
SERVANT LEADERSHIP: A MANIFESTATION OF POSTMATERIALISM?

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Abstract

Servant Leadership has been brewing since the 1970s and has recently emerged in public administration as a postmodern alternative to traditional and modern leadership theories. Infused with notions of morality and interdependency, service and exchange, Servant Leadership rejects dependence and independence as possibilities for the workplace and chooses interdependence instead (Cunningham, 2002). At the 2002 Southeastern Conference for Public Administration, Bob Cunningham chaired a roundtable on Servant Leadership which drew a large crowd, many of whom were acquainted with the subject and interested in locating resources to learn more. But why is Servant Leadership on the rise now?

Human Relations Versus the Orthodoxy

Public sector management and leadership was changed forever by the rise of the human relations approach. "[T]he impact of human relations is....understood as a process of challenge and

counterchallenge to orthodox thought" (Carter, 1989: p. 314)... Where traditional organizations sought to limit the individual so that personal needs and desires did not interfere with performance and efficiency, early human relations scholars posited that employee satisfaction and efficiency are bound together (Barnard, 1938). An unhappy employee is less likely to perform well than one who is satisfied. The perception of the employee as mechanistic and cog-like was rejected as early human relations scholars began to see the individual as one with psychological needs that can - and should - be addressed by the organization.

Early human relations scholars believed that employee satisfaction contributed to organization efficiency, thus, it was the duty of the manager to foster the self-esteem and happiness of his or her subordinates (Waldo, 1952). Later human relations scholars began to focus on employee happiness as an end goal (Argyris, 1964). The values-free scientific approach to management posited by Taylor (Talylor, 1911) and Gulick (Gulick, 1937) was rejected as dehumanizing and degrading (Argyris, 194) and contrary to the greater goal of humanity: self-actualization (Heffron, 1989).

While the human relations approach did not "revolutionize personnel work," it did change the way in which we think about employees and leadership within the public sector (Carter, 1989: p. 315). This new human-based thinking is manifested in many studies, practices, and movements; Total Quality Management's inclusion of employees in organization decision-making and the National Performance Review's call for smaller, flatter organizations with empowered managers name only two such calls. The approaches vary in the extent to which they stress

increased efficiency as a goal, but all are more responsive to employee needs, opinions, suggestions, and complaints.

Defining Leadership

While there is no one definition of leadership, we know it - and often confuse it - with authority, power, and command (Pryune, 2003).¹ However, the ability to dictate a course of action is not leadership, it is merely a product of position, and is exclusive of any measure of successful leadership performance. Leadership, then, is something more than power. "Ronald Heifetz noted that Richard Neustadt defined leadership in *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents* as simply an influence relationship between the leaders or followers, whereas many other scholars include a normative dimension in their definitions and theories of leadership" (Pryune, 2003, p. 11). By adding a normative component to an otherwise descriptive definition, we are forced to consider what *should* be the characteristics of a good leader.

Harvard scholars, in a round-table discussion on leadership, identified several qualities that leaders should possess. Interestingly, one of the scholars, Walter Fluker, who is a professor of Philosophy and Religion and the Executive Director of the Leadership Center at Morehouse College, believes that "spirituality grounded in a significant ethical tradition is increasingly being utilized as an authoritative resource for public decision-making; as such spirituality should and will play a more prominent leadership role in leadership development in the future" (Pryune, 2003: 17). Other round-table participants agreed with Fluker's

assessment and the discussion centered on how to frame such a notion, whether by religion, spirituality, or ethics. Most agreed that the language should focus on ethics rather than spirituality or religion. Nonetheless, "Participants generally agreed that the ideal leadership development curriculum would teach students how to combine spiritual passion and commitment with the ability to step outside their spiritual frameworks and think critically (Pryune, 2003: p. 17).

Servant Leadership

In 1970 Servant Leadership appeared in the realm of leadership theory. Pioneered by Robert K. Greenleaf, Servant Leadership is the idea that "leadership success is judged by whether the one served grows as a person" (Cunningham, 2002: p. 1-7). Hierarchical arrangements are transformed into give and take, interdependent relationships where all are viewed with value that goes beyond the confines of the workplace. Here, the traditional organizations and management styles fall short. The need to stop looking at employees as merely mechanisms for production, the poor as the receivers, the wealthy as the givers, and the supervisors as superiors is integral to the emotional, spiritual, and mental development of all parties involved (Cunningham, 2002). We begin to see the leadership sphere is more than interconnected with the sphere of the led; roles are overlapping, sometimes interchangeable: everyone has something to offer (Cunningham, 2002). It is the responsibility, perhaps the honor, of the leader to humble him or herself, to seek the role of the servant first; and it is beneficial to all.

Bob Cunningham aptly describes Servant Leadership as a paradox, that is, that one would be a servant while leading, and a leader while serving (Cunningham, 2002). He states that "serving, receiving, following, and leading are all intertwined" and offers two assumptions that are "implicit in this understanding" (Cunningham, 2002: p. 1):

- 1) That one's life is more fulfilling if the roles of leading, following, serving, and receiving are integrated rather than segmented;
- 2) that the spiritual journey is more important than a physical need (Cunningham, 2002: 1).

This second assumption piqued my curiosity and captured my attention, and it was the first one that irritated me. The second assumption speaks to a curiosity that is as old as humanity: we need to believe that there is more to this life than that which we earn, accumulate, touch, or see - and we are willing to place that "more" into a realm that is higher than ourselves or the things that support our physical bodies. That spiritual seekers have always placed the "more" higher makes this assumption easy to swallow. But what caught my attention is that public administrators are addressing a leadership theory that entertains the second assumption.

The first assumption, I admit, irritated me, and to a lesser degree still does, because I have only on rare occasions had even a fleeting desire to serve. How is it that a person comes to this table, this place of service? Where, for so many years, talk of service to others was most likely to be heard in the sanctuary of one's church,

temple, or synagogue, one can now hear similar messages in the halls of academe, practitioner conferences, and in the board rooms of international corporations and nonprofit organizations. The measure of one's success was once strictly defined by material accumulation, prestige, and popular opinion, yet some are now discounting these standards for others, such as the way in which one regards friends and family, the humility one shows one's neighbor, or the understanding that one has for a subordinate's needs. This strange mixture of Maslowian ascendancy, religious and philosophical precepts, management style, and sheer change of focus is likely driven by a current of changed values in our culture. I propose the theory of post-materialism is that current.

Post-materialism first emerged as a subjective change theory in comparative studies in the 1960s. At that same time, the actual practice of post-materialism began to manifest in various ways. Post-materialism is the product of a value shift that began to occur in America and other industrialized countries after World War II. With political and economic needs met, people began to seek new types, or higher levels, of satisfaction - much as Maslow predicted. The desire for this new level of development caused many to seek rewards in the form of inner development rather than in traditional, material ways and "penetrated deeply into the ranks of young professionals, civil servants, managers, and politicians...(Post-materialism) seems to be a major factor in the rise of a "new class" in Western society - a stratum of highly educated, well-paid young technocrats who take on an adversary stance toward their society" (Inglehart, 1981: 881). I propose that Servant Leadership is a sign of this change and we will look at its practice here in light of the tenets associated

with post-materialism.

As we seek to develop new theories for leadership, management, organizational structure, consumer/customer service, and equity the question of values continually emerges. What type of manager should one be? What type of leadership is most effective? How do we define effective? What do we owe to those whom we lead? What is really important, after all? These questions point to a change that occurred over the past sixty years. Society moved steadily away from Economic Man to a more humanistic approach. Where we once focused on security and shelter, food and compensation from our professional and private endeavors - we now require psychological and, some say, spiritual fulfillment, as well.

Derived Needs Are Culturally Defined

In *Culture Matters*, Thompson et al. writes that needs above those necessary for survival (shelter, food, protection, etc.) are linked to the person's culture. They note that "Western aid-providers in Nepal...were horrified to see poor villagers spend their money, not on improving the productivity of their rice fields, but on refurbishing the village temple. The villagers' basic need... was a good relationship with their gods" (Thompson, 1990: p. 55). Cultural beliefs including major religions, status indicators, social policies and beliefs, et cetera prescribe how citizens define value, desire and, ultimately, need. Values can change slowly over long periods of time, or very quickly with the onset of a major disruptive event such as World War II.

In the 1960s and 1970s, cultural values in the United States began to show dramatic signs of change. There were the overt social movements that the 1960s are known for: women's liberation, the push for equal rights among the races, and sexual freedom. In the 1970s we saw a strong anti-war movement and even more of the equality forces from the 1960s. Beneath these overt movements social changes were occurring for nearly 20 years. The movements that made the 1960s so visible were instigated by the first post-war generation. These were the children of those who suffered the Great Depression and then World War II. There was a values shift that occurred between the two generations that caused the movements of the 1960s, as the young could not identify with traditional ways. They no longer had to.

The end of World War II brought a period of economic and political security to America. Citizens reaped enormous benefits from the wealth and pent-up demand that had accumulated due to war production efforts. The nation's gross national product rose from \$200 billion in 1940 to \$500 billion in 1960. Additionally, Americans enjoyed a sense of invulnerability that came with the bombing of Hiroshima. None had ever before witnessed anything so powerful as the atom bomb, and we were the bearers of that power. We landed on the moon. John F. Kennedy took office. The streets felt safe and homes were plentiful. Life was good. From JFK's inaugural address, January 20, 1961:

Let the word go forth from this time
and place. . .to friend and foe alike. . .that the
torch has been passed to a new generation of

Americans. . . born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage. . .and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today. . .at home and around the world. (Kennedy, 1961: para. 3)

Along with the romantic, peace-charged environment of the 1950s and 1960s came a fundamental shift in American values. People did not need to worry about shelter, food, and clothing as they did during the Great Depression. No one was really concerned about political violence anymore. The peace and prosperity that the World War II generation enjoyed was passed on as a way of life to their children. This is the legacy that the post-materialists credit as the change agent that took Americans, and other industrialized countries, away from a materialist preoccupation to a new, deeper, level of development, a higher level on Maslow's hierarchy.

Post-materialism

The theory of post-materialism has lurked about the halls of comparative political study for thirty years and is a widely accepted theory of social change. Ronald Inglehart first proposed post-materialism in 1971 with his work "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies" (Inglehart, 1971). At that time he hypothesized that the "basic value priorities of Western publics had been shifting from a materialist emphasis toward a post-

materialist one - from giving top priority to physical sustenance and safety, toward heavier emphasis on belonging, self-expression and the quality of life" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 880). That hypothesis caused quite a stir among academics and resulted in the completion of over 100 surveys in 19 industrialized nations between 1971 and 1981 (Inglehart, 1981). Even more have been conducted since. With data from these surveys, Inglehart was able to plot positive value changes in post-war citizens from an emphasis on material to post-material values. Additionally, longitudinal studies have allowed Inglehart to "distinguish between: (1) intergenerational value change, based on cohort effects; (2) life cycle or aging effects; and (3) period effects" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 880).

One of the biggest questions that Inglehart faced was whether the value shift that he detected in these societies would "stick." If the movement from materialism to post-materialism was temporary, then it constituted only a blip on the screen, or a period effect, and not a theory upon which we could base our understanding of society, people, culture, and values (1981: pp. 880-1). Intergenerational replacement is the vehicle by which we can not only view the initial changes from materialism to post-materialism, but also to see how post-materialism stands up to declines in economic and political security, and to see how the manifestation of post-materialism develops over time.

Inglehart offered survey data from Germany covering the 20 years from 1949 to 1970, in which samples were asked, "Which of the four Freedoms do you personally consider most important - Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Fear or Freedom from Want" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 883)? In

1949, Germany was only beginning its efforts at reconstruction "and 'Freedom from Want' was the leading choice by a wide margin" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 883). We know that the first generation of post-war citizens experienced a prosperity that was unprecedented. Reconstruction efforts were very successful, rapidly moving the country away from poverty. By 1954, "Freedom from Want" only held a narrow margin ahead the other freedoms. "[B]y 1958, "Freedom of Speech" was chosen by more people than all other choices combined" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 883). German citizens, having their material needs met, began to redefine their values.

Regarding Japan, "a nation that rose from harsh poverty to astonishing prosperity in a single generation" data exists in five-year increments spanning 1953 to 1978 (Inglehart, 1981: p. 883). One survey question asked, "In bringing up children of primary school age, some think that one should teach them that money is the most important thing. Do you agree or disagree?" Sixty-five percent of the surveyed population agreed in 1953. By 1978, only 45% agreed. Rather than placing more emphasis on money over time, as some suggest is natural given the idealism of youth, respondents in Japan gave less emphasis on money over the 25-year study period (Inglehart, 1981).

In 1953, even the youngest group showed overwhelmingly Materialistic priorities - because at that time, all adult age cohorts had spent their formative years during World War II or earlier. These cohorts show only modest changes as they age during the ensuing quarter century. It is only from 1963 on - when the postwar

cohorts begin to enter the adult population - that we find a clear rejection of financial security as a value having top priority among the younger cohorts (Inglehart, 1981: p. 884).

The evidence suggests that post-war stabilization of the economy and a more peaceful political milieu led to a decreased emphasis on material values in both Germany and Japan. But what about in Western countries?

Since 1970, Inglehart studied the United States and certain Western European countries in order to determine whether citizens give priority to materialist or post-materialist goals. The list of goals from which citizens chose included:

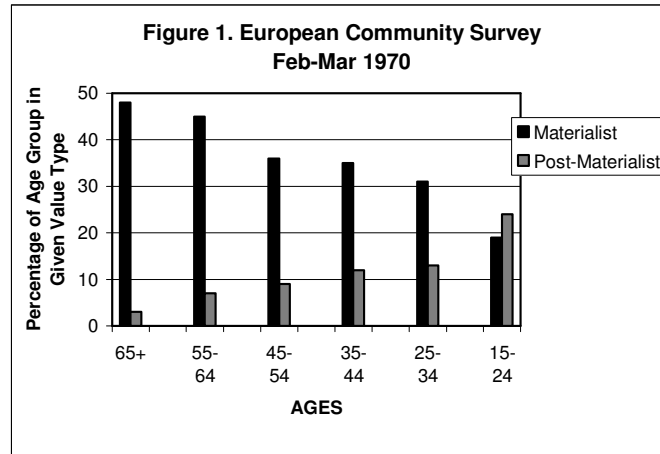
- A. Maintain order in the nation
- B. Give people more say in the decisions of the government
- C. Fight rising prices
- D. Protect freedom of speech
- E. Maintain a high rate of economic growth
- F. Make sure that this country has strong defense forces
- G. Give people more say in how things are decided at work and in their community
- H. Try to make our cities and countryside more beautiful
- I. Maintain a stable economy
- J. Fight against crime
- K. Move toward a friendlier, less impersonal society
- L. Move toward a society where ideas count more than money (Inglehart, 1981: p.

884).

The 1970 survey only included A-D and was used in six countries. The full battery was first used "in 1973 in the nine-nation European Community and the United States, and both batteries were administered in numerous subsequent surveys. Items A, C, E, F, I, and J were designed to tap emphasis on materialist goals...the remaining items were designed to tap post-materialist goals" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 884). Those who chose a post-material goal for top priority gave high priority to other post-material goals as well, and vice versa. This allowed Inglehart and other researchers to categorize respondents as "pure materialists (those whose top priorities are given to materialist goals exclusively); pure post-materialists (those whose top priorities are given to post-materialist items exclusively); or mixed types based on any combination of the two kinds of items" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 885). For the purpose of this paper, only the two "pure" types will be discussed.

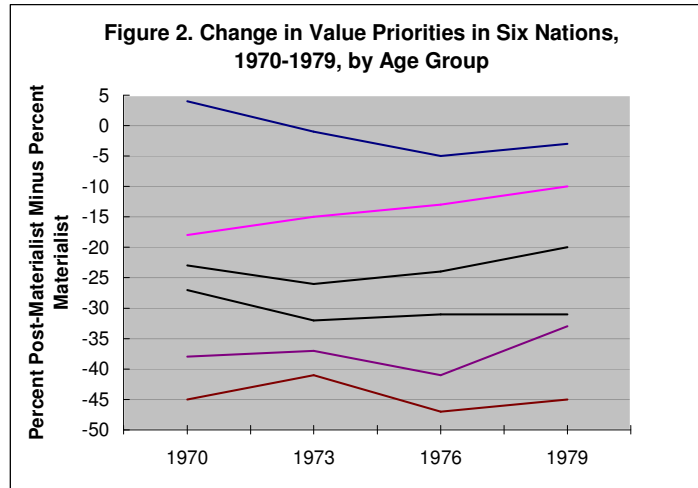
Inglehart's survey data shows that the progressive movement towards materialist goals that generally occurs over one's life span slowed to a stop in the generations after World War II. In the 1970 study, "among the oldest group, materialists outnumber post-materialists enormously; as we move toward younger groups, the proportion of materialists declines and that of post-materialists increases" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 885). Figure 1, recreated from Ronald Inglehart's 1981 article, depicts this change graphically (Inglehart, 1981: p. 886).² Inglehart explains that the near doubling of post-materialists between the 25 to 34-year-olds and the 15 to 24-year-old postwar generation can be attributed to "intergenerational change based on cohort effects"

(Inglehart, 1981: p. 885). However, he acknowledges that the possibility of aging and period effects must be explored, as well.



Source: Inglehart, 1981: p. 886

If the increase in post-materialism is accounted for by aging effects, then the 1970 pattern "is a permanent characteristic of the human life cycle and will not change over time" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 885). This would mean that young people will always be more post-materialist, but would gradually become less so over time. "The cohort interpretation, on the other hand, implies that the post-materialists will gradually permeate the older strata, neutralizing the relationship between values and age" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 886).



Source: Inglehart, 1981: p. 889(3)

With a period effects interpretation, one would expect the surveyed population to become more materialist over time due to the quadrupling of energy prices that sent all industrialized nations into recession beginning in 1973. Significantly, by 1980, "the real income of the typical American family was actually *lower* than in 1970" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 887). Additionally, physical security seemed to decline with Soviet armament and invasion of Afghanistan and Western responses (Inglehart, 1981: p. 887). However, instead of sending citizens into a material-oriented tailspin, value types remained largely unchanged. "The process of population replacement outweighed the effects of economic and physical insecurity....[P]ost-materialists were slightly more numerous at the end of the 1970s than they were at the start" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 888). Inglehart says that this conceals "an extremely interesting underlying pattern...(because) the overall stability ...is the result of two opposing processes that largely cancel each other" (Inglehart, 1981: p. 888).

What does this mean? As Figure 2 shows, only the youngest group, the post-war generation, reacted (as one would expect) negatively to period effects by turning to more materialist values; a reaction that began to reverse itself by 1976. The rest of the population continued to become more post-materialist over time. Rather than succumbing to the uncertainties of the economic and political trials of the 1970s, post-materialism proved itself to be a stable, and likely permanent, value shift that should only become more prevalent (and visible) through cohort-based intergenerational replacement.

The Acculturation of the Post-World War II Values Shift

This values shift is generally accepted in academia, although there is some controversy regarding Inglehart's (and later, Abramson and Inglehart's (1995)) methodology (Per Selle, 1990; Clarke and Dutt, 1991; Davis, 1996; Duch and Taylor, 1993, 1994; Silver and Dowley, 1997). Nevertheless, Paul Warwick writes, "Along with the class-participation linkage, the Post materialist "culture shift" stands as one of the most highly confirmed of social science generalizations" (Warwick, 1998: p. 583). Warwick goes on to say that while "the evidence for a shift in value priorities is abundant, the same cannot be said of its alleged causes" (Warwick, 1998: p. 583). Raymond Duch and Mitchaell Taylor believe that rising levels of education in developed countries accounts for the values shift, while Inglehart and Abramson assert that the economic level of the post-materialists' family is the cause (Warwick, 1998). For our purpose, the fact that there has been a values shift and how that shift affects us is more of

interest than causality.

Granato et al's, work on culturally based achievement motivation and how it has changed and affected economic development over time helps us see the big values picture and how post-materialism fits into it (Granato, 1996). They write that pre-industrial societies are "zero-sum systems" where social mobility and accumulation are "sternly repressed" (Granato et al, 1996: p. 607). Folks were expected to maintain the social norms and expectations into which they were born. With Protestantism, capitalism and industrialization gradually emerged. McClelland et al. (1953) and McClelland (1961) proposed that the values that are inherent in capitalism and Protestantism were passed on to children "by their parents, schools, and other agencies of socialization" (Granato et al, 1996: p. 610). By looking at school materials used to educate children, McClelland determined that "some cultures emphasize achievement in their school books more heavily than others - and that the former showed considerably higher rates of economic growth than the latter" (p. 610).

This connection between values change, socialization, and economic development is interesting. Linkages between the economic stabilization after World War II, the values inherent in that population, and how they manifest in our culture. Granato et al. writes, "[C]ulture seems to be shaping economics - a parallel to the Weberian thesis, except that what is happening here is, in a sense, the rise of the Protestant Ethic in reverse" (Granato, 1996: p. 607). From an economic perspective, this is not good news. However, our question involves how this "Protestant Ethic in reverse," or post-materialism, manifests. What does it

look like? Dake (1991) and Peters and Slovic (1995) suggest that post-materialist values are associated with an “orienting disposition” toward egalitarianism (Dietz, 1998). Inglehart and Flanagan (1987) write that when “economic self-interest...reach(es) a point of diminishing returns in advanced industrial societies, (it) gradually give(s) way to Postmaterialist motivation, including greater emphasis on social solidarity” (Inglehart and Flanagan, 1987: p. 1292). “Postmaterialists give top priority to such goals as a sense of community and the non-material quality of life...they are relatively favorable to social change...they tend to shift toward the parties of the Left” (Inglehart, 1987: p. 1297). “Post-materialism broadly encompasses self-actualization, self-esteem, esthetics, (and) intellectual needs” (Thompson, 1990: p. 152). Scott Flanagan writes:

We find...an emphasis on personal and political freedom, participation (more say in government, in one's community, and on the job) equality, tolerance of minorities and those holding different opinions, openness to new ideas and new life styles, environmental protection and concern over quality-of-life issues, self-indulgence, and self-actualization. (Inglehart and Flanagan, 1987: p. 1289-1304)⁴

These values are manifest in many of the social

movements and issues of today. Environmentalism is one that Inglehart points to as directly linked to post-materialism. Because of the post-materialists' sense of egalitarianism and equity, along with a strong pull away from capitalist ideology and expanding industry at all costs, environmentalism is an outlet for many leading to the formation of many state Green parties and, eventually, the coordinating National Green Party after the elections of 1996.⁵

Other grand-scale ways in which post-material values are manifested include the anti-nuclear/anti-war movements, women's and social justice movements, among numerous others. Perhaps even more telling are the smaller movements that, although less noticeable, are making a big impact on America's educational institutions, private businesses, and communities.

Many private companies are incorporating Servant Leadership into their management with great results. The Dallas-based TDIndustries changed their goals to include employee trust with profit-making. In 1998, the company won one of three Texas Quality Awards and "Fortune ranked the company fifth on its "100 Best Companies To Work For in America" list. The top 100 companies are identified by randomly selecting employees to complete surveys, which include a Great Place to Work Trust Index" (Bounds, 1998). Additionally, a web search for Servant Leadership produces hundreds of links to universities, businesses, leadership training resources, books, religious resources, and testimonials.

The Greenleaf Center web site describes several of the universities that are offering programs of study and/or courses that focus on the values of Servant

Leadership, and suggests that high schools are developing curricula, as well.⁶ The values of Servant Leadership that are interchangeable with those of post-materialism, are being taught in our schools and in the process are becoming more and more a part of our culturally identified needs. As Maslow predicted, those who have their basic needs met are turning inward to satisfy higher-level needs: to become self-actualized. With Servant Leadership, the singular goals of efficiency, productivity, hierarchy and the preservation of cold, isolated separated spheres of work and private life are rejected for an integrated, interconnected, human-based approach to management. Servant Leadership appears as yet another manifestation of post-materialist values – another way for people to fulfill their desire to develop and, by doing so, help others to develop, as well.

Conclusion

The rise on Servant Leadership, when evaluated in relation to the post World War II value shift from material to postmaterial values, makes sense. People are less concerned with accumulation and security – based goals than they were in the years leading to the 1940s. The postwar and subsequent generations are accustomed to a greater sense of economic and political security enabling them to focus on a higher level of need: self-actualization. Some leaders find this allows for the concerns and needs of others to take a higher priority, resulting in a changed workplace dynamic. Where leaders once relied on hierarchy and mandate to accomplish organizational goals, Servant Leaders focus on the needs and development of those who form the body of the organization, from the lowest level

employee to the highest. Servant Leaders believe that it is their duty to see to the overall mental and spiritual well-being of those with whom they associate and that the result is an end to itself. Rather than supporting others to achieve greater productivity as did early Human Relationists, Servant Leaders support others simply to help them grow as people.

Servant Leadership is a new way of thinking for many of us. The old, productivity-based leadership and management methods are deeply ingrained and the thought of taking our eyes from the ball, so to speak, seems counter-intuitive to all that we were taught good leadership management should be. Nevertheless, Servant leadership is wending its way into the consciousness of a growing group of academics and practitioners everywhere. Perhaps the theory of postmaterialism can help us better understand this postmodern phenomenon.

Notes

1. Pryune, Ellen. 2003. "Conversations on Leadership, 2000-2001." Center for Public Leadership. Retrieved on July 15, 2003. www.ksg.harvard.edu/leadership/home.html. This document summarizes the major themes and concerns of the roundtable participants.
2. Source: European Community survey carried out in Feb. - Mar. 1970, sponsored by Commission of the European Communities; principal investigators were Jacques-René Rabier and Ronald Inglehart."
3. Source: European Community surveys carried out in Feb.-Mar. 1970; Sept. 1973; Nov.

1976; and Nov. 1979 in Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and The Netherlands: since data from only these nations are available for 1970, only these data are used for the subsequent time points. Surveys were sponsored by the Commission of the European Communities; principal investigators were Jacques-René Rabier and Ronald Inglehart.

4. Scott Flanagan cites Calista, 1984; Hildebrandt and Dalton, 1978; Inglehart, 1977; Lafferty and Knutsen, 1984. He writes, "I expect none of the above authors would have trouble accepting any of these elements as part of the concept of postmaterialism."

5. Green Party. 2003. <http://www.greenpartyus.org>.

6. Greenleaf Center for Servant Leadership. 2003. <http://greenleaf.org/index.html>.

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