholarship regarding professions. According to Snider, “A profession is a trusted, disciplined, and relatively autonomous vocation” that functions by:

- providing a unique and vital service to society, without which it could not flourish;
- developing and applying expert knowledge when providing this service;
- earning the trust of society through ethical, effective, and efficient practice;

- establishing and upholding the discipline and standards of their art and science, including the responsibility for professional development and certification; and
- earning and making use of a significant level of autonomy and discretion in the practice of their profession on behalf of society (Snider 2017, p. 7).

Andrew Abbott, who has also studied professions extensively, tells us that professionals are those who are members of an "exclusive operational group" engaged in the practice of "applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases" (Abbott 1988, p. 8). Taken together, these two definitions provide the foundation for an assessment of the status of leadership as a profession.

Professions arise, exist, and subsist from their interrelations, based upon the way a group controls its knowledge and skill, and the competition it engenders. One legitimate approach to controlling such information involves the establishment of control over the abstract knowledge associated with a particular occupation, and the practical skill that grows out of applying an abstract system of knowledge. The level of abstraction is relative and must only be "effective enough to compete in a particular historical and social context." The emphasis on the knowledge system and its degree of abstraction is the "ultimate currency of competitions between professions" and helps to show the importance of the notion of a professional jurisdiction that links a profession to its work (Abbott 1988, p. 9).

Viewed in this manner, control of a profession lies in the jurisdiction it is able to establish and sustain. The level of the abstractions within the body of knowledge and skill over which it exercises control generate, in turn, the practical techniques associated with its professional practice. Rather than a complete domination of all aspects of knowledge associated with the work of a profession, it is thus the control of the abstract body of knowledge and the resulting techniques that represent the true locus of a profession, allowing other less essential aspects to be shared and delegated to others.

I argue that this notion of jurisdiction is the most appropriate focus for any professional assessment, as "abstraction is the quality that sets inter-professional competition apart from competition among occupations in general" because "only a knowledge system governed by abstractions can redefine its problems and tasks, defend them from interlopers, and seize new problems (Abbott 1988, p. 2)." Furthermore, it is in the realm of abstraction that organizational activities compete and survive as legitimate professions within the existing system of professions (Abbott 1988, pp. 8–9).

Definitional Assessment

While the service provided by leadership is vital to society, this work, as currently understood, is not beyond the ability of others who are not considered "professional leaders" in society to perform for themselves. While leadership professionals continuously develop expertise and use that expertise in the best interests of the society served, one can, at present, function as a leader in American society without having to satisfy this requirement. In addition, one can be/become a leader at any stage of his/her career, and this may occur as a result of circumstances that either do not require or allow extended study or practice. Thus anyone may practice as a leader at any time in our contemporary society.

Professionals earn and maintain the trust of society by following a code of conduct that serves to regulate their own actions and ensures ethical and effective application of their expertise on society's behalf. What this means in actual practice, however, is far from clear. In fact, two of the most important scholars addressing leadership present radically different interpretations of this aspect with respect to leadership and leaders, as evidenced by the "Hitler" test. James MacGregor Burns' idealistic conception of a leader would adhere to these requirements, since he viewed the only legitimate form of leadership as that which serves to release human potential (which he believed to be inherently good), and leaders who were not good were to be referred to with other names (e.g., ruler, power wielder, despot, or tyrant) (Burns 1978, pp. 2–5). For Burns, Hitler could not possibly be referred to as a leader since he was the very essence of a tyrant, which is the polar opposite of a leader (Burns 1978, pp. 2–3, 426). However, Barbara Kellerman makes a powerful realist argument that leaders are both good and bad, and that using the criteria of "ethical" and "effective" helps one determine the type of leadership demonstrated (Kellerman 2004, pp. 11, 29–37). From Kellerman's perspective, it is foolish to not refer to Hitler as a leader; rather, one should instead apply her criteria to his actions to determine if he engaged in leadership that was good or bad. Figure 16.1 provides a graphic depiction of this dichotomy.

Given the fundamental difference in their conceptions, both cannot be right. Thus, unless and until Burns' conception is accepted broadly, leadership cannot satisfy this requirement. If Kellerman's concept attains primacy among leadership scholars and practitioners, then leadership will likely never be able to satisfy this requirement.

Since a profession's ethic should also serve to inspire and motivate its members, and to serve as the basis for its autonomy, it must have something that serves to emphasize its intrinsic rewards to foster commitment.

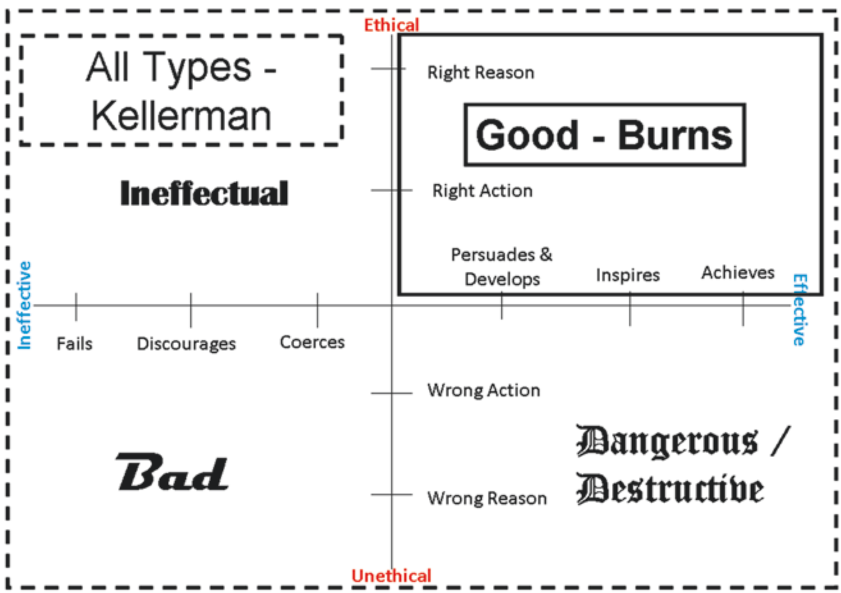

Fig. 16.1 Dichotomy of leadership concepts between James MacGregor Burns and Barbara Kellerman (This figure was developed by the author based upon the works of James MacGregor Burns (1978) and Barbara Kellerman (2004))

Some professional leaders are surely intrinsically motivated by the value of the service they render to society, making it more akin to a lifelong calling, but others—perhaps many—pursue leadership for selfish reasons and in their own self-interest, making it more of temporary expediency for personal advancement. Without an ethic, this does not yet exist for leaders and can therefore not function in this manner.

While leadership is certainly a unique vocation comprised of some experts, as this definitional assessment demonstrates, this is not yet the case for all or even most of the leaders present and practicing in society today. Accordingly, leadership comes up short as a profession when measured against a definitional standard.

Essentialist and Functionalistic Assessment Framework

While the initial literature on professions stressed the notion of professionalization as a process that a group experienced and which resulted in the emergence of a profession, newer work has "moved the focus of debate from the forms of professionalization to its functions" (Abbott 1988, p. 5).[1] According to this view, "professions develop when jurisdictions [i.e., 'the link between a profession and its work'] become vacant," meaning that it is the link between the profession and its work that is paramount (Abbott 1988, pp. 3, 20).

I believe that the determination about a given activity with respect to its legitimacy as a profession should be based on both of these aspects. The notion of professionalization as a process will establish the criteria for the determination. A "functionalistic" assessment will help make clear the jurisdictional "link" that is in many cases human interaction, making use of Abbott's definition of a professional as one who is a member of an "exclusive operational group" engaged in the practice of "applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases" (Abbott 1988, p. 8).

Kevin Bond provides a wonderful framework with which to make such an assessment (Bond 2010, pp. 62–8). In Bond's framework, professionalism is characterized as having two different but complementary accepted components: “Essentialism” and “Functionalism.” For Bond, the process of becoming and/or qualifying as a profession (referred to by others as “professionalization”) is referred to as “Essentialism.” Essentialism, which he characterizes as being a “descriptive approach,” relies on identifying the necessary conditions that must be satisfied for an activity to qualify as a profession (Bond 2010, p. 64).

One particularly appealing aspect of Bond’s framework is that he includes a moral component. Bond uses the term “Functionalism” to refer to his “normative approach.” In Bond’s usage, a normative approach is one that is theoretical and which has as its aim the identification and assessment of the activity’s values and norms that both characterize its practice and best fit societal expectations and needs.[2] Conceived of in this manner, “Functionalism” refers to “identifying the appropriate function or role of an activity as it relates to society’s needs,” meaning that it refers to the actual practice in which professionals engage (Bond 2010, p. 64).

While both essentialism and functionalism can be used to identify descriptive and normative features of professionalism, in practice, essentialism is the aspect that determines if a given activity qualifies as a legitimate profession and if a group of practitioners qualify as legitimate professionals, providing a description notion of professionalism. One turns to functionalism when searching for the normative aspects of a profession’s practice, including details about its ideals and behaviors.

Since both approaches are valid, and a combined inquiry will likely shed light on both characterization and practice, it makes sense to address each from the perspective of leadership and consider the results such an analysis yields. Accordingly, I will make use of both of these components as I endeavor to present the most complete analysis possible in support of my assessment.

Essentailistic Assessment

By “essentialistic,” I mean an approach that identifies the essential components of a profession to determine if a given activity satisfies all or most of them sufficiently. I will draw elements from the works of attorney

Michael D. Bayles (1981), sociologist Bernard Barber (1965), and philosopher Lisa H. Newton (1983) to identify these essential components.

Michael Bayles' (1981) book, *Professional Ethics*, was quite influential when it appeared, as it used a largely empirical approach to understand the nature of professions through an analysis of what distinguishes them in social practice. In this work, Bayles argued that the way to identify legitimate professions involved recognizing both their "essential features" and those "commonly present" in recognized practice.

For Bayles, there are three common essential aspects of every profession. These aspects include:

- a significant intellectual component that prioritizes the intellect over physical ability;
- requiring extensive training to master and become competent; and
- an activity that provides an important service in society (Bayles 1981, pp. 7–8).

Bayles argued that normative criteria are not effective because the associated activities are grounded in economic considerations, biasing the investigation and rendering it inconclusive.

Bayles further offers that there are three additional aspects commonly present in all professions that are, while important, not essential or even necessary for an activity to be considered a legitimate profession. These three aspects relate more to the individual practitioner and include that they:

- have a requirement to be certified or licensed in order to practice;
- are an organization of members committed to both internal regulation (using an accepted code of ethics) and to lobbying on behalf of the profession; and
- are granted considerable autonomy in the practice of their work (Bayles 1981, pp. 8–9).

Approaching the theory of professions from a sociological perspective, Bernard Barber addressed the structure and functioning of the professions in the US, focusing on social and professional behavior. Believing that it is both impractical and quite difficult to differentiate between "professional" and "non-professional" activities, Barber employed a continuum to use in determining the relative degree of professionalism exhibited by a given activity. Barber offers four "essential" components of a profession as the basis for his continuum. According to Barber, all legitimate professions exhibit:

- a high degree of generalized and systemic knowledge;
- a primary orientation toward public interest (as opposed to self-interest);
- a high degree of maintaining self-control through codes of ethics, membership in professional organizations, and training; and
- a system of monetary and honorary rewards for achievement in the three previous areas that function as ends unto themselves and not as means to individual self-interest (Barber 1965, pp. 17–18).[3]

In this approach, the task is to determine where a given activity falls on the professionalism continuum, with ratings ranging from fully professional, partially professional, and largely not professional. As Bond tells us, "The degree of professionalism depends on the degree of involvement with [the] four features of professionalism" (Bond 2010, p. 64).

Turning to philosopher Lisa Newton, one encounters the most pragmatic approach. Presenting a model of professionalism comprised of both internal and external aspects, Newton argues, somewhat polemically, that there are at least three different routes one may take to become a professional, none of which inherently involve a concern for the public good. In Newton's rather complicated approach, an activity is considered professional when it arises from one of the external criteria and conforms with, at a minimum, the first two internal criteria she identifies. For the purposes of this assessment, the salient aspects of Newton's model are:

- professional practitioners are committed to the public good and for the benefit of others;
- professional practitioners practice to achieve excellence and for profit; and

- professional practitioners attend to the welfare and interests of their clients, sometimes at the expense of the public good (Newton 1983, p. 31).

Discounting public service as a profession's essential *sine qua non*, Newton prioritizes the ability of a profession to monopolize its services and command higher fees for its services. In addition, Newton's model does not require one to satisfy all aspects of it to qualify as a professional; rather, one must only satisfy some of these criteria of a modern profession to be considered to be both engaged in professional activity and in the professional practice of that activity (Newton 1983, p. 36).

Taken together, the three accounts offered by Bayles (1981), Barber (1965), and Newton (1983) give a descriptive account of how to identify the "essential" aspects of a profession. One looks for combinations of the following features for an activity to quality as a legitimate profession:

- containing a significant intellectual component;
- having a code of conduct or some instrument of self-regulation;
- containing rewards and prestige of both intrinsic and extrinsic value;
- providing an important service to either the public or individuals; and
- providing a public good, or caring for people in their charge.

These approaches combine to form a scheme in which there exists a requirement for an activity to meet certain conditions to qualify as a profession, and that professional activity can occur over a range of acceptable activity within a continuum (Bond 2010, pp. 64–5).[4]

As a professional activity, one can argue quite effectively that leadership contains a "significant intellectual component" that can be studied systematically, understood, mastered, and to which professionals may contribute through scholarly activity. It is on the requirement to have a "code of conduct or some instrument of self-regulation" that we again find ourselves lacking, for nothing of the sort exists in leadership. Also as with our definitional assessment, it is difficult to argue that leadership in and of itself "contains rewards and prestige of both intrinsic and extrinsic value," as much of this aspect is more related to the position one holds rather than to one's role as a leader *per se*. And as has been mentioned previously, while some leaders may be committed to providing an important service for the public good, this is not by any means a requirement for being a leader. As with the previous definitional assessment, one must conclude that leadership does not qualify as a legitimate profession from an essentialist perspective.

While the resulting criteria for identifying and assessing the essential aspects of a profession is satisfactory, the resulting list for practitioners is less than compelling. The resulting criteria provide a descriptive account of professionalism. Since functionalism addresses more aspects of professional practice, it may be useful to conduct a similar assessment to flesh out these requirements.

Functionalistic Assessment

To assess the normative practice of those engaged in professional practice, we must turn to another scholar for a more complete treatment of functionalism.

Philosopher David T. Ozar establishes five components of professional obligation commonly associated with professionalism that are quite useful in assessing professionalism from a functional perspective (Ozar 2004, pp. 2158–62). These obligations include:

- taking a public oath;
- adhering to an ethical code;
- being devoted to serving others;
- possessing specialized knowledge; and
- accepting special moral commitments related to the practice of employing one's specialized knowledge.

As with the previous assessments, one may assess each of these criteria to determine if the practice of leadership qualifies as professional.

While some leaders are required to take a public oath and adhere to an ethical code as conditions of accepting and remaining in a given position (e.g., a military officer, a judge, a member of congress), this is certainly not the case for all or even most leaders. In addition, while some leaders are quite devoted to serving others and willingly accept "special moral commitments" related to the practice, it is clearly not a requirement that one adopt either as part of his/her practice and motivation. Finally, and as mentioned in the definitional assessment, there are perhaps as many leaders who lack any type of specialized knowledge as there are who do possess some type of specialized knowledge.

Containing some of the same flexibility as Barber (1965) and Newton (1983), Ozar (2004) believes that not every profession needs to provide the same responses to these queries; rather, they must be able to provide responses to them that fall within a range determined to be acceptable to qualify as a profession. Professional norms are thus determined by a group of practitioners establishing an agreed upon range of responses and acquiring societal sanction for their responses. So, leadership does not appear to satisfy Ozar's criteria within a range determined to be acceptable to qualify as a profession or which can identify and describe accepted professional norms for a professional, making it clear that leadership cannot qualify as a profession in this functionalistic assessment.

Overall Assessment

Leadership, as it currently exists, does not and cannot satisfy the requirements to be characterized as a legitimate professional activity from a definitional, essentialist, or functionalistic perspective. While able to satisfy some components of each of these frameworks, the inability of leadership to satisfy several common requirements prevents it from fulfilling the requirements of any one of these frameworks. Ozar's (2004) approach helps to highlight the three common requirements that prevent it from qualifying as a legitimate profession. These three elements include:

- a common code of ethics;
- a common agreement of what constitutes a legitimate leader; and
- a common agreement of the scope of what constitutes leadership's professional services.

Clearly some aspects of leadership do serve a vital public service without which society cannot exist. However, the state of leadership, even its academic manifestations in the liberal arts of leadership studies and in business as management, is not sufficiently defined so that it can be characterized as a profession in any true sense of the word. Scholars and practitioners can, over the next few decades, work towards rectifying this situation and bringing the study and practice of leadership closer to a level which could conceivably be considered as a legitimate profession.

There is an abstract body of knowledge devoted to leadership that one should be required to master for engaging in the most human of endeavors—that of influencing and directing others to achieve a desired outcome—but it is largely inchoate and ill-defined. In addition, the poles represented by Burns (1978) and Kellerman (2004)—regarding the necessity of a moral component for the actions of leaders—needs to be reconciled so that the term "leader" can be used with some level of precision in today's vernacular. It should also be the case that leaders begin policing one another and reduce reliance on external enforcement of what should be commonly accepted and adhered to standards of practice.

As this holistic assessment shows, we need to move beyond the traditional notion of professionalism to include the idea of functionalism for a more accurate description of how leadership would appear as a contemporary profession. This characterization, incorporating the most recent scholarship regarding professions, transcends both craft and function, embracing instead the "spirit" of selflessly serving others for the greater good. While others may exercise power, we must, as Burns urged as early as 1978, adopt a more precise definition for the term "leader" that allows it—like physician—to have a fixed and commonly understood meaning to which one could attach legitimate notions of a profession (Burns 1978, pp. 2–3).

Conclusion

Returning to Abbott, we recall that professions arise, exist, and subsist from their interrelations based upon the way a group controls its knowledge and skill, and the competition it engenders. We recollect further that these interrelationships and measures of control will not only enhance but also elevate the interrelations between and among leadership practitioners and their constituencies.

Identifying professionals as those practitioners who are members of an "exclusive operational group" engaged in the practice of "applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases" helps to make an appealing case for leadership to take any and all measures necessary to advance its practices and practitioners to be recognized by society as legitimate professionals. A move toward professionalization will also assist leadership in establishing and controlling the abstract knowledge associated with leadership while also refining and enhancing the practical skill that arises from the application of abstract knowledge to actual people and situations. By identifying the accepted body of knowledge associated with legitimate leaders and emphasizing the level of abstraction it represents, leadership will also foster what Abbott refers to as the "ultimate currency" of any legitimate profession. By improving the practice of leadership, the interrelationships between and among leadership practitioners and their constituencies, and the control over the abstract body of knowledge associated with leadership, the practice, art, and respect for leadership, leaders, and leading will not only improve but also enhance its ability to help others and improve society.

To accomplish this objective, this assessment has helped to highlight the most important aspects to be addressed by leadership to make progress towards becoming a legitimate profession. These aspects include:

- developing a common code of ethics;
- working to resolve the dichotomy represented by Burns (1978) and Kellerman (2004); and
- developing a commonly agreed upon scope of leadership's common services.

Leadership needs to establish and gain acceptance for its own professional ethic. This professional ethic must reflect the applicable laws, values, and beliefs deeply embedded within the best of our leadership cultures. Such an ethic will serve to bind individual members together in a common moral purpose to do the correct thing in the proper manner for the right reason to bring about the desired outcome that is beneficial to both individuals and society, which will result in the acquisition of both confidence and trust. It will also set the conditions to establish and maintain common and acceptable standards for the proper practice of the leadership professional's art that are accepted and adhered to by all legitimate practitioners. In addition to the practitioners of the leadership profession taking responsibility for ensuring that the ethic is upheld and addressing violations of it, it will also provide the public with a standard by which it can evaluate leadership professionals and assess their level of professionalism, helping society to determine if the leadership practitioners merit the desired and essential public trust to elevate it to the status of a legitimate profession.

Adopting a platonic approach, leadership needs to make the case that it exists as an ideal comprised of influence, accomplishment, and ethical conduct. The ethical component is perhaps most essential in generating and maintaining the trust within its jurisdiction and among its constituencies. To do so, the discipline must move from Kellerman's (2004) "realist" approach of referring to anyone exercising influence as a leader, anything that influences others to achieve a common objective as leadership, and the process of doing so as leading, to the more idealistic approach of Burns (1978), requiring that leadership, leaders, and leading "release human potential" in ways that are positive, constructive, and supportive. Defined and accepted as such, leadership establishes control of its jurisdiction and acquires an essential key element that it currently lacks and which could help distinguish between and among legitimate practitioners: a discernible and non-negotiable moral component.

Finally, and in conjunction with the preceding argument, leadership must develop and adhere to a commonly agreed upon scope of services with which it is commonly and correctly associated. This will narrow the range of legitimate actions associated with leadership, helping to further refine both its jurisdiction and ethic, and also the areas in which it may be legitimately considered and employed. Operating within a more defined and prescribed range of activity, it will thus be more natural and easy for leadership professionals to be granted the autonomy and high degree of discretion in their practice akin to other professionals. Allowed to routinely make discretionary judgments and take appropriate action based upon their mastery of the abstract body of expert knowledge controlled by the profession, based upon the trust of society that their actions will result in predictable and desired outcomes for the good of others and society, is a necessary and essential final step to solidifying control over its jurisdiction and elevating the practice of leadership from amateur to professional status.

Collaborating to accomplish these common objectives, leadership can aspire to become a legitimate and recognized professional activity in the most complete sense of the idea. It may be possible for leadership to take its rightful place as a legitimate profession alongside medicine, law, and other recognized professions by the first third of the twenty-first century. One hopes that this volume helps to spur such an effort towards completion.

Notes

1. As an example of this early literature, see, for example, the foundational work by Alexander M. Carr-Saunders and Paul A. Wilson (1933).
2. One may compare a normative approach to a "value-free" approach, which does not include assessments of values, norms, and/or societal expectations and needs.
3. These criteria are based largely on the work of Alexander M. Carr-Saunders and Paul A. Wilson (1933).
4. This heuristic was developed by Kevin Bond (2010), and I have adapted it as necessary for this assessment.

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17

Should Leadership Be Considered a Profession?

Grace Wangui Kinyanjui

Indeed yes! However, to note, Babou (2014) argues that leadership is not a profession but a human quality. Currently, leadership is not considered a true Profession. This is despite the fact that leadership is attracting more contenders. Leadership is an area with universal appeal—and in the popular press and academic research literature, the issue of leadership has been widely discussed. Despite this, leadership as an area of practice has presented a major challenge to practitioners and researchers in understanding the nature of leadership. It is a highly valued phenomenon that is very complex. Beaton (2010) advises that Professionalism is more relevant today than when the concept first emerged, despite the numerous challenges to curtail the endeavor owing to breach of trust, the growing internet space and preference for self-employment. Leadership has dwelt in the realms of Unprofessionalization since time immemorial. It is a sphere that has literally been available and open to any contender. Predominantly, this sphere has lacked a framework that clearly articulates

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expectations. The Status quo has remained unchallenged, thereby attracting and retaining mediocrity as far as appointment to a Leadership position is concerned. Leadership has been deemed to revolve around organizational politics, cronies' affiliations and formation of political-social dynasties, some fuelled along the myths of leadership, resulting in a dystopian State of anarchy in leadership.

There has been an overemphasis on management with its functions, roles, and skills clearly articulated by various authors. Leadership as a core-business function of management has, however, since antiquity been a field of practice based on commitment, customary Values, and the beliefs of the people. The ambiguity of the universalization of these ideals has left leadership as a majorly unprofessionalized area amidst the growing demand to make leadership available to all. Individuals are free to venture into leadership as the calls for improved leadership rent organizational and societal spheres with increased demands for accountability and transparency. The growing concern is the casualness that leadership is treated with, leaving it as a Myth-infested bigotry that is perpetuated through generations. Areas that have been broadly professionalized and accepted have recorded exponential growth over the years.

Arguments against the Professionalization of leadership are not only outdated but misconstrued. These discourses have a tendency to exclude leadership while readily accepting that indeed professionalization is critical in some areas of practice. To curb questions over whether there has been a conscious effort to develop research aimed at discovering leadership, there has been a growing body of academic knowledge in Leadership. Additionally, the parameters of what a profession entails have been developed. A proper profession has to (a) create a sense of collegial responsibility; (b) ensure the competence of professional practitioners and enforce Ethical standards; (c) promote independent control over the development of new and existing knowledge while setting work standards; (d) have Autonomy in exercising competencies; (e) have service ideals and acquire specialized knowledge as the result of prolonged Training (Goodall 2010). This is a pointer towards the fact that a leader is "made", a deviation from the long-standing belief that a leader is "born". That leadership can be an inherent characteristic is indisputable, but this is seconded by a paradigm shift to embrace the reality of the creation of leadership, which is best achieved through professionalizing the field. This provides the ability to regulate existing and new entrant practices, thus giving the field a professional Status. This has to be pursued consciously and deliberately.

With rapid changes and demands experienced over time with regards to the Professionalization of leadership, this chapter brings a critical perspective to the unanimous call to Professionalize leadership and tag along the paradigm shift necessitated by this move to build a professional identity for existing and future leaders. Leadership is widely becoming open to everyone as a field of practice. Lack of standards, defined roles, curriculum-based Training and a well-graduated career path has left leadership vulnerable to entrants who have little understanding of what the Leadership practice and process entails. The analysis provided in this section draws attention to key themes and issues that are critical in turning leadership into a True profession. In the first section, management and leadership have been compared and contrasted, driven by the need to establish the Status of management with regards to its professionalization because leadership basically supports the Management practice. Secondly, the articulation of myths that have led to leadership remaining largely an unprofessionalized area have been explored. Myths have hampered Followership ability to consider credentials while affirming their leaders. In the third section, a scoping exercise has been undertaken whose intent is to stipulate what it takes to Professionalize leadership. These factors have an impact on the Professionalization of leadership as well as in shaping an operational framework that pronounces discourses of Professionalism and implications for professional distinctiveness in leadership. Lastly, in the conclusion, the unequivocal assurance that leadership should be turned into a True profession is reiterated.

Management Versus Leadership: True Professions?

Management, one of the oldest vocations in History, has settled on subtle ground with regards to it being referred to a professional area. Despite its existence for many years, it has not experienced a soft landing in its acceptability as a professionalized area. Just like management, leadership trends have been characterized by flux. This is attributable to lack of standardizing competencies across this particular area of practice. Possession of leadership qualities is not sufficient to secure a proper practice of leadership across the board. This is owing to the fact that application of these qualities to differentiate leaders from non-leaders is a subjective engagement. In this regard, expended effort in line with the development of a particular leadership trait or quality reigns supreme. However, this doesn't absolutely eliminate the contextual arena – leadership is a phenomenon that resides in the context of interactions between leaders and followers and makes leadership available to everyone. Ultimately, the Followers affirm the leadership Capabilities in an individual but with a worrying acceptance that this is limited by a halo effect and their ability to apply a standard measure of what leadership is or should be like.

Additionally, Freidson (2010) insists that it is myopic to view Management as a profession because if management is a profession, then the Business school is a professional school. This assertion attracts sharp criticism owing to the fact that there is always a gap when graduates are released onto the job market. An occupation earns the right to be a profession only when some ideals, such as being an impartial counsel, doing no harm, or serving the greater good, are infused into the conduct of people in that occupation. In this regard, a school becomes a professional school only when it infuses those ideals into its graduates. Management, being one of the oldest studies in History, has neither settled into the professional domain nor has it been fully accepted, yet leadership plays a critical role in the successful management of an enterprise. This projects a major glaring gap for leadership at a time when there is increasing consideration of ethical, values-based and results-based leadership. Furthermore, management and leadership are deemed as complementary to each other yet engulfed by mysteries with regards to where one stops and The other begins, thereby complicating the understanding of what leadership is and what it is not, hampering further efforts to professionalize the field. The resultant effect is propagation of myths with regards to leadership. As a predominantly unprofessionalized area, the practice of leadership has been left to subjective Praxis.

The necessity for professionalization is not merely attribution or alleging supremacy of the leadership field, but the datum that nearly all specialized areas require a professional qualification. Doctors, nurses, accountants, lawyers and managers have predetermined educational transitions that must be followed for an individual to start forging a career path in their respective fields. In leadership, this perception has been coupled with a short-sighted proposition that reveals escalation to the position of leadership based on popularity, experience, knowledge, gender and age amidst others, hence propagating the various myths of leadership based on the role perception. A critical consideration in this light is the ability to non-personalize leadership engagements to guarantee continued success.

Arguments for and against whether management is a true profession are ongoing. This is despite the fact that the parameters of management are well defined as to the requirements of a Manager in an organization in terms of skills, roles, and the functions executable. Management is considered to be developing into a professional area in some quarters. For decades, there has been a general consensus among sociologists and the economists that the Professionalization of management is increasing rapidly (Newcomer 1955). Factors such as growing size of the business unit, separation of ownership from management, and growing competition amongst others have led to an increased demand for professionally qualified managers. The role of the Manager is becoming quite specialized, leading to management becoming a professionalized area. Standards for management are, to some desirable extent, evolving to acceptable levels.

Leaders focus on the vision, mission, and goals of an organization while managers focus on efficiency and effectiveness. Bennis, Warren and Nanus (2007) and Kotter (1990) are major proponents of the distinctive differences between leadership and management as indicated by Lulenburg (2011). They further argue that American organizations are "over managed and under led". Harvard's John Kotter (1990) makes a similar point and cites that management is about coping with complexity; in contrast, leadership is about coping with change. In the view of Bennis, Warren and Nanus (2007) and Kotter (1990), important as they are to the efficient functioning of organizations, managers are somehow lesser mortals than leaders. Other analyses have proven that the two functions complement each other as all managers are expected to be leaders and perform the function effectively to excel at all management functions of planning, organizing, coordinating and controlling. It is also contended that leadership is a multi-directional influence relationship and management a uni-directional authority relationship. These scholars may be right in asserting that too many managers have not grasped the basic truth that leading is a critical component of their job. Maxwell, a renowned leadership author, upholds and propagates this assertion by arguing that there are many leaders yet very little leadership (Economy 2015).

If management ensures a good organization, then leadership ensures an excellent organization. As demonstrated in these arguments, the lack of consensus over whether management is a professional area could be a substantial contributor to a lack of professionalization in leadership. If indeed the two are complementary and no urgency is accorded to professionalizing one area, chances are that The other one suffers too. There is need, therefore, to be equipped with universal expectations that should be adhered to for effective leadership to be realized.

Unlike management and leadership, corporate Governance and ethics is an area that is highly professionalized, with the articulation of policies in Organizations for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) assisting Governments to deal with the Governance, social, and economic challenges of a globalized economy (OECD 2016). These guidelines are tailored to professionalize the management functions of institutions as they guide policy-makers to evaluate and improve the legal, regulatory, and institutional framework for corporate Governance. These principles have become the international benchmark in corporate Governance as they have ensured that there is a basis for an effective corporate Governance framework. This has promoted the right and equitable treatment of shareholders and protected key ownership functions, stimulated investors, and stock markets. Additionally, these principles have defined the role of the stakeholders in corporate Governance and provided responsibility for transparency and disclosure, in addition to pronouncing the responsibilities of the board. This engagement has supported the bid to professionalize how organizations are managed with regards to adhering to set principles to promote the sustainability of the organization. These principles become the standards by which an organization is judged when ascertaining the level of Professionalism they have put in place.

Additionally, Quality Management Systems have been developed and implemented across the world. As a result, quality champions have emerged.The sole mandate of quality champions is to be at the forefront of helping to shape and develop standards of quality implementation and measurement. Quality champions have come together and collaborated to establish and avail framework criteria to guide organizations in a systematic assessment of their quality and institute changes in response to the challenges, demands, and complexities of an ever-changing world by developing and embracing best techniques. ISO Certification programmes have further created awareness and led to adoption of quality practices (Marwa 2014). These have set Performance standards that are adhered to by anyone looking at standardizing and professionalizing how various issues, activities, and processes are handled. Quality management champions are bound to operate within a given framework and conduct themselves accordingly. Articulation of what quality entails has been useful for both formative and summative evaluation.

Professionalization of leadership, just like whether or not management is a professional field, is to a large extent a gray area. Just as management struggles to professionalize itself, a gap exists with regards to the formulation of universal standards that could guide the leadership field in recruiting, selecting, and training professionals in leadership. This necessitates the need for leadership to be considered a professional area that is complete with a rationalization process and secure a competent space for individuals joining the arena to enjoy the gains that professionalization of a field enjoys. With clearly articulated requisites, leadership, just like any other field of practice, can be governed by well laid out core competencies that are essential for individuals to qualify as professional leaders.

Unprofessionalization of Leadership: Precedent and Resultant Myths

Since leadership has remained highly unprofessionalized, this has created leadership gaps over time. Myths of leadership have evolved and have been propagated since time immemorial and continue to do so. The make-believe world that leadership myths have created has successfully managed to be embedded in the day-to-day lives of followers who appoint or elect leaders. Idolization of myths over the years has seemingly taken a truthful role and has gradually been accepted. Overcoming the myths will result in orchestrating and restoring the rightful place of leadership. Myths have further fueled the notion that falsely promoting an individual to a celebrity Status creates an appeal that propels followers to affirm him or her as a leader.

In today's celebrity-fixated world, celebrity Status sees certain individuals elevated to Leadership positions. Think of the many celebrities who have landed themselves lucrative Leadership positions purely based on their status. The proliferation of this has resulted in "wrong" leadership. The blatant nature in which appointment to leadership is conducted has resulted in massive compromise on ideals, Values, and ethics that a leader should uphold. The myths surrounding who should or should not hold a Leadership position has contributed largely to an anarchic State of leadership in many domains.

The commonest myth is the "born, not made". There has been a notion that leadership is the reserve of a few individuals with inherent characteristics. These traits define a leader and are inborn. This misconception rules out the likelihood of Leadership development, thereby indicating that unless one is born a leader, one cannot lead. Leadership <u>can</u> be acquired and is not entirely dependent on one's genetic deposition. Political dynasties have been apportioned the blame for the proliferation of this phenomenon. The masses have held a myopic thought that when a leader retires, his or her children should take after him or her as they are believed to be in possession of inherent leadership traits. In the History of America, there have been two father–son presidents. John Adams and his son John Quincy Adams were second and sixth presidents of the United States (United States of America; U.S.) respectively. Additionally, George Herbert Walker Bush was the forty-first president with his son George W. Bush becoming the forty-third. This compounds and elevates the magnanimity of the "born, not made" myth with regards to its ability to promote nepotism as well as escalate the great-man Theory of leadership, even in what are considered mature democracies in the world. In Africa, the situation is glaring. Uhuru Kenyatta is the fourth president of the Republic of Kenya and the son of the founding president, Jomo Kenyatta. This father–son hereditary relationship has repeated itself in Togo, Gabon, Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

As asserted and supported by the great-man Theory, leadership has been the preserve of a few individuals who were deemed to be in possession of certain desirable traits. In broader societal contexts, presumably, a specific quality in leadership is adequate to propel one to a Leadership position. This is regardless of whether he or she supports leadership proficiencies and competencies or not. In addition, an increasing need is the appreciation of the realization that leaders can be "made" and not just "born". This is a process supported by the integration of leader development as well as Leadership development. There is a full range of perspectives about how individuals end up acquiring Leadership positions.

Popularism myth is a doctrine tailored on mass appeal. It may take the form of cronies' affiliations and the perceived popularity of an individual within its inner circles is harnessed to create impressionability in the mind of followers who then cultivate reverence for the leader. A flashy car, certain professions, a good sense of humor, fashion sense, lavish lifestyle, social media presence, anarchy with regards to its application to organizations are some of the ways in which a celebrity Status can be attained. Usain Bolt, the Jamaican sprinter, is popular and has been dubbed the "fastest man in the world" in human History for smashing world records. What is your take on his ability to lead the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF)?

The oldest misconception of leadership is the gender myth. A social construction of the roles of men and women in a particular society are well articulated. They form a psychological contract that is passed on from one lineage to another and has taken roots which anchor the thoughts deeply in various cultures. Women have been perceived as the "weaker sex" on leadership matters while men enjoy the biblical support. The creation story as narrated, indicates that God gave man authority to have dominion over all that HE had created (New International Version, Gen 3:16).Men are perceived to be natural leaders from creation as it is a God-given mandate. As indicated by McNamara (2016), the 2016 *Forbes* list of the most powerful women in the world named Angela Merkel, the chancellor of Germany, Hillary Clinton, the then presidential candidate of the United States, Melinda Gates, the co-founder of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Christine Lagarde, managing director of the International Monetary Fund amongst many more. These are obviously women who have demonstrated their capacity to lead in a highly competitive Environment beyond reasonable doubt.

A clash of generations has led to a misconstrued perception of the ideal age for leadership. As a resultant of the age myth, baby boomers, Generation X and Generation Y, otherwise known as the “millennials”, have varying perceptions of each other with regards to leadership. “Old is gold” it is said, therefore it is discerned that a person with more years and experience is an better leader. Never mind Joash was only seven years old, when he was pronounced king of Judah (New International Version, Second Kings 12: 1–2). Out of eight sons, David, the youngest of them, was ordained king of Israel (First Sam. 16: 11). Donald Trump became the president of the United States (United States of America; U.S.) at seventy years of age, while Emmanuel Macron is the president of France at thirty-nine. Age is not a pre-requisite of leadership!

The founder syndrome orchestrates the pioneer myth, which has contributed to misunderstanding on the matter: the assumption that the pioneer automatically qualifies as a leader is a fallacy. A gap exists between formulation of an idea and its implementation, and even though the originator is the vision carrier, putting the vision into practice may require a different set of skills.

Entrepreneurs have been hailed as leaders. Probably by fluke? They are risk-takers with golden hands with an ability to transform little inputs into maximum output. The Industrial Revolution is notably recorded as the genesis of entrepreneurship and workers were regarded as machines. The concern was for economic efficiency with particular emphasis on labor and increased productivity. In this case, exploitation was a common phenomenon; pay was not commensurate with the effort expended and monotony dominated this engagement. Leadership cannot be alienated from its influence on followers. Therefore, entrepreneurs merely concerned about optimum production while treating Employees like well-oiled machines succeeds only in propagating the entrepreneurship myth of leadership. Some entrepreneurs have succeeded in plummeting their own corporations before making a comeback.

Fueling the knowledge myth, there is an increased tendency and preference for people perceived to be knowledgeable and well educated to find a space in a leadership caucus. They command respect and automatically enjoy discursive power on matters affecting followers. This utopic approach has rendered much hype on educational accolades as opposed to the gist of leadership. The mantle is passed on to people who have acquired desirable titles that elevate their Status in the eyes of society. However, this is just a case of followers perishing for lack of knowledge. In a published report by Maslen (2000) in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, it was noted that in some cases, having a PhD, which by all standards remains the pinnacle of formal academic achievement, disadvantages an individual as one is seen to be overqualified and likely to have a deficiency in some soft skills such as communication skills. These have been deemed essential for good employee relations, which in turn facilitate an effective working team.

There is a common quote which states that "businesses or organizations do not fail – leaders do". Maxwell, a renowned leadership author, recorded that it is not the position that makes the leader; it is the leader that makes the position (Economy 2015). People find themselves in Leadership positions and enjoy positional power. However, using that position to influence positive change is an uphill task. The position has authority, but followers decide whether to pay allegiance to the leader or not. Paying respect to the office has often been misinterpreted as fidelity to the office holder in the Leadership position. When a leader fails to craft a vision and lead its execution, has bad Reputation and character, embraces poor management approaches, lacks innovation and is reactive in dealing with the changes in the market amidst fiery competition, the resultant effect is failure. There exists a cohort of leaders who support vices such as corruption and inequality, which have thrived on their watch and the State of impunity surrounding them has let them loose as institutions fail to deliver their outcomes.

The discrepancies in the mindsets of the masses and absolute Theory has led to individuals and public figures being preferred as leaders in different public spheres. The trending thought in the common belief system has led to the "celebrity Status" of a person, propelling them to leadership as pegged in the myths in this discussion. "Truths" in these myths have led to the elevation of undeserving individuals to Leadership positions, creating commotion and disharmony in the value system. The celebrity status is created and realized when a person is deemed to be a man, a successful entrepreneur, older, an efficacious Manager or well educated. Celebrities have erected social dynasties that mask their deficiencies in leadership proficiencies and competencies.

In this regard Tsarion (2002) cautions that the perhaps greatest myth being purveyed is that myths are just myths. Truth is, the more propagation they acquire in the social sphere, the more myths are believed and tend to become true, as George Orwell states. Certainly this explains the close-knit phenomenon of disgruntled followers who have the powers to determine who to appoint in a Leadership position being taken aback by the reality that their decision was fueled and fanned by myths that they themselves believed in. Unlocking the myths we hold on leadership gives us total Freedom and provides a great foundation for the Professionalization of leadership. Effective leaders should be selected on merit and their ability to influence their followers. A leader's success is in the ability to inspire, motivate, and empower people to achieve greatness. Professionalization of leadership is a key intervention that can be designed to mitigate and seal the gaps presented by its lack thereof.

Myths are a waste of time. They prevent progression. (Barbra Streisand)

Who Is a Professional?

Professional standards have been strongly articulated across the world in different fields. Cruess (2006) indicates that a professional is governed by codes of ethics and professes commitment to competence, integrity and morality, altruism, and the promotion of the public good within their expert domain. This extends to encompass accountability to those served and the wider society. A professional is developed within a profession. Professions Australia (2016) defines a profession as a disciplined group of individuals who adhere to Ethical standards. Of primary importance to this group is possessing special knowledge and skills in a widely recognizable body of learning derived from research, education, and Training at a high level and is recognizable to the public as such. Individually held beliefs about one's own conduct as a professional is linked to upholding of the principles, Laws, ethics, and conventions of a profession as a way of practice. Essentially, professionalization is simply the process of becoming a profession; instigating the process of profession development. Continuing professional development is critical for maintaining the skills acquired.

According to National Academy of Sciences (2017), professionalization describes education, Training, social processes, and other activities that transform a worker into a professional. As indicated in their works, professionalization is geared towards the achievement of certain goals: (a) to establish standards that enhance the quality of the workforce; (b) to regulate workers whose jobs can affect the wellbeing of their health of themselves and other and property; (c) to enhance public trust and confidence; (d) to promote compliance to regulatory and legal requirements; (e) to establish a Monopoly and regulate the supply and demand to advance the interests of its members, guide behavior of professionals in the field and provide an operational framework of their morals and ethics; and (f) to establish and standardize roles.

Defining the Parameters of Professionals: A Scoping Exercise

Cruess (2006) affirms that Professionalism is a subject that must be taught explicitly. Freidson, Eliot (2010) advocates the development of a theoretical model of professionalization. This should be based upon an abstract theoretical rationale and be elaborated on a logical rather than empirical basis to avoid the mire of historicism.[1] According to the analogy of the biblical Tower of Babel (Gen. 11: 1–9), all debates concerning professionalization of leadership should now focus on developing the concepts, process and structure of leadership; otherwise the professionalization of leadership will never be realized. A tangible Theory of professions should collaborate in building a body of knowledge and employ formal concepts as heuristic tools to fix knowledge in a form that can be rationalized and formalized.

Professional bodies and societies develop bodies of knowledge and instituted codes of ethics. The National Academy of Sciences (2017) emphasizes the need for a code of conduct, description of ethical violations and a way in which ideas are expressed which can result in removal from a profession. Abbott (1988) articulates that theorist view on Professionalism by affirming that what are accepted and laid down as the industry standards precede what professionals follow. This structure provides guidance and challenges how professionals behave through professional Associations.

Table 17.1 Various professional areas and their global associations

	Discipline	Body
1	Human Resources	International Association for Human Resource Information Management (IHRIM)
2	Accounting	Chartered Global Management Accountant (CGMA)
3	Auditing	Institute of Internal Auditors (IIA)
4	Communication	International Association of Business Communication (IABC)
5	Engineering	International Council on Systems Engineering (INCOSE)
6	Robotics	International Federation of Robotics (IFR)
7	Legislation	National Association of Parliamentarians (NAP)
8	Manufacturing	Society of Manufacturing Engineers (SME)
9	Project Management	Project Management Institute (PMI)
10	Medicine	International Spinal Cord Society (ISCoS)

Source: Google (2017)

A desktop survey reveals that various professions have universal professional bodies that they are affiliated with (see Table 17.1).

Conspicuously missing from this list is a global association governing Leadership practice, although a few countries, such as the United Kingdom, do have an institute of directors, established with the aim of bringing together Professional leaders. This implies that unless one is leading in a directorship position, she or he may not be admitted to this Association. Where does this leave other leaders at other levels who have no governing standards?

Education is available to all! The present premise is that leaders are 'made' rather than 'born'. An educational qualification in leadership is desirable if the field is to be professionalized. Blochinger (2015) conducted research that defined success from a professional standpoint. One thousand, seven hundred people with different educational backgrounds from 30 countries were interviewed. The aim was to establish the role higher education played in helping the leaders rise to the top of their fields. This study cites a few isolated cases of successful individuals in their careers who did not follow the traditional paths of academia such as Richard Branson and Mark Zuckerberg. The research findings revealed that no particular academic discipline leads to greater career success but indicated that the background of study influences professional success. Experience is considered key in delivering the leadership mandate. However, this presents a gap when it comes to measuring experience because a Standard has to be set first. If you cannot measure it, you cannot claim it!

Education and Training is paramount in any professional field. Having undergraduate and graduate programmes in the leadership field of study is Ideal in promoting Professionalism. This appears to be an emerging area that universities are venturing into with the intention of Training leaders to achieve leadership parity with other professional areas. Diploma, bachelor and masters programs are increasingly being developed in universities across the world. A professional acquires specialized knowledge and skills. Focusing on continuing education is key. Continual Training yields a Certification procedure that provides authority and accreditation to a professional body. Breaching of articulated ethical codes can result in removal of certification.

Licensure is a direct outcome of Governments' involvement in determining the Leadership practice to promote accountability, integrity, and trust in the public domain. Belonging to a common body of professionals that constitutes local (largely paid-up) membership can provide a framework for vetting candidates being recruited to Leadership positions. This promotes mutual recognition. Non-cognitive skills and para-social relationships are identifiable at this juncture, clearly eliminating the spectacle of "celetoids". It is an indisputable fact that Good leadership is important to the Performance of an organization.

Research that has focused on the impact of CEO succession on company Performance argues that if leadership is important, a change in CEO should explain some of the subsequent variance in enterprise profitability – with good leaders boasting Performance and bad leaders depressing Performance. A widely quoted classic study by Ishak et al. (2013) found that CEO succession explained about 15 percent of a company's profit margin variance after one year and 31 percent of the variance after three years of appointment Another study revealed that on average, the impact of CEO succession explained roughly 15 percent of the subsequent variance in company Performance, after controlling for general economic conditions, industry factors, and unique company attributes. This was about the same impact on Performance as the industry in which an enterprise competed (Jalal and Prezas 2012). These findings suggest that leadership changes at the top of an organization can have a substantial impact on the subsequent Performance of an enterprise.

Moreover, these studies suggest that these averaged figures disguise the significant impact that good or bad leaders can have on an organization in specific situations (Ishak et al. 2013; Jalal and Prezas 2012; Zhang and Qu 2016). Bad leaders have often destroyed significant economic value at the enterprises unlucky enough to have them. Leadership matters!

Conclusion

Explicit arguments advocating the Professionalization of leadership have been raised in this chapter. The confusion between management and leadership persists and influences the extent to which professionalization has been assumed. Leadership remains largely unprofessionalized, even though the number of practitioners and scholars in the field continues to increase. The main propositions of this chapter have revealed that leadership is characterized by the lack of a proper mechanism that deliberately pursues it as a professional area. Turning leadership into a True profession entails establishing professional standards, defining leadership roles, and providing curriculum-based Training, which are critical in professionalizing the practice of leadership; failure of which the capacity and Values of a leader are compromised. This takes proactive and conscious crafting in order to safeguard the honor of the leadership practice, which is currently engulfed and driven by myths determining appointment to Leadership positions. The position of myths as a major propagator of skewed leadership has been explored and challenged. Additionally, an understanding of what being a professional entails has been pursued and idiosyncratic parameters leading to the professionalization of the Leadership practice have been suggested.

In a competitive Environment that is largely uncertain and complex, individuals are under pressure to deliver results. The role of organizations has grown over the last few decades. Effective organization Performance and attainment of its goals are dependent on effective organizational management. Thus, professionalization of leadership at all levels is becoming a predominant issue in Governance and management. Organizational efficiency and effectiveness is becoming pegged on the Professionalization of leadership. The Professionalism of leadership in the business arena appears to offer one possible route to achieving efficiency and effectiveness in organizations. In this regard, professionalism and leadership are two distinct qualities that individuals should possess. The success of one very much affects The other. Just like other practices have become professionalized over time, there is need to professionalize leadership. It can be made possible by creating an operational framework that clearly articulates the progression path and standards an individual needs to adhere to for him or her to be considered a Professional leader. Leadership outcome is very much dependent on Professionalization of leadership and other supporting areas such as management.

Paradoxically, while leadership is gaining more attention and understanding, its implementation as a professional area has not been without difficulties. The Professionalization of leadership levels the playing field for everyone, thereby creating leaders and championing leader development and Leadership development. Leader development and leadership development are available interventions in the mitigation of consequences derived from propagation of myths that cloud leadership in all spheres. On the whole, however, there are numerous gains that can be achieved if the leadership field is regulated. Long-standing dilemmas such as equity and equality across the gender divide can be resolved. Professionalizing leadership will level this playing field, promoting gender inclusivity. Ethical, values-driven, and results-based leadership will be achievable owing to the Professionalism these will be approached with. Currently, these areas are plagued with challenges. The notion of the glass ceiling is challenged, enabling more women to actively participate in leadership. In addition to this, succession best practices are realizable by integrating professional practice with Leadership development. Subverting opportunities for succession planning based on crony affiliations will be curtailed by embracing Leadership as a profession. The gains of efficiency and effectiveness will be accrued and this is inevitable in promoting the survival and Sustainability of an organization. With no exceptions, organizations must therefore move progressively through transforming themselves and advocating Professional leaders who meet the articulated threshold for one to operate as a professional in this field. This approach will mitigate highly subjective determinations of who a leader is or what leadership entails based on a set benchmark. Currently, there is too much emphasis on the qualities of leadership, with little or no opportunity for inclusion on how to manage the process of leadership. Fanned by myths of leadership, this then presents the leadership gap as a result of lack of professionalization of leadership.

Notes

1. Mire of historicism implies that theoretical model of professionalization should be free from the unpleasant/complicated experiences that have clouded the whole issue of professionalizing leadership in the past.

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18

Leadership as a Profession? The Significance of Reflexive Judgment

Lone Hersted and Mette Vinther Larsen

Introduction

This chapter presents findings that support turning leadership into a profession, but only *if* and *when* the significance of reflexive judgment is acknowledged and incorporated into the debate. We propose that if leaders are to handle the ambiguous and sometimes paradoxical challenges they face in their everyday practice, their practice-anchored and theoretical judgment must be supplemented with what may be called *reflexive* judgment which, through reflexive dialog, enables the leader to move beyond his or her existing and taken-for-granted norms, values, and assumptions regarding organizational dilemmas and allows the emergence of new and more viable ways to move forward.

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The chapter is structured in the following way: First, our understanding of reflexivity and reflexive judgment is presented. Second, this understanding is connected to the ongoing debate about whether or not leadership should be turned into a profession. We propose that this debate can be understood as a discussion that revolves around assigning primacy to either a practice-anchored or a theoretical judgment. Third, two cases are presented to illustrate how the leaders involved apply reflexive judgment when they deal with the ambiguous organizational challenges they are facing. Finally, the chapter will conclude by arguing that leadership can be turned into a profession, but only if and when the debate prioritizes the significance of making room for reflexive judgment to incrementally develop during education.

Reflexivity in Management Learning

The argument we present in this chapter draws mainly on Cunliffe's work on reflexivity (2002, 2004). To engage in *reflexive conversation* means to explore from multiple perspectives the organizational reality that managers talk and act into being in their daily activities (Cunliffe 2002; Larsen and Willert 2017). People engage in reflexive conversations to expand the possible ways of handling an organizational dilemma. Reflexivity is one way in which understanding can emerge; the other is reflective understanding (Cunliffe 2002, 2004).

Conversations based on *reflex* responses embrace how people are culturally anchored to certain taken-for-granted understandings of the organizational context they live in (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Leaders often surround themselves with people who share their own norms and values and who rely on the same cues when making sense of the organizational dilemmas in which they find themselves (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Mead 1974; Weick 1995). This enables leaders to develop a kind of local practice-anchored judgment of how dilemmas could be understood, and thus handled instantaneously by reflex (Cunliffe 2002; Larsen and Rasmussen 2015; Mead 1974). The challenge here is that the practice-anchored judgments that leaders rely on only include and represent a limited selection of the norms, values, cues, and taken-for-granted assumptions that exist in the organization (Cunliffe 2002; Larsen and Rasmussen 2015).

In *reflective* conversations, people rely on various forms of theory—such as textbooks, expert statements, and research results and analyses—in their attempts to make sense of an organizational dilemma (Cunliffe 2002, 2004). But in such cases, what is relied on is theoretical knowledge that is congruent with the existing norms, values, and cues (Cunliffe 2002; Larsen and Rasmussen 2015). In practice, this means that leaders reduce the complexity characterizing an organizational dilemma by relying primarily on more general and theoretical arguments that are aligned with and confirm their preliminary understandings of the organizational challenge (Cunliffe 2004; Larsen and Willert 2017). However, the theoretical judgment that emerges is in many ways limited, and rarely allows for new insights or learning to emerge (Larsen and Willert 2017; Ripamonti et al. 2015).

In *reflexive* conversations, the co-construction of understanding is different. During reflexive dialogs, leaders begin to more curiously explore the taken-for-granted assumptions that shape how they—whether through reflex or reflectively (that is, based on practice-anchored or theoretical judgment)—make sense of and immediately want to deal with an organizational dilemma. Reflexivity allows researchers and leaders to engage in conversations where the leader is forced to rely only on his or her existing theoretical and practice-anchored judgment. Furthermore, it becomes possible to take the uniqueness of the contextual dilemma into consideration and, in more reflexive ways, explore multiple perspectives and understandings, including contradictions, doubts, and different possibilities for action (Cunliffe 2002, 2004).

Drawing on Shotter (1993) and Cunliffe (2002, 2004), we claim that, when debating whether leadership should be turned into a profession or not, it is important that the notion and significance of reflexivity are considered. A reflexive judgment enables leaders to move beyond their initial practice-anchored judgment and transform their theoretical judgment so that it aligns with the specific organizational challenge, allowing the emergence of viable ways of making sense of and dealing with the organizational dilemma. Cunliffe (2002) argues for incorporating reflexive dialogical practice in management learning as a way of developing "more critical and responsive practitioners" (p. 39). This argumentation builds on research results that argue for stronger ties and better collaboration between academics and practitioners in the co-construction of knowledge that has an impact on, and is useful in relation to, the organizational dilemmas leaders face today (Cunliffe and Scaratti 2017; Ripamonti et al. 2015; Shotter 2010).

Leadership as a Profession? Perspectives in the Ongoing Debate

For at least sixty years, there has been a debate on whether leadership should be turned into a formal profession (Goodall 2011; Martin 2010; Khurana and Nohria 2008; Parks 2005; Reed and Anthony 1992; Schein 1968/1988; Spender 2007). On one hand, it is argued that, if management is to be taken seriously, leaders across businesses and industries need to rely on a decontextualized shared code for management (Khurana and Nohria 2008). It is further proposed that leaders should go through educational programs based on a coherent and formalized body of knowledge in order to ensure moral and ethical conduct in their ways of practicing management (Khurana and Nohria 2008). We see these perspectives as arguments that support the development of a kind of theoretical judgment that leaders can rely on as they face contextually unique organizational dilemmas. However, due to the multitude of different, often decontextualized, theoretical perspectives existing within the various academic disciplines, the risk presented above concerning building reflective understandings is ubiquitous (Cunliffe and Scaratti 2017; Ripamonti et al. 2015). Leaders need to explore theories and perspectives more reflexively and to move beyond their taken-for-granted assumptions and practice-anchored judgment regarding the organizational dilemma. This means that, in arguing that leadership should be turned into a profession, it is crucial that the ability of leaders to strengthen their reflexive judgment is prioritized.

On the other hand, the arguments against turning leadership into a profession suggest that management is the antithesis to the application of a body of rigorous and formalized knowledge and standards in practice (Spender 2007). Goodall (2011) argues that leadership implies having a form of intuitive practice-anchored judgment based on a degree of autonomy. Furthermore, when discussing management education, it has often been claimed that there is a large gap between theory and practice, and it is claimed that what is taught at business schools is often out of date by the time the leaders finish the program (French and Grey 1996; Grey 2001; Mintzberg 2004; Starkey and Madan 2001; Schein 1968/1988; Weick 2001). Additionally, it has been argued that the idea of possessing complete general knowledge of a given organizational challenge and its consequences, and being able to act as a rational agent and decision maker in complex settings, is not only somewhat misleading but in fact a complete illusion (Reed and Anthony 1992; Spender 2007).

These arguments can be perceived as a call for leaders to develop a more context-sensitive practice-anchored judgment that is anchored within what is taken-for-granted in the contextual setting (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Larsen and Rasmussen 2015). As described above, the risk with co-constructing reflex understandings revolves around how people primarily incorporate their own norms, values, cues, and taken-for-granted assumptions as they make sense of the organizational dilemma, leaving little room for the emergence of different ways of making sense of and dealing with the organizational dilemma. This means that, if turning leadership into a profession strengthens leaders' abilities to develop reflexive judgment as well as enabling them to move beyond their taken-for-grated assumptions, then this supports the arguments for turning leadership into a profession.

A Case of Reflexive Judgment

We do not believe that theoretical judgment alone (understood as perceiving the practice of leadership as something that can be learned solely at business schools through traditional, standardized programs) is sufficient. The complex and contextual everyday challenges leaders encounter can hardly be solved based on theoretical judgment alone (Cunliffe and Scaratti 2017; Shotter 2010). This does not mean that we are against formal management education—on the contrary, we believe it plays an important role. During formal education, leaders are presented with different theoretical approaches that indicate different ways of dealing with organizational challenges. But what is needed are reflexive practices that invite leaders to relate the multitude of theoretical perspectives to their current organizational dilemmas (Cunliffe and Scaratti 2017; Ripamonti et al. 2015; Shotter 2010).

Furthermore, we are not arguing that practice-anchored judgment (understood as an intuitive, local understanding shaped by contextual sensitive taken-for-granted assumptions, norms, values, and cues alone) is of no significance. Without contextual anchoring, viable ways of dealing with organizational dilemmas cannot emerge. We are, however, arguing that practice-anchored understandings alone are not sufficient when leaders wish to deal with organizational challenges in professional ways.

In line with Schein (1968/1988), Cunliffe and Scaratti (2017), and Ripamonti et al. (2015), we propose that any kind of professionalization of leadership via educational or training programs for managers must involve the local organizational context and must seek to build bridges between theory and practice. It is thus of pivotal significance that we include the need for reflexive judgment to shape the debate about how leadership could and should be formalized and turned into a profession. The ongoing debate should be extended to include discussions of how theoretical and practice-anchored judgment can be enriched through more reflexive judgments on specific organizational dilemmas (Cunliffe and Scaratti 2017; Ripamonti et al. 2015; Shotter 2010). Being able to make sense of and deal with ambiguous, often paradoxical, organizational dilemmas revolves around relying on one's theoretical judgment by continually transforming it on the basis of unique aspects signifying the current situations (Cunliffe and Scaratti 2017). In what follows, we use two cases to illustrate how leaders, on the basis of reflexive conversations with researchers, challenged their theoretical and practice-anchored judgment with reflexive judgment when attempting to make sense of and deal with an organizational dilemma. Both cases draw attention to the need to include reflexive judgment when arguing in favor of turning leadership into a profession.

Case 1: Shadowing the Leader at Meetings, Including Feedback and Feedforward

The first case we present here concerns the learning process of the most senior leader in a public organization. In this inquiry, attention is mainly paid to communicative aspects, including language games and bodily expressions. The leader had the task of fusing two institutions and, at the same time, implementing an extensive reform under order from the government. The change process was not an easy task and, as with many such processes, it did not develop as initially planned by the leader.

The leader was struggling with conflicts with some employees and with the representative of the employees' union. He asked Lone, one of the authors of this chapter, for direct help, inviting her to become an observer of his practice in order to provide him with some feedback. The leader felt stuck in a specific conflict with the union representative, and had been publicly criticized by several employees for his way of communicating. The situation had come to a head, and the leader realized that he had to transform his way of relating and communicating with the employees. He recognized that he himself had to go through a transformative learning process in order to break with degenerative communicative patterns. Lone accepted his invitation to observe him at a series of meetings, paying special attention to the ways in which he communicated and entered into relations with the employees—including the union representative. The purpose was to allow for reflexive conversations to emerge and for the leader to develop his reflexive judgment.

Lone thus observed the leader and the other participants at five meetings over three months, and the leader and Lone entered into reflexive dialog before and after each meeting, following the structure illustrated in Fig. 18.1.

A major concern was how the leader could break with his old degenerative communicative patterns. In particular, when he felt he was stuck or under pressure, he tended to fall back on degenerative and defensive ways of communicating, as a kind of *reflex*. In the feedback and feedforward dialogs, he and Lone discussed, among other things, different

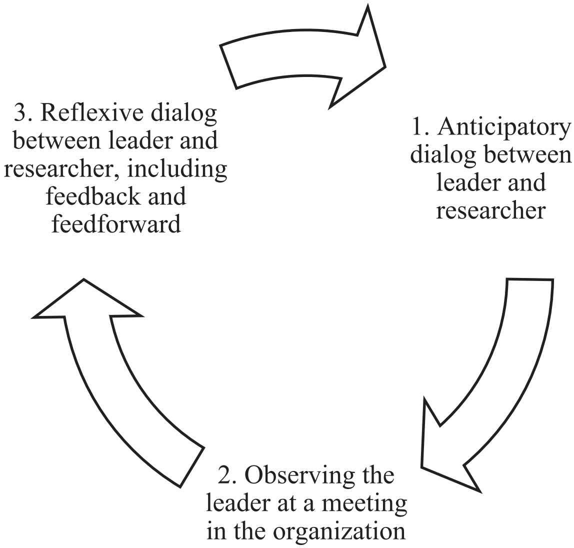

Fig. 18.1 Learning cycle

"genres" of meetings, different language games (Wittgenstein 1953), and new ways of facilitating meetings from a more dialog-based orientation. What kind of speech acts, energies, and possibilities could this open up for? Thus, in these reflexive dialogs (between the meetings with the employees), they talked about and reflected upon his ways of relating to others, the use of different language games, the use of metaphors, bodily expressions, positioning, and different means of opening and facilitating a meeting.

They further experimented with new openings for the conversations at the meetings and for co-creating alternative scenarios, as opposed to becoming mired in old, repetitive communicative patterns (Gergen and Hersted 2016; Hersted 2017). For instance, in the beginning, Lone noticed that the leader tended to cross his arms and look away almost every time the union representative spoke—even when she tried to be appreciative and say something positive to him. So how could he break the pattern and find new openings in the conversation? Here is an example from the first meeting, which Lone attended:

Union representative:	*My colleagues have told me that they very much appreciate when you are present in the employees' room, that they are very happy when you are visible and present with them.*
Leader:	*Hmm… well…* (crosses arms and looks away) *they should be aware that this is time that is taken from my other tasks!*
Union representative:	*Yes, but…* (falls silent).

In fact, this was an opening in the conversation, a kind of "invitation" from the union representative to break with their co-constructed degenerative pattern, but the leader did not accept this invitation—instead crossing his arms and defending himself. As an observer, Lone confronted him with these kinds of episodes and invited him to reflect on his reflex actions and move beyond a practice-anchored judgment. Furthermore, they talked about alternative ways of responding with the hope that the leader would gradually broaden his practice-anchored judgment by allowing reflexive judgment to emerge through a more playful, open-minded, and lively way of communicating.

In the feedback and feedforward dialogs (between the meetings with the leader and the employees), Lone asked the leader a series of questions, such as: "What was your own experience of the meeting? What did you notice?", "How did you experience the conversation, for instance with the union representative? And how do you think she experienced it?" These types of questions were asked with the aim of bringing out the themes, challenges, and relationships from new perspectives and strengthening the leader's reflexive judgment by co-constructing more viable ways to move forward together with his employees.

All in all, what did the leader learn from this experience? Were there any signs of change or learning? At the following meetings, Lone observed that after a while, the leader came to develop his reflexive judgment, becoming more thoughtful about the ways in which he communicated with the staff. He began to show more curiosity, as he:

- listened more carefully to the other participants and invited them into dialog;
- explored different perspectives on a given theme;
- paid attention to the bodily utterances of the participants and of himself;
- invited his employees into other language games;
- explored different ways of using language—for instance, the more thoughtful use of metaphors; and
- experimented with new and more engaging ways of opening and facilitating meetings.

What this first case illustrates clearly is how the leader, by engaging in reflexive dialogs with Lone, became able to move beyond his practice-anchored judgments. He began to become aware of how his reflex and emergent understanding of the organizational dilemma further intensified the challenges, rather than solving them. Incrementally, the leader developed reflexive judgment that enabled him to make sense of the organizational dilemma from new perspectives. This case underlines the significance of being able to develop reflexive judgment when dealing with organizational challenges and supports the need to include reflexivity in the arguments for turning leadership into a profession.

Case 2: Strengthening Reflexive Judgment

We present here an example of a research conversation between Laura, who is a manager of regional development in one of the Danish regions, and Mette, the other author of this chapter. Over a period of a year, Laura and Mette held three research conversations that focused on and explored the managerial challenges with which Laura was struggling. During these conversations, both theoretical and practice-anchored judgments were reflexively explored to allow Laura to strengthen her reflexive judgment.

In the excerpt below, Laura tells Mette how an internal restructuring seems to be quite challenging: a departmental manager called Jacob, who will play a significant and central role in the new structure, apparently does not want to cooperate with Laura. She feels powerless and stuck in the situation because she has no formal authority over Jacob, and the regional manager, John, knows about the challenge, but would prefer that Laura deals with it herself.

Laura: *I have discussed this with John several times and I know one of my colleagues has done the same. And then it becomes obvious that, while we have a regional manager who is very visionary, energetic, and extroverted, at the same time, he borders on being conflict-averse. He does what he can to avoid any kind of confrontation… I have told John that he needs to sort it out with Jacob. […] [John] completely agrees, but he keeps hoping we can sort it out on our own… Yesterday we had to discuss [the internal restructuring] and we reserved two hours for it… and then late in the evening, Jacob sends his apologies… and does not participate. Then [two other department managers] and I quickly begin to talk about how we can deal with the restructuring in ways that make room for Jacob…*

Mette: *It sounds like it is really taxing your energy?*

Laura: *I spend a lot of energy on this! I am completely tied down here, and the pressure is increasing… Jacob has looked at me and told me not to interfere because his boss is John and not me.*

Mette: *John has also put himself in quite an advantageous situation. He has managed to get you to take responsibility for a conflict that does not really involve you, but is between John and Jacob. You have taken on a management challenge that is outside your area of responsibility.*

Laura: *Yes, and I am completely tied down because I don't have the authority to do anything… John has used the term that I should get him off the hook. And I swore to myself a few years ago that I would not put myself in such a spot again. Because [John] has done it before…*

Laura faces an organizational challenge that most likely is not explained or presented in any textbook on management, and it seems difficult to imagine how theoretical judgment alone could prepare Laura for handling the situation. It is thus a central aspect of leading to be able to deal with complex organizational challenges in ways that bridge knowing and practicing or theoretical and practice-anchored judgment (Ripamonti et al. 2015). This case underlines the significance of exploring and questioning taken-for-granted ways of thinking and supporting the emergence of reflexive judgment (Larsen and Willert 2017). As Laura tells Mette about the organizational challenge, certain taken-for-granted assumptions and known language games guide the way she talks the organizational challenge into being.

To create multiple perspectives on the organizational dilemma, Mette and Laura engage in a reflexive dialog by curiously applying a metaperspective to the challenges with Jacob and John. With the response; "*John has also put himself in quite an advantageous situation*", taken-for-granted assumptions and language games about the organizational challenge are challenged, as a different perspective is explored. This unfolded as follows:

Laura: *… it is not my job to get John off the hook, he has to do that on his own… but if I have to be completely honest…. I am actually not sure whether I would be able to say what I need to say when we begin discussing these issues…*

Mette: *What would you say to [John] to invite him to engage in such a dialog?*

Laura: *I would most likely say to him that I would like to talk to him about what my areas of responsibility are, and then I would be interested in figuring out how he interprets them compared to how I interpret them… if there are any situations where we don't agree, we could come to some agreement.*

Mette: *What could he then say in such a situation that would make it difficult for you?*

Laura: *The difficult part would be that you could make such agreements with him, but he might forget them or change them… Maybe we should formalize it and write down the agreement… then we could also talk with other managers about this in a completely open way.*

Mette: *That is a good idea… Would that work?*

Laura: *I think it could work. If the paper is dated [specific date] and it says that we agree on this and that, then [later] when we are in the middle of it all, we can go back and look at what we agreed upon.*

As the dialog above illustrates, Laura and Mette have changed the language game. Instead of reconstructing the practice-anchored judgment through reflex and reflective understandings, Laura and Mette begin to explore in more reflexive and curious ways how the organizational challenge could be handled. As the conversation about the organizational challenge changes, Laura and Mette embrace the future-forming and constitutive aspect of language and *from within the concrete and relational context* they support each other in talking a different local reality into being (Gergen 1994; Hersted and Gergen 2013). This is a process in which Laura and Mette invite each other to try out new language games and a reflexive judgment emerges incrementally. The reflexive judgment allows Laura to figure out what kind of new actions could be initiated to enhance the generative development of the ambiguous and partially paradoxical situation in which she finds herself.

This case illustrates how the ability to move beyond existing practice-anchored judgment and to transform one's theoretical judgment does not occur on its own. Often, as in this case, the leader needs support from someone else (here, a researcher) to engage in reflexive dialog and to expand the perspectives used to make sense of and deal with the organizational dilemma. What the case also illustrates is that, when debating whether leadership should be turned into a profession, it is of utmost significance that reflexive judgment does not emerge on its own, but is talked into being relationally between a leader and, for example, a researcher.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have presented findings that can support arguments for turning leadership into a profession, but only *if* and *when* the significance of reflexive judgment is acknowledged and incorporated into the ongoing debate. For leaders, the ability to move beyond practice-anchored judgment and transform theoretical judgment based on the uniqueness of the in-the-moment organizational dilemma is of the greatest significance. Dealing with organizational dilemmas is nowadays characterized by ambiguous and challenging aspects that need to be handled sustainably if the organization is to develop and prosper. Turning leadership into a profession can be a way to create a space for leaders to strengthen their reflexive judgment.

As both the cases presented in this chapter illustrate, the leaders were caught in their practice-based judgment of the organizational dilemma. Furthermore, seeking guidance and help in their existing theoretical judgment did not help them identify new understandings, or expand their existing understandings, of how the organizational dilemma could be understood and dealt with. Both leaders needed support from researchers to move beyond their reflex to engage in reflexive dialog. These findings support arguments in favor of turning leadership into a profession, though (as described at the outset of the chapter) only *when* and *if* we prioritize reflexive dialog as the central foundation of such an education.

Engaging in reflexive dialog can support leaders in moving beyond what they already know because reflexive conversations make room for new understandings and allow ways to move forward to emerge incrementally. By being curious, leaders can develop their reflexive judgment and transform their theoretical and practice-anchored judgments to fit with the uniqueness of the current organizational dilemma. If these practices can be anchored in professional leadership education, it can support leaders in creating viable ways to make sense of, and deal with, ambiguous organizational challenges in their everyday leading.

In this chapter, we have argued and illustrated how leaders need to move beyond their initial reflex understandings, to supplement their practice-anchored and theoretical judgment with reflexive judgment. It is our hope that this can be realized if leadership is turned into a profession, though this will be possible only if time is assigned to managers to repeatedly work on strengthening their reflexive judgment as they make sense of and deal with the organizational dilemmas encountered.

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19

Preparing for Turning Leadership into a True Profession

Anders Örtenblad

The aim of this chapter is to outline a road ahead by suggesting some first steps that need to be taken for leadership to be turned into a true profession. Thus, with an ambition to improve the general quality of leadership and management and to give these areas the respect they deserve, this chapter supports the idea of turning leadership into a profession, but suggests that there is a need for measures to be taken before the actual process of professionalization (in terms of installing formalized standards, a certain education, certificate etc.) can begin. The suggestions are concerned with affecting the general attitude to leaders and leadership, through measures such as stopping people from becoming leaders who may not be suitable for practicing leadership.

The main argument for professionalization of leadership is important enough to be repeated, even if it has been brought up elsewhere: professionalization of leadership/management would increase the pressure on morale and responsibility among those practicing leadership/management (see, e.g., Paterson 1956; Khurana and Nohria 2008). There is a

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reason why one has to have a driving license to drive a car on a public road, and likewise a reason why driving licenses can be withdrawn.

The chapter takes the position of accepting the fact that leaders sometimes (potentially increasingly often) have a different occupation/profession than those they lead, such as when administrators without medical competence lead hospitals. These conditions may lead to the rise of managerialism and, thus, increase the negative impacts stemming from "managerialism" and "new public management" (for a critique of managerialism, see Grey 1996). Rather than fighting against this trend, it is suggested that it may be wiser to accept the fact and instead try to ensure that those who take on such leading positions are as capable as possible when it comes to leading *people*. Thus, instead of, for instance, proposing that all hospitals are necessarily led by people who have medical competence or even are medical experts, it is suggested here that knowledge of how to encourage and make the most of people is developed among those administrators who lead hospitals but have no or little medical competence. In this way at least some of the downsides stemming from managerialism could be overcome, and when leadership has been fully professionalized these downsides would likely be minimized even further.

One regularly occurring argument against turning leadership/management into a true profession is that leadership *is* not a profession and/or that it would *not be possible* to accomplish such a transformation (as has been argued, for example, by Quay 1966; Barker 2010a; Fellman, Chap. 4 in this volume, when it comes to management, and by, for example, Monsen, Chap. 5 in this volume; Davis, Chap. 6 in this volume; Hertel and Fast, Chap. 7 in this volume; when it comes to leadership). Although this could be said to be a somewhat passive argument, in that it does not really engage with the arguments proposed by those arguing that management/leadership *should* be turned into a true profession, the skepticism provides reason to outline a plan for how leadership, in this case, *can* be turned into a true profession.

Professionalization is heavily connected to ethics, and the lack of ethical behavior that practicing leaders sometimes display gives rise to a need for giving leaders, as well as leadership per se, a better reputation. Leaders and leadership would likely have a better reputation if leadership was professionalized, but it would be preferable for a good reputation to be in place before the actual professionalization process starts, in that a poor reputation may very well constrain people from even considering turning leadership into a true profession.

To professionalize leadership would, of course, not be a simple thing to accomplish, and one would definitely have to handle many different kinds of constraints. But a first step in accomplishing something as big as this has to be a belief that it is possible. Without such a conviction, it is probably impossible—or at least, much tougher—to succeed.

Others have shown how the characteristics of a profession could be accomplished for leadership (see, e.g., Jordan, Chap. 16 in this volume; Kinyanjui, Chap. 17 in this volume). This chapter instead suggests some supporting measures, which are not very often put forward in discussions for or against a professionalization of leadership, and that may have to be accomplished before the actual work of turning leadership into a true profession can seriously begin. There is a need to problematize and ultimately change the definition of "leadership" and, similarly, to change people's understanding of and attitude towards leadership practice.

Four supporting and preparatory steps in the process of transforming leadership into a true profession are suggested in this chapter: (1) reducing the status of leadership; (2) exploring new meanings of leadership; (3) offering bachelor programs focusing on leading people, rather than on managing businesses, and (4) (re-)installing dual career paths.

Reducing the Status of Leadership

To reduce the status of leadership may seem to be an awkward thing to do when the aim is to give it a better reputation and when the ultimate aim is to turn leadership into a true profession. But, to the contrary, what is even more peculiar—and counter-productive—is the often-occurring assumption that leadership positions give the holders an enhanced status as well as other benefits such as increased salary (cf. Kellerman 2012). There is some kind of assumption here that what leaders do is more valuable, an assumption that can be challenged by instead suggesting that what leaders do is something different, but not better or worse than what non-leaders do.

The argument here is not necessarily that the people in such positions are not worth the benefits—they may very well be worth whatever they earn, possible more (even if it seems unlikely that anybody's accomplishments could be worth millions of US dollars monthly). Instead, the argument is that offering them advantages just because they take on such a position/role may make it more difficult to turn leadership into a true profession, since not all leaders always satisfy the high ethical demands that can be asked of them and that are demanded for leadership to be turned into a true profession; as long as it is not a true profession, people should not be able to expect anything extraordinary from leaders.

Nobody wants people to take on leading positions solely for the money or the status/prestige that they may bring. Instead, we want interested, knowledgeable people who like, and are good at, leading people. This is why the status has to be lessened, for some period of time, before it can be raised again. Only then can leadership and (good) leaders gain the respect and high reputation that they truly deserve. When this has all been accomplished, then it would be much more reasonable to fight for higher salaries and better benefits for leaders.

Thus, an important step may, actually, be to—temporarily—*decrease* the status of leaders, in order to increase the status of the profession in the long run.

Exploring New Meanings of "Leadership"

As part of the project of giving leadership per se, as well as leaders, a better reputation, a very thorough exploration of what leadership is all about, as well as what it may not be about, is necessary. Such an exploration may result in a virtually new definition of "leadership", or it may result in a set of reasonable definitions of which some are new and others not. The exploration can in itself help to install more trust in leadership as phenomena, in that the openness that comes with such exploration increases trust. New definitions of leadership could help to get rid of at least some of the less productive assumptions that the concept and phenomena currently are afflicted with, such as high status and good benefits (cf. Kellerman 2012), as well as the assumption that leadership is necessarily about telling other people what to do and controlling that they have done it. This exploration process needs to be communicated widely, so that the effects from it reach outside the academy and the leadership community.

For instance, one argument against turning leadership into a true profession is that leaders must possess knowledge of the profession of those s/he leads, or, in other words, be able to perform and even master the core operations her- or himself (cf. Goodall 2010). Behind such an argument lies an assumption of what leadership is, an assumption that needs to be challenged. As, for instance, Lund (2016) has shown, there are other strategies for gaining legitimacy than to possess knowledge of the profession of those one leads.

There is a need for an understanding of "leadership" that goes beyond telling employees what to do, how to do it and when to do it. Such alternative understandings could, for instance, include an understanding that puts the focus on other leadership tasks, such as making the most out of each individual employee and the group of employees as a unit, as well as how to use dissent as an opportunity for change. Examples of existing alternative approaches to leadership include "servant leadership", where leadership is viewed as an administrative and supportive role, whose main task is to help to draw out the most from the so-called "followers" (for an overview of the concept of "servant leadership", see Russell and Stone 2002). This would mean that the demands on a leader would be other than those put on leaders who decide what, how and when to do things. Other alternative leadership approaches that should at least be explored and discussed include (but are definitely not limited to) "Confucian-Transformational leadership" (Stone et al. 2014), "reflexive leadership" (Alvesson et al. 2017) and "autonomist leadership" (Western 2014). There is not only a need for alternative approaches to the practice of leadership, but alternative approaches to leadership per se and studying leadership as well (for such alternative approaches, see, e.g., Chen 2008).

A changed understanding of leadership and, over time, a changed definition of what leadership may involve would lead to leadership education likely needing to be changed, so that it focuses much more on things that traditional management and/or leadership education has not previously been very occupied with. One subject that would have to be included is, of course, knowledge about people.

Offering Bachelor Programs in Leadership

The existence of a bachelor degree within the leadership area would be an important step towards turning any profession into a true profession, so also leadership (e.g. Otterlei, Chap. 2 in this volume). But not only is the degree as such important, so also is what the students learn in such a program. For this reason, it is important both *what* is taught/learnt at such a program and *how* this teaching/learning takes place (see also, e.g., Gjerding et al., Chap. 20 in this volume; Cunningham and Meinhart, Chap. 21 in this volume; Belet, Chap. 22 in this volume; Bolt and Bolt, Chap. 23 in this volume; Børgesen et al., Chap. 24 in this volume; Örtenblad, Chap. 25 in this volume). The process of further exploration of what "leadership" is all about, discussed above, could preferably be held in close relation with the development of such bachelor programs in leadership. Thereby, the existence of bachelor programs in leadership would assist in establishing a new and well-needed understanding of what leadership may be all about.

When it comes to the question of *what* should be taught in leadership bachelor programs, it is necessary to offer programs that focus on leading people, rather than on business operations. Furthermore, at least partly, subjects other than those whose purpose is to educate those who are already knowledgeable within another occupation/profession, and that are supposed to help these people to practice leadership "on top" of their main occupation/profession, should be taught. The reason for this is that the demands on the professional leader could, at least to some extent, be assumed to be different from the demands on those who study leadership as well as another occupation/profession.

A bachelor program in leadership that supports leadership being turned into a true profession must not primarily be *about* leadership but *in* leadership. Thus, the pedagogy and teaching approach should allow space in the program for a lot of practice, so that the students are given opportunities to practice leadership themselves (see also Gjerding et al., Chap. 20 in this volume). On the other hand, a program that is given by higher education institutions (HEIs) must also be academic.

Thus, ideally, a bachelor program in leadership would offer lots of opportunities for the students to reflect on leadership experience on the basis of various theories that directly or indirectly connect to leadership. The leadership experiences to be reflected upon may be the experiences of people who practice leadership, who the students read about or talk directly with. Ideally, each student would have a mentor who is a practicing leader. The students could also use their own experiences to reflect upon. These may be past experiences, in that practically all people have some kind of experiences from leadership—if not from being a formal leader in, for instance, sports, then as informal leaders of friends, classmates and family members, and also from leading oneself. At the least, every person has experiences of being led. Their own experiences may also be future ones, which one can, at least, make scenarios of and speculate about. Not least, the students would make experiences of leadership during their studies. This may take the form of functioning as mentors for first-year students or for high-school pupils studying leadership, or as various forms of assignments and simulations where the students are supposed to lead each other. In addition, the students could advantageously practice leadership during an internship during their studies.

A bachelor program in leadership could, of course, also be followed by a master program in leadership. Ideally it would also be followed by the execution of a trainee position in leadership, preferably offered by or in conjunction with the HEI that offers the bachelor program in leadership. This is in reply to an argument that is often heard, namely that it is not possible to start to work as a leader if one has only just graduated in leadership. If the graduates take on a trainee position of, say, two years, in which they get an opportunity to practice leadership, then this critique would, at least partly, be eliminated.

When it comes to content, a bachelor program in leadership should, among other things, include a broad variety of academic subjects, the majority of which focus on knowledge about people. Moreover, such programs should problematize what leadership is, discuss different perspectives of leadership, especially those that challenge the traditional perspective of leadership (such as servant leadership), and inspire the students through art, novels and so on, to formulate their own, personal "leadership idea".

(Re-)installing Dual Career Paths

One problem is that, traditionally, leaders have often been recruited from the most outstanding within the occupation/profession or/and from those performing the core operations of the organization. These people are, no doubt, very good at what they do, but little says that they are good leaders—at least not that they are good at leading people, although they may be good at leading the business operations. Moreover, in cases where leaders are recruited internally, additional problems may arise from the somewhat awkward situation where some people are supposed to lead former workmates.

This fact can be regarded as a threat to the process of turning leadership into a profession, in that there is a clear risk from the occurrence of leaders who are not aimed or suitable for leadership contributing to giving leaders and leadership per se a bad reputation. For this reason, an important step towards turning leadership into a true profession is to get the idea of "dual career paths" (e.g. Hill 1992), or what sometimes is called "dual ladders" (e.g. Allen and Katz 1986), which was popular, especially, during the last few decades of the twentieth century, going. If organizations offered dual ladders, those who have career ambitions but who not are completely suitable to take on leadership positions would effectively be guided to an alternative career path.

Concluding Remarks

A couple of frequently occurring arguments against the professionalization of management is that there is no common knowledge-base in management that easily could be standardized, and that management is so context-dependent so that it cannot be learnt (only) through education (e.g., Donham 1962; Grey 1997; Barker 2010a, b; Goodall 2010). By putting the focus on leadership instead of management, at least some of these problems could be overcome. Educating leaders would imply learning about people and how to treat people, knowledge that potentially would be much easier to standardize than knowledge about managing businesses.

Such a bachelor program in leadership has briefly been outlined above (see also, e.g. Børgesen et al., Chap. 24 in this volume; Örtenblad, Chap. 25 in this volume). This, together with measures for removing incentives for those who may be less suitable for taking on leadership positions, and measures for giving leadership a better reputation than it currently may have, would assist in laying a foundation for the work that needs to follow, namely to start turning leadership into a true profession.

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Part V

On the Need for Bachelor Programs in Leadership

20

Bachelor Programs in Leadership: The Beginning of a Profession

Allan Næs Gjerding, Kenneth Mølbjerg Jørgensen, René Nesgaard Nielsen, and Jørgen Gulddahl Rasmussen

Introduction

Leadership programs and research in leadership have revolved around the basic question of whether leadership is innate or learned, or as Hill (2003, p. 320) puts it: "Are managers born or made?" Some have even claimed that "It's time to make management a true profession" (Khurana and Nohria 2008), while others have argued that this cannot be the case (Barker 2010). In this chapter we assume the compromising position that although leadership may be attributed to personal traits, the ability to execute leadership cannot, and therefore leadership is something that needs to be trained and developed through learning processes, systematized and made to reflect common explicit knowledge on leadership practices (Doh 2003; Elmuti et al. 2005; Yip and Raelin 2011).

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This position reflects that contemporary leadership research tends to suggest that the desire to assume and the ability to execute superordinate positions depend on a sound balance between innate traits and acquired behavior shaped by socialization and training into leadership practices (Yukl 2013; Northouse 2016). In her well-known account of the first-year experiences of nineteen managers, Hill (2003) stresses that becoming a manager is sensitive to how managers learn new technical, interpersonal and conceptual competencies, and combining these competencies with evolving knowledge about themselves as professionals and persons. Essentially, this combination involves three types of learning: (1) instrumental learning on managerial technologies for governance, management and control, (2) dialogical learning on communication and collaboration, and (3) self-informative learning on personal development. While the first type of learning is purely managerial, the second and third type of learning involves "heroic" leadership in the sense that new directions for being a manager are enacted by the manager himself. We might argue that this distinction is similar to the distinction between doing things right and doing the right things (Drucker 1974), and the popular, however somewhat confusing, distinction between management and leadership (Bennis 1989). However, the point made by Hill (2003) and pursued in this chapter is that this distinction is neither practical nor validated because management and leadership depend upon and shape one another (Kotter 1990; Carroll and Levy 2008).

From a pedagogical point of view, the entanglement of doing things right and doing the right things is a question of how competencies in superordinate positions are acquired and mastered, practically and theoretically. While this may prove difficult for managers already in position and undertaking further education (as described by Hill 2003), it is even more difficult for youngsters having their first experiences with tertiary education, i.e. students attending a bachelor program on leadership, which is the topic of the present chapter. What is at stake is how students immerse into, and become the masters of, knowledge and practices that reflect both practical experience and theoretical underpinnings. In essence, what the student is required to do is to combine practical wisdom and theoretical understanding. While practical wisdom, i.e. employing practical reasoning in order to do things right, may be interpreted in terms of the Aristotelian concept of phronesis (Aristotle 2009), the theoretical understanding, i.e. employing scientific reasoning in order to do the right things, may be interpreted in terms of the Aristotelian concept of episteme, which is theoretical knowledge that is assumed to be true and certain in a universal and general sense (Eisner 2002, p. 375). However, although practical reasoning is often interpreted as something other than epistemic reasoning (Eisner 2002, p. 375), the present chapter takes the point of view that phronesis and episteme are intricately intertwined. While the term of practical wisdom addresses how people should act in everyday situations by asking "how should I act in this situation?", the answer to this question reflects that situated choices are informed by generalized experience.

This position reflects that there are different accounts and interpretations of practical wisdom, which include rationality and situational perception, as well as moral concerns about the good life or living well (Noel 1999, p. 275). Interpreting practical wisdom as an entanglement of phronesis and episteme is becoming increasingly essential because the contemporary phase of globalization implies that business and organizational contexts become ever more competitive, ambiguous and changeable (Keohane and Nye 2000; Friedman 2007; Dobbs et al. 2015). New organizational configurations are emerging or have to be constructed, and new trans-national/cultural/religious alliances and value chains are created. While situated, relational and moral competencies exercised in leadership are of the outmost importance, the ability to create generally informed judgement and decision is becoming crucial in order to succeed in superordinate positions.

This constitutes a problem as well as an opportunity for the relevance of a bachelor program in leadership. The program will address very young people with none or little professional experience. In most cases, universities address young students with an offer of epistemic managerial and leadership knowledge, and are not inclined to engage students in the social, personal and moral aspects of becoming leaders. Instead, a holistic practice-based educational approach is needed in order to prepare the leaders-to-be for the complexities, dilemmas and uncertainties that await them. However, the students cannot appreciate the intricacies of leadership unless they are given the opportunity to experience the dilemmas and ambiguities of practical problems on which to apply the epistemic knowledge of which universities are so proficient. Therefore, a bridge between conditions of phronesis and episteme must be built.

The following constructs this bridge by proposing a bachelor program on leadership based on four somewhat controversial propositions: first, the theoretical learning of students is relevant only to the extent that students have opportunities for applying theoretical knowledge in practice. Second, relevance is created by including extra-university communities of practice in teaching and education. Third, while the students are subjected to mandatory curriculum, the major part of the curriculum is created by the students themselves in terms of analyses and practical experience emerging from the interaction with extra-university communities of practices. Fourth, in consequence, while a baseline of competencies is provided by the program, there is no uniform profile because each student specializes differently.

Content and Structure

The bachelor program in leadership is a three-year full-time study with the aim of integrating epistemic knowledge, local, situated and relational knowledge, and moral awareness and sensitivity as the basis for creating phronesis. As shown in Table 20.1, each year has its own theme, but the organizing principle remains the same throughout the program. The following describes the outlay of each year.

First year: right from the beginning of the program, the students are placed in groups of five to six students and each group is affiliated with a specific private or public organization. The purpose of the affiliation is to

Table 20.1 Themes and organization of the bachelor program in leadership

First year	Leadership challenges at the organizational level	*Organizing principle for all years* Students work in groups. Each group collaborates with an external private or public company. Each year has its own sample of companies
Second year	Leadership challenges at the departmental and interdepartmental level	
Third year	Relationship between strategy and development	

give the students an opportunity of getting a first-hand impression of the problems and challenges of leadership. The impression is created by interaction in which superordinates from private or public organizations join the teachers and students of the program in presenting and discussing the content and ramifications of phronesis in the collaborating organizations. Simultaneously, the entire class of students attends a number of lectures focused on how different kinds of knowledge of leadership can be interpreted in a general as well as in a local, situated way. In conjunction with training in group dynamics, the lectures prepare the students to engage in interaction with the organizations to which they are affiliated. During the second half of the first year, the interaction between groups of students and the affiliated organizations is intensified, as the combination of lectures and practical experience becomes devoted to the organization and execution of leadership practices in a concrete development project undertaken in the organization to which the students are affiliated.

Second year: the students are regrouped and a new selection of organizations is chosen to be extra-university collaborators. While the purpose of the first year was to focus on leadership challenges at an organizational level, the focus during the second year is on the departmental level in order to provide the students with an understanding of how leadership challenges can be seen from different perspectives. The main goal is that the students learn how employees and leaders are collaborating in order to get a department up and running. During the second half of the year, the students transcend the departmental perspective by focusing on how interdepartmental collaboration is organized and functions within the same organization that they have cooperated with during the previous six months. The focus is on interdepartmental leadership and leadership at different levels of the organizations, with the purpose of adding to the students' understanding of how leadership within an organization can be perceived and understood holistically.

Third year: once again, students are being regrouped and affiliated with a new selection of organizations. Focus is on the relationship between strategy and development from both an organizational and unit level perspective, promoting an understanding of how phronesis emerges at different organizational level and as part of intraorganizational interaction. In particular, attention is devoted to how development projects rely on leadership support, both locally, organizationally, and extra-organizationally. During the last part of the third year, the students are regrouped and prepare a bachelor thesis, individually or in small groups, on a leadership challenge of their own choice.

Concluding Remarks

Leadership depends on the desire to assume superordinate positions, but the execution of leadership is an informed discipline that requires the integration of practical wisdom and generalized experience. Ordinary university students can only engage in leadership education if they are provided with a setting where they can exercise practical activity and reasoning under real-life conditions. Integrating extra-university communities of practice in university education is a powerful way of creating the right conditions for the leadership education of young and inexperienced university students. This implies that the borders of academia become permeable and open up to influential resources from private and public organizations. Opening up to extra-university participation and interference in educational activities is important from the perspective that theoretical learning is relevant only to the extent that students have opportunities for applying theoretical knowledge in practice.

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21

"As the Twig Is Bent, so the Tree Shall Grow": Developing Strategic Intuition Through Reflective Practices in Bachelor Programs in Leadership Studies

G. K. Cunningham and Richard M. Meinhart

Large, stratified hierarchies require different models of leadership to produce desired outcomes, especially at top-tier, strategic levels (Jaques 1986). Fortunately, the layered nature of stratified organizations also acts as an educational catalyst, so that persons who advance through the hierarchy develop their leadership skills and attributes incrementally, both explicitly, by increasingly rigorous training and education opportunities, or implicitly through experiential learning. In this chapter, we argue that it would be beneficial to leader development to offer bachelor programs in leadership, as foundational leadership studies may accelerate both understanding and employment of intuitive judgment in later strategic-level leader practice.

Research into intuition as an element of strategic leadership remains an inexact endeavor filled with vexing problems. Intuition resists direct observation but is extrapolated through observation of other actions. The unobservability of intuition does not, however, prevent its use or diminish its importance in executive problem solving and decision

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making. Over the last decade especially, intuition is increasingly considered a reliable and distinguishing characteristic of strategic leadership. It appears largely a nonconscious mode of applying learned experience, tacit knowledge, and pattern recognition to address ambiguous and complex issues. Such characteristics are not typically outcomes of standard bachelor programs of business administration or organizational management, which emphasize rational, evidence-based approaches to task accomplishment.

The study of intuition as a specific attribute of leadership began in the early years of the 20th century. Carl Jung associated intuition with naturally occurring, primal, and even druid-like ability to see beyond objective reality (Jung 1921/1938). In contrast to Jung's theoretical, speculative approach, businessman Chester Barnard spent four decades working within the American Telegraph & Telephone Company (AT&T). As a practitioner, he stressed that time pressures and resource constraints may overwhelm evidence-based approaches that rely on carefully accrued, detailed data. In fact, Barnard postulated that logical, linear reasoning as taught in traditional task-oriented business management programs might actually be disadvantageous to senior executives (Barnard 1939/1968). Later, Herbert Simon was attracted to the study of intuition to compensate for bounded rationality, that is, human cognition is limited, and no one person is fully able to grasp the entirety of his circumstances (Simon 1945/1997).

Recent research has created a growing consensus that intuition is "a knowable cognitive process based largely on nonconscious modes of dealing with reality. Intuition involves the interplay of learned experience, tacit knowledge, and pattern recognition in providing justification for actions not necessarily observable as conscious rational thought" (Cunningham 2012, p. 219). This conceptualization of intuition has been expounded in the 21st century by Duggan (2005), and it forms the model of intuition described by Sinclair and Ashkanasy (2005). This depiction of intuition has been concurrently described by other researchers (Mitchell et al. 2005; Dane and Pratt 2007), and it further forms the basis for the pragmatic, utilitarian recommendations of Sadler-Smith (2008) regarding the practical use of intuition in problem solving and decision making.

The current consensus is that intuition is *nonrational,* but it is not *irrational.* Cunningham (2012) specifically interviewed senior three- and four-star military generals with strategic-level operational experience on whether they, at their level of strategic leadership, actually used intuitive judgment in decision making and problem solving. Few of these commanders had a definite definition or concept of intuition or were overtly aware of it in use. Still, these senior military commanders did not just simply employ intuition in decision making and problem solving, they embraced it. They often confronted problems that were ill-defined, that occurred in unstructured contexts, and for which knowledgeable advisers proposed different, even contradictory, solutions. Almost every strategic leader was extremely confident in the efficacy of intuitive judgment in such circumstances.

Deliberate, methodical analysis as taught in traditional business programs does not appear adequate to satisfy the demands of these high-pressure, time-constrained, and confusing decision-making environments. There is either too little information or so much information that it muddies the situation. Even when it appears that data might be available, often there is insufficient opportunity to access and analyze the data and assess implications. Rational, simplistic analysis, such as routinely addressed in regular business management programs, fails to function in the ill-defined atmosphere of ambiguity and complexity that these leaders routinely encountered. Cause and effect outcomes were uncertain, and further, the results of their decisions and actions might even not accrue during their tenures, preventing feedback. Rational, empirical assessments either could not be made due to inconclusive contributory data or would not be actionable in the time available.

Cunningham (2012) further inquired how these strategic-leaders developed their intuitive sense. These commanders agreed that experiential learning, beginning with post-academy, bachelor's level periods in their careers, played a pivotal role, a common observation that supports introduction to leadership studies at an early, baccalaureate level. The early inculcation of reflective thinking skills and practices may be an important enhancer for the development of later intuitive judgment.

Hence, the development of intuition and intuitive judgment were likely to be of paramount value to future strategic leaders. However, the predominant factor, in the self-perceptions of strategic leaders, is the power of experiential learning. Strategic-level military leaders needed wide-ranging backgrounds in assignments and educational experiences that exposed them to rapidly shifting, intricate, and indeterminate challenges. Early exposure to leadership concepts at baccalaureate level, aimed at preparing for such challenges, seems liable to boost intuitive judgment later at strategic levels.

It is unlikely, however, that a traditional business management curriculum will explicitly lead to the enhancement of strategic use of intuition. The nature of intuitive judgment as experientially based, pattern-recognition primed, and nonrationally applied, make it ill-suited to maturation solely through traditional formal methodologies of business management instruction. It is difficult to see how a traditional business approach, with its emphasis on data analysis and task accomplishment, would provide a background in which reflection could be applied to leadership skills and attributes. However, reflecting on experiences and determining how they apply to one's later challenges may enhance one's critical thinking and intuition. Inclusion of more reflective skills relating to a person's own analysis of his preferences, perceptions, and performance would augment formal education curricula, particularly in leadership programs, beginning at baccalaureate level, which treat leadership as a profession.

There are many linkages to developing one's intuition through reflection, as reflective techniques help shape one's thinking explicitly and implicitly by combining one's past experiences and ongoing educational course concepts. Educators who have written about adult learning have identified reflection's importance when developing ways to develop and teach the curriculum (Cartwright 2004; Wilson and Hayes 2000). While reflection is defined in many different ways, a useful definition is: "the thought, idea or opinion made on a subject or concept from consideration or meditation" (Meinhart 2012, p. 2). Another way to consider the link between reflection and learning from a leadership perspective is: "Reflection is the process of stepping back from an experience to ponder, carefully and persistently, its meaning to the self through the development of inferences; learning is the creation of meaning from past or current events that serve as a guide for future behavior" (Daudelin 1996, p. 39).

The earlier reflective techniques are applied to leadership studies, especially baccalaureate programs, the more likely they will evolve into intuitive judgment at strategic levels. A key way to develop one's intuition is to combine reflection and learning, asking questions of oneself to determine how to address future challenges while incorporating educational concepts. Cartwright identifies ways to develop one's reflection through daily journal writing, creating a mental picture in one's mind through imaging, writing down one's dreams, integrating analysis and synthesis, and evaluating emotional decisions. All of these reflective approaches can be employed beginning with bachelor programs of study and subsequently incorporated throughout one's educational journey (Cartwright 2004).

Another technique to enhance reflection particularly applicable to baccalaureate study is to give students the opportunity to write an ongoing reflective journal rather than a standard end-of-course research paper. This journal should focus on what one learned from different lessons, rather than what was taught, and conclude by succinctly identifying how this will influence one's future thinking or leadership. Students, educators, and practitioners alike reported that writing a reflective journal was both a challenging and quality learning experience (Meinhart 2012).

Another way to subtly influence reflective learning is for educators to use a Socratic questioning approach when executing various course lessons and encourage both dialogue and discussion in class. When considering how to incorporate Socratic questioning into baccalaureate leadership curriculum, three different areas that should be considered are subject, personal, and critical learning (Daudelin 1996). Using a questioning approach, Hedberg (2009) identified salient questions associated with these focus areas as follows:

- Subject Learning: "What am I learning about the subject studied?"
- Personal Learning: "What am I learning about myself?"
- Critical Learning: "What are the broader implications of my learning?"

While not all lessons or courses can cover these three areas, an overall baccalaureate leadership program should continually address them in some way at the higher learning levels of Bloom's Taxonomy (Anderson and Krathwohl 2001).

For these reflective techniques to be effective in developing intuitive judgment, they must accompany an understanding of leadership skills and attributes. That is, there must be something upon which to reflect that associates directly with leadership and indirectly with intuition. A baccalaureate program in leadership need not include an excessive component of intuition per se. Intuition is, again, largely experientially gained tacit knowledge, not explicitly taught subject matter (Dane and Pratt 2007). A program that treats leadership as a specific profession would be better oriented on principles and concepts from the perspective of leadership as a profession. Studies on the interplay of traits, skills, styles, and situations will expose bachelor-level learners to the context of leadership in which intuitive judgment is likely to occur, even in relatively junior supervisory capacities. Later study of the human dimensions of motivation, interpersonal relationships, and team processes will further refine the opportunities in which to exercise intuition and reflect upon its value. Issues of diversity, culture, and ethics present subject matter more ambiguous, emotionally charged, and ill-structured—the kind of contexts in which intuition is likely to surface as a valuable adjunct to leader decision making and problem solving.

The authors conclude that intuition is a highly desirable trait of strategic-level leaders, one that could be advantageously introduced beginning with baccalaureate studies in leadership. In the 21st century, a growing consensus of researchers and perceptive leaders considers that intuition is a nonrational (but not irrational), experientially learned reliance on mental patterns. Such generalized patterns can become reinforced and ingrained by consistent use of reflective techniques and practices, beginning early in a career, starting with baccalaureate education. Such development is unlikely to be optimized in traditional business management curricula oriented on task accomplishment and routine problem solving. At strategic levels, the pressures of urgency, rapidly developing and equally evanescent opportunities, and inadequate data on which to base analytical decisions, makes it imperative that reflective thinking be taught and understood early in a career to facilitate the development of intuitive judgment in the strategic leaders of tomorrow. "As the twig is bent, so the tree will grow."

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22

Yes, We Should Develop New Action-Learning-Based Bachelor Programs in Leadership

Daniel Belet

We strongly advocate new action learning bachelor business programs with a major part of the curriculum in leadership. We do believe that besides the traditional management disciplines, about half of the bachelor curriculum should be devoted to human behavior sciences (such as psychology, sociology, anthropology), people management and leadership skills development. Why? For several important and relevant reasons.

First, because most employers of business school graduates often complain about their poor social relationships at the workplace and their awkward people-management behaviors. So they are increasingly looking for candidates with better leadership capabilities and with smarter interpersonal behaviors, as it is now thought more important to better address the core of the manager-leader job that is essentially based on adequate human relationships and leadership capabilities (Miller 2016). This is the result of the mainstream programs in business studies, which focus too much on the traditional management disciplines with a dominant instrumental, quantitative and toolkit approach. To improve these programs

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requires a new kind of management education with much more behavioral-oriented learning processes (which are different from the mainly cognitive and instrumental learning processes of the traditional business disciplines).

Secondly, because based on over three years' experience as facilitators of people management and leadership courses with final-year students of a bachelor program in management, we are convinced that:

– there is a big need to greatly improve the leadership capabilities of the bachelor students in order to better prepare them for the people management challenges they will meet in their future professional life;
– action learning (World Institute for Action Learning version) is a powerful and a very effective way to develop most of the leadership competencies. In addition this action learning method is much appreciated by the students due to its lively and very interactive approach.

Bennis (2009) pointed out that leadership can be learned but not easily taught, unlike other traditional management disciplines. This is due to its mainly behavioral nature and scope, which is wider than the mainstream management sciences. The Yukl (2013, p. 23) definition, for example, expresses it thus: "*Leadership is the process of influencing others to understand and agree about what needs to be done and how to do it, and the process of facilitating individual and collective efforts to accomplish shared objectives*." Although there are many definitions of organizational leadership, there is an agreement about its core social processes linked to influence and to the inspiration of others.

After briefly introducing the WIAL action learning method that we are using in our bachelor and MBA programs and its main operational features, we will specify the way it can develop most of the main leadership skills for the students. Then based on our experience of using this method with bachelor students, we will shortly mention its main practical features and will illustrate its impact using some student testimonials. Finally we will conclude in favor of setting up new action-learning-based bachelor programs with a large part of their content devoted to leadership development.

According to Marquardt (2004) the best way to face the leadership learning challenge is to ground the learning process in a small group of diverse persons reflecting on a real complex issue with a questioning mode and the facilitation of a trained coach. So he developed a very interesting and effective leadership learning version of the action learning method. This action learning method is today the most recognized worldwide and is promoted by the World Institute for Action Learning (WIAL). It is a coached problem-solving tool that emphasizes the learning of leadership skills by the participants, with a structured process running with short sessions. Among the main leadership capabilities that it can develop or enhance (and that we experienced), Marquardt mentions:

– to create a safe and collaborative team reflection atmosphere;
– to establish good relationships and better cohesion between team members;
– to listen carefully to each person and to give importance to each participant's contribution;
– to ask insightful questions at the right time of the group reflection;
– to foster individual and team creativity;
– to demonstrate emotional intelligence in exchanges;
– to increase energy of the group;
– to engage people in the organization strategy;
– to quickly and efficiently solve real complex problems or issues;
– to make participants feel responsible for the group reflection outcome and its implementation;
– to focus the participant's contributions on concrete and effective actions.

The main and core feature of this action learning method is its specific and exclusive question–based dialogue between the participants of the small group. It operates in short sessions that last about ninety minutes and are structured around four main phases with a given time and goal for each of them, and which are monitored by a trained action learning coach.

This coach plays an important role: first, to stick to the simple rules of this method, second to monitor and facilitate the individual and collective learnings of the participants. Before starting a session, the action learning coach asks each team member to identify a specific leadership skill that he/she wants to improve during the session. At the end, each participant will be asked to reflect on how they demonstrated the chosen leadership skill while considering the solution of the presented complex issue or problem. The other group members will give positive examples of what they noticed to each other. No critical or negative comments are allowed as it is very important to stay in an appreciative enquiry spirit. The coach gives feedback about the way the group has led its reflection and how it could have improved it. Then in the final debriefing phase of each session, the coach will make the participants reflect not only on their leadership skills learnings but also about the way it will impact their current individual work and teamwork.

In addition, the action learning coach acts as a leadership role model for the participants by demonstrating good listening and questioning skills, which are recognized as major features of the great leaders (Marquardt 2014).

Our three years' experience of practicing this method in a human management and leadership course with the bachelor students of our business school has proven to be very positive. We gradually introduce the method to the students and run some preliminary exercises in order to train them in questioning skills as it appears to be the main difficulty when starting to practice this method. We must note that our traditional Western culture is much more assertive and debate-oriented than question-oriented and this makes a big difference to the nature of the dialogue! The power of the questioning process at the core of this method drastically changes the approach when solving a complex issue and seems far more powerful. But it also effectively contributes to develop many leadership competencies of the participants.

Then for the first sessions we play the role of the action learning coach (for which we were trained and certified by the WIAL network). From our experience it is necessary to run some short sessions so that students feel more at ease with the questioning process. After a few sessions we ask students to volunteer to play the role of the coach with the help of a written script, and the possible assistance of the professor/coach.

Almost all students enjoy this method and appreciate its differences from the traditional management courses and even the traditional business case study method. They find it livelier, more participative, more respectful, more open to the contribution of each participant and very effective at solving complex issues in short sessions. They appreciate the power and all the benefits and side-effects of a questioning approach with a small group of diverse people. Its practice allows them to become quickly aware of their leadership competencies, weaknesses and needs. They also appreciate the leadership skills that can be enhanced in a few sessions. They also realize that this method can be very effective and helpful for most of the numerous teamwork assignments they have to perform within their curriculum, such as case studies, serious games, consultancy projects, field missions and so on, but the method also helps to progressively build a professional approach of leadership in order to become successful future managers-leaders.

To illustrate these students' feelings about the practice of this action learning method, we will quote some short testimonials among many more:

> *I think this method will greatly help me, not only to lead my future teams but also to deal effectively with clients about complex issues.*
>
> *This action learning method appears as a new, very promising management tool to modernize and to improve effectiveness, but also the ethical quality of team leadership.*
>
> *This method first allowed me to learn to raise insightful questions at the right time of a group discussion, but also I learned with its practice to develop several other leadership competencies for my future managerial responsibilities: to listen actively, to assert my point of view, to set up a constructive dialogue, to express one's feeling about any issue, to become more aware of the non-verbal communication of others, to know how to solve a conflict and to become more capable of a "helicopter view" of a complex organizational problem.*

This action learning method appears as a real potential governing principle for an innovative leadership learning philosophy. It has proven to be a very efficient learning model for enhancing the student's leadership skills, which is a common weak point for most young graduates from the mainstream business schools (Mintzberg 2004). This particular point is criticized by many practitioners as they look more and more often for managers capable of practicing more collaborative and inclusive forms of leadership with their teams and subordinates, and who are capable of developing more learning-oriented individuals and teams. This action learning method also appears as one of the best ways to develop learning organizations, another of its great benefits (Marquardt 2011).

Our conclusion is to strongly encourage management education institutions to set up innovative bachelor programs, stressing much more on leadership development and using this action learning method. Our main arguments are:

– our very positive experience of implementing this action learning method in leadership courses with bachelor students in our business school over several years;
– the successful action-learning-based programs of other management institutions around the world, both at the bachelor level such as at the Team Academy in Finland (Halttunen 2006), Rikkyo University in Japan, La Rochelle Business School in France, and at the MBA level (BSN in The Netherlands and South Africa, University Georges Washington and the MIT in the US, Asia Business School in Malaysia);
– the growing demand of organizations for their young executive recruitments to have a better level and mastery of "soft skills" including good leadership competencies;
– the need for most mainstream business schools to rethink their rather obsolete educational model (Mintzberg 2004) to much better adapt it to the people management and leadership challenges of organizations in the years ahead.

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23

The Need to Consider the Context When Offering Bachelor Programs in Leadership

Andrew Bolt and Pandora Rupert Bolt

Is leadership a constant? Is it subject to inviolable principles that govern its success or failure, or is it a fluid concept that must evolve to meet changing conditions? One difficulty with discussing leadership as a field of study is that leadership on the ground usually demands the involvement of one or more other disciplines. Leaders, by most definitions, are meant to focus a group of followers on common goals (Silva 2016; Rost 1993). A leader cannot lead without a purpose, and the existence of common aims implies some other area of necessary knowledge beyond simply understanding how to lead. Furthermore, there is evidence that different situations call for different leadership and decision-making styles. Marques (2015), for example, suggests that the bureaucratic style of

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leadership adopted by Western nations in the twentieth century was well adapted to a stable domestic corporate environment with a slower rate of change, but is ill-suited for a hyper-connected digitized environment. Authoritarian styles are seen as preferable in emergencies where confident decisions must be made quickly (Rauf 2014), but followers often show greater commitment to organizations over the long term when they feel they are contributing to the decision-making process (Richter 2016). As a result, a given leadership strategy will not always be applicable in different situations, times, or organizations, and leadership is not easily reducible to a set of tips or tricks that can be universally applied.

Good leaders may have some common traits, but mastering leadership is context-dependent. In light of that fact, should universities be offering degrees in leadership or developing courses and certifications within departments to be taught alongside their normal curriculums? There has always been some tension between the need to choose leaders who are experts on their organization's needs and leaders who are experts on leadership itself. Companies debate whether to promote from within or hire someone with less knowledge of their business who has proven successful in comparable leadership roles. A strong leader usually demonstrates some level of familiarity with the industry as well as leadership skills, but it is rarer to find someone with a strong background in both. With successful leaders coming from either side of this divide, where should a well-designed education system place its emphasis, industry-specific training or leadership skills?

One factor that needs to inform any decision made on this subject is the way in which the nature of leadership is changing as a result of the development of a global marketplace and the long reach provided by the internet and other telecommunication technologies. The number of businesses with international relationships increases every year. Analysis comparing the 2015 CIA World Factbook and the Fortune Global 500 reveals that 69 of the world's 100 most economically powerful organizations are multinational corporations, exerting more influence than most nations (Global Justice Now 2016). As a result, local or even domestic control of any given enterprise can no longer be reasonably assumed. Economic network analysis done by Swiss researchers revealed in 2011 that 40 percent of the global wealth controlled by transnational corporations is concentrated in only 147 entities, and 80 percent in just 737 (Vitali et al. 2011). Additionally, the number of employees worldwide operating under foreign leadership is growing. According to the most recent estimates from the United States' Bureau of Economic Analysis, businesses based in the US alone directly employed approximately 26.56 million workers abroad, an increase of over 3.5 million from 2009 (United States Bureau of Economic Analysis 2017a). Foreign businesses in which US companies are the majority shareholders saw their employment figures jump from 10.79 million to 13.8 million, a nearly 28 percent increase over the same five-year period (United States Bureau of Economic Analysis 2017b).

This type of globalization has major implications for the development of leadership studies. The wide-ranging 2004 Global Leadership & Organizational Effectiveness study (House et al. 2004) evaluated perceptions and implications of 112 different dimensions of leader behavior across 61 countries, and though some commonalities were detected, the effectiveness of individual styles and specific behaviors differed significantly between cultures and regions. After identifying six styles of leadership, team-oriented, participative, humane, autonomous, and self or group-protective, the study examined leadership preferences across ten cultural clusters. For example, the Anglo, Nordic, and Germanic clusters showed the highest preferences for an autonomous leadership style, but the lowest preferences for a self or group-protective style, whereas the Confucian, Southeast Asian, and Middle Eastern groups were exactly opposite. However, while the Anglo cluster showed a high preference for the humane style, the Germanic cluster was more ambivalent and the Nordic cluster expressed the second-lowest preference for it. Similarly, the Middle Eastern cluster's preference for the team-oriented style was the second lowest, while the Confucian and Southeast Asian preferences were the two highest (House et al. 2004). These results reveal a world with complex, interrelated, but ultimately distinct ideas about the nature of leading. Failure to understand and account for these differences has the potential to lead to ineffective leadership, failure of international partnerships, and even diplomatic incidents.

One of the arguments against leadership studies programs revolves around the simple fact that the average university has not had them until quite recently, and society has not collapsed for lack of leaders. What this view overlooks, however, is that the nature of business is evolving in such a way that old models of leadership are unlikely to be successfully or easily generalizable into a one-size-fits-all model. Leadership is heavily dependent on the relationship between leaders and their subordinates; indeed, that relationship defines leadership in concept.

When the relationship between leaders and followers is a straightforward one, like, say, a CEO, a middle manager, and an entry-level employee working in the same building for the same business, a large part of their working relationship has already been established via their shared cultural and environmental background. Individual styles may vary, but from birth, people deal with authority figures from parents, teachers, and coaches to doctors, police officers and politicians. By the time an individual gets a first job, their cultural conditioning has firmly established a range of acceptable behavior for leaders, one which gets further developed and codified by the time they reach their first position of authority. Everything from how and when feedback should be delivered to the tone and frequency of commands to the level of involvement management should have in a given task, as well as numerous other factors, is reliant on societal background. One examination of 55 countries revealed a correlation between nations' average education level and the prevalence of participative vs. team-oriented leadership styles (Rossberger and Krause 2014). Another suggests that psychological factors like the ability to remain nonjudgmental and consider multiple factors have special implications for leaders seeking to operate effectively across international borders (Vogelgesang et al. 2014). Other research has found differing cultural impacts and influences of factors as diverse as perceived gender roles (Snaebjornsson et al. 2015; Bullough and de Luque 2014), poverty (Reade et al. 2008), climate (Van de Vliert 2006), physical appearance (Harms et al. 2012), and conceptions of leadership itself (Wang et al. 2013; Pellegrini et al. 2010), all of which have significant implications for perceived leader effectiveness and leadership behavior internationally. One effort to integrate the research on the incredibly expansive field of global leadership into a coherent model concludes "[a]lthough this undertaking is just the beginning regarding the formation of a global leadership framework, enough research has already been conducted such that incorporating all the findings into a global contingency model would create such complexity as to make intellectual control extremely difficult, thereby frustrating and discouraging practitioners, researchers, and students" (Muczyk and Holt 2008, p.284). In light of the difficulties and the range of potential variance that exist, specialists in the field are ever more necessary to manage and interpret this data for practical use under real-world conditions.

In a monocultural society, shared experiences with authority make leadership, if not easy, then at least subject to a common understanding and set of expectations. Future leaders typically have many examples to model themselves on, and this kind of experiential, on-the-job leadership training has been the standard in many Western nations for centuries. However, if instead of a boss, manager, and employee working in the same place, a British company hires a Singaporean to oversee its operations in Japan, there may be no useful example for those leaders to model themselves on. On the topic of education, what happens when an American school partners with a Chinese institution to teach exchange students from Laos and Malaysia? At this point, even the most conscientious leader cannot safely rely on traditional mentors for the simple reason that comparable lived experiences may not exist locally.

At this point, the leadership discipline has only recently begun wide-ranging examination of the best practices for international, interdisciplinary approaches, but what is clear is that the subject is complex and fraught with perils. Differences in leadership culture have been cited as factors in the German Daimler-Benz corporation's merger with the American Chrysler company (Appelbaum et al. 2009) and its partnership with Japanese Mitsubishi (Pandey and Rhee 2014), which coincided with a multi-billion dollar reduction in value of the corporation.

When leadership inconsistencies and conflicts happen, who should bend? How? When? Without knowing the answers to these questions, or at least having the tools to find them, it's difficult to imagine how a leader could be successful in an increasingly globalized world. Under these conditions, leadership is moving away from being something with which everyone will have a basic level of familiarity by a young age and toward being a field of expertise involving practical skills, intercultural competency, and esoteric knowledge that will need to be consciously learned and formally taught. Universities have an opportunity to do the ever smaller world a necessary service by exploring this field now instead of forcing the leaders of tomorrow to fumble blindly toward the future.

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24

How a Bachelor in Leadership Would Fill a Gap

Kenneth Børgesen, Rikke Kristine Nielsen, and Thomas Duus Henriksen

Introduction

This chapter argues in favor of establishing a bachelor in leadership as part of the formal Danish education system. This would enable leaders to be more flexible and adaptable, combining leadership practice more fully with academic knowledge in order to succeed better in what Dede (2009) refers to as twenty-first century workplaces. This kind of literacy differs from traditional academic skills in that it is not primarily content knowledge-based (see Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development 2005; Stedman 2015), but instead emphasizes the use of academic knowledge to develop ongoing practices that solve unstructured

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and non-routine problems. In this way, a bachelor in leadership would fill a gap in the Danish educational system. To facilitate the development of this program, we propose that the bachelor in leadership should start with a hybrid format that combines elements from the current educational system.

However, a bachelor in leadership in Denmark must first deal with three problems:

1. Placement within the existing system;
2. Target audience and employability;
3. Connectivity to practice.

The key issue is that a bachelor degree in Denmark is widely considered a stepping stone for master-level education, which is considered a standard qualification for academics. In the following sections, these concerns are addressed to strengthen the arguments for why a bachelor in leadership would be a viable addition to the current options in the public and private education systems.

Adding a Bachelor in Leadership to the Current System

In Denmark, the formal educational system offers various types of education that provide both bachelor and master degrees. As Fig. 24.1 shows, three categories of education exist at the bachelor level and two at the master level.

A traditional bachelor level education is a theoretical, full-time study program offered to high-school graduates. A professional bachelor, in turn, is provided by universities as a more practice-oriented education geared toward those wishing to become teachers, nurses, pedagogues, machine operators, and other similar professions. Both kinds of bachelor programs are state-provided, and all students receive a monthly €800 grant while studying. In addition, a range of diplomas are offered at the bachelor level, and, although offered by state-accredited institutions, students are required to pay for these programs, without receiving a study grant. These diplomas are awarded for bachelor level

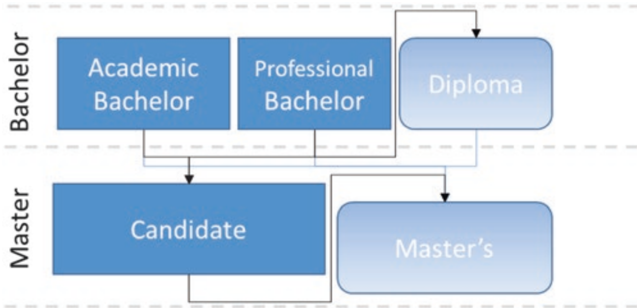

Fig. 24.1 Education levels

studies, and enrolment requirements include a stipulation that applicants must already have completed a bachelor level program.

At the master level, two kinds of education are offered: a two-year, part-time master degree similar to that of the Anglo-Saxon tradition, and a two-year, full-time candidate degree similar to the continental tradition. The candidate program is state-run, and students receive a monthly grant while studying. Master students have to pay for the degree themselves, and they do not receive a study grant despite both education programs being provided by universities.

A bachelor in leadership would make leadership education available to those who do not already have a bachelor level education but who have completed high school. Each year, more than 60 percent of the student body completes high school, out of which a large proportion enrol in various education programs including bachelor level education. As the current Danish system does not allow students who have already completed one level of education to enrol in another of a similar or lower level, high-school graduates would make up a large percentage of the recruitment base for a bachelor in leadership.

Employability in the Danish Labor Market

The Danish workforce is generally well educated. Regarding the highest level of education completed, Statistics Denmark (2017a) reported that the average education level is steadily rising. Since 2006, the proportion of citizens who have completed education programs after high school has increased from 23.9 to 31.2 percent. Non-academic, vocational education applies to 30.3 percent of the workforce, making it the most popular option. Master level studies are twice as frequent as bachelor and are considered a standard qualification for academics.

Concomitantly, the Danish labor market is much less geared toward bachelor level education than, for example, the British or United States job markets are, as the Danish market emphasizes master-level candidate degrees. According to Statistics Denmark (2017b), unemployment rates have historically been significantly lower for master-level graduates compared with bachelor, diploma, and professional bachelor level graduates, even though the latter includes nurses and teachers. Those who complete professional bachelor studies commonly continue their education in pursuit of a career in management, such as teachers who get a master in education, thereby adding a further educational qualification.

We might expect that, because the management of master-level graduates by someone with a bachelor in leadership could cause some friction, a master or candidate in leadership would be a more viable option for most organizations. However, as about one-third of the workforce has completed only vocational studies at the most, we expect a bachelor in management would produce comparatively less friction due to a smaller educational distance. The addition of a bachelor in leadership could thus be less invasive in the current vocational culture than a candidate or master degree would.

Connectivity to Practice

Providing a bachelor in leadership would be a special case with regard to Danish conditions and practices. As mentioned above, those with professional bachelor studies often pursue a management career through further education, typically at the master level. In doing so, they secure their position in their profession by adding graduate level studies—typically within that profession—or specializing in leadership. This is done either as a full-time candidate study or as a part-time master level student, the latter of which involves studying while working. These different options offer varied degrees of connectivity to practice (see Table 24.1).

Table 24.1 Connectivity to practice

	Little connectivity to practice	Strong connectivity to practice
Bachelor level	*Academic bachelor*: Students study practices by writing about them. At problem-based learning universities, students analyze practical problems and eventually suggest solutions	*Professional bachelor*: Students study practices by switching back and forth between theoretical modules and internships, for example, in various schools or hospital departments *Diploma*: Students study practices in a similar manner to master level students
Master level	*Candidate*: Students study practices by writing about them, as well as spending one semester in an internship	*Master*: Students study part-time while working, so they study their own practices in light of the theoretical seminars in which they participate

The university bachelor and candidate programs do little to build connectivity to practice. While some candidate programs require a semester-long internship, these are mostly theoretical in scope. In professional bachelor programs (e.g., for teachers or nurses), the bulk of study takes place while students participate in practices, thereby gradually initiating students into those practices (see, e.g., Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). Contrary to the aforementioned three categories, diploma and master-level students already have jobs and bring this work—along with their experiences and challenges—into their studies. The aim is to qualify them more fully for handling their current and future challenges and eventually provide opportunities for advancement.

Designing a Bachelor in Leadership

Käufer and Scharmer (2007) report that the knowledge provided by universities has become increasingly irrelevant to the workplace and note that relevant knowledge continues to be less and less often provided by universities. The cited authors' suggestion is to lessen the emphasis on knowing and, instead, to put knowledge to use in practice and strengthen students' capabilities through ongoing practical applications. In nurses' education, which is a professional bachelor, this would shift the emphasis from putting theoretical knowledge to use in clinics to focusing on developing students' ability to participate in and, in the long term, develop good practices. From this perspective, both the university bachelor and candidate programs would appear to be using obsolete approaches to leadership development.

Thus, a bachelor in leadership would have to both accommodate the students' situation and serve practically oriented purposes. To do this, suitable elements from both professional bachelor and master programs would have to be combined in the new program, as neither approach would suffice alone.

A bachelor in leadership would need to combine a variety of elements to establish and strengthen connectivity to leadership practices. Based on the experience gained from their professional bachelor, students would have to be placed in internships that allow students to participate in carrying out—and gradually develop—their participation in leadership practice. By supplementing practical experiences with theoretical education, students can steadily develop an understanding of leadership practices. At a certain tipping point, the educational emphasis should shift from involving these students in leadership practices to, instead, capitalizing on these individuals' experience gained from their studies and focusing on qualifying students for participation in leadership practices. At this point, students would bring their challenges into their coursework, using the university program as a catalyst for developing a better understanding of leadership, as well as reflecting on and eventually finding ways to handle or transform these challenges into opportunities.

This model would require an open classroom policy that allows students more autonomy so that they can bring in, develop, and rush off again to implement ideas relevant to their host organizations. Regarding the curriculum, this would require a mandatory-to-elective course ratio that minimizes the weight of mandatory studies to allow students to adjust their education to fit with workplace practice—and not the other way around. This would require a flexible curriculum and a faculty that is both able to facilitate the involvement of students in leadership practices and to guide and mentor their students accordingly when they bring in issues from their workplaces.

In practice, a model based on master programs that combine continual practical engagement with seminars could be a viable model for the latter half of a bachelor in leadership program. To begin with, the bachelor studies would emphasize a predominantly theoretical approach to leadership and, only toward the end, stress the leadership practices in which students take part. Between these two phases, the program's emphasis should gradually shift from an approach that resembles the occasional and diverse internships of professional bachelor program to continual and emergent participation in specific practices that might result in employment after graduation.

However, the current Danish model is quite rigid, which prevents programs from offering fully flexible curricula. While activities listed in curricula and syllabi can be oriented toward students' diverse workplaces, this flexibility cannot be extended to the period in which students have to complete their education. As enrolment in programs would have to be financed through the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System, participants would have to take exams on a set schedule. This prevents students from dwelling on particular challenges and forces these individuals to meet deadlines that comply with university standards but that might be arbitrary in terms of workplace practice. This restriction would inhibit any efforts to accommodate studies in order to facilitate practice, as this rigidity would require students to conform to university standards.

Conclusion

In Denmark, a bachelor in leadership would fill an educational gap that allows individuals to pursue a management career without first having to complete a bachelor program or to enrol in the various leadership courses offered by the private sector. By combining practical experience with academic knowledge, the proposed bachelor program would seek to educate leaders for vocational sectors. Compared to master or candidate studies, individuals with a bachelor in leadership would be more likely to perform well when dealing with the existing group of vocationally skilled workers who make up a significant proportion of the Danish workforce.

While some bachelor level students are expected to stay after graduation with the organizations hosting their internships, not all graduates are prepared to step into leadership positions in their first job. Some are likely to take positions as qualified and critical corporate citizens who are good followers, self-leaders, project or program managers, and dotted-line reporting employees in matrix organizations. While bachelor students in Denmark may well decide to continue studying and end up with a candidate degree (e.g., in communications or human resource management), we expect individuals with a bachelor in leadership to make important contributions to improving leadership practice. A bachelor program in leadership would thus offer entry-level management and leaders working with vocationally skilled employees the opportunity to benefit from a formal education that would have both academic merit and connectivity to leadership practices.

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25

Why Universities Should Give Bachelor Programs in Leadership

Anders Örtenblad

As was stated by Örtenblad in Chap. 1 in this volume, bachelor programs in leadership are already offered in the US. Trends in terms of ideas and phenomena in various areas do not seldom originate in the US and are thereafter spread to other parts of the world (see, for example, Djelic 1998, 2002; Mazza et al. 2005). Thus, it can be assumed that there soon will be reason to consider if the phenomenon of bachelor programs in leadership is something for nations other than those in North America, and, thus, to also consider whether it generally is a good idea that higher educational institutions (HEIs) offer bachelor programs in leadership. In this chapter, it is argued that it is a good thing for HEIs around the world to offer such programs.

As is argued in several other chapters in this book, for any occupation (Otterlei, Chap. 2 in this volume) and, thus, for leadership as well (Kinyanjui, Chap. 17 in this volume), the existence of a certain education

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is one pillar of the process of professionalizing. The arguments that are brought up in this chapter can be assumed to be relevant not only when discussing if leadership should be turned into a true profession, but function also as arguments for the existence of bachelor programs in leadership in their own right. Before going into arguments for bachelor programs in leadership, an outline of what may need to be included in such a program is presented.

Bachelor Programs in Leadership: An Outline

The main difference between any traditional bachelor program in management and/or business and the kind of bachelor program in leadership that is being discussed here is that the former puts more focus on teaching students how to lead the *business* and *operations* of the organization, whereas the latter puts much more focus on developing students to become able to lead *people*.

Any bachelor program in leadership should definitely be interactive and involve practice (see, e.g., Gjerding et al., Chap. 20 in this volume). There is no doubt a need for a pedagogy that is very different from the one that traditionally has been practiced at HEIs, although traditional courses may occasionally also be given. A close interaction with leadership practice would be a necessity. It would, for instance, be reasonable to let each student be mentored by a practicing leader, and even to let the students mentor younger leadership students (for example, at the same bachelor program that they study at, or at any leadership program that may exist at high-school level). The students would regularly be given assignments that involve leadership in practice, that is, they would train on performing leadership by leading each other or other people. Another idea is to arrange for the students to be given a trainee position after graduation, a position that should involve tasks that come close to leadership (in terms of, for instance, project leadership).

Nevertheless, a program in leadership must, of course, also be academic—at least as long as it is a bachelor program, offered by HEIs. A bachelor program in leadership should, thus, problematize what leadership may be about, and not just take for granted that leadership is what it traditionally has been regarded to be about. It should, for instance, not be taken for granted that leaders necessarily are "above" and the followers are "below". Neither should it be taken for granted that leadership is for instructing and/or telling employees what to do and how to perform their tasks (see, e.g., Lund 2016, for a problematization of what leadership may be about in terms of some alternative strategies for leaders to gain legitimacy). "Servant leadership" (see e.g. Russell and Stone 2002), "Confucian-Transformational leadership" (Stone et al. 2014), "reflexive leadership" (Alvesson et al. 2017) and "autonomist leadership" (Western 2014), for instance, could be brought up as alternative approaches to leadership. Ideally, each student would have an academic mentor, in addition to the mentor that practices leadership.

In addition to a deep and thorough problematization of what leadership may be about, inclusive of the relation between "leader" and "follower", more specific subjects should, of course, also be taught, such as psychology, sociology, ethics, philosophy, humanism, history, and arts. All subjects should not only be studied on an abstract level and critically examined, but also be incorporated into the students' emerging leadership practice. Furthermore, the education must be structured in such a way so that the students are provided with many opportunities to better understand the globe as a system, as well as the consequences—both for people ("within" and "outside" of the organization) and for the environment—of the actions of the organization/people that the students will lead in the future.

Through the blend of practice and theory—and with support from mentors—each student would get plenty of opportunity to better learn to know and understand themselves and to analyze what they could and should improve in their emerging leadership. With this backdrop, they would be encouraged and assumed to develop their own "leadership idea", that is, their personal approach to executing leadership, or, expressed in other words, their own developed thoughts and practices on what leadership is for them, and on how they can and want to execute leadership in practice.

Why There Is a Need for Bachelor Programs in Leadership: A Brief Argumentation

There may, of course, be occupations and professions where the leadership cannot be performed by anyone who is not in the occupation or profession her- or himself. There may even be areas where the leader needs to be recruited from the very best of the professionals. But in many cases, leaders could very well be recruited from outside the profession. This chapter supports the belief that it is generally more important that leaders are capable of handling and leading people in a good way, than that they are really knowledgeable within the occupation or profession of those that they lead.

Recruiting leaders among those who conduct the core operation of an organization, which is often how managers have been recruited traditionally, may therefore not always be a good idea. Instead, competent leaders-to-be could preferably be supplied via the offer of bachelor programs that heavily focus on leadership and that are offered by HEIs, where the students learn about people and how best they may be led.

Of course, the existence of such a bachelor program cannot guarantee that better leadership is being exercised, since not all aspects of leadership can be learnt at a university. Moreover, one cannot expect—especially not from young people entering the bachelor program directly from high school—that the students can easily learn to become full-fledged leaders during a three-year program, even if the studies are characterized by a sound mix of practice and theory. However, this is not something that is true only for leadership graduates—the same can be argued about almost any bachelor program.[1] A good education, though, would at least be a good start—and even a corner-stone—for graduates in their future leadership careers. A solid academic education in people and leadership is a much better start than a bachelor degree in, for example, business administration (in which many who are currently managers have), a degree usually containing relatively few courses on leadership (or anything else that relates to the leadership of people).

There are often complaints about leaders; such arguments are sometimes heard in academia. In my own experience, some of the complaints about leaders have to do with poor leadership, rather than a poor understanding of the occupation/profession of those they lead, or of the business/operations per se. I am probably not alone in claiming that, given a choice, I would prefer a leader who is good at leadership rather than one who is good at doing my job.

It is not very difficult to find evidence that many who have practiced and currently practice leadership do not measure up. The most convincing example is perhaps the lack of responsibility that some leaders seem to take—for society in large, for the people they lead, and, in fact, also for the businesses. Much has been written about the lack of responsibility that some leaders take (see, for example, Kellerman 2004; Lipman-Blumen 2004; Harvey et al. 2007; Stein 2013; Wang and Snell 2013; Jennings 2015).

To be a leader means dealing with and even taking care of people, and this is something that everybody needs education in to perform well. This is what we demand from many other people who perform human services tasks, such as psychologists, social workers and medical doctors. It is only when people have extensive competence in leadership, ethics, humanism and people that we can start to seriously expect them to behave ethically and to care about the people whom they lead. When talking to leaders, it is often apparent that many of them find dealing with people to be the most difficult task of all.

In conclusion, the time is certainly ripe around the world to start up bachelor programs that put the focus on leading *people*.

Notes

1. My thanks go to my colleague Leif-Kristian Monsen for pointing out this argument.

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Index[1]

[1] Note: Page numbers followed by ‘n’ refer to notes.

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