**Adolescent Leadership Development : Building a Case for an Authenticity
Framework**

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What is This?

Adolescent Leadership Development

Building a Case for an Authenticity Framework

Gordon Whitehead

A B S T R A C T

This article reviews the literature on adolescent leadership development and connects the concept of leadership authenticity as a way to influence anti-social adolescent behavior for pro-social outcomes. Because adolescent leaders develop from both pro-social and anti-social constructs, educators must recognize the unique power of both leadership funnels. Pro-social leaders are inclusive and build affiliation, while anti-social leaders are exclusive and rely on power. Leadership studies overly focus on adult-level leadership development. This article centers on the idea that leadership development is essential at the adolescent level, and opportunities for productive adolescent leadership development research, though difficult, do exist. In this article a functional definition for authentic leadership is developed along with a proposed research framework with researchable variables for studying leadership authenticity in adolescents. A case for using an authentic leadership paradigm for helping adolescents build their own leadership attitudes, skills, and experiences is advanced. Finally a review of the processes whereby adolescent leaders are selected, and the existing leadership development solutions existing in the American high school setting are discussed.

K E Y W O R D S *affiliation, antisocial, authenticity, authentic leadership, leadership, pro-social*

Introduction

The attempt to define leadership and generate models practical for modern use is an old practice dating back to at least the times of Plato (Goffee and Jones, 2000). Leadership is complex and tugs on emotional interactions between humans. Perhaps this is one reason for the broad study of leadership and the difficulty in agreeing to exactly what leadership is. Ciulla (2004a: xv) discusses leadership from an ethical perspective stating: 'Leadership is not a person or a position. It is a complex moral relationship between people, based on trust, obligation, commitment, emotion, and a shared vision of the good.' Ciulla's focus is clearly on individuals influencing other individuals in a humanist framework. From a completely different perspective, driven by an evaluation

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of organizational history in the business context, Mayo and Nohria (2005) discuss leadership in terms of an ability to produce organizational change. They look at the situational aspect of business leadership suggesting the most influential are those arising from conditions of opportunity. In either case, the quest for understanding leadership seems justifiable for the ideals of leadership have the capacity to shape society and move organizations for both great good (Bedell et al., 2006) and extreme evil (Kellerman, 2004). Commonly, leaders are thought to possess attributes that set them apart, such as social skills, marked intelligence, confidence, knowledge, and a tendency to ascend to power positions (Dobosz and Beaty, 1999). While leadership can be both a positive and a negative force, such as leaders who focus on benefiting society in contrast to self-absorbed leaders (Bedell et al., 2006), the increased chaos and ambiguity of the 21st century (Finley, 1998) combined with a rapidly growing 'interconnectedness and interdependence in all aspects of contemporary social life' (Halley, 2002: 1041), call for leadership in order to move organizations and societies forward in a positive direction (Goffee and Jones, 2000; Halley, 2002; Helland and Winston, 2005).

A great deal of research has been driven by a quest to find both the attributes of leadership and the delivery processes that provide effective outcomes (Hogan and Kaiser, 2005). Some authors suggest leadership is situational implying the possibility that anyone could potentially play a leadership role (Helland and Winston, 2005; House and Aditya, 1997). Leaders are found at all levels of society and are important figures who initiate vision, integrate values, facilitate change, as well as broker, distribute and share power (Helland and Winston, 2005). Unfortunately, many leadership studies are focused primarily on adult interpersonal and organizational leadership development and pay little attention to developing the right type of qualities of leadership needed by adolescents (Chan, 2000a; Schneider et al., 1999). Why is scholarly research on leadership development seemingly overly focused on adult leadership? Granted, adult leadership studies deal with individuals who represent maturity in their leadership philosophy (Dobosz and Beaty, 1999). Classic business examples can be found in Collins (2005) work 'Level 5 Leadership: The Triumph of Humility and Fierce Resolve'. Kellerman's (2004) work *Bad Leadership: What it Is, How it Happens* provides insight into political as well as top business leadership issues. In the educational sector there are multiple examples of leadership studies evaluating leadership impact on educational entities (Leithwood and Jantzi, 1999a, 1999b, 2006; Leithwood and Menzies, 1998; Leithwood et al., 2002). However, these examples, while profoundly insightful, nevertheless retain an adult orientation. In this article a case for studying leadership from the eyes of the adolescent is developed. A focus of research on the leadership philosophies held by adolescents adds considerable value to the overall field of leadership studies, while at the same time providing practical tools for those involved in developing adolescent leaders (Chan, 2000a; Schneider et al., 1999).

Organization of the Article

This article focuses on the idea that leadership development is essential at the adolescent level while identifying opportunities for productive adolescent leadership development research. To achieve this objective four key topics are evaluated:

- Leadership authenticity defined
- A case for authentic leadership in the adolescent development pedagogy
- The emergence of adolescent leaders
- Integrated leadership programs for secondary schools.

The first section discusses why authentic leadership is the most effective form of leadership. In doing so, the theories of authenticity are synthesized to provide a definition of authentic leadership. Once defined, authenticity is evaluated through four components of authenticity of hypothesized factors: (1) the self core; (2) the empathetic core; (3) the trust-building core; and (4) the community core. In the second section a case for authenticity as the theory best suited for developing adolescent leaders is examined. While other forms of leadership are briefly discussed, the focus remains on the ethical foundations of authentic leadership. An argument suggesting ethical principles are most concretely manifested in principles of authenticity is developed concluding such a model best serves a community and provides a noble ideal for raising adolescent leaders. In the third section the emergence of adolescent leaders is examined, recognizing the importance of how an adolescent surfaces into a leadership role. In this context, the role of gender and ethnicity and implications to leadership development strategies, particularly in youth studies is also discussed. Finally, in the fourth section a discussion for more tightly integrating leadership training in the secondary school curricula is framed. In doing so, roadblocks, such as adult attitudes and priorities that work against leadership development of the adolescent, are surfaced.

Leadership Authenticity Defined

Authentic Leadership is Effective Leadership

According to Rost (as cited in Ciulla, 2004b) there are over 200 definitions of leadership. For purposes of this article, I rely on the definition of leadership proposed by Dobosz and Beaty (1999) who identify leadership as the capacity to guide others in achievement of a common goal. This definition is in line with other scholarly observations that leadership is a relationship between leader and follower (Ciulla, 2004b; Kellerman, 2004). In his treatise on the *Functions of the Executive* Barnard (1938) theorized leaders are given power to lead because followers grant it to them. Interestingly, the studies confirm leaders

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have influence only because they are given such power by both their peers and followers (Carmeli and Schaubroeck, 2007; Carter et al., 2003; Paunonen et al., 2006). While not necessarily intuitive, leadership can have both positive and negative results (Ciulla, 2004b; Collins, 2005; Conger, 1990; Drucker, 2001; Kellerman, 2004).

The studies show good leaders are those who produce outcomes which are healthy for society, have a high degree of self-esteem and psychological health, are interested in others, demonstrate loyalty, and have good listening skills (Bedell et al., 2006; Carter et al., 2003; Collins, 2005; Jensen and Luthans, 2006; Paunonen et al., 2006). Some leaders are capable of nefarious outcomes and exploitive methods designed for self-serving benefactions (Jensen and Luthans, 2006; Kellerman, 2004; Paunonen et al., 2006). The connection between good leadership and positive social outcome is clear; it is therefore imperative to consider a vital aspect of becoming a good leader is a connection to social values (Cooper et al., 1994). Society's interest in leadership development serves a valuable purpose. Substantial research has been done to evaluate the effectiveness of leadership development, which suggests there is potential to shape good leaders (Dobosz and Beaty, 1999; Helland and Winston, 2005; Paunonen et al., 2006). However, the literature is unclear on whether it is possible to identify bad leadership traits in individuals and correct those traits vis-a-vis leadership development programs, thus revealing a potential opportunity for additional research.

Theorists have identified a type of leadership known as authentic, which has important implications for those involved in leadership development (Avolio and Bass, 1999; Brumbaugh, 1971; Dobosz and Beaty, 1999). Authentic leadership is distinguishable by positive social outcome (Avolio and Gardner, 2005). While other leadership forms, such as transformational, transactional, personalized, charismatic and narcissistic (Avolio and Bass; Bedell et al., 2006; Paunonen et al., 2006), are susceptible to producing a dark-side (Bedell et al., 2006; Conger, 1990), a prima facie value of authentic leadership is the lack of negative reverberations. For example, Bhindi and Duignan (1997: 119) state authenticity in leadership 'can help restore human, ethical and spiritual dimensions to organizational relationships and make organizations better places in which to work, not only in terms of productivity but also in terms of the quality of life of constituents'. In their view, authentic leadership facilitates mutually enhanced sensitivity and understanding between leader and follower. In this article, a definition of an authentic leader is adopted as one who: (1) is self-aware, humble, always seeking improvement, aware of those being led and looks out for the welfare of others; (2) fosters high degrees of trust by building an ethical and moral framework; and (3) is committed to organizational success within the construct of social values.

Components of Authentic Leadership

Authenticity is multi-faceted and is concerned with more than individual self-satisfactions. Authenticity is also more than operating in synchronization with one's own interests or with the core of one's own beliefs. To be so singularly focused would leave one overly self-absorbed. Taylor (1991) addressed this issue discussing the need for a 'moral ideal', which is antithetical to the high degree of egoism engendered by the exposé of self-focused modernity. Taylor presented a moral ideal that is an outwardly focused authenticity with a social obligation. He was clear that overly focused self-fulfilment is not authenticity, but rather a high degree of egoism. Likewise, Ferrara (1998) suggested authenticity cannot exist in an autonomous perspective. Both authors were able to link the dangers of self-absorption to the exculpatory inducements of modernity. They expose the danger of rationalizing away one's social responsibility in the name of authenticity, which leaves only half of a golden rule: do unto self. Thus, they establish a clear case for a definition of authentic leadership that concentrates at least as much on the external factors of one's influence as it does on the internal factors of being true to oneself.

Leadership Authenticity—Identifying Researchable Attributes

Bhindi and Duignan (1997) argue there are four categories that comprise authenticity in organizations: (1) authenticity in leadership; (2) intentionality; (3) spirituality; and (4) sensibility. Woods (2007) proposes three categories of authenticity, which are: (1) personal—being true to oneself; (2) ideal—concepts that transcend the individual into other than self-serving and self-absorbed; and (3) social—the external organizations and groupings that contribute to self, as well as the organization and groupings in which one contributes. Woods identifies the possibility of either expansion or constriction of these categorizations by recognizing the lack of mutual exclusivity. Such is problematic for researchers seeking to understand the contribution of variation of independent variables relative to a dependent variable (Swanson and Holton, 2005). Clearly identifying and categorizing variables of authentic leadership is essential to promulgating effective quantitative research. Therefore, attributes of authentic leadership that can be synthesized into four mutually exclusive categories containing discrete variables of: (1) self core; (2) empathetic core; (3) trust-building core; and (4) community core.

Self Core

Authentic leaders know themselves well, are self-confident, but not overly egoistic, seek self improvement, know their strengths and weaknesses, place their professional role secondary to their role as an individual, and are true to their own inner nature (Brumbaugh, 1971; Goffee and Jones, 2000; Jensen and Luthans, 2006). Along this vein, authentic leaders are positive leaders because

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they have hope, exhibit cogent psychological capital, and foster resilience in self and others (Avolio and Bass, 1999; Harland et al., 2005; Jensen and Luthans, 2006). Plenary self-understanding is a vital key to authentic expression and space is needed to achieve the introjection required. Woods (2007) identifies the need for a personal inner distance, a space to self-evaluate and gain reprieve from conformity pressed down upon individuals by modern enterprise cultures. Development of self is given priority by Starratt (2007) who empha-sizes the importance of an inner resolve, which if violated works to the destruc-tion of one's own destiny and is counter to accessing the truth of oneself. Clearly, authentic leaders are both in tune with self and true to self (Bhindi and Duignan, 1997). Without commitment to the self core, authenticity is not likely to exist. Understanding self is a fundamental element of the self core. Long term, effective, and consistent leadership results from a personal conviction that what a leader does is for the good of the organization, and is rationalized with what the leader personally believes to be right (Barnard, 1938). Without knowing and understanding the inner-workings of one's own heart, there is little potential for consistently influencing either individuals or organizations for good. However, overly focusing on self in the name of authenticity is a 'travesty' and leads to a 'flat life' (Taylor, 1991: 22). An exploration therefore of the external components of authenticity, which builds authenticity through servant leadership (Bhindi and Duignan, 1997; Greenleaf, 1982), must be undertaken.

Empathetic Core

Authentic leaders expand the horizons of others; they are concerned with devel-oping followers in ways allowing followers to achieve their own leadership goals (Goffee and Jones, 2000; Helland and Winston, 2005; Jensen and Luthans, 2006). Furthermore, authentic leaders close the gap between the social differ-ences of high ranking leaders and low ranking followers by removing barriers to privileged understanding and caste-driven opportunity (Goffee and Jones, 2000). Developing others is an important value to the authentic leader. Authen-tic leaders connect people to the greater social order by bestowing leadership benefactions onto other individuals who are also attempting to develop and grow their talents (Woods, 2007). Such a notion is captured by Starratt (2007: 170) who said: 'the humanity of free persons is to be realized more fully by using their freedom for something larger than themselves'. Ilies et al. (2005: 375) suggest the self-actualizing authentic leader has a positive effect on follow-ers' eudaemonic sufficiency. They cite Csikszentmihalyi's concept of flow and Aristotle's concept of eudemonia and conclude authentic behaviour stimulates 'eudaemonic well-being' for both leader and follower because authentic leaders and their followers engage in activities that bring happiness, express excellence of character, and contribute to an existence as 'one's true self'. The literature suggests leaders and followers can become authentic by association with other leaders who are authentic (Gardner et al., 2005).

Trust-building Core

Authentic leaders build trust with followers (Bhindi and Duignan, 1997). A simple version of trust, as described by Knowles (1986), is a calculated reliability based on consistency of behaviour; however, consistency alone to illicit trust is insufficient. Knowles describes a trust that is conjured from reliability, predictability, and consistency to be of an immature form and concludes, though this form is useful, it nonetheless has inauthentic properties. In contrast, a sharpened articulation of trust is engendered by authentic leaders. When followers feel vulnerability, risk, and inability to predict a leader's response, yet they nevertheless express trust, authentic principles are adduced. Knowles redefines this type of highly mature trust as hope. Authentic leaders build hope in followers (Jensen and Luthans, 2006); such hope connects leader to follower vis-a-vis bounded alternations of faith, hope, commitment, and mutual appreciation.

The literature indicates authentic leaders build trust by fostering ethical and moral behaviour (Barnard, 1938; Novicevic et al., 2006), and recognizing the dangers of inauthentic behaviour such as mismatched actions and statements (Goffee and Jones, 2000; Helland and Winston, 2005). Goffee and Jones state authenticity is a perception. Therefore, managing perception is important to leaders. Top leaders need to be aware of how they are perceived within their community, and in the public in general. Modernity fuels diminution of trust among business managers and leaders (Hurley, 2006). Perhaps the absence of trust comes from an over emphasis of transactional leadership in business, sport and community with an especial over-emphasis on outcome versus process (Boerner et al., 2007; Spreier et al., 2006). Drucker (2001) argues for an organization that is focused on long-term benefactions of the community it serves. Short-term outlooks can destabilize trust. Often, top leaders present a tough 'take me as I am' approach believing their role to be a results orientation versus concern for what others may think. Developing trust through building one's perceived authenticity does not require overt marketing or public self-promotion, nor does it require an arrogant consistency of rigidity; rather, the little things leaders do to integrate followers into the power of the organization results in trust and authenticity (Bossidy, 2001).

Community Core

Authentic leaders have a deep sense of community and organizational values. They are highly participatory in community events, they recognize and value the history and purpose of the organization, they create social structures that are responsive to human needs, and they are committed to community and organizational success (Brumbaugh, 1971; Goffee and Jones, 2000; Helland and Winston, 2005). Avolio and Locke (2004) point out it is possible for a leader's self-interests to be in line with the interests of the community, thus producing opportunistic circumstances. Locke's view that a leader should be

self-interested, and Avolio's view that a leader's self-interest could or should be aligned with community needs, parallels Palmer's (2000) experience. When an individual pursues his or her leadership talent in a way that meets the needs of the community, there is a deep satisfaction realized by both leader and community. Palmer (2000: 36) says: 'Every journey, honestly undertaken, stands a chance of taking us toward the place where our deep gladness meets the world's deep need.' Therefore, there should be tremendous motivation to recognize when a leader's self-interests are aligned with the needs of the community.

Woods (2007) argues for a social abstraction of authentic leadership that links one's personal current social concept of what it means to be a leader in a community to a broader understanding of a community's history. Extending one's vision of the leader's role into the historical contextual factors enables tighter linkage between current social agendas and the historical momentum of the organization; thus producing an integrated form of authenticity that merges consideration for social, personal and community variables. Consideration for the social and communal context in which one leads is essential to the development and assessment of a leader (Avolio and Gardner, 2005). Perhaps the reason for a required linkage between a leader and the community's historical context is the need for an ability to resolve organizational and personal conflict when tensions arise (Duignan and Bhindi, 1997). When a leader is aligned with organizational goals, his or her actions are at the truest level of authentic behaviour (Novicevic et al., 2006). Another reason for strengthening the linkage between individual leadership agendas and community historical context is the power the leader has in shaping organizational agendas (Boerner et al., 2007; Goffee and Jones, 2000; Spreier et al., 2006).

A Case for Authentic Leadership in the Adolescent Development Pedagogy

Without question, the impact of leadership development on affiliation and the academic experience is significant for achieving optimal student performance. In a study by Cooper et al. (1994), the changes in student-leaders over the life cycle of the college experience was examined. The longitudinal study followed 256 respondents through four years of college and found significant developmental differences between leaders and non-leaders. Involvement in student organizations in leadership roles correlated to enhanced academic experiences. Such studies indicate leadership development is important to the academic experience and enhances the cause for conscious selection of a leadership theory integrated into curricula.

Modern leadership theorists have examined transformational, transactional, and charismatic forms of leadership and concluded leaders who understand how to blend the various models provide the best outcomes for their

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constituents (Avolio and Bass, 1999; Avolio and Gardner, 2005; Avolio et al., 2004; Bedell et al., 2006; Gardner et al., 2005; Jensen and Luthans, 2006; Weichun et al., 2004). Specifically, Avolio and Bass (1999) examined the components of transactional and transformational models using a multifactor leadership analysis and determined transformational leadership models develop trust, stimulate intellectual forces, have higher impact on motivation, and provide inspirational and charismatic mechanisms that result in cohesion, trust, commitment, and higher quality organizational results. Leithwood and Jantzi (2006) identified transformational leadership as a model well-suited for leaders of schools facing significant challenges or dramatic change. Theories suggest blending models allows leaders to access the best of factors that include: Charisma, intellectual stimulation, individual consideration, contingent reward and management-by-exception methodologies (Avolio and Bass, 1999). Johnson (2005: 158) provides high praise for transformational leadership ascribing to it terminal values of 'liberty, equality, and justice'. At the same time, he suggests a weakness to transformational leadership that lies in its goal orientation at the cost of other values. Johnson (2005) points out this flaw in transformational leaders who sometimes undervalue stakeholder and follower interests in the name of the greater good. In this vein, transformational leadership is similar to charismatic leadership. Takala (2005) clarifies the danger of charismatic leadership as pulling too tightly on the emotional and often irrational allegiance of followers. Charismatic leadership no-doubt is a powerful force in leading followers to action. However, the down-side of charismatic leadership is the over reliance on the goodness of leaders or the goodness of followers. The obvious problem is simply not all leaders or followers are inherently good (Kellerman, 2004). This leads to an important recognition as to why authentic leadership is desirable—it is a trustable source of leadership that seeks to integrate others and distribute opportunity.

The interpretation of the word leader, as Kellerman (2004: 12) put it, is to use 'power, authority, and influence to get others to go along'. Many authors understate this critical angle of leadership. To some, leadership is only a positive force, one that can save organizations. For example Bhindi and Duignan (1997) allude to the calming force of leadership as a saviour for modern organizational disruptions. They imply leadership is the answer to mismanagement and the consequential cynicism organizational heads face. The notion that leadership for leadership's sake can save or restore confidence is misplaced faith. As Starratt (2007) expressed, leadership must have a specific purpose. Furthermore history is replete with examples of leaders who made organizations worse. Perhaps Barnard (1938: 283) said it best:

> Leadership does not annul the laws of nature, nor is it a substitute for the elements essential to cooperative effort; but it is the indispensable social essence that gives common meaning to common purpose, that creates the incentive that makes other incentives effective, that infuses the subjective aspect of countless decisions with consistency in a changing environment, that inspires the personal

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conviction that produces the vital cohesiveness without which cooperation is impossible.

If authentic leadership produces positive outcomes, it is reasonable to assert authentic leadership should be the fundamental development concept in helping young people in the early stages of their leadership growth continuum. A critical argument for this is supported in the fabric of authenticity, which has ethical material at the core. Barnard (1938) stated leadership is a moral action, and circumstances ultimately arise creating conflict between personal and organizational interests. Retaining objectivity is difficult to sustain over the long run. Leaders who are able to establish a long-term pattern of making the morally right decision on behalf of an organization are those with a deep personal conviction (Barnard, 1938; Novicevic et al., 2005, 2006; Prilleltensky, 2000). Thus, a lifetime of leadership produces constant and gradually escalating levels of conflict and complexity (Barnard, 1938). Novicevic et al. (2005: 1402) add to this discussion by providing a graduated view of leadership: 'The higher the leader is in the organization, the higher the complexity of moral issues engendered by the interaction between diverse responsibilities and associated loyalties'. The level of moral tension grows increasingly complex as one ascends in leadership roles. Such tension creates pressure and temptation.

The Emergence of Adolescent Leaders

There is a growing body of literature addressing leadership development (Hernez-Broome and Hughes, 2004). Leadership development requires a multifaceted approach, which includes techniques that range from formal academic processes to experiential development, or what is described as 'leadership development within the context of work' (Mawson, 2001). Effron et al. (2005) surfaced a connection between preparing the next generation business leader and improved financial success. They also found top companies who develop future leaders from within tend to have: (1) high involvement from top leadership; (2) a focus on individuals with high potential; and (3) development practices based on organizational needs. It is apparent from the literature that adult-focused or organizational-focused leadership development has a propensity for developing individuals who demonstrate existing leadership potential (Schneider et al., 1999). In this regard, researchers may be missing opportunities to understand how non-recognized leaders, such as individuals who fall low on a charismatic scale (House and Aditya, 1997), could increase organizational value if provided development opportunities. In this section Ithree key issues of adolescent leadership are explored. First, factors related to gender and ethnicity are crucial to understand because leadership development has long been biased by Caucasian male views with a heavy flavour of militarism and athleticism as the singular core of the leadership ideal. In this old model, a segment of potential leaders are underserved (i.e. those not demonstrating traditional leadership indicators). However, a new model must embrace not

only the currently underserved contingent but also the currently served segment, or it will likewise remain inadequate. Second, how leaders emerge is discussed along with the nature of social-lock, which creates a glass-ceiling in the adolescent world. Third, the adolescents' view of leadership is examined, which without understanding their frame of mind, producing valuable and viable research material is impossible. Developing authenticity in the adolescent requires educational processes that engage the student's inner-world (Starratt, 2007).

Gender and Ethnicity—Does it Play a Role in Leadership Development?

Interesting challenges surface resulting from old notions of leadership and the nature of leadership development, particularly as it relates to gender. Techniques used in involvement-based activities, such as government, club leadership, and classroom leadership emphasize cooperative learning techniques, which are documented as the preferred learning styles of female students (Mullen and Tuten, 2004). For example, the empirical evidence in a study by Mullen and Tuten identified a 15% decline in male participation in student government (a cooperative event) over a three-year period. At the same time, competitive situations are instinctively thought of as opportunities for males (Mullen and Tuten, 2004; Winter et al., 2001). To be sure, integrated leadership development programs must include both competitive and cooperative stimuli while seeking gender and racial inclusion. At a minimum, administrators and faculty should be aware of the conflicting preferences accompanying gender and ethnic differences.

Studies on adolescent differences between gender and ethnic leadership effectiveness are limited. However, research on leadership development among the university student–leader population can be used to forecast research results among adolescents. The locus of such ranges from evaluation of leadership development differences between racial and gender subgroups (Kezar and Moriarty, 2000; Posner and Brodsky, 1994; Winter et al., 2001) to leadership practices of effective student leaders (Cooper et al., 1994). However, it is important to recognize the data are not conclusive. For example, Posner and Brodsky (1994) evaluated the impact of gender on student leader effectiveness. They researched leadership involvement across 239 fraternities and 389 sororities in the USA. The study determined gender did not play a significant role in leadership effectiveness. Cassel and Standifer (2000) also found gender was not a significant factor in leadership development through their study on American Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) students. Conversely, Winter et al. in a study of college business communication students asserted that gender did play a role in group leadership emergence. They found females to be more likely than males to assume mixed group leadership roles. This is not surprising because, as Mullen and Tuten (2004) concluded, females are more closely aligned with group and social leadership activities while males gravitate

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towards sport leadership roles. Moreover, gender as well as ethnicity, according to Kezar and Moriarty, play a role in leadership development. In a study of 9731 students from over 352 institutions, they found the overwhelming source of formal leadership development favoured traditional Caucasian male leadership archetypes, such as elected office and intramural or intercollegiate sports. Whereas female and African American students had a more constrained set of formal leadership development opportunities, generally revolving around volunteerism and social leadership functions. It is important to note only 6% of their respondents were African American, suggesting the need for further research with a more representative balance to substantiate such findings. These studies raise a red flag for authenticity researchers simply because there are apparent and important differences in approaches to leadership development based on gender or ethnicity. If researchers accept the notion that males, for example, are more inclined to competitive landscapes while females are inclined to cooperative landscapes, the ideals of authenticity will be lost on biased leadership development constructs. Educators must be aware of this pitfall and work to strengthen contextual leadership opportunities weaving in the authentic factors of self, empathy, trust and community into all scenarios. Educators must also seek balance in developing opportunities that combat old notions and stereotypes. Overly focusing on cooperative programs at the expense of competitive programs ignores naturally surfacing opportunities for developing leaders.

Taken together, the literature suggests there are differences in effective leadership development strategies and associated outcomes. These differences are not only due to gender and ethnicity, but also encompass personal behaviour patterns of student participation and involvement in extra activities. While commonalities among the various leadership development constructs exist, effective leadership development is likely to depend on the environment, culture, and student (Gunter et al., 2003; Helland and Winston, 2005; House and Aditya, 1997). Furthermore, not unlike leadership selection patterns in business (Schneider et al., 1999), leadership development research overly focuses on individuals who exhibit publicly recognizable leadership behaviors. This fact is detrimental to emerging leaders who follow non-traditional development paths, or exhibit non-traditional leadership characteristics.

Natural Leaders—How They Emerge

The question of who emerges into leadership is an important topic, particularly when dealing with the notion of high school, or adolescent leadership development. In order to understand leadership emergence during adolescence and pre-adolescence, it is useful to determine how natural selection occurs among peer groups because leaders only lead with consent of followers (Carmeli and Schaubroeck, 2007; Carter et al., 2003; Nance and Koerwer, 2004; Paunonen et al., 2006; Shafritz et al., 2005). Therefore, it can be reasoned that naturally

selected leaders are those who have been recognized as such by their peers (Kezar and Moriarty, 2000). Winter et al. (2001) observed task-oriented leaders naturally surface. While this is more than likely an important element of natural leadership in the outcome-driven business and collegiate environments, it does little to explain how leaders rise in the highly social adolescent world. Freeman (1994) observed that adolescent peer leadership may be a function of financial or inherited social affiliation, but that explanation also does not go far enough considering the ascendancy of leaders who do not have advantaged backgrounds.

One might conclude adolescent-based peer leadership selection is heterogeneous. However, evidence indicates there remains a common definable substructure where naturally selected leaders spawn from one of two prototypes known as: (1) pro-social; and (2) anti-social. This suggests leadership emergence among adolescent and pre-adolescent students presents a dichotomy that may not be intuitive to educators or leadership developers. For example, in a study of 948 pre-adolescent children from Chicago's inner-city and North Carolina's rural communities leaders emerged from one of two camps (Rodkin and Farmer, 2000). First, students who wore cool clothes, were athletic, excelled in academics, were socially adept and considerate to others and exhibited positive social behaviours were publicly identifiable as leaders. This group comprises the pro-social segment of adolescent leaders. Second, students who were disruptive, exhibited physical power, were athletic, wore cool clothes, were tough and exhibited moderate to low academic competence were also identified as leaders. This second group embodies the anti-social segment. These findings were substantiated in a study by Miller-Johnson et al. (2003), where the two emerging leadership patterns were: (1) students who exhibited conventional values; and (2) students who were disruptive, aggressive and demonstrated poor academic performance (Luthar & McMahon, 1996 cited by Miller-Johnson et al., 2003). This longitudinal study of 647 seventh grade students in the rural South-eastern USA, uncovered an important concept; anti-social behaviour represents independence and autonomy to many adolescent followers. Furthermore, unconventional leaders have powerful pull on their peer group. Conventional pro-social peer leaders, as identified and sanctioned by teachers, were found to have lower influence (Miller-Johnson et al., 2003). Interestingly, both studies confirmed the anti-social leader wielded more influence, power, and was more easily recognizable than the pro-social leader (Miller-Johnson et al., 2003; Rodkin and Farmer, 2000).

In light of this information, several concerns surfaced. First, do leadership recognition methods overly accommodate anti-social funnels? Second, are leaders with high potential being overlooked because they do not exhibit public leadership attributes? Third, is there an opportunity to pull anti-social leaders into pro-social behaviors by using authenticity principles? These questions have important implications for student-led activities. One such example is peer mediation. Peer-led mediation is popular in current high school discipline

techniques and behavioural management philosophies (Bell et al., 2000; Johnson and Johnson, 1995; Stevahn et al., 2002). The value of peer-led mediation is the ability of students to influence other students to change negative social behavior. However, the studies show certain methods, such as the faculty-driven cadre approach, is not particularly effective (Johnson and Johnson, 1995). One potential explanation may be the lack of anti-social leader participation. It stands to reason anti-social leaders would have greater impact on anti-social followers; yet, it is equally reasonable to recognize a teacher or administrator's natural inclination to only select pro-social leaders as peer mediators. This is an area for further research, and could be important in discovering the transformation potential of moving anti-social leaders into a pro-social construct by measuring the anti-social leader's potentiality for authenticity. Using anti-social leaders in change-agent roles, such as peer mediators, may be a first step towards this goal.

Leadership—An Adult Idea

Mistakenly, much of the literature focuses on adolescent peer leadership from an adult perspective. This point is made by Carter et al. (2003), who found some adolescents reject the concept of peer-based leadership, calling it an adult ideal and not necessary to their social order. The respondents in the study agreed peer influences played a role in decision making. However, respondents also indicated an individual is likely to have multiple peer groups providing a smorgasbord of peer influence. The students in this study placed high value on independent thinking and suggested multiple peer groups from various social segments facilitated the advancement of ideas. When pinned down to define the characteristics of an adult-equivalent view of a peer leader, respondents formed a list that included: sharing interests and activities, sense of humor, loyal, trustworthy, good listener, academically sound and kind. Conspicuously, this list agrees with the pro-social leader attributes described by Rodkin and Farmer (2000), and Miller-Johnson et al. (2003). More importantly, the study represents evidence that there may be some societies where anti-social adolescent leadership emergence is neither tolerated nor accepted by adolescent peers. The latter notion presents an important area of future research on the potentiality of authentic leadership in pro-social and anti-social constructs. Two additional questions therefore surface. First, can authentic leaders develop in the anti-social paradigm? Second, can methodologies that develop authentic leaders play a role in releasing social status lock? Status lock is the phenomenon whereby children are unable to break out of a particular status group once their social status has been established (Coie and Dodge, 1983; Coie et al., 1995). Furthermore, considering the Carter et al. study was conducted with high school students in Western Australia and not Asia, Europe, or the USA, there may be ethnographic differences in adolescent leadership development that should be analyzed. Finally, these studies recognize adolescent peer groups are

complex and acutely heterogeneous, which strengthens the point that a single approach to leadership development is a poor option.

Adolescent leadership development programs must give consideration to issues of gender, ethnicity, status lock, and pro-social and anti-social orientation. Furthermore, effective programs must recognize the adolescent agenda is dramatically different from the adult agenda. Effective curricula will embed development strategies within the world in which the adolescent lives. Students each have an intrinsic moral agenda; primarily supported by an intense drive for affiliation and an understanding of how they will make something of themselves in the broader society (Starratt, 2007). Repurposing leadership development with a tighter linkage to the inner-world of the adolescent, and balancing against the real-world complexities of gender and ethnic differences, places leadership developers in a better position to tap into authenticity. Effectively delivering authentic leadership pedagogy to adolescent students requires methodologies that integrate what Walker and Shuangye (2007: 193) call 'seeing leading and learning as inseparably integrated' with the contextual factors of the adolescent's world and culture.

Integrated Leadership Programs for Secondary Schools

Obviously secondary school environments are purposed for, and oriented toward academic development. However, affiliation is a dominant motive of adolescent students (Freeman, 1994). Freeman describes affiliation as the concern for, and maintenance of emotional relationships. Freeman states leadership drivers fall into two categories: (1) drive for power and competition; and (2) social affiliation. Freeman also confirmed the social gulf is widest between the high power leader and the low-achieving student. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume leadership development should be an important concern to academic administrators and educators because peer leaders can make important contributions to affiliation levels of all students, which is something Mitra (2005) observed. In a three-year longitudinal study on a transformation of a severely failing inner-city California school, student involvement in matters of real importance had the effect of developing leaders while contributing valuable outcomes in response to important school or community issues (Mitra, 2005). Students learn who they are, an important component of authentic leadership, through involvement and interaction in apprenticeship-type models where asymmetric knowledge and leadership-skill levels are present (Dobosz and Beaty, 1999; Mitra, 2005; Price and Cioci, 1993). When responsibility shifts from teacher to student the student becomes responsible for planning, organizing and achieving outcomes (Mitra, 2005).

While community or school reform is an outstanding situation for adolescent leadership development (Price and Cioci, 1993), it may not be the first method considered by formal curricula builders. In fact, adolescent leadership development often conjures a vision of coach–athlete relationships (Dobosz and Beaty,

1999; Holland and Andre, 1999), student government or club leadership. In the USA, quasi-extracurricular organizations such as Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) (Cassel and Standifer, 2000; Funk, 2002), or Future Farmers of America (FFA) (Dormody and Seevers, 1994; Wingenbach and Kahler, 1997) provide frameworks for leadership development in the high school setting. JROTC programs are electives and use a military cadet system of training leaders through experiential small-unit leadership opportunities (Paunonen et al., 2006). For example, cadets are assigned military rank and given corresponding responsibilities, which primarily exercise supervisory, motivational and task-oriented capacities. FFA is also an elective program providing similar leadership opportunities though differing from JROTC in method. FFA achieves experiential leadership development by leveraging agricultural competitions and participation in a virtual parliamentary (Boone and Taylor, 2007). Both organizations are connected to schools, receive academic credits and emphasize leadership development (Boone and Taylor, 2007; Cassel and Standifer, 2000; Dormody and Seevers, 1994; Funk, 2002; Hollis, 2004; Kezar and Moriarty, 2000; Wingenbach and Kahler, 1997). However, the lack of strategic integration with an overall academic blueprint exemplifies the problem; which is leadership development is not well conceived, if conceived at all, in the high school academic process. It seems the only consistent school program integrating leadership development with academic strategy is the role of student government (Chan, 2000b). Yet school government activities, like athletics and other club functions, are limited in reach and often biased towards those who already exhibit traditional leadership tendencies.

Taken together, the literature on this topic suggests a void in adolescent leadership development, particularly where such development has the most potential for comprehensive affiliation, community unity, academic performance and overall school process improvement. Furthermore, if one desires to tap into the inner-world of the adolescent there must be a purpose-driven coupling between the 'outer behaviour and inner convictions' (Starratt, 2007:168) of the adolescent. Clearly, leadership development for the adolescent must be based on meaningful experiences that respect the process of discovering 'who one has to be in order to fulfil one's destiny' (Starratt, 2007: 168). To this end, the Mitra (2005) study has important lessons. Namely, student involvement in matters of high importance substantially improves affiliation and engenders a sense of authentic contribution. Additionally, the process of working on improvement activities is in itself an important leadership development method. Finally, the study illustrates an imperative development attribution of effective mentors regarding authority and power. For example, leadership mentors must resist wielding power to execute student-led plans, even when failure looms, because exercising power over developing leaders effectively shuts down the development process (Mitra, 2005).

Roadblocks for Leadership Curricula Integration

The ideal is to integrate leadership development into the academic process; however, pragmatic roadblocks exist. In a study conducted by Chan (2000b) with 465 Hong Kong high school principals, recognition for student leadership development was high. However, school administrators also believed the current academic curriculum was already overloaded. This perceived constraint led to partiality in developing leaders who already held leadership roles. Administrators assumed those who are on the leadership track would gain needed development from university programs, outward bound experiences, and other venues (Chan, 2000b). Schneider et al. (1999) conducted a US study comparing teacher ability to predict leadership behavior against six independent variables (personality, interests, motivations, behavior, skills and ability). Their literature review supports Chan's observation that there is a focus on developing existing leaders and not potential leaders. Schneider et al. found that faculty prediction of leaders was primarily tied to academic performance, and secondarily to socio-emotional and task-goal observations. These findings are similar to methods used in business and the military where resources are devoted to those who actively display traditional leadership potential (Schneider et al., 1999).

The question naturally follows: do leadership selection methods used by high school teachers exhibit natural bias in favor of traditional adult views of leadership? Mitra (2005) points out at-risk students who are dropping out, or prone to drop out, are capable of substantial leadership and increased affiliation when given meaningful opportunity. Similarly, Leithwood and Jantzi (1999b: 458) suggest students who drop out do so after a long process of 'gradual disengagement'. Yet while this category of student would benefit immensely from leadership involvement, the same does not normally fit the qualities of the preconceived leadership candidate. Schneider et al. (1999) observe another interesting point along these lines. Among the Myers–Briggs personality categories (Culp and Smith, 2005), teachers viewed judging-type of individuals as having higher leadership potential than perceiving-types. However, according to McCaulley (as cited in Schneider et al., 1999) this view is contrary to the literature, which suggests students classified as extraverted, intuitive, feeling and perceiving are more likely to be considered leaders. Teachers, unsurprisingly, are not always able to accurately assess student leadership potential. This phenomenon points to Starratt's (2007) idea that educators are overly focused on the educational agenda and not on a pedagogy that connects social, academic and cultural worlds with a student's journey towards completion and affiliation in the broader society.

Developing Leaders through Athletics

Overall, the idea that students will receive leadership development solely from extra-curricular activities also proves to be a fallacy. An examination of three common leadership development paradigms in the USA (athletics, FFA and JROTC) illustrate why. Athletics has clearly garnered traditional support as a leadership development platform, and with good reason. Undeniably, the participation in athletic activities stimulates leadership development vis-a-vis opportunity to engage in peer leadership, influence social outcomes and develop confidence in the face of opposition (Dobosz and Beaty, 1999; Holland and Andre, 1999; Mullen and Tuten, 2004). Furthermore, successful athletes receive positive feedback resulting in an enhanced self-concept (Holland and Andre, 1999). Practical application and practice of leadership is one of the best ways to grow authentic leadership (Walker and Shuangye, 2007), and sports, clubs, and student-led school activities are excellent experiential methods. However, scholars agree that athletic participation is somewhat exclusive (Dobosz and Beaty, 1999; Holland and Andre, 1999). Participatory limitations notwithstanding, there is a strong cultural bias in the western world placing high value on athletic achievement and participation (Dong et al., 1996). This bias is born out in a study on high school remembrance preferences conducted on 400 Midwestern students (Holland and Andre, 1999). In that study, the review of the literature found male athletes involved in multiple activities achieved the highest academic ratings. While the literature connects athletic participation to academic performance, an important pro-social and authentic principle, Coleman (as cited in Holland and Andre, 1999) suggested athletics in some cases detract academically talented individuals from a full menu of opportunity if that individual is overly focused on sport. Coleman found athletes who participated only in sport as an extracurricular activity had low academic achievement. Holland and Andre also concluded that sports participation and social participation may be mutually exclusive, which would limit the leadership development potential of that function. Conversely, training programs which enhance a coach's perspective on the principles of authenticity could rejuvenate athletics as a leadership development mechanism. This is worth the effort because the athletic venue provides ready-made elements for a situational leadership practicum.

A study by Dobosz and Beaty (1999) surfaced a strong correlation between sports participation and leadership development. Their study evaluated a pool of 60 randomly selected students, evenly divided by athlete versus non-athlete, from a college preparatory school of 1000 students. Their hypothesis, athletes show significantly greater leadership ability than non-athletes, was confirmed by the data. Like Holland and Andre (1999) they recognized the exclusivity of athletics, but their conclusions differed. They determined policy makers should address exclusivity by enhancing budgets associated with extracurricular athletic activity and encourage broader extracurricular athletic participation.

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This logic is based on their conclusion that personal and social behavior associated with athletics strengthens leadership ability. However, a potentially broader problem with athletics as a sole leadership development crutch is found in the notion of racial and gender bias. The literature indicates that Caucasian males align more with sports as a leadership development vehicle, while females (Mullen and Tuten, 2004) and non-Caucasian males (Kezar and Moriarty, 2000) align with activities of involvement and volunteerism. Accordingly, relying singularly on athletics as a leadership development tool violates the goal of reaching all constituents.

Two Examples of Quasi-integrated Leadership Curricula and the Shortcomings

General leadership and volunteerism activities include student government, class leadership, academic team or project leadership, club participation and community volunteer activities. However, while these activities seemingly present tremendous opportunity for leadership development, there remains the fundamental problem of exclusivity; thus, these methods represent limited leadership development opportunities. Nevertheless, two programs, JROTC and FFA—briefly discussed earlier, are worth considering as models. JROTC and FFA actively focus on integrated leadership development. Both programs have highly effective leadership development approaches, but neither program has comprehensive reach for two reasons: (1) not every high school has one or both of these programs; and (2) these programs are elective, and therefore continue to foster an exclusivity bias in leadership development. Exclusivity notwithstanding, studies show JROTC participants are advanced in leadership development relative to other students (Cassel and Standifer, 2000; Funk, 2002). One of the powerful processes that enables military training to work well for leadership development is the connection to peer evaluations, which according to Paunonen et al. (2006) is the best predictor of leadership behavior. A drawback to military style leadership development, however, is the potential of narcissistic behavior. Paunonen et al. (2006) and Conger (1990) point out the best leaders suppress the dark side of leadership while exemplifying the bright side. Specifically, Paunonen et al. (2006) concluded narcissism can produce highly positive leaders when dark-side tendencies of exclusion, oppression, and abuse of power are suppressed. Narcissistic leaders exhibiting strong psychological health and high self-esteem were remarkably effective with their peer followers (Helland and Winston, 2005; Jensen and Luthans, 2006; Maccoby, 2003; Paunonen et al., 2006) and demonstrated elements of authentic leanings (Paunonen et al., 2006). Leadership development efforts should therefore pay attention to developing self-esteem and psychological health, which may be the key to positive pro-social leadership in competitive environments. Furthermore, included in the lessons learned from formal leadership programs, which use a high concentration of peer-leadership and peer-evaluation processes, is the need to watch for

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narcissistic tendencies. Overly aggressive use of competition in a leadership development program can reveal and promulgate self-focused predilections.

FFA is another well-run leadership development program available to some American high school students. This program focuses on leadership skills such as planning, public speaking, judging, holding office, and parliamentary procedure (Dormody and Seevers, 1994). Wingenbach and Kahler (1997) found a strong correlation between FFA involvement and leadership based life-skills development. The literature, according to Wingenbach and Kahler (1997), suggests leadership and life-skills development is increased through participation in club and social involvement. Both FFA and JROTC are pragmatic efforts in leadership development. These models may provide research opportunities identifying techniques for school curricula-based leadership development integration. While both organizations are focused on producing a certain type of leader, the model each uses may provide valuable lessons towards creating a leadership authenticity practicum that can be formalized into the secondary pedagogy with the broadest possible reach.

Conclusion

Overall, leadership is a concept that is well studied. However, the research regarding adolescent leadership development is limited (Chan, 2000a; Schneider et al., 1999). Adolescent leaders develop from pro-social and anti-social constructs (Miller-Johnson et al., 2003; Rodkin and Farmer, 2000). It is therefore useful to understand a particular leadership approach, known as authentic leadership (Avolio and Bass, 1999; Brumbaugh, 1971; Dobosz and Beaty, 1999). Authentic leadership offers important benefits to adolescent leadership development because it represents a drive towards increased affiliation (Goffee and Jones, 2000; Helland and Winston, 2005; Jensen and Luthans, 2006), which is a high socio-psychological need in the adolescent world (Freeman, 1994).

Unfortunately, leadership development programs are not well integrated into the formal high school curriculum (Chan, 2000b), and those programs that are available do not adequately reflect the integrated needs of the adolescent agenda (Starratt, 2007). Traditional leadership development inadequacies encompass a range of biases (Dobosz and Beaty, 1999; Holland and Andre, 1999) including exclusivity, gender, social-class and ethnic discriminations (Cooper et al., 1994; Kezar and Moriarty, 2000; Mullen and Tuten, 2004). As such, society cannot rely solely on sports or club activities to develop young leaders. While some integrated programs do exist, such as FFA and JROTC, they do not go far enough, nor are they 100% extensible as a comprehensive leadership program. At the same time, Argyris (as cited in Brumbaugh, 1971) says leadership is situational and it is reasonable to assert that a heterogeneous approach should be taken (Helland and Winston, 2005; House and Aditya, 1997). Situational and customized approaches need to be explored to deliver

leadership development in a context integrated with learning, practical application, and cultural influences which support authentic behavior (Walker and Shuangye, 2007). A good case study to follow is the school reform project cited by Mitra (2005).

Authentic leadership remains largely theoretical with few empirical data to study. Expanded empirical research efforts are recommended (Avolio and Bass, 1999; Cooper et al., 2005); and may prove particularly fruitful in studying adolescent leadership. In this article a framework to assess and study leadership authenticity among the adolescent population is presented. The ability to influence adolescent leadership development may hold the genesis for dramatic improvement in the high school affiliation experience, and in breaking the social lock of disadvantaged, low achieving, and outcast youth (Coie et al., 1995). The results may ultimately lead to an ability to reshape bad leaders (Kellerman, 2004) long before they do damage. Infusing more hope into the leadership paradigm (Jensen and Luthans, 2006) and improving balanced integrated leadership development activities at the high school level are called for. Because adolescent leaders develop from either pro-social or anti-social constructs (Miller-Johnson et al., 2003; Rodkin and Farmer, 2000), educators must recognize the power and consequence of both leadership development funnels. Pro-social leaders are inclusive and build affiliation, while anti-social leaders are exclusive and rely on power. Yet, both leaders achieve results. Educators need to remember good leaders have the potential to enhance the quality of life and increase affiliation for their social group as a whole, while bad leaders see their experience as a zero-sum game and are reluctant to share the benefits of achievement. Good leaders can move society towards greater collective accomplishment (Hogan and Kaiser, 2005; Ping Ping et al., 2001; Wenquan et al., 2000) while bad leaders can destroy or retard social progress (Kellerman, 2004). Therefore, an integrated effort to develop adolescent leaders under an authentic leadership paradigm is beneficial and urgently needed. Methods can be developed to empower all future leaders with authentic tools that facilitate a movement towards pro-social ideals.

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