
The Expansive Executive

Second Edition

by

Robert E. Kaplan

Research-based insights into a character type common among senior managers, including its effects—for better or worse—on performance.

A Center for Creative Leadership Report

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Preface to the Second Edition

In the two years since the original publication of *The Expansive Executive* I have come to understand the phenomenon of the expansive executive considerably better and am therefore moved to bring out a second edition. The conceptualization here is tighter, the explanation as to why expansiveness can get executives into trouble is clearer, and the connection between character and performance is stronger.

In general, my understanding of the expansive executive has benefited from continuing research on and work with senior managers as well as from the writing of the book *Beyond Ambition: How Driven Managers Can Lead Better and Live Better* (written with Bill Drath and Joan Kofodimos and to be published in the fall of 1991 by Jossey-Bass, San Francisco). This report, in part, is a reworked and shorter version of parts of that text.

Acknowledgments

This report grows out of a study of executive character and development that I have conducted with Wilfred H. Drath and Joan R. Kofodimos over the past five years.

It also is an outgrowth of practical work done with senior managers, and I owe a great deal to my colleagues with whom I have done that work—again Bill Drath and Joan Kofodimos as well as Fred Kiel, Eric Rimmer, Kathryn Williams (all of KRW International), Joan Tavares, Barry Gruenberg, and Frank Kalgren.

I would also like to acknowledge Alice Warren's help with the literature review and her sound advice on organization and content. Marcia Horowitz also helped abstract literature. Bill Drath consulted on the organization of the paper and its conceptional clarity and topped off his editorial contribution with a careful line-editing. Martin Wilcox and Marcia Horowitz were a big help in editing the second edition.

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Introduction

Consider the following list of performance problems often seen among executives: running roughshod over subordinates; being cold and aloof; "empire building"; being inordinately concerned with getting ahead; not distinguishing clearly enough between high- and low-priority items; pushing too hard and burning out; burning others out; being rigid and difficult to influence; being too concerned with status symbols and the trappings of power; not delegating enough, especially right after moving up to an executive job; having an exaggerated sense of importance; distorting reality to create a favorable impression; generally lacking integrity.

These are usually understood (and dealt with) separately, but research that my colleagues and I have conducted during the past several years (see Appendix I) has shown that they are all typically associated with a distinct character type, which I call *expansive*. In this report I will define what expansive character is; discuss its origins; show how moderate versus extreme degrees of expansiveness affects executive performance, for both good and bad; consider its effect on the organization; and discuss implications for development of the expansive executive. For evidence I will occasionally refer both to the executives we have studied and those described by others; but I will also cite the cases of two of our executives who, for the purposes of this report, I will call Nick Kaminski and John Holland.

Defining Expansive Character

The attempt to understand executive leadership has often involved compiling lists of traits, desirable and undesirable, that leaders exhibit. My colleagues and I, on the other hand, prefer to take a holistic view, one that sees the coherent pattern that predominates in a person. We define this unity, as well as the basic motives underlying it, as *character*. An individual's character can more readily be reduced to its essence if one hunts for that person's ruling purpose in life—what might also be called a life plan or life goal. This purpose is typically implicit—something that needs to be carefully inferred by consulting the person's actions and emotional life. (It is hardly the kind of plan, full of future-oriented intentions, that a participant in a career-planning exercise might produce.)

In our research we have encountered over and over again executives with an expansive character—by *expansive*, we mean to suggest not a person who is high-spirited and benevolent (as in the expression, "She's in an expansive mood") but rather one who continually aspires to achieve in a big way. The term is meant to be neutral because this kind of character can have either productive or counterproductive effects—as we shall see.

Expansive character revolves around mastery—the ambition for it, the willingness to expend great energy in its pursuit, the equal willingness to push other people hard to attain it, and a hunger for the rewards that come with it.

There is also a concomitant resistance to see oneself as lacking it. The kind of mastery we are referring to in this case is task-related. Expansive executives are highly motivated to accomplish, to be accomplished, and to be recognized as accomplished.

Theory and Research on Executives

Over the years, one of the fundamental questions asked about leadership has been: What sort of individuals are we likely to find holding, and aspiring to hold, the executive job? Industrial psychologists have come up with answers to this question using

psychological tests and assessment-center exercises. Summarizing the statistical research on these effects, Hogan, Raskin, and Fazzini (1988) identified a "personality syndrome" associated with potential for management: "People who are perceived as bright, mature, reliable, ambitious and socially skilled and who desire power, fame and financial rewards are overrepresented in the ranks of leadership" (pp. 3-4). Jon Bentz did a longitudinal study of those individuals at Sears, Inc., who reached executive levels (Bentz, 1986). Comparing their scores on a battery of tests taken at the start of their careers at Sears with performance evaluations twenty-one years later, Bentz concluded that "executive performance is predicted by a series of personality variables: sociability, social ascendancy and self-confidence" (p. 61). Bentz called this constellation of traits, which he considered "necessary for someone to be effective in an executive job," *competitive leadership*. Individuals exhibiting competitive leadership were "persuasive and self-assured, aggressive in moving into a central role, confident, catching on rapidly, moving into action with energy, flexible, having a heightened concern for status, power and money, and working hard to achieve positions that yield those rewards" (p. 32).

In 1956 another longitudinal, predictive study (the Management Progress Study at AT&T) was begun (Bray & Howard, 1983). It collected data on the personalities of young AT&T managers participating in an assessment center that administered paper-and-pencil tests and also rated behavior displayed in simulations. Twenty years later, managers who had reached executive levels in the company differed from those who had not in having "better cognitive ability, better organization and planning skills, higher inner work standards, higher need for dominance and ascendancy" (Bray & Howard, 1983). In addition they "expected more from their careers" and had "greater motivation for advancement" (p. 398). In the process of taking leadership positions they had become less nurturant, supportive, and empathic. From these findings one gets a sense of the senior manager's personality: It involves ambition, dominance, cognitive ability, interpersonal skills. Our research simply adds to this picture by rounding it out and giving it depth.

The notion of expansiveness is, fundamentally, a theory of motivation. The field of organizational psychology is crowded with

theories of motivation, most of which assume that people are rational beings that calculate what is worth investing themselves in. Expectancy theory, for example, points out that the motivation of managers to do their jobs is a function of: (a) the outcomes, intrinsic and extrinsic, that they *expect* to come from their work, and (b) the *valence* or value they place on those outcomes. This theory seems accurate as far as it goes, but it, along with other objectivist theories of motivation, also seems bloodless (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). It misses an important quality that expansive individuals bring to their jobs: the passion or obsession, one might even say the aggression.

Aggression is inherent in expansive character; it is a "moving against," as Karen Horney (1950) called it, which is not necessarily hurtful to other people and things. The aggression grows out of the person's determination to achieve his or her objectives. Margaret Thatcher is a prime example of an aggressive leader. Gail Sheehy's study of her life and leadership revealed how Thatcher's frantically upwardly mobile father propelled her out of her lower-middle-class origins to the position of Prime Minister, a position that she held for eleven-and-a-half years (Sheehy, 1989). Thatcher's trademarks are phenomenal energy, a strong drive for superiority, an indomitable will, and a fierce, combative instinct. The epitome of the self-made individual, she was quoted recently as saying, "I have to fight every day still." She must win, she must prevail, even at the cost of antagonizing others. The attitude toward her, according to Sheehy, seems to be: "You can't help but admire the energy of the engine, but you can do nothing to change its direction."

Expansive individuals like Margaret Thatcher climb to high institutional positions because they thrive on challenge, and because they strive mightily to prepare themselves to meet challenges. This leads to the next challenge and the next organizational level, and so on. Interestingly, in a study of the managers in the AT&T Management Progress Study eight years after the original assessment, other researchers identified a personality type comparable to the expansive and with a similar label—the "Enlarger" (Rychlak, 1974). In the words of Bray and Howard (1983), the Enlarger "extended his scope" by seeking out challenges at work and "expanded" himself intellectually by attending courses and getting

involved in the community. The Enlarger emphasizes "the extension of influence outward." Consistent with their attraction to challenge, Enlargers were more upwardly mobile than the rest of the managers in the research sample.

The Good and Bad of Expansiveness

It makes sense that expansiveness is strongly represented in the executive population. To be expansive is to possess a very considerable drive to achieve and to advance. The executive job requires someone who can move an organization forward by overcoming the inertia inherent in any institution. Expansive people and executive jobs are made for each other. To propel an organization, executives need more than the power that comes with their high position. They need personal power. This is where expansiveness comes in. It provides the raw energy and thrust needed to have an impact.

All the talk in recent years of the need for true leaders as opposed to mere managers underlines the premium now placed on people who can bring about major change in organizations. The distinction between leadership and management is artificial because leadership—as the ability to effect change—is required, to one degree or another, of all managers. However construed, though, the new priority on making change means that expansive executives are indispensable as prime movers.

Expansive executives are a valuable resource because of the way they pour themselves into their work. Leaders must get carried away. They must literally become possessed. As with any force in nature, everything depends on how the power of expansiveness is harnessed. Everything depends on how that surging energy is channelled.

If I may be allowed a metaphor, executives must have engines sufficiently powerful to sustain the uphill grades. But when they are equipped with engines possessing great power, the task becomes one of finding constructive uses for it and taking safety precautions. Organizations prefer to do more than admire the energy of the engine. They in fact would like to do something to change its direction.

Even in the best case, to be expansive is to go too far in some way or at some time. The sheer expanse, or extent, of this type's ambition means that some excess is virtually unavoidable. It is too much to expect high-powered individuals to be finely calibrated at all times. Some price has to be paid for consequential acts of leadership. Something is sacrificed, whether leisure, or health, or organizational stability.

But there is an important line to be drawn here between largely effective expansive executives who go to productive extremes and significantly flawed expansive executives who go to destructive extremes. In the one instance, there are certain necessary losses occasioned by the exercise of leadership by high-powered human beings. In the other instance, there are unnecessary losses, serious ones, caused by excessive ambition. The sorts of performance problems itemized at the beginning of this report have issued, to some considerable degree, from excessive self-concern. The connection between distorted leadership and excessive self-concern may not be readily visible to the naked eye, but with some investigation it becomes clear.

To make a difference in an organization, executives must be highly motivated. They must be driven. Without a well-developed urge to achieve and to influence other people to achieve, the organizations they lead will not gain ground and may very well lose ground. But, as anyone who works with executives knows, this unstoppable drivenness is rarely an unalloyed blessing. With the single-minded determination to succeed frequently comes a willingness to sacrifice other considerations—personal, physical, even moral or legal. The temptation to dispense with considerations not directly related to one's objective is related to the intensity of one's drive, and the drive to do well is extremely intense in some expansive individuals. With extreme intensity, the price paid for success, in whatever terms, goes way up. I will not pretend that it is an easy matter to distinguish, in high-powered executives, between acceptably high levels of intensity and unacceptably high levels. For one thing, what is acceptable depends on what an organization's various constituencies want most and what they are willing to give up.

The difference between extreme versus moderate expansiveness is something practicing managers readily understand. Lee

Iacocca, an expansive in his own right, made the distinction in his autobiography between a strong ego and a big ego.

There's a world of difference between a strong ego, which is essential, and a large ego—which can be destructive. The guy with a strong ego knows his own strengths. He's confident. He has a realistic idea of what he can accomplish, and he moves purposefully towards his goals. But the guy with a large ego is always looking for recognition. He constantly needs to be patted on the back. He thinks he's a cut above everybody else. And he talks down to the people who work for him. (Iacocca, 1989, p. 62)

The dictionary definition of expansive carries these same two meanings. Expansive can refer to someone who lays claim to high position on the basis of solid competence and proven track record. This person fills the role with something substantial, and therefore is what he or she claims to be. As kids will say, "It's not bragging if it's true!" Expansive can also refer to someone who makes claims that he or she cannot fully support. This is expansive in the sense of, according to Webster, "expanding by the introduction of air or something insubstantial, thus suggesting a vulnerability and liability to sudden collapse." This is a self-aggrandizing person, someone who exaggerates his or her importance, who has the proverbial big ego.

Expansive executives vary in how driven they are. A moderately strong expansive drive reflects a more or less healthy appetite for mastery. An extremely strong expansive drive reflects a ravenous appetite for mastery.

Managers with extreme drives to mastery are responding to an underlying insecurity. Fundamentally, they do not have a secure feeling of their own worth. For this reason they are inordinately concerned with performing well and with otherwise demonstrating their value as managers and persons. Karen Horney (1950) spoke of the "expansive solution" to the problem of living, showed how incessant striving for mastery indicates doubt as to one's worth and how the striving is designed to shore up one's sense of self-worth. Existentially speaking, the pressing need to amount to something owes some of its strength to the fear of, in some sense, amounting to

nothing. It was said about Lyndon Johnson that "he couldn't stand not being somebody—just could not stand it" (Caro, 1990, p. 22). The dread of nothingness may be the anxiety of not fulfilling the destiny thrust upon the person by loving parents whose feelings for the child were always warmest when he or she did or looked their very best. Or it may be the anxiety to avoid feeling worthless and contemptible, as a child can come to feel at the hands of uncaring or punishing parents. Or, among the many other reasons, it may be what Ernest Becker (1973) identified as an understandable rebellion against the human condition—the condition, no matter how celebrated or powerful a person becomes, of being subject in one's lifetime to forces much larger than oneself and utterly beyond one's control, especially the condition of being mortal.

In extreme expansives, anxiety about self and self-worth runs so high that the executive has trouble seeing beyond it or caring much about anything or anyone else. Under the sway of this strong self-preoccupation, these executives are prone to overdo in some respects and therefore necessarily to underdo in certain other aspects. They are very much out of balance. In addition to going to extremes, they tend to be rigid, clinging to what they believe to be the right way to do things and the right way to be.

In his laboratory research on the need for achievement, David McClelland found some evidence to suggest that too much motivation to achieve is detrimental to performance, just as a shortage of motivation also hurts performance. "Neither the subjects with the highest or lowest motivation performed as well as those with moderate motivation" (McClelland, 1987, p. 244). This is the classic "inverted U" relationship between motivation (on the horizontal axis) and performance (on the vertical axis). The same relationship applies to anxiety level and performance. Managers who reach senior levels do not generally have too little achievement motivation, but some have so much that they undercut their performance.

A Case In Point

Nick Kaminski, a senior line manager at a major U.S. corporation, is typical of the executives we have encountered repeatedly in our research. Before describing Nick, I will describe the research briefly. Our method of investigation—biographical action research—was designed expressly to illuminate the connection between character and executive leadership (Kaplan, Kofodimos, & Drath, 1987; Kofodimos, 1990). Although we used quantitative measures of management style and personality, we relied mainly on interviews—with coworkers but also with family members, not to mention with the executive himself and herself (it was usually *himself*). We developed an understanding of the person behind the leader by getting a sense of the executive's entire present life as well as his or her history. For this unusual access to the lives of highly placed and busy people, we provided a service—an opportunity for intensive self-assessment and development. (See Appendix I for a more detailed description of the research method.)

Nick Kaminski, who has been disguised here to protect his privacy, came to us because management wanted to smooth his rough edges. (Some of the people in our sample, like Nick, were in trouble to one degree or another, but many were effective, successful and upwardly mobile and simply sought an opportunity to improve further.) Nick brings tremendous intensity to the job and is no less active and energetic off the job. "I'm never still," he told me.

With the benefit of all the data provided by the intensive assessment, Nick said this about what drove him and how he operates: "I am personally driven to be the best that I can be and to run the best operation of this kind in the world. I take great pride in the accomplishments of our group. I truly enjoy what I do.

"The downside is that I get very upset when things don't go right. When they are not going right, I tend to be too involved in the details, which is not very much appreciated by my subordinates. I rationalize this action as showing how it should be done based on my own experience and abilities."

He summed up his effect as a leader as follows: "My key strength as a leader is that I get the job done even though sometimes the cost is very high. The thing I have to watch out for as a

leader is a lack of appropriate sensitivity when dealing with peers and subordinates.”

His superior, who suggested the development program to him, is concerned about the price that the organization pays for the results that Nick gets, but states firmly, “I’m committed to Nick because he’s a wonderful asset.” It will become clear later that Nick Kaminski is an extremely expansive executive, which helps to explain why he gets results but at a considerable human cost.

The next section of this report briefly examines the sources of expansiveness: Where does expansive character originate, and how, in particular, does it become exaggerated? The section after that turns to the effects of expansive character, with particular attention to how extreme expansiveness gives rise to the performance problems often found in executives.

The Sources of Expansiveness

All human beings are born with an instinct whose function it is to ensure their survival—by spurring them to master their small corner of the world well enough to get what they need. This in-born urge is then heightened or diminished by the individual's experience as a child.

Inherited Expansiveness

What we are calling expansiveness starts out at birth as a bundle of drives that is the rough equivalent of the instinct to self-preservation. The way a newborn survives is by making known in no uncertain terms its needs for nourishment and nurturance. Born into this world in a peculiarly human state of extreme dependence, the infant rapidly increases its capacity to do for itself. The vigor with which a baby shakes a rattle reveals its satisfaction in gaining control of its environment. It has been well established that human beings, like other animals, have built-in aggressive instincts, built-in needs for dominance (Argyle, 1969). Witness the often-repeated episode in which one child yanks a toy away from another. Human beings are also programmed to learn and develop. Robert White (1959) studied "competence motivation," or the biological need for the child to gain the skills required to meet its needs (p. 297). Witness the competence motivation so evident in every young child learning to walk or talk or climb stairs or eat with a spoon.

The basic needs to learn, to accomplish, to dominate can be viewed as components of the still more basic expansive need to develop the capacities necessary to make one's way in the world. The psychologist Kurt Goldstein argued, for example, that "the tendency to actualize [oneself] as fully as possible is the basic drive" (Goldstein, 1943). Similarly, Ernest Becker has posited a fundamental innate drive that he called "expansive organismic striving" (Becker, 1973, p. 21). This is not simply the young child's need to become effective but its primitive narcissistic assumption that it is the center of the universe. Its needs come first; its claims supersede

those of rivals such as siblings, playmates, or the parent that would presume to interfere with the child's primacy with the other parent. This "natural narcissism," as Becker called it, is vividly familiar to anyone who has spent time with young children and knows their insistent, sometimes clamoring need to be the center of attention and their "prerogatives of limitless self-extension." Children partake of "the pleasures of incorporation and expansion" (Becker, 1973, p. 3)—that is, of consuming the world and expanding into it. Becker's writing is full of expansive imagery: The child is an organism that strives to *expand* into the world. It gives itself the prerogative to *extend* itself without limit.

Just as aggressively as children reach out into the world, and they vary in how aggressively they do that, they defend themselves against the world. In particular, the instinct to self-preservation leads the child, once it reaches a certain age, to defend against the knowledge of its own eventual demise. So expansive organismic striving, according to Becker (1973), serves in part to quell fears of being diminished or destroyed.

On the most elemental level the organism works actively against its own fragility by seeking to expand and perpetuate itself in living experience; instead of shrinking, it moves toward more life. . . . In this way, it would seem, fear of death can be carefully ignored or actually absorbed in life-expanding processes. (p. 21)

Rather than shrink in the face of its dawning sense of its smallness or fragility or mortality, the child follows the principle that the best defense is an effective offense: It renews its efforts to create an efficacious, potent presence in the world.

The sense of smallness and vulnerability that the child contends with is due, in part, to its biological inheritance. Inevitably, even as the child passes from the helplessness of infancy to the advancing skillfulness of early and middle childhood, it is smaller, weaker, less smart, and less skillful than the adults and older children around it. The pioneering psychologist Alfred Adler built his theories on the assumption that childhood places every human being in an inferior position. As Adler (1929) put it:

Throughout the whole period of development, a child perceives a feeling of inferiority in both its relationships with the parents and the world at large. Because of the immaturity of his organs, his uncertainty, and lack of independence, because of his need for dependence upon stronger natures and his frequent and painful feelings of subordination to others, a sensation of inadequacy develops that betrays itself throughout life. (p. 13)

The human animal's dependency in childhood is the secret to its exceptional educability. But dependency also poses a developmental challenge, one response to which—according to Adler, the most common—is to compensate by adopting a style of life that puts the individual in a superior position. Influenced by Adler, Becker saw the child's character "as a *modus vivendi* achieved after the most unequal struggle any animal has to go through," a style of life that is the individual's effort "to banish the actual fact of his natural impotence" (Becker, 1973, p. 54). Again, to combat the experience of being made to feel small and weak, the child reacts expansively and becomes motivated to replace its early inferior position with an eventual superior position (Adler, 1929). Thus, expansiveness would seem to be the product of a biological double imperative—the original expansive striving to ensure one's survival is later augmented by the drive to compensate for the childhood experience of inferiority and the developing fear of annihilation.

If, allowing for differences among individuals, all human beings are endowed with expansiveness, then how is this universal condition influenced by the particular circumstances of a given individual's upbringing? My attempt to answer this question is merely suggestive, not conclusive. I find no basis in our data or the literature for ascertaining what part of a grown man's or woman's make-up is attributable to genetic factors versus environmental factors. It is entirely possible that a given highly expansive adult owes his or her boundless energy almost entirely to biological inheritance.

Acquired Expansiveness: Family Influences

The socialization of the child is, in part, a domestication of raw, inbred self-expansion. As one psychologist wrote, "One goes from archaic and untamed grandiosity and exhibitionism to a tamed and modulated grandiosity, which is expressed in realistic ambition and pursuits." The child graduates to a socialized, yet still ample expansiveness when, according to the psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut, its oversized self-oriented needs are frustrated in an "optimal" way (Kohut, 1977). By optimal frustration, Kohut has in mind a middle course in which the parents neither break the child's spirit nor do they fail altogether to frustrate the child's overblown ambition for itself.

A solid, yet not grandiose, sense of self takes shape in the child, according to Kohut, if two basic psychological functions are performed in the early years. One function, called "mirroring," is the reflecting back to the child of its own sense of itself as worthy of praise and appreciation. The other function, "idealization," is the child's internalizing of role models, whose example he attempts to follow and whose treatment of him he learns to emulate.

The parent's involvement in the child's free play is one indication of how these two functions are performed. Play is an activity which the child can control and therefore one in which it can assert its own need for mastery. When the child wishes, will the parent join in the play and do so on the child's terms? Does the parent serve as a positive model for how to cooperate, how to solve problems, how to handle frustration? Does the parent assign importance to the play of the child and therefore to the child itself? Or do adult priorities always take precedence over the child's activities (Bettleheim, 1988)?

When these mirroring and idealizing functions are not performed satisfactorily, then the result is a shaky sense of self. One reaction to this can be an extreme drive to mastery, because there is, at bottom, a fragility that the child and later the adult tries to make up for by forever striving to succeed, forever trying to present himself or herself in a favorable light, forever taking a posture of power and invincibility, forever warding off slights, real or imagined (Kohut, 1977).

Childhood circumstance that would deprive the child of a sense of security are hardly limited to the family circle. Wars, economic depressions and booms, natural disasters, and societal culture are all larger forces that can determine a child's fate at a given time and place. In the same way, socioeconomic status, race, religion, and ethnic background locate the family in society and indirectly determine the child's standing, whether favored or disfavored.

We have no way of knowing what kind of expansive temperament Nick Kaminski was born with, but it seems apparent that his biological inheritance was amplified by his upbringing. It's clear that his parents mirrored a sense of worth back to him. "As the firstborn of three children, I was always the one who received the greatest amount of attention from my parents." His mother had extremely high ambitions for him: "Mom spent a tremendous amount of time convincing me that I could do or be anything I wanted to be. She openly admitted that her own private fantasy was that I would become President of the United States." She was evidently living through her son to a significant degree. Her excessive "mirroring" of his value undoubtedly contributed to his overdeveloped expansive tendencies.

It seems clear that he idealized both his parents to the point where, in the interviews with him, he had trouble finding any fault with them whatsoever. His father, for example, he admired for his exceptional athletic ability and career success. To this day he quotes his father frequently. His father actually lived by the passionate credo "Be the very best you can *possibly* be," and Nick has done the same and, in turn, passed on the same ethic to his own children. Nick literally idolized his father and what his father stood for, and in this way also seemed to heighten his expansive temperament.

Elevation: How High Position Brings Out Expansiveness

Another source of expansiveness is the senior manager's environment, which can bring out or intensify this type of temperament. Every executive is located in certain settings at work and

outside of work, and these settings serve to support or challenge the individual's behavior and character. For executives a major aspect of *embeddedness* (Kegan, 1982) is their elevated situation, consisting of high position, high socioeconomic status, substantial power and prestige, and prerogatives and special treatment (Kaplan, Drath, & Kofodimos, 1985). Executives sit in the upper reaches of their organizations and are accorded special treatment that can amplify already well developed expansive tendencies or bring out latent ones. Of course, organizations differ in how much deference they give their senior people, how many privileges they bestow, how sharply they draw hierarchical lines, whether they treat their executives as a corporate aristocracy.

Yet every organization has its own reasonably clear dividing line beyond which the executive enters this special preserve. The line varies from one organization to the next, but generally there is some invisible cut-off point beyond which upper-level managers take their place in the corporate aristocracy. One executive described his passage into the upper echelon this way:

When I joined a subsidiary company of ours in 1979, I was made a VP and became an officer. I had been a plant manager. It was obvious to me that in this organization the officer group had an exalted status. They could do no wrong. I found that people down in the organization just didn't feel comfortable to sit down and talk.

Another executive noted the different response—generally, a better response—that he now received: “I get more attentiveness from superiors. I'm listened to more—I also get more respect from industry outsiders. And there is more expectation from subordinates regarding competence.”

Just as the organization confers a special status on the executive, the executive can easily internalize this sense of being special. Individuals vary a great deal in how susceptible they are to letting all this go to their heads—to developing an exaggerated sense of their own importance. The status, together with the history of success leading to high position, can combine to touch off an attitude of superiority and even of infallibility. One executive de-

scribed a peer with this kind of arrogance: "He assumed a holier-than-thou attitude, an air of royalty. He was really strong on that 'I'm the boss; don't question me.' Matter of fact, if you questioned him twice, he'd tell you to go look for another job."

In the last example, we don't know how much of the arrogance is attributable to the man's inherent personality and how much to his elevated standing, but we do know that elevation has an influence on character. Some of this influence is good in that it supports executives in their tough jobs. There is no doubt that the power, prestige, and prerogatives of high position—what we call *elevation*—fortifies executives and enables them to meet the leadership challenges thrust upon them. Yet elevation can easily blow expansive tendencies out of proportion, through a kind of metamorphosis that executives go through when they reach that magical threshold.

The social scientist, David Kipnis (1976), spoke of the "metamorphoses of power"—the transformations that leaders undergo as a result of attaining and holding power (p. 169). This change can also occur in people on their way up if the organization anoints them as likely eventual executives; this is sometimes referred to as the "crown prince syndrome." The transformation can, for example, take the form of a newly-found, exalted sense of self-worth. Teddy Kollek, the mayor of Jerusalem for twenty-five years, changed in this respect over time. According to a long-time associate: "In the old days . . . Teddy didn't have such a big opinion of himself and saw his shortcomings. Since then he has learned to accept that people regard him as something special, something elevated" (Rabinovich, 1988). Drew observed the phenomenon of elevation in presidential candidates: "Despite the strain, campaigning for the Presidency, if one has enough success, is intoxicating, and it's difficult to walk away from the crowds, the cheers, the acclaim, and even the comforts of limousines and Secret Service protection. Like addicts, candidates come to need a regular shot of adulation. Candidates don't have to get airline tickets, or wait at gates; they don't even stop at stoplights" (Drew, 1988).

Kipnis' major argument is that "the continual exercise of successful influence changes the powerholder's views of others and himself"—a transformation that is most dramatic in the holders of

high position (Kipnis, 1976). As Kipnis pointed out, the Greek tragedians portrayed vividly how heads of state could be swept away by a sense of their own importance and could, simultaneously, devalue the opinions of others and become impatient with disagreement. The result in modern organizational life is that if the manager already has bad habits, they may get worse; or if the manager had been relatively free of such habits, he may suddenly develop them. On the other hand, a manager who before had lacked a commanding presence might emerge with the extra measure of expansive thrust needed to carry off the senior job.

Thus, the executive job and the career track leading to the executive job carry with them expectations for the very sort of expansiveness that no doubt leads individuals to seek high positions in the first place. The executive subculture (along with the culture of the institution itself) reinforces expansive tendencies by encouraging and rewarding people for being hard workers (sometimes, the harder the better) and for being high achievers (Maccoby, 1976).

Another factor that bears on expansiveness is stage of adult life. As Daniel Levinson (1978) has shown in his study of forty men in four different occupations, the drive to establish oneself in the world is especially pressing in the first half of adulthood. One's twenties, thirties, and forties can be a period of nearly ceaseless striving to enter a chosen field, master it and achieve a measure of success in it. It is only when, typically in their forties, they realize what Levinson called their "Dream," or it becomes clear that they will never realize it, that they pull back somewhat on the heavy investment in achievement, mastery, and career success in favor of other aspects of life.

How Expansive Executives Perform

Having taken a look at how childhood and executive experience can exaggerate the natural expansive tendencies in human beings, we now turn to how exaggerated expansiveness, as opposed to moderated expansiveness, can lead to problems in the way an executive leads.

All expansives are alike in their highly developed drive to accomplish and to be accomplished. Yet there are important differences in how strong and compulsive that already above-average drive is. In what I have called extreme or exaggerated expansiveness, the drive to mastery is acutely personal and emotionally charged because the person's self-esteem is fundamentally at risk. So much is on the line psychologically that this type's ambition to attain mastery and to be recognized as having done so intrudes into their work and interferes. It may interfere by depriving them of flexibility, creating a driving, inflexible personality that causes them to hold on tensely and rigidly to their ideas and their ways of doing things. The interference may mean that they care too much about career progress and too little about the organization's welfare. In pushing for dramatic success, they are quite capable of overextending themselves and their organizations. They may be so concerned about projecting an image of efficacy and success that they become preoccupied with appearances and trappings and may even, in effect, cheat to create the desired impression. They bend or break the rules to get what they feel instinctively they must have for themselves. In this and other ways, they lack integrity and, being experienced as such, damage their reputation as well as their effectiveness. In addition, extreme expansives tend either to misuse or to abuse power. We can understand better what Ernest Becker (1973) meant by "the terror of admitting what one is doing to earn his self-esteem" when we put ourselves in the place of someone who, it seems, is willing to do "practically anything" to do well.

In contrast, executives who are moderately expansive manage to make out of themselves engines of desired outcomes for the organization and the people in it. They harness their intense drive for mastery and their need for control for the benefit of the organi-

zation; they subordinate their ego needs to the organization's needs. There is an essential honesty about these managers: They make sure to earn the credit given them; they support whatever claims to mastery they make; they are able to acknowledge their mistakes and failings. While they are capable of expending and expecting extreme effort, they know, observe, and respect their own limits and those of the organization. They manage to mobilize the organization to attain its objectives without weakening or destroying it in the process.

A caveat: The distinction between these expansive modes is not an either/or proposition. It is a continuum. It is the rare executive who approximates the paragon of complete moderation in expansiveness, because this requires a rare combination of opposites in the person who, paradoxically, can go to extremes yet in moderation. That is, he or she has some choice over when to go all out. At the other end of the continuum it is the equally rare executive who embodies all of the negative attributes of exaggerated expansiveness. The several characteristics of the expansive executive (see Figure 1, pp. 22-23) are somewhat independent of each other so that an extreme, or exaggerated, expansive who is negative in one respect is not necessarily negative in the other respects. Yet the more extreme an executive is, the greater the number of negative attributes he or she is likely to have. Let me hasten to add, however, that extreme does not necessarily mean unproductive.

This section covers four characteristics of expansiveness: (1) high ambition for mastery, (2) extraordinary effort and self-assertion in quest of mastery, (3) hunger for the rewards of attaining mastery, and (4) resistance to indications of a lack of mastery.

A second caveat: Expansive is an umbrella term that applies to a broad class of executives—most executives in my experience. But within that broad class exists many major subdivisions, each of which can inhabit any spot on the expansive continuum between moderate and extreme. (These are explained in Appendix II.)

High Ambition for Mastery

Most executives crave mastery. Quite literally, they strive mightily to master the challenges chosen by them or for them; they strive to master the skills needed to meet these challenges; they strive to master themselves as instruments of their ambitions. They put themselves to the test, and then do everything in their power to prevail. The desire to place themselves on top of situations often has a driven quality. Some internal need compels them to seize opportunities to demonstrate mastery. Expansive executives are ambitious for themselves and ambitious for their organizations. Whether these parallel ambitions are “healthy” and productive or not depends on the intensity of the drive.

Nick Kaminski radiates a restless expansive energy. What motivates him? “It’s just a commitment to excellence and a compelling desire to win. Not win at all costs. Just win. I just want to be the best I can be, not the best that there is.”

Ambition for themselves. Expansive executives want to establish themselves as masterful, whatever route they may take. This drive to establish one’s mastery can manifest itself in executives positively or negatively. On the negative side, it takes the form of extreme need to win, to succeed, to be “number 1,” to be right, even when that need defeats the purposes supposedly being served. Executives of this type cannot stand to lose an argument. They lock into a sort of mortal combat with other candidates for the next promotion. Ironically, by being—and by seeming to others to be—inordinately ambitious for themselves, they may actually hurt their chances for promotion.

In high school and college, Nick, who went on to play hockey professionally for a couple of years, “used to take defeats personally. I was driven by winning and that alone. I didn’t even go to parties. I only went to my senior prom because my mother made me. I was too driven, back then.”

In the positive case, the ambition for mastery is not as extreme and self-oriented and far more task-oriented. These individuals put most of their energy into proving themselves worthy by tackling tough jobs, taking on ever increasing responsibility, and consistently increasing their managerial capability. They, too, have

Figure 1
Expansive Executives: Extreme versus Moderate

Characteristic	Extreme (overdeveloped) Expansives	Moderate (well developed) Expansives
1. High ambition for mastery		
a. Ambition for themselves	<p>Has to win, succeed, be "number 1," be right, even when counterproductive. Feels morally superior. Self-oriented ambition.</p> <p>Competition means rivalry with others.</p> <p>Exaggerated claims for how good and valuable they are as managers. Arrogant. Offsets feeling inferior by acting superior.</p> <p>Places high value on own modus operandi, modus vivendi. Lacks perspective: "My way is the only way."</p> <p>Polarizes self and therefore also others into "good" and "bad," stars and dogs.</p>	<p>Driven to get on top of tough jobs, to take on bigger challenges. Task-oriented ambition.</p> <p>Competitive—against own high standards.</p> <p>Conveys strong sense of self-confidence. Makes realistic claims for how good or important they are. Offsets feeling inferior by doing a superior job.</p> <p>Has conviction about own "way" but also a perspective on it. Has learned humility.</p> <p>Able to see shades of gray, the good and the bad in others.</p>
b. Ambition for organization	<p>Makes overly ambitious, grandiose plans for the organization. Causes the organization to attempt an impossible objective or sets too many otherwise attainable objectives.</p> <p>Unwilling to accept limits on what organization can do. Unrealistic about what it takes to get big jobs done.</p>	<p>Sets ambitious objectives, even grand plans, but within the organization's reach.</p> <p>Reconciled to the limits on the organization's capacity. Accepting of the gradual progress toward distant goals.</p>
2. Extraordinary effort and self-assertion in quest of mastery		
a. Pushing oneself hard	<p>Compulsive in the extreme; almost totally absorbed in work; addicted. Prone to burnout.</p>	<p>Exceptionally hard-working but knows how to turn it off when necessary.</p>

Figure 1 (cont.)

Characteristic	Extreme Expansives	Moderate Expansives
b. Pushing others hard	<p>Capable of burning out others.</p> <p>Too quick to exercise control and take over. Abrasive, in some cases. Self-righteousness justifies control.</p> <p>Wants power too much for its own sake.</p> <p>Unilateral: too concerned with pushing own agenda and not responsive to others' agendas. Can be exploitive.</p>	<p>Expects hard work but cognizant of people's limits.</p> <p>Able to take charge but receptive to subordinates' influence and needs for autonomy. May be dominant, charismatic.</p> <p>Uses power primarily to get things done.</p> <p>Reciprocal: absorbed in own agenda yet able to invest in others' agenda.</p>
3. <i>Hunger for the rewards of attaining mastery</i>	<p>Addicted to "ego-reinforcing supplies." Can be an exhibitionist.</p> <p>Intent on making one splash after another, not thorough.</p> <p>Wrapped up in "looking good." Overly concerned with image, the trappings of status, power.</p> <p>Polarizes others into "good" and "bad," stars and dogs.</p>	<p>Needs ego reinforcement but delays gratification and allows recognition to flow from accomplishment.</p> <p>Does the homework and follow-through necessary to fully earn kudos.</p> <p>Bases reputation on solid record of accomplishment. Expects to look good as result of doing good.</p> <p>Able to see shades of gray, the good and the bad in others.</p>
b. Need to attain heroic status	<p>Highly resistant to criticism. Reacts by withdrawing or by becoming enraged. Has trouble admitting mistakes; projects failure onto others.</p> <p>Self-protective, rigid resistance to change. A poor prospect for self-awareness and self-improvement.</p>	<p>Has a hard time with criticism but accepts it out of a need to <i>be</i>, rather than <i>appear</i>, masterful.</p> <p>Relatively non-defensive, flexible. A good prospect for self-awareness and self-improvement.</p>
4. <i>Resistance to indications of a lack of mastery</i>	<p>Highly resistant to criticism. Reacts by withdrawing or by becoming enraged. Has trouble admitting mistakes; projects failure onto others.</p> <p>Self-protective, rigid resistance to change. A poor prospect for self-awareness and self-improvement.</p>	<p>Has a hard time with criticism but accepts it out of a need to <i>be</i>, rather than <i>appear</i>, masterful.</p> <p>Relatively non-defensive, flexible. A good prospect for self-awareness and self-improvement.</p>

a sharp edge on their ambition but they are more selective about what they take on. As much as it matters to them to succeed, they compete against their own standards of excellence and not so much against real or imagined rivals: They focus their competitive instincts on making the organization a success.

Extreme and moderate expansives are also different in how they express their ambitions—in the claims they make for their value as managers. Exaggerated expansives make inordinate claims; they are overly ambitious for respect and standing and predictably overevaluate their contributions and capability. This is true in what they advertise to other people and it tends to be true of how they look upon themselves, at least at a certain level. As the saying goes, they believe their own press releases. This attitude makes for self-confidence that gives way to arrogance. Nick Kaminski was described as having “a superiority complex. Everything has to revolve around him.” Carl Jung referred to this exaltation of the self as “inflation” or the “expansion of the personality beyond its proper limits (Jung, 1959). To satisfy their ambition for superiority they play one-upsmanship with other people. They are constantly on the lookout for ways to elevate themselves. For the same reason, they are slow to feel or show appreciation of other people’s success and are in fact quick to envy it. In a nutshell, exaggeratedly expansive executives have considerable self-doubt, but they repress it and convey instead a sense of themselves as extremely self-assured. An executive reflecting back on the time when he had been this way offered: “It’s easy to repress when you have to achieve. If the achievement is there and there are goals that you have to reach, you don’t have a choice, in essence, not to repress.”

Moderate expansives, on the other hand, convey a strong sense of self-confidence that is both palpable and welcome to the people around them. As much as they desire to establish themselves as masterful, they lay claim to a sense of importance that matches what other people are prepared to grant them. Moderate expansives may not, however, feel as confident as they seem. Over and over in our work with executives, they confess to, or give indications of, some sense of inadequacy. This applies even to widely admired and apparently self-assured individuals in the top positions of well-known and highly successful companies. One such

individual, when asked what drives him, declared, "Insecurity." He went on to say, "But if you ask 100 senior managers in this company the same question about me, no one would give you that answer." He had recently become more aware of his insecurity in counseling (not with us), but preferred to keep it a secret. Of the best executives I have worked with, the more self-aware of them wrestle with their self-doubt and their reactions to it, which helps them keep from developing an overblown sense of self. Having less doubt about self than the extreme expansive, it is naturally easier for them to wrestle with it.

With a strong belief about oneself comes ideology. Each person makes an ideal out of the particular path through life he or she has chosen (Horney, 1950). The tendency is to make a virtue out of a psychological necessity. Extreme expansives place a high value not just on their managerial ability but also on their particular way of doing things. From these individuals one hears, in so many words, "My way is the right way." They apply a righteous overlay to the methods they have adopted to meet their own needs. Because they believe so fervently in their way of "being," they become inflexible in applying their beliefs and practices to themselves and to others. One extreme expansive's superior described him as "too dogmatic sometimes in believing that his way is the only way. It's his way or forget it!" Similarly, one of his peers observed that "you either do it his way or you don't do it at all." Another peer said about him: "He has supreme confidence in himself and his judgment. Once he comes to a judgment, even if others see it as flawed, it doesn't deter him. This may appear as arrogance, but I'm not sure it is. I think that he gets such a strong belief in an issue that he can't be shaken. He has no regard for input from others, and this impedes his relationships."

In contrast, executives who are only moderately expansive commonly believe in what they do, just as they do what they believe is right. But somewhere along the way, they have gained some perspective on their deeply held beliefs with regard to their particular expansive mode. Displaying this humility, one executive told that "I now recognize there's more than one right way and my way may not be one of them."

Expansives, because of their ambition to turn themselves into highly desirable "objects," are susceptible to experiencing themselves as either a "good object" or "bad object." They tend to polarize their experience of themselves, often alternating between the two. Inevitably, this self-polarization is mirrored in their experience of others who become split into the very good and the very bad (Hirschhorn, 1988). One manager called this "the halo effect and the bum effect." These individuals strongly favor some subordinates and disparage others, or they oscillate between one day feeling that their key people are terrific and the next day feeling they are awful. They see things and people in black and white.

One executive polarized people in this way to such an extent that both he and the people around him recognized it. He said self-reflectively: "I put people in two categories—they're in or they're out. If they're in, it means I like or believe in them. I cater to their style and support their weaknesses. If I don't have respect for them, I write them off." His subordinates confirmed this: "With him, you're either a super performer or a lousy performer." Another subordinate observed that being a favorite is no guarantee of remaining a favorite: "He falls in love or out of love with people. He goes to the extreme, and you go from one to the other quickly." Nick Kaminski was this way—quick to judge, and unwilling to change his mind once he had made it up about someone.

This tendency to polarize looks like the flaw that contributed to one of the few losing seasons that Bobby Knight, the long-term and highly successful basketball coach at Indiana University, has had. Knight, a leader if not an executive, despised substandard performance. He made a habit of relegating players, even his star players, to the bench. During practices he regularly kicked players off the court and banished them to the locker room. During the 1984-85 season he became so disgusted with the team in mid-season that in one game against another Big-Ten opponent he benched four starters in favor of four freshmen. Predictably, Indiana lost, and unfortunately, Knight and the team never recovered. In general, Knight's compulsion to project a highly favorable image and his aversion to an unfavorable image put him and his team on "an emotional yo-yo" (Feinstein, 1986).

Ambition for the organization. Executives' ambitions for themselves become especially important and consequential when they are expressed as ambitions for their organizations. Harold Lasswell (1977) phrased it as "the displacement of private motives . . . onto public objects" (p. 60). The word *displacement* is significant because it refers to a mechanism by which executives to some extent fashion their organizations to suit their personal needs and do so covertly. The action is covert not because executives are deceitful, but because they and those around them, thanks partly to the code of impersonality that operates in most organizations, take the public agendas at face value and disregard, except in the most superficial sense, the deep personal needs that lie behind those agendas. It is widely recognized that self-respecting leaders must have a "vision" of their organization's future (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Waterman, 1987; Kotter, 1990). What is not so well recognized is that the genesis of the vision lies in part in the personal make-up of the leader.

Nonetheless, executives give profound expression to their personal ambitions through the ambitions they develop for their organizations. Treating their businesses as extensions of themselves, executives want their organizations to become the same sort of objects—masterful entities—that they themselves seek to become. Just as executives expand into their organizations, they want their organizations to expand into their environments. This is done by inspiring the organization to rise to the challenge, to equip itself to meet those challenges, to contribute something of value, to do well relative to the competition, and to emerge in the end victorious.

In the case of one executive, projecting his own needs onto the organization has paid off handsomely so far for him and the organization. A high-integrity individual, he was characterized as a "business-builder," not a "career-builder." But the relationship between personal ambitions and ambitions for the organization is often an uneasy one (Horney, 1950; Kets de Vries, 1988). If, in the exaggerated case, executives are grandiose in their assessments of themselves and their huge need to have an impact, they can set an overly ambitious agenda for the organization. They can cause the organization to overreach by setting what prove to be unattainable

objectives or by taking on too many major projects and making it difficult for the organization to do any of them well. A study of executive teams produced the finding that team performance is hindered by "leaders who put constant pressure on the team to perform on a never-ending line of objectives, each of which is described as 'critical' but who apply this pressure out of a concern for their own present or future well-being rather than out of a concern for the quality or significance of the performance objective itself" (Larson & LaFasto, 1989).

The tendency to overreach is frequently born of an unwillingness to accept limits on what the executives themselves can do or their organizations can do. Paraphrasing Horney (1950), no obstacle is too big to be overcome by their superior abilities and dedication and those of their organization. The refusal to accept reality includes a habit of seriously underestimating the actual work involved in attaining a major objective. This is because, as Horney points out, these individuals are frequently interested less in climbing a mountain than in quickly placing themselves on the peak. Denial of one's own limits thus has its counterpart in denial of the organization's limits.

On the other side, some executives, equally ambitious for the organization yet sharply concerned about having everything come out right, regularly shoot too low. They are overly cautious. A variation on the theme: In the interest of increasing the chances of success, they prolong the decision process and run the risk of missing opportunities.

Executives who keep their expansive drive in some kind of moderation, press high ambitions upon their organizations but, through their handling of their personal needs and the decision process, manage to keep objectives within reach. Less prone to grandiosity, they have a sense of their own limits and the limits on what their organization can do. They couple their drive to make things happen with an adequate appreciation for what it takes to make things happen (Horney, 1950). They wax euphoric over visions of what the organization can become yet remain in touch with the gradual, step-by-step process of growth and evaluation that the organization must undergo to get there. They have "both the vision

of possibilities, the perspective of infinitude, and the realization of limitations, of necessities, of the concrete" (Horney, 1950, p. 11).

Still, with regard to the difference between the moderate and extreme expansive's ambitions for their organizations, there is a fine line between thinking big and being grandiose.

Extraordinary Effort and Self-assertion in Quest of Mastery

With the fire of ambitions for themselves and their organizations burning so hot, it's no wonder executives work so hard at satisfying those ambitions and do their best to get subordinates to do the same. Pushing themselves hard, they also push other people hard, through a wide repertoire of influence tactics that may include force and the threat of force. (Those executives who resort to force in any way but sparingly are, except in the most dire organizational circumstances, the exaggerated or extreme cases.)

Pushing oneself hard. Long hours and intense concentration usually come easy to expansive executives, because so much of their sense of self is tied to high performance; because they have placed themselves in situations which require intensity of them; and because, if they are fortunate, they take real pleasure in their work.

Executives who are only moderately expansive are hard-driving and exceptionally hard-working people in whom the work ethic is especially intense. Yet as dedicated as they are, they can still distinguish between those times when they need to go all out and when to moderate their efforts. They have some ability to retreat from work and replenish themselves.

Executives of the extreme expansive variety are compulsive; they absorb themselves almost totally in work. They throw their lives so far out of balance that family relationships and health are adversely affected (Kofodimos, 1989; Evans & Bartolome, 1981). Their overinvolvement in work, as much as the executives themselves may claim they enjoy it, has a way of turning back on itself and impairing effectiveness. Overly dedicated executives eventually burn themselves out—consumed in the hot flame of their ambition and intense exertion. Said Nick Kaminski, "I probably spend more

hours on the job than any of my subordinates. Some of them think they have to keep up with me in terms of the number of hours worked. I get tired of explaining this is not necessary; however, the perception still exists."

Extremely expansive executives waste effort by trying to do "everything," have trouble distinguishing clearly between high priorities and low priorities, and, as we will soon see, disrupt the reciprocity between their priorities and those of others. They lack sufficient flexibility to choose when to exert themselves and when to take breaks, so they fail to regenerate themselves during the course of a day, week, or year. They are susceptible to losing their edge.

An executive in our sample, driven by an acute sense of responsibility, had risen to a top job in his company and had continued to maintain time-consuming voluntary leadership positions in his church and in a national service organization. He had virtually no time for himself or his marriage, which suffered. His performance at work also suffered because he regularly felt overloaded and worn out, and on occasion he showed up at meetings ill-prepared for important decisions. He burdened himself. In person he gave off a tired, joyless feeling that subtly undercut his efforts to inspire and motivate his people.

Extreme hard work, while detrimental in the sense that it costs the individual in other spheres of his life, is commonly valued by the organization and by the expansive individual. And total dedication to work may well be necessary during crises or challenging career transitions.

Pushing others hard. In the pursuit of mastery, expansive executives assert themselves strongly with others; they make their presence felt. To be masterful is to gain control. As the psychologist David McClelland (1975) has discovered, effective managers are motivated not just by a high need for achievement but also by a considerable need for power. How else can managers achieve anything in an organizational setting except by being willing to exert influence over other people? Let us correct any impression, however, that to want influence is to aggress against people. Actually, quite powerful managers can be potent without being pushy interpersonally, but instead exercise influence through what they stand for—their values. Yet, by whatever means, executives are, to use

phrases they like to apply to themselves, “movers and shakers” who are “willing to move heaven and earth.”

One way that executives assert themselves is through their expectations of how hard their subordinates should work. Usually, though not always, their expectations of themselves correlate closely with their expectations of their people. Moderately expansive executives expect a lot in this regard and may expect punishingly hard work at times, but at the same time they are cognizant of the limits on people’s capacities for work and alert to indications of overwork. Extremely expansive executives, whose own strenuous efforts know virtually no bounds, tend to require the same boundless dedication of their subordinates and thereby put their organizations at risk of burnout. This symmetry between what one demands of oneself and what one demands of others applied to Lyndon Johnson, whose career in politics was “a story of intense physical and spiritual striving that was utterly unsparing; he would sacrifice himself to his ambition as ruthlessly as he sacrificed others” (Caro, 1990, p. 22). One top executive described an executive-level subordinate as “too hard a worker, probably the hardest in his organization. This can burn people out because of the tone he sets.” A peer of his said, “I think there’s some feeling on the part of his subordinates that they can never do enough.”

In exercising influence, executives are perpetually faced with the choice of how much power to take personally and how much power to allow and encourage their people to take. Moderately expansive executives strike a balance between empowering themselves (direct power) and empowering others (indirect power). They are willing to take charge but don’t always have to be in the dominant role or do the job themselves—even a high-priority job—but are content to have others do it. They use “loose-tight” controls, which combine tight control over direction and core values and loose control over execution (Peters & Waterman, 1982). To capture this optimal mix of control and autonomy, Robert Waterman (1987) came up with the term “directed autonomy.” The academics Charles Manz and Henry Sims (1989) feel so strongly about managers sharing control that they define “superleaders” as those who “lead others to lead themselves.”

At nearly all times, moderately expansive executives exercise control only to get things done. They use what McClelland (1975) called socialized power, power used for the benefit of the collectivity: "The positive or socialized face of power is characterized by a concern for group goals . . . and for giving group members the feeling of competence they need to work hard for them . . . It functions in a way that makes members of a group feel like initiators of action rather than pawns" (p. 263).

In contrast, the extremely expansive executives in our sample convey a sense that the exercise of power attracts them for its own sake. They seem to want power not so much to pursue organizational ends but to gratify their need to assume a large presence—larger than what their role in the situation requires. These executives know too well how to assert themselves and not nearly as well how to make it possible for others to assert themselves. In this mode one young executive ingenuously revealed, "I make up my mind; then I lean on people until I hear them saying my words." Nick Kaminski prided himself in being a collaborative guy and team player but his boss saw it quite differently. "Nick espouses teamwork but he needs to be in control. He doesn't practice what he preaches. He dictates things, and he doesn't listen well. His peers and subordinates don't trust him to have an open mind."

Extremely expansive executives may often make a practice of crossing the line between being appropriately assertive and unnecessarily aggressive, to the point of being abrasive—one of the leading causes of executive derailment (McCall & Lombardo, 1983). It is important to note that these managers don't tend to be indiscriminately abrasive but reserve their mistreatment for those people who seem to block them or those whom they do not respect.

Overcontrol is often accompanied by righteousness. An exaggeratedly expansive executive in our study had such strong beliefs about how things should be done that he tried to dictate to the experienced managers below him how to go about their jobs. One subordinate said it was a case of "do it his way or else." Another subordinate described him as a "follow-up maniac, who would follow up on picayune things. It was constant harassment." Predictably, he irritated even his best performers and made enemies of many of

his subordinates. In large part because of the overassertion of "his way," his career stopped short of where his business acumen and drive could have taken him.

A moderate expansive strikes an appropriate balance between being a force to reckon with and allowing other people their potency, not for the sake of egalitarianism but on the basis of everyone's ability to contribute. Hanging in the balance here is the question: Whose agenda, yours or mine? Whose idea about where the organization ought to go and how it ought to get there? If executives are to be effective, they must find a way to mingle their agenda, springing from their deep ambitions for themselves, with the agendas of the people around them. They must set up a reciprocity by which they and the people around them take turns working their respective issues. Moderately expansive executives can do this: They can reciprocate. They are intensely absorbed in their own objectives, and this intensity attracts other people. But they don't rely exclusively on this personal magnetism to lead. They also absorb themselves in what other people, whose interest and cooperation they need, are trying to do. And they actually find ways to merge their interests and those of others.

Extremely expansive executives let their objectives become the sun that obscures all lesser lights. Ultimately, their inability to invest in other people's projects hinders their ability to attract investment in their own. Predictably, they run into a lack of enthusiasm for, or even resistance to, their initiatives. The relationship becomes unilateral. The terms of the relationship, dictated by the executive, are that his or her ideas matter most and that they are automatically the ones that deserve to be nurtured.

For the extreme expansive, other people exist primarily to serve the executive in his or her campaign to attain mastery. One executive's subordinates felt at times that they were simply part of his master plan. These "servants" can easily become dispensable if the relationship is set up on this basis.

Hunger for the Rewards of Attaining Mastery

Expansive executives may be strongly attracted by the sheer satisfaction of using and increasing their capabilities. Mastery is its own reward. But in addition to intrinsic satisfaction, expansive executives also generally want: (a) recognition of their capabilities and attainments and (b) a certain heroic status.

Need for recognition. Moderate expansives are motivated both by the intrinsic satisfaction of accomplishment and by the pleasure in having others recognize and appreciate their accomplishments. They feel keenly the need for ego reinforcement, yet they are usually able to delay gratification and can work hard for long stretches on the promise of ego-reinforcing "supplies" (Bursten, 1986). They are reminiscent of Mark Twain, who said he could live for months on the strength of one good compliment.

The difference in this respect between moderate expansives and their extreme counterparts hinges on the strength of the need for recognition. Moderate expansives have a need for recognition, but they operate on the principle that work and achievement come first and recognition follows. Executives like this are described by people around them as desiring personal success as a by-product of the success of the organizations they lead. They also have a sufficiently strong sense of self-worth that their need for external reinforcement is within bounds.

Extreme expansives, on the other hand, have an infirm sense of self that necessitates a large and constant supply of reinforcement from the outside (Kohut, 1977). One executive was labelled "credit-hungry." Some executives are exhibitionists, constantly calling attention to themselves and turning other people into an admiring audience (Emmons, 1984). One clinical psychologist put it this way: "The craving personality must be fed. He is devastated if supplies are not forthcoming. . . . While he is unfed, his self-esteem suffers; where is his specialness and where are the nourishing objects" (Emmons, 1984, p. 291). One young high-potential manager told us that he was susceptible to bouts of depression at any point at which his performance or career did not bring him the high regard he needed. There is a strong connection between the need for external ratification of worth, gained by excelling or being special in

some way, and depression (Miller, 1981). With recognition, this type feels terrific; without it, he or she feels downright lousy.

Recognition-seeking can possess executives to the point that they become exploitive. There is a sense in which they "use" others. Or they take credit due others. Steven Jobs was nicknamed the "Reality Distortion Field" because of his penchant for pooh-poohing someone's idea and then later making it his own (Butcher, 1988).

The tragic irony is that executives who overrely on external signs of success for a sense of self-worth only prop up their self-esteem temporarily. They may think that the next promotion or jump in income will make them feel truly good about themselves, but their problem is that external "compensation" does not genuinely strengthen an insecure sense of self (Butcher, 1988).

Need to attain heroic status. Closely associated with the need for external reinforcement is the wish, perhaps unconscious, to take a heroic role, which confers the admiration the expansive executive seeks. Privately, the individual longs to become a legendary figure in his or her organization. Becker (1973) makes this point in relation to all human beings but it pertains particularly to expansives:

[Man] must desperately justify himself as an object of primary value in the universe. He must stand out, be a hero, make the biggest possible contribution to world life, show that he counts more than anything or anyone else. (p. 4)

The heroic impulse is discernible in the comment an executive made about his appetite for winning against the odds: "I like it best when the odds are against me. It's a chance to show I've accomplished something—the chance for a triumphant moment." Another executive confessed, "I set high standards to be heroic. I am attracted to doing the 'impossible.'" The heroic impulse is also evident in the difficulty CEOs have in stepping down when they retire, or try to retire, as Jeffrey Sonnenfeld recently found (Sonnenfeld, 1988). They want the heroic stature to continue and they want to stay on some immortalizing mission.

As with their need for recognition, moderate expansives do not sacrifice the requirements of the work to their need to be a hero.

Ego needs remain in proper proportion to the need to perform a role and to contribute. In other words, this kind of person operates on the principle, enunciated in all the management texts, that looking good is contingent upon doing good. Again, owing to a reasonably strong sense of self and appropriate internal controls, moderate expansives do not alternate sharply between high self-regard and feelings of worthlessness. Their ego strength allows them to respond to victory and defeat without falling prey to extreme mood swings. Because they avoid bouncing back and forth between feeling great about themselves and feeling awful, they are able to discriminate gradations of competence in both themselves and others.

The heroic impulse can undermine an individual's effectiveness, however, if it causes the executive to respond too much to this need and too little to socially constructive purposes. One person in our study confessed, "I set high standards to be heroic. I am attracted to doing the 'impossible.' And I consult my high standards and not what my subordinates can do."

Extremely expansive executives are unduly concerned with trappings—of status, power and success. Also, whereas moderately expansive executives are by and large what they claim to be, extremely expansive executives are given to making false claims. They may be willing to deal in illusion and may try to deceive themselves and others. Extreme expansives are so concerned about presenting themselves in a favorable light that they stretch the truth. They may be self-aggrandizing, in the sense that they pretend to be more "grand"—a larger or more important presence—than they are. Senior managers may build an empire for what it represents rather than as an instrument of the organization's purposes. They wish to be admired for organizational standing or personal attractiveness rather than inherently useful or mature human qualities (Kernberg, 1979).

The heroic impulse can lead executives to cut corners in the quest to create a good impression. They may not do their homework or follow through conscientiously enough because they want to emerge victorious from one arena after another. An executive who was faulted for not attending to detail and for leaving a trail of little problems traced this managerial sloppiness to his motivation to

make one splash after another: "I get bored. I am always looking for the next windmill to tilt at." Despite his high position and excellent reputation, he was greatly concerned about creating a good impression, even with his wife. Worried that his wife might learn something unflattering about him, he told her nothing about work—to "keep her from thinking poorly of me."

Resistance to Indications of a Lack of Mastery

Expansive executives, at least initially, resist criticism and have trouble with self-correction and self-development. Given the need for mastery and the associated need for acclaim and admiration, expansives instinctively have trouble, to one degree or another, with evidence of their inadequacy and with calls for improvement. The question becomes: Which need wins out—the need to *be* masterful or the need to *appear* masterful? Becker (1973) wrote of the "terror of admitting what one is doing to earn his self-esteem." Those who overcome their reluctance move closer to healthy, moderate expansiveness. They avoid some of the distortions of which expansive people are capable. As Becker (1973) put it, "To become conscious of what one is doing to earn his feeling of heroism is the main self-analytic problem of life" (p. 6).

Moderate expansives overcome their reflex reaction against indications of their faults or limitations because the need to grow and to become more competent prevails. They may feel deflated, for a time, but they can recover and move on. They are governed chiefly by the drive to fulfill realistically their ambitions for efficacy. Although mistakes rankle, they find within themselves the capacity to admit them. Although they dislike not knowing something, they manage to be emotionally and intellectually honest. They are able to admit ignorance. Or, as one executive did, they admit to themselves the difficulty they have in saying "I don't know" and are on the alert for the temptation to act as if they understand something they do not. The need to know their strengths and weaknesses overcomes their fear of knowing (Maslow, 1968), and therefore makes continuing self-development possible.

In the case of extreme expansives, image-consciousness and the craving for ego-reinforcing "supplies" make it difficult or impossible for the expansive person to accept criticism or other evidence that they aren't masterful. The criticism or mistake or failure is experienced as a "narcissistic wound." In fact, when asked how he responds to constructive criticism, Nick Kaminski said, "Initially I feel wounded. I impose perfection on myself, so that's where the wounded piece comes in." The unwanted input or event is experienced as a violation, and the extreme expansive reacts by withdrawing and sulking or by becoming enraged. In this vein one clinician referred to an attitude of "entitlement," the sense that one deserves to be treated well and therefore should be spared bad news about oneself (Emmons, 1984). Extreme expansives characteristically have great trouble admitting mistakes or failures or owning up to failings and may instead project those unwanted actions or attitudes onto others. Indeed, Nick Kaminski was seen as "hyper-sensitive to criticism." In unconsciously and aggressively protecting their reputation or image, such highly resistant managers sacrifice the chance to remedy problems, and ultimately they put their effectiveness and careers in jeopardy.

How Expansiveness Affects Organizational Outcomes

In the previous section, we saw that executives who are extremely expansive have a way of going too far in the effort to distinguish themselves and their organizations. Moderate executives generally stop short of these destructive extremes. They hit a happy medium of being driven but not too driven.

In this section, we take the next step and link managerial behavior to organizational outcomes. We revisit extreme expansives and see that, while we may deplore their methods, such managers are by no means always ineffective. Though their drive to mastery may be exaggerated, though they may use bad form, many members of their class of executive can deliver outstanding results. We also revisit the moderate expansive and see that, while some are exemplary across the board, others get less than optimal results.

Before explaining further, let us identify two criteria against which to measure an executive's impact on the organization: (1) the so-called bottom-line results that their organization is able to produce and (2) the state of the organization after they obtain those results. Depending on the type of organization, bottom-line results mean quantity and quality of products made or services rendered, profitability, market share, return on equity and the like. The state of the organization refers to the condition of the means by which the organization produces results—the physical plant, the financial side, and the human side. We'll focus on the organization's human aspect: employee morale and commitment, the state of relationships up and down the line and across functions, the stock of talent at all levels, and so forth.

The Productive-but-destructive Expansive

It's the extreme expansive who gets great results who poses the greatest dilemma. Take the case of a general manager, later a division president, who is so expansive that he pushed people to the point of abusing them. According to a peer, "in five years he single-handedly evolved a strategy for [commercializing and marketing a new product], brought it into commercial development and made it

into a big money-maker. . . . He was an irascible bastard, pompous, domineering. There were just two ways to do things—his way and the wrong way.” And in the eyes of a subordinate: “His flaw was his kick-in-the-ass approach. People were afraid of him and his impact on their careers. He would shower abuse on people—in public. It wasn’t a bed of roses. There were people who wanted him dead.” (He may have been as self-destructive as he was destructive: He died in an accident that he brought on himself.)

Thus, although extreme expansives can be destructive, they also can be very productive, at least if managed appropriately. The principal drawback to the extreme expansive who obtains good bottom-line results is that he harms the organization in the process. Extreme expansives like him reduce the organization’s talent pool by driving people away and demoralizing some of those who remain. For those subordinates who are chronically exhausted or demeaned in the mad dash for results, success proves to be an inadequate tonic.

This class of leader is exemplified by Nick Kaminski, whom a subordinate, speaking for many other people, described as “effective—but with a human cost.” Nick said about himself, with the benefit of feedback: “My key strength as a leader is that I get the job done even though sometimes the cost is very high.” Nick Kaminski’s superiors gave him high marks for “producing” but a lower overall rating of leadership effectiveness because of the human toll. Using a 10-point scale to rate leadership effectiveness, one superior said: “From a results standpoint, a 9. But from an all-around standpoint, a 6.” Another superior gave him an “8.” “Why not a 10? His authoritative aspect detracts from it, and his overzealousness of goal achievement.” His peers share this view of him. One remarked, “He’s so goal-oriented that he’s unable to compromise. He can only attack, and win, win, win.” Another peer reported that “many people see him as only concerned about the numbers.” A subordinate saw both sides: “He achieves results—no doubt about it. But he’s an extremely hard driver.”

Clearly, Nick is excessively expansive. His feedback report was sprinkled liberally with comments to this effect. He “works too hard,” he “presses too hard,” he is “too demanding.” Two different people say that he “goes overboard.” He simply pushes people too

hard, to the point where he singles out for harassment those individuals who, to his way of thinking, don't put out enough. It's as if he is the standard-bearer and guardian of dedication and quality work who is therefore called upon to come down on anyone who doesn't conform to these standards. Because he goes too far, Nick's boss, like the conscientious superior of any such manager, feels he has to keep Kaminski in check. "Nick Kaminski is someone you do have to manage. He's very aggressive. He charges. But I'd prefer to have a Nick Kaminski on my team than someone I'd have to motivate."

Thus we have in Kaminski a highly intelligent and extremely intense executive who has made work the center of his existence and who has derived from that heavy investment a consistent ability to get outstanding results. But his drawback is serious enough, despite his superior's appreciation of what he can produce, to put his continued career progress in jeopardy.

Extreme expansives like Kaminski dispel the naive idea that leaders should move mountains and also be nice guys. As management professor Jay Conger (1988) pointed out about charismatic leaders, to effect a major organizational change is inherently off-putting, at least to those people wedded to the status quo or jealous of the leader's magnetism and following. But the energy, drive and aggression of extremely expansive executives goes beyond what is required by the work of leadership, and the excesses rub other people the wrong way.

In deromanticizing leadership and giving up our innocence about the exercise of great power, must we take a fatalistic attitude toward the destructive side of this class of executives? Although difficult to do, it is possible to contain this type of manager or shape his or her behavior.

What can be done? This class of executive partially redeems himself or herself by "delivering" but poses a dilemma because of the toll taken. Anyone with a stake in both the organization's present success and its future well-being ends up on the horns of this dilemma. On the one hand, the executive may cause the organization to succeed beyond all expectations, even beyond everyone's wildest dreams. This was true of the personally destructive division president described above—the one who died in

an accident—who was credited with engineering a breakthrough that generated profits for many years. It is also true of Bobby Knight who, next to John Wooden, has won more national basketball championships—three—than any other college coach. At the same time, the way leaders of this kind conduct themselves and treat people disturbs their admirers and appalls their detractors. Knight, for example, is notorious for pushing his players around, throwing chairs across the court, punching a photographer during the Pan American games, and, in an exhibition game against the U.S.S.R., pulling his team off the court supposedly in protest of the poor officiating but probably out of frustration with his team's poor play (Indiana was behind by twenty-one points at the time) (Feinstein, 1986).

The dilemma is no doubt most distressing for top management. Despite the damage the division president did, top management kept him on, presumably in full knowledge of his reputation as a destructive manager. In a blatant case like this, top management must address the question: Do the benefits outweigh the harm done to the organization and the individuals in it? If the answer is yes, what can top management do? Apart from demotion or dismissal, one thing is to keep productive-but-destructive executives on a short leash, as Nick Kaminski's superiors did. Speaking of extreme expansives, one executive told us, "At any time I like to have a couple of them in my organization, if they can adopt my agenda, because they'll charge ahead and get more done. But if you're not careful, they'll burn themselves out and the organization, too." Rather than turn a blind eye to the harm this type of executive is causing, it is clearly advisable to stay informed about the damage and do what one can to contain it. This is no mean task because extreme expansives can be hard to manage and because the emotions kicked up in the supervising executive may be such that he or she prefers to avoid the trying subordinate. It's a task, however, that must be performed because the alternative is inevitably damage to the organization. There is really no excuse for obtaining short-term results at the expense of the organization's future capability to perform.

A second thing top management can do, along with the human resource staff involved, is to recognize that the executive's

offensive behaviors are probably drive-related. Rather than try simply to contain the individual's excesses, they may find it helpful to consider what it is inside the executive that prompts the excesses. The various complaints about the individual probably revolve around a drive to mastery taken to an extreme. And the extreme drive is probably a reaction to high anxiety about self-worth. To consider the inner drives of such an executive can result in greater empathy and therefore a more effective response to his or her provocations.

A third option is development. In reconciling ourselves to their fierce drive and sometimes naked aggression must we—and they—accept those qualities as fixed and immutable? Or can we entertain the possibility that these powerhouses can ameliorate their negative style while retaining their high output? Is that another pipe dream? This sort of tempering is, under certain conditions, indeed possible—and desirable. Suffice it here to make one point.

In investing in the development of this sort of executive, one's first thought—whether one is a concerned party or the executive himself or herself—is to help the individual learn to control his or her high-powered ambitions. If, the reasoning goes, the person could become a little less ambitious to excel, then he or she wouldn't treat other people so badly. Call this approach "ego management."

What this line of approach misses is that executives overinvest in mastery not just because it holds a magnetic attraction for them but because, if the truth were known, they despair of gratifying themselves through relationships per se. They obtain a sense of self-worth primarily through mastery and secondarily through relationships. The colleagues of a derailed executive used hair-raising language to describe the ferocity with which he campaigned for results. "Sometimes he froze the skin off your face." "He could be very insensitive; he'd tear strips off people." In discussing disturbing comments like these with him, I began to see that his obsession with accomplishment correlated with his avoidance of close relationships. As congenial and charming as this person could be, in actual fact he had real difficulty forming close relationships. Sensing this, one coworker said: "You can't be his buddy; he puts up a brick wall." His difficulty in this area came out when he squirmed

at my suggestion that he confide in someone about the data in his feedback report. It was clear that he didn't have close friends, his wife included, and more than that, that he avoided having them. To the extent that he had given up on close relationships as a source of self-satisfaction, he latched onto work that much harder. And of course this extreme lopsidedness led him regularly to make a mess of his relationships at home as well as at work, which must only have reinforced his unconscious assumptions and expectations.

Thus, if extreme expansives are to strive less ferociously for business objectives, two routes are open. The direct route is to tamp down somehow on their overweening ambition. An indirect route is somehow for them to discover the intrinsic satisfactions of close, mutual relationships.

Can You Have It Both Ways?

Is it possible for an executive to get great bottom-line results and at the same time be a constructive, people-oriented force in the organization? This doesn't appear to be the norm in the executive population, but it does occur. To show it is possible, let us turn to an executive whose data documented fully his well-balanced approach to management. In his late forties, John Holland had an excellent track record. Superiors, peers and subordinates were unanimous in seeing him as consistently delivering the goods, even in adverse situations. They spoke almost with one voice in attesting to John's exceptional ability to pursue business objectives. A superior said it succinctly: "He has a tremendous drive to get results." He was characterized by a subordinate as "an aggressive charger" and by a peer as "a real charger—'let's build it, grow it, do it!'" Using similar language, another superior complimented him by saying "when he says, 'let's charge,' people charge." In general, he got high marks for his ability to mobilize an organization. A peer who had worked with him over their entire careers declared him "terrific!" in this respect. "I've observed that he has strong animal leadership instincts, and people recognize that. He wins their loyalty and people follow him." His performance in a recent assignment as president of a major subsidiary was cited by a few people as an example of his talent at

improving an organization's effectiveness. He was applauded for doing a terrific job, a courageous job. Subordinates also point out the force he exerts on an organization. He was described as "tough" and as "hauling people along with him when he makes changes." He takes firm hold of an organization and aggressively pursues excellent outcomes.

John Holland's true achievement as an executive, however, is that he operates at full throttle *and* handles people well. As a peer noted, "he builds very strong bonds with the people who work for him." He builds strong bonds by trusting his people, giving them appropriate autonomy, staying involved without interfering, sharing praise and rewards, and being open to their influence. Apparently one reason why he and so many other people use the word "balanced" to describe him is that he makes full use of his formidable strengths, managerially and personally, while he welcomes and enhances his subordinates' strength. One subordinate described his stance this way: "He trusts and listens and gives freedom to people—most unusual. He really turns people on." In addition to "giving trust," he listens, and thereby stays in touch with events unfolding in his organization. More than one person used the phrase "stays in touch."

John's success in handling people so positively is a function of his success in handling himself. Everyone was unanimous, for example, in stating that he does not steal credit, that he does not put his interests ahead of the organization's. His ego for the most part does not intrude. A superior put it this way: "Like all good leaders, he has a distinct sense of his own worth—he has confidence in what he can do—but he's well liked." Subordinates experience him the same way, which the following person found several ways to express. "He is easy to interact with. You are not talking with God. He is an ordinary guy. It means that people can level with him—he's not majestic. He's good at not being bigger than life."

How does one explain this effectiveness? Clearly, a generous measure of the expansive temperament is required to make things happen and make oneself into the powerful vehicle of those effects. Yet it also requires that one's restless energy be channelled to larger purposes and that it not overwhelm other people. Moderately expansive executives avoid two extremes in exercising power: They

neither give uninhibited and therefore sometimes destructive expression to that power, nor do they restrict that expression to the point of limiting their ability to get things done. One way to understand the achievement of this happy medium is that as children they were successfully socialized but not oversocialized. Yet their "training" as children along with whatever code of conduct they internalized does not adequately account for the balance they later strike as adults. A considerable part of it must be attributable to the good fortune of developing a firm sense of self.

Similarly, John Holland told us, "I had a lot of self-esteem built into my life at a young age. My mother made you feel good about yourself. So did my father. They were supportive. There was a sense in the household of a lack of criticism; there were good feelings. . . . I didn't get beat over the head when I didn't get A's. My parents concentrated on the A's I *did* get." His experience in the family of being valued (but not having to be perfect) was paralleled by his experience with peers: "I was always in the center of things, I was always in the [high-status] clique in high school."

John's self-confidence may also have derived from his parents' practice of placing him in a variety of challenging situations. His mother challenged him to speak and to write well. His father introduced him to a number of outdoor activities—sports, camping, fishing, hunting. His father also showed John how to investigate whatever subject—planets, engines, gardening—that piqued John's interest. John felt "empowered" by his father and "took away the attitude: Let's try a lot of things." This "generalist approach" bred in him a confidence that he could handle new situations.

The examples his parents set also seem to have influenced the formation of John's reasonably solid sense of self. His father preceded him as a successful executive. His mother rose to prominent leadership positions in the community. Both parents modelled a sense of self-efficacy.

Moderate expansives like John Holland possess the enviable ability to manage people well and get great results. But balanced does not mean perfect. Having the big pieces in place doesn't mean that there aren't smaller pieces that could profitably be moved into place. John Holland felt, going into our program, that he didn't have many weaknesses and the data confirmed that impression.

But going in he did not regard himself as faultless and the data also confirmed his view of himself in that respect. He told us immediately after going over the data, "I had a very high opinion of myself going into this process and expected it to be deflated. However the opposite has occurred. On the other hand, the negatives, although understood beforehand, are articulated in a much clearer fashion—which should allow me to work on them more effectively." Of the few negatives, none of them serious enough to hurt his performance in the present job or to mar his suitability for a top job, one problem area grew out of his intense competitive instinct. There were times when being challenged angered him. Criticism of his organization or of his leadership of it could make him too easily react defensively. In exploring with him the roots of this oversensitivity, we found that, as firm as his sense of self was, this hair-trigger readiness to jump reflected what self-doubt he did have.

Executives like John Holland are plainly "good enough" (Donald Winnicott's [1971] phrase for being as competent as we can reasonably expect to be without succumbing to perfectionism). So the question arises, as it can with any effective executive: Why not leave well enough alone? In fact, a peer of this executive confessed to me his uneasiness about our program. He was sure that his fellow executive's strengths far outweighed the weaknesses. He didn't want the feedback to "spook" his colleague, and he succeeded in transmitting some of his anxiety to me. In raising this particular concern about the executive in question, he also underlined Holland's sensitivity about being criticized.

What does one do about the development of the "moderate" expansive executive who "has it all"? First, correct the misconception that any executive, in fact, has it all. As good as a senior manager may be, it does neither the individual nor the organization any good to glorify him or her. Second, what appear to be minor weaknesses can, in someone with great institutional power, turn into sizeable problems down the line. Development for highly effective, well-balanced executives may not be absolutely essential, but it is desirable.

Conclusion

Character and, in particular, ego needs have a great deal to do with how managers manage. In expansive executives the danger is that those needs get out of hand and defeat the organization's or individual's purpose. The remedy is either to contain those needs or help the individual grow in such a way that he or she somehow transmutes those needs so that they work to everyone's advantage.

Growth and improvement are possible in highly placed middle-aged managers, despite all the doubts on that score (Kaplan, 1990). Career-oriented men move through fairly predictable stages of adult development, including a backing off of the intense achievement striving characteristic of many men in pre-midlife (Levinson, 1978). A 42-year-old general manager, for example, disclosed that he had been used to being the one who "shined," but that he had recently realized he needed to turn over the chance to shine to his people. This nicely illustrates the emotional aspect of the transition an executive must go through to delegate effectively—a move into what Erikson (1950) termed *generativity*, or the shift from focusing on one's own achievements to helping other people achieve. As adults confront fresh challenges and take new roles in their work lives and private lives, a certain amount of adaptability is necessary. As one researcher surveying the literature on adult evolution observed, "change in personality during middle age is not only possible, but it may be required in order to survive" (Kaplan, with Drath and Kofodimos, in press). Even individuals with character disorders (self-defeating patterns that alienate other people) can alleviate or grow out of the worst of their adaptive, or defense, mechanisms (Vaillant, 1977).

Change can come about because of naturally occurring events like a new stage of life or crises such as career setbacks, health problems, marital difficulties or problems with children that put the individual face-to-face with the consequences of ingrained patterns and deep-seated values. Change can also occur as a result of active intervention on the part of people around the individual, with or without professional assistance, when they grow weary of the

individual's unproductive or destructive behavior or when they simply wish to promote the person's development.

What can the various players do to exploit this possibility of growth? The first thing is that—whether superior, subordinate or the executive himself—everyone recognize the possibility of growth, rather than succumb to the fatalistic assumption that nothing can be done. Fatalism often serves as a rationalization for not getting personally involved.

Superiors, and the human resource staff assisting them, should be careful not to reflexively take the easy way out. One temptation is to reach too quickly for the eject button when an executive is performing poorly. Another is to turn a deaf ear to complaints about the damage done by an extreme expansive who gets great business results. Do nothing.

Of the many challenges that subordinates face in playing a constructive role an important one is avoiding the tendency to idealize. To put an executive on a pedestal not only burdens him with the impossible task of doing no wrong but also, by colluding with the executive's own needs for perfection, interferes with his ambivalent attempts to see his faults. Idealizing a superior almost inevitably sets him or her up for a fall because no one can live up to sky-high expectations. When the superior predictably does not, disenchantment sets in. Indignant and angry, subordinates now send the executive devaluing messages no more helpful or accurate than the initial inflated ones. The obvious exaggerations in the subordinates' criticism and the vengeful feelings give the beleaguered executive an out. Because he distrusts his subordinates' motives and biased view, he feels justified in writing off the entire message, kernel of truth and all. Here we have on both sides of the superior-subordinate relationship another instance of polarization, or splitting.

The organization's role is to avoid overdoing the elevation that comes with the territory (Kaplan, Drath, & Kofodimos, 1985). It is enough that the executive acquires status, power, prestige, wealth and the like without accentuating those political and socio-economic commodities to the point where they set him apart from the organization and, for that matter, himself. As one executive

recognized: "I worry about smugness. It's actually easy to get carried away. I have airplanes flying me places, cars picking me up."

The executive's part, while fulfilling his expansive destiny, it to remain in touch with himself—with not just what he wants for himself but who he actually is, not just the problems he solves but the ones he creates, not just by attending to his outer managerial practice but consulting the inner life that helps to produce it. How to keep one's mirroring needs in check (Kohut, 1977)—the sometimes insatiable appetite to have images of efficacy and high esteem reflected back to oneself?

Wanting to feel important is not the issue; it is how one comes by the feeling of importance—whether honestly and constructively—that matters. The core challenge of self-management for expansive executives is controlling their need for esteem, the desire to emerge triumphantly as the hero. The challenge is especially tough for executives, who have in fact achieved a position of importance in the world, and who if hampered by doubts about themselves early in their careers may therefore try now to quell those doubts utterly. One top executive told us, "Ego management is critical to me. It is critical that I not get overwhelmed by my own importance. The position and all the power are seductive. The system can easily do it to me." Another executive, who grew up with a sense of inferiority and retained a muted version of that sense, said that he deliberately referred to it in his inner dialogues as a check on arrogance. Echoing Becker (1973), the prime self-analytic task of an executive is to understand how he comes by his self-esteem, his feeling of heroism.

Implications for Development

If, as our intensive research suggests, most executives can be understood as having an expansive character, then I think it is possible to take an important step forward in executive development. Typically, when an executive has performance problems, the response of people around him or her is to help by providing feedback, in a performance appraisal or training program or candid conversation. If the individual accepts the feedback—and this is not

automatic, since expansives characteristically resist criticism that calls their mastery into question—he or she then tries to change the behavior. This straightforward, practical, and eminently reasonable approach often works, and its efficiency and businesslike quality recommend it highly. Often, however, it doesn't work, and the persistence of serious performance problems among executives is a major concern in organizational life today. I would argue that in these cases behavioral change is by itself not enough: The character of the executive needs to change in some way.

I should quickly add that by "change" I do not mean that the executive needs to remake his or her basic character. I mean, rather, that the basic elements must be rebalanced in what I term a *character shift*. The extremely expansive executive is lopsided—seriously overweighted on the side of seeking mastery. Wanting too much to do good and look good, this executive undercuts the very thing he or she is after. A character shift redresses this imbalance somewhat. In better balance, the executive eliminates the gross excesses, the counterproductive extremes, while remaining amply motivated to excel.

Such a shift is in fact neither a rare nor remarkable experience. It happens from time to time throughout adult life. It can happen on its own or through participation in a development program. How it can be accomplished by executives in the context of their work life is the subject of another of my reports (Kaplan, 1990) and of a forthcoming book (Kaplan, with Drath and Kofodimos, in press).

As a final word, a comment about future research: There is much more that can be learned from holistic, historical, psychodynamic studies of leadership. First, there is the fundamental question of the isomorphism between the leader's inner process and the process by which he leads—between what he aspires to for himself and what he aspires to for the organization, between the way he pushes himself and the way he exercises power over others, between the way he would prefer to see himself and the way he prefers others to see him, between the extent of his tendency to split himself sharply into "good" and "bad" parts and reject the bad and the extent of his tendency to favor some subordinates and write off others. Second, there is much left to understand about how

expansive executives can move to higher levels of adaptation, especially those individuals on the distinctly negative side of the ledger. A third question is: How do organizations cope with the mixed blessing that expansive executives can be, and how can organizations improve their coping ability? Fourth, if the expansive mode that predominates at high levels of U.S. institutions represents the stereotypical male principle, then what place has the relational personality, representing the stereotypical female principle? Last among the many issues that might be addressed by future research in this vein: How common is expansiveness in the executive populations of other countries and how much of it is an idiosyncratic expression of U.S. individualism?

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Appendix I: Research Method

During the past five years my colleagues and I have intensively studied eighty-nine senior managers from U.S.-based Fortune 500 companies. In doing this, we have devised a method that we call *biographical action research*. It is action research because it combines studying individual executives with assisting them in their professional development. It is biographical because, although the executive in his or her present work situation is the focal point of our study, we also collect data on the individual's early history and present life away from work. Thus, the scope of the research to some extent encompasses the executive's entire life—although our concern with the private life of participants is strictly limited, both by the amount of detail (we seek only salient points) and by ethical considerations (we are not providing therapy).

Thus far I have personally worked with thirty-nine executives. Twenty-seven participated in the full-scale version of the research. The remaining twelve took part in a slimmed-down version created to accommodate groups of executives. Two-thirds of the thirty-nine were in positions ranging from general manager, or an equivalent level in a staff role, to chairman, CEO, president, group vice-president, and the like. One-third held positions one level below general manager; they were department heads in charge of a research function, a company-wide quality-improvement effort, or the like. In addition, fifty other executives have been studied, in the full-scale or scaled-down mode, by my colleagues at the Center.

Because of the regrettable scarcity of women and other minorities at senior levels, all but one of the executives studied thus far were white, and all but three were male. They ranged in age from late thirties to mid-sixties, with a heavy concentration in the mid-forties to mid-fifties. The several companies participating were nearly all based in the United States, and most of the executives were born and raised here. There were a few, however, from the European community. The large majority in the sample were secure in their present jobs and likely to advance even further.

Underlying our work has been two assumptions: first, that executive leadership is importantly shaped by character, and, second, that character is a function of an individual's early history, including genetic heritage, socioeconomic factors, and relationships

with significant people, especially parents. Consequently, in contrast to traditional management research methods, which focus on behavior and surface personality traits, our method was designed to illuminate psychodynamic issues in executive character and leadership.

Data collection followed three principles: We studied each executive from multiple perspectives, in multiple settings, with multiple methods. In addition to interviewing the executives themselves and having them fill out a small battery of psychological tests, we interviewed coworkers (subordinates, peers, and superiors), family members (childhood and present), and friends. In many cases we also observed the executive on the job.

The action aspect of our work involved at least a day-long feedback session in which we went over the data, compiled in such a way as to give sources anonymity. In many cases we continued working with executives after this session, and the continued involvement lasted anywhere from several months to three years, with the average being about a year.

This personal and intervention-minded approach has been essential. To observe the executive's encounter with himself or herself, as represented in the feedback report, is very instructive. The openness or resistance to the data, for example; says much about one's adaptability. And our understanding is heightened because of the unusual access we have been given to the executive's work life, private life, and inner life.

This method of research generates a considerable amount of data, much of it qualitative, and finding order in it has been a tough job. First we generated hypotheses about each case: What are the links between the person's character and the leadership behavior? What are the links between the person's character and continuing development? Then we looked for patterns across cases. As our theory of executive character and development began to take shape (informed by our reading of relevant literature), we used it in the analysis of individual cases. Thus we developed a "grounded theory"—a theory that grew from the data—by continually going back and forth between ordering data and constructing theory.

Finally, it should be mentioned that we strictly protect the identity of all participants and their companies. In our reports we use pseudonyms and are careful not to present information that would make it possible for readers to infer true identities.

Appendix II: Subtypes of the Expansive Executive

Despite any implication that the expansive executive is a single thing albeit with positive and negative manifestations, clearly identifiable subtypes do exist. Expansive executives come in various shapes and sizes, each with its particular driving force and corresponding leadership specialty. The following typology comes out of our research as well as a theory of personality known as the Enneagram (Beesing et al., 1984; Riso, 1987). An exhaustive treatment is not possible here, but suffice it to present a synopsis of four subtypes: the striver/builder, the vindicator/fix-it specialist, the perfectionist/systematizer, and the take-charge type/transformer. Please note that these subtypes are not usually found in pure form; actual executives typically are hybrids.

Striver/builder. This subtype is governed by a burning need to impress others—to be esteemed and admired. This kind of personality seems to originate with the favored-child status discussed in the section on origins: strivers are often the firstborn children of parents who expected a great deal of them. Having accepted the equation that self-worth depends on high performance, strivers spend their lives fulfilling this destiny.

At their worst, they care so desperately about winning that they become competitive to a fault—rivalrous with their peers, envious of other people's success, and unduly concerned with impressing their superiors. At their best, they rally their organization to excel collectively and they avoid overinvesting in upward relationships in favor of forming strong relationships with subordinates and peers. As executives, striver/builders channel their energies into building up their organizations into objects worthy of the high praise they seek for themselves.

Vindicator/fix-it specialist. This subtype has the zeal of the striver but with a different cast. In this case, the motivation is to vindicate oneself, to disprove a sense of inadequacy foisted by parents or circumstances on the individual as a child.

At their worst, their campaign to vindicate themselves turns them into tough, unrelenting taskmasters who are long on making demands and short on offering support as people work to meet

those demands. They have an acute sensitivity to what is wrong in others and in themselves, and virtually no sensitivity to the need of people, including themselves, for encouragement and appreciation. At their best, they gain self-acceptance, which allows them to temper their tough demanding natures with a measure of supportiveness. They acquire a better appreciation of what is valuable about the organization and the people in it and tone down the compulsion to focus only on deficiencies. As executives, this subtype is a classic turnaround specialist who takes naturally to the role of rooting out inadequacy in an organization.

Perfectionist/systematizer. This subtype is driven by a need to be right and lives in fear of being condemned for failing to live up to their own principles. As children perfectionists came from parents who regularly found fault with them, who subjugate themselves to a series of "shoulds."

At their worst, perfectionist managers are fault-finders who overcontrol subordinates in an attempt to "get it right" on their terms. At home, they can be oppressive or tyrannical over trivial things, which to them are matters of principle. At their best, they offer a welcome attention to detail and put their heightened sense of order to constructive ends. They focus their principled natures on things that matter. In general, this subtype specializes in systematizing an organization or running a tight ship.

Take-charge type/transformer. This subtype is driven by a need to be powerful. Dominant individuals at work and at home, they readily use aggression in pursuit of their interests. As children they may have learned that it was OK to be demanding and throw one's weight around, or, on the contrary, they may have had a like-type parent who served as a model in this respect and made it necessary to adopt this mode, if one was to survive.

At their worst, they aggressively pursue their narrow self-interests and turn the people around them into loyal followers or resentful antagonists. At their best, they get beyond self-interest and channel their personal power and considerable energies in the service of collective goals. As executives, they frequently become entrepreneurs or "transformational leaders," making change on a large scale.

These four subtypes are classic expansive executives and presumably illustrate well the point that this population is not

homogeneous. In the spirit of recognizing diversity, let us point out that "executive" is not synonymous with "expansive." Two other major types of character are found in the executive ranks. One is the "relational" type, who is as concerned with integrating himself with others as expansives are with self-differentiation. Relational managers are accommodating, self-sacrificing, devoted to other people, other-directed—for example, the altruistic service-oriented manager.

Altruist / service-oriented manager. This subtype is consumed by a need to be needed. To get that response from other people, they become energetic "helpers." As children, they were expected to be self-sacrificing and devote themselves to meeting the needs of others. Anger—a way of asserting one's needs directly—was not permitted.

At their worst, they martyr themselves. While ostensibly putting themselves in the service of others, they unconsciously resent these others and attempt to induce guilt in those others. They may also make the mistake of adopting too many worthy causes and wearing themselves out in the process. At their best, they exhibit a balanced altruism, based on an ability to accept their anger when it occurs and use it as a basis of asserting their own needs, even as they work tirelessly to serve others. As managers, they may run a staff support function or bring a marked customer-service orientation to a line job and do good works on a large scale.

We have encountered a handful of relational executives in our research. In the case of one it was axiomatic that practically whatever the customer wanted, the customer got, even though the organization had to grow too fast to keep up with the demand. He had been raised under the strong influence of a church in which he remained active and now held a leadership position, which instilled in its members an extraordinary sense of duty. Another executive was such a devoted father to his four grown children, who lived locally and visited often, that they always came first and his own needs for rest and relaxation did not count. He had a strong internal prohibition against putting his own needs first. When, for example, an advertising agency invited him to present a trophy in his company's name at a prestigious golf tournament—and he was an avid golfer—he automatically did the selfless thing and handed off the invitation to a subordinate.

The expansive and relational types are joined by the withdrawn or disengaged type, who is oriented to keeping others at a distance and to keeping high expectations at bay. If, in Karen Horney's (1945) terms, the expansive's posture toward the world is "moving against" and the relational's is "moving toward," then the disengaged person's stance is "moving away," as is seen in the following type of manager.

Independent thinker / pioneer. This subtype is governed by a consuming desire to understand the world as a way of protecting oneself against it. The fear of these highly independent individuals is that outside forces will rob them of their independence. The nurturing they received as children typically was erratic, perhaps because of circumstances such as divorce or illness beyond their parents' control, but as a result these individuals grew up with a sense of the environment as unpredictable or threatening.

At their worst, they adopt a siege mentality and throw themselves into creative knowledge-based organizational "islands," which they guard vigilantly and protect staunchly against possible incursion from the outside. They are especially alert to powerful authorities, and their readiness to strike back may instigate the exact hostile response that they worry about. At their best, they allay their anxieties about the outside world, relax their hyper-vigilance and become highly knowledgeable and astute observers with an iconoclastic flair. As such, they make creative functional specialists. They may also excel as line managers in creating new and innovative organizations. The instinct to hunker down leads them to devote themselves completely to their undertaking and to fend off criticism or attacks from the outside.

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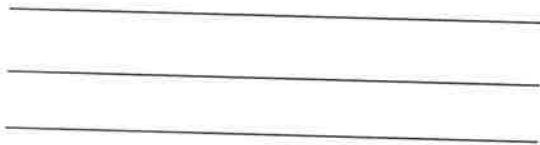
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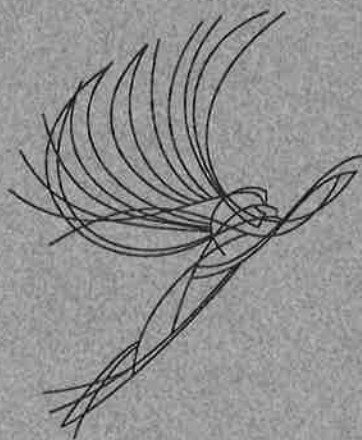
Our work should serve society. We expect our work to make a difference in the quality of leadership in the world. To that end, we try to discover what is most important to do, and focus our resources for the greatest, most enduring benefit. In doing this we continually remind ourselves of the inherent worth of all people. We consider it our responsibility to be attentive to the unique needs of leaders who are women or members of minorities. To make a difference in the world and to turn ideas into action, we must be pioneers in our field, contributors of knowledge, creators of solutions, explorers of ideas, and risk-takers in behalf of society.

Our mission and our clients deserve our best. We expect our service to our clients to be worthy, vigorous, resourceful, courteous, and reliable. In the pursuit of our mission, we intend to be a healthy, creative organization with the financial and inner resources needed to produce our best work. We require ourselves to abide by the highest professional standards and to look beyond the letter of professional guidelines to their spirit. This includes being forthright and candid with every client and program participant, scrupulously guarding the confidentiality of sensitive personal and organizational information, and truthfully representing our capabilities to prospective clients.

Our organization should be a good place to work. To demand the best of ourselves, and to attract, stimulate, and keep the best people, we believe we must make an environment that will support innovation, experimentation, and the taking of appropriate risks. As an organization we should prize the creative participation of each member of our staff. We should welcome the open exchange of ideas and foster the practice of careful listening. We have a duty to actively encourage the personal well-being and the professional development of every person who works here. We should, therefore, maximize the authority and responsibility each person has to continue to make an ever greater contribution. Our policies should be implemented sensitively and consistently.

We should do our work with regard for one another. We recognize the interdependence of everyone who works here, and we expect ourselves to treat one another with respect, candor, kindness, and a sense of the importance of teamwork. We should foster a spirit of service within the staff so that we may better serve the world at large.

The Center for Creative Leadership does not discriminate with respect to the admission of students on the basis of race, sex, color, national or ethnic origin, nor does it discriminate on any such basis with respect to its activities, programs, or policies.



CENTER FOR CREATIVE LEADERSHIP*

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