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In Memory of

George Wesley Johnson, Jr.

04/28/1932-11/16/2018

William Charles Storch, Jr. (“Bubby”)

04/15/1965 - 02/02/2018

Mark Ryan Myres

02/26/1990 - 05/04/2018

DEDICATORY LETTER

This issue of *The Journal of Student Leadership* is dedicated to the lifesaving professions of first responders, whose tireless and incredibly heroic efforts work to ensure our safety as citizens. On November 14th, 2018, JSL staff members had the humbling opportunity to spend a few hours photographing a firefighter training exercise in Salt Lake City. While watching the grueling exercises, our staff was struck by the complex sacrifices these men and women make each day when going to work—heroes choosing to put their own lives on the line in hopes of saving others. This brave example is leadership in its purest form and *The Journal of Student Leadership* is honored to dedicate this issue to first responders.

In loving memory of the fallen heroes.

All photos were taken on November 14th, 2018 and feature firefighters training for Salt Lake County. In an effort to respect the wishes of those photographed, the names and departments remain anonymous.

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LETTER FROM STUDENT EDITORS

TO OUR FELLOW READERS,

Since its beginning, *The Journal of Student Leadership* (JSL) has proven that any individual can obtain leadership qualities throughout one's lifespan. As we highlight first responders and express our gratitude, the journal staff members want to give thanks to all the leaders who help inspire and motivate others to achieve the unimaginable. We also want to thank our authors and artists for their contributions. Without their time, efforts and patience through the editing process there would not be a journal.

This issue focuses on inclusive leadership. Inclusive leaders are those who generally care for others. These individuals can often be soft spoken and inspiring. As the current generations grapple with leadership issues, the need for more diversified conceptions of leadership becomes apparent. This journal allows all readers to express varied interpretations and perspectives on leadership.

Staff members put in countless hours accomplishing the journal's purpose. The JSL core leadership teaches leadership through careful training, organized delegation, and hands-on experiences. During production, the staff gets accustomed to prioritizing, adaptating, problem solving, and so on. While being resilient they also grow inclusively by creating leadership opportunities that can prepare them for future endeavors. As you scan through the pages of this issue, we hope that you can consider the diverse perspectives and many forms of leadership found within.

MAKAYLA BERNARDO
STUDENT EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

BRETT D. MATHEWS
MANAGING EDITOR

ARIANNA TRUJILLO
JOURNAL PRODUCTION EDITOR

LETTER FROM SENIOR EDITORS

DEAR READER:

The two-fold purpose of *The Journal of Student Leadership* is to contribute to the scholarship and discussion on leadership, and to provide an engaging outlet for research, writing, editing, and publishing. Articles and works of art are submitted by students, post-graduates, faculty, and members of the community, providing diverse perspectives to the leadership conversation. We genuinely thank them for their contributions.

In this issue of the journal, leadership is uniquely explored through military service and ancient history. The qualities of emotional intelligence and integrity are embraced and diversity in leadership is promoted. Readers have the opportunity to peer through the lens of qualitative research, gaining insight into student leadership experiences. Artists provide additional perspectives through multiple mediums, inspiring viewers to think outside of the ordinary.

We especially appreciate the dedication of our Student Editor-in-Chief, MaKayla Bernardo; Journal Production Editor, Arianna Trujillo; Managing Editor, Brett Mathews; and Design Technical Editor, Kenni Littlefield. Their leadership and enthusiasm have been instrumental to the creation of this issue. We thank our Editorial Staff for their editing, marketing, and design contributions and express gratitude to our scholarly faculty-level Editorial Board and the anonymous faculty and student reviewers who donated their time and expertise to ensure a high-quality double-blind peer review. We particularly acknowledge the tremendous support received from Chris Goslin and Beth Reid from the Department of Student Leadership and Success Studies and from Deans Forrest Williams and Deborah Marrott, and the University College Dean's Office.

Again, many thanks to all who contributed to this issue of the JSL.

BENJAMIN A. JOHNSON, PH.D.
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FOLLOWERS SAY THEY WANT LEADERS WITH INTEGRITY, BUT DO THEY?

MELVIN HOLDER, ED.D.

PALM BEACH ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY

Followers consistently indicate they desire to follow leaders who have demonstrated the characteristics of integrity, honesty, trustworthiness, and credibility (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Kouzes & Posner, 2003; Simons, 2002). There may be inconsistencies in the expressed desire of followers, since they may be willing to follow leaders knowing the leaders lack these characteristics or have compromised these personal characteristics in their behavior and actions. It has been argued that individuals who are prone to following untrustworthy leaders tend to be compelled by psychological needs and fears that have been delineated as a need for reassuring authority figures; a need for security and certainty; a need to feel chosen or special; a need for human community; a fear of ostracism, isolation, and social death; and a fear of personal powerlessness to challenge a bad leader (Lipman-Blumen, 2005). This has been exemplified in business, religious, and governmental organizations with catastrophic consequences. If followers are aware of these propensities, better assessments of leaders and improved responses to leaders lacking integrity could result.

In the leadership and management literature, there is a propensity toward presenting leadership development in a hopeful, good, and constructive framework, which is inarguably the desired form of leadership; however, from a realistic viewpoint, negative or bad leadership may exist in organizations (Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Kellerman, 2004; Kouzes & Posner, 2003; Lipman-Blumen, 2005). When leaders lack integrity, it can lay a foundation for bad leadership practices. Followers consistently claim

they desire to follow leaders with integrity whose actions and behaviors exhibit trustworthiness, honesty, credibility, and conviction (Kouzes & Posner, 2003). Even though this is what followers claim they desire, at times they willingly follow leaders who lack integrity, and there are multiple reasons for this inconsistency in followers.

There is a divergence in the concept and meaning of integrity, and clarity is needed to fully understand the term as it will be used. The origin of the word *integrity* is from the Latin term *integer* that means whole, complete, intact (“Integer,” n.d.). Integrity is defined as the “adherence to moral and ethical principles; soundness of moral character; honesty; the state of being whole, entire, or undiminished; and a sound, unimpaired, or perfect condition” (“Integrity,” n.d.). Even scholars differ on the definition of integrity as applied in management and leadership literature, with some having an objective perspective while others have a normative perspective (Bauman, 2013; Becker, 1998; Monga, 2016; Moorman & Grover, 2009; Palanski & Yammarino, 2007). The objective perspective gravitates toward defining integrity as wholeness, in that a person is complete and is consistent in their values, behavior, and thoughts while being morally neutral. In contrast, the normative perspective encapsulates the moral and ethical implications of a person’s behavior and character (Jensen, 2009; Moorman & Grover, 2009; Palanski & Yammarino, 2007).

In various studies on leadership qualities and traits, respondents have coalesced terms associated with integrity such as honesty, trustworthiness, credibility, and conviction (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Kouzes & Posner, 2003; Simons, 2002). Covey (2006) expands this to include congruency and intent. The concept of congruency relates to the wholeness and consistency of a person in living out her values and beliefs in her actions and behaviors coupled with the intent of the individual. The congruency of wholeness and consistency was well captured by Mahatma Gandhi when he said, “My life is an indivisible whole, and all my activities run into one another . . . My life is my message” (as cited by Covey, 2006, p. 63). Followers understand the message of the leader by what they see and experience.

Followers have indicated the qualities of honesty, trustworthiness, credibility, and conviction are the qualities that embody a leader worth following. This paper aligns with the normative concept of integrity that is

recognized in leaders by followers. Followers persist in expressing their desire for leaders of integrity; however, when leaders fail to embrace integrity, followers may continue to follow the leader. When people are unaware of a leader's lack of integrity, their followership is understandable. However, people consciously following an untrustworthy leader is perplexing, but this occurs in all types of organizations: business, religious, and governmental.

One of the best-known examples of leaders lacking integrity is the Enron Corporation scandal. Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling were the top leaders in the organization, who deceptively led the company, but there were people within the company and associated with the company, who had some knowledge of the questionable practices. However, they continued to follow the leaders. When the organization's practices became public knowledge, it resulted in bankruptcy, and many followers suffered financial ruin (Thomas, 2002).

Religious organizations are not immune to being led by people who lack integrity. Jim Jones began a religious organization that ultimately became known as the *Peoples Temple* with the intent of building a utopian community, and his charismatic appeal attracted thousands of devoted followers. Jones' initial appeal to the disenfranchised became self-serving greed and power. Some of the followers began to sense an inconsistency in Jones' character and leadership but continued following him out of commitment, fear, and intimidation. In 1978, Jones led over 900 of his followers to commit suicide by drinking cyanide-laced Kool-Aid (Gritz, 2011).

Historically, one of the most notorious governmental leaders who lacked integrity, when defined with a moral bent, was Adolf Hitler. He had the alluring ability to captivate the minds and hearts of people to align with his vision for Germany, which ultimately led to the killing of millions of innocent people. Some followed him with absolute loyalty while others began to question his actions and goals, but those who objected were dealt with strongly resulting in many being executed.

In one study, researchers found that followers "want leaders who are honest, forward-looking, competent, and inspiring. What this adds up to . . . is personal credibility" (Kouzes & Posner, 2003, p. xiv). In most contexts, honesty is by far the most desired characteristic, and Kouzes and Posner

(2003) found that followers want leaders they can believe in and trust. In a Gallup study from 2005-2008 of followers' opinions about leadership, it was found that followers want and need trust, compassion, stability, and hope (Rath & Conchie, 2008). An interesting dichotomy is that people want to follow leaders who are trustworthy and noted for their integrity but are seemingly willing, to a degree, to follow leaders who are untrustworthy and lack integrity (Kellerman, 2004; Kouzes & Posner, 2003; Lipman-Blumen, 2005; Padilla, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2007). Ideally, followers desire integrity but practically will tolerate the lack of it also.

An example of compromised integrity with the person remaining in a leadership position involved Christine Lagarde, the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund. When Ms. Lagarde was the Finance Minister of France, she chose not to appeal a large arbitration award to Bernard Tapie, a French businessman who had close relations with the French president, Nicolas Sarkozy. Some of her advisers encouraged her to appeal the exorbitant arbitration decision, but she declined. In December 2016, she was found guilty of criminal charges associated with the misuse of public funds by a person in a public authority position. In spite of her conviction, the directors of the International Monetary Fund expressed confidence in her ability to lead the organization (Thomas, Alderman, & Breeden, 2016).

The 2016 United States presidential campaign presented an interesting scenario regarding integrity in leaders. It had been well documented that both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump had a history of breaches in their integrity (Fournier, 2016; Remnick, 2016). Seemingly, the two presidential candidates had struggled more with integrity than the candidates who opposed them in their respective primary election campaigns. Even though members of both the Democratic and Republican parties knew this before they voted in the primary elections, they still preferred candidates who were untrustworthy with large numbers of the party members enthusiastically supporting them as their candidates. David Brooks of the *New York Times* (2016) stated, "I'm beginning to think this whole sordid campaign is being blown along by an acrid gust of distrust" (para. 1). If this is an accurate assessment, it furthers the quandary of trying to comprehend why people follow leaders they know lack integrity and they do not trust.

Barbara Kellerman (2004) of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government posits that there are seven types of bad leadership with four of these types (callous, corrupt, insular, evil) relating to the leader being unethical, which is problematic for a leader. Leaders, who lack integrity, fail to differentiate between what is right and what is wrong, which breeds distrust from followers. Some followers, who do not trust their leader, still follow the leader to satisfy their basic human needs of safety, simplicity, and certainty (Kellerman, 2004). As Maslow (1943) explained in his hierarchy of needs, the need for safety is sought in order to provide a sense of security from the uncertainties, known and unknown, that life presents to individuals. He stated, "His safety needs often find specific expression in a search for a protector, or a stronger person on whom he may depend, or perhaps, a Fuehrer" (p. 379). Some would perceive a leader as a person to satisfy that need for safety. People desire simplicity and seek it in ordering their lives and seeking solutions, even in resolving complex problems (Chater, 1999). Ambiguity can be perceived as a threat, and people crave certainty that, when met, provides the sensation of reward (Rock, 2009). When these three needs of safety, simplicity, and certainty are fulfilled by a leader, followers may be willing to compromise their desire for integrity. Padilla, Hogan, and Kaiser (2007) classify these types of susceptible followers as conformers. In a collective sense Kellerman (2004) pointed out that a bad leader can be beneficial in affording order, cohesion, and identity to an organization. Capturing the essence of this, "Leaders enable groups and organizations to distinguish themselves one from the other. And leaders at the top symbolize the whole" (Kellerman, p. 24).

It has been postulated that individuals who are prone to following untrustworthy leaders tend to be compelled by psychological needs and fears that have been delineated as a need for reassuring authority figures; a need for security and certainty; a need to feel chosen or special; a need for human community; a fear of ostracism, isolation, and social death; and a fear of personal powerlessness to challenge a bad leader (Lipman-Blumen, 2005). The unhealthy meeting of these psychological needs in childhood may condition individuals to be more accepting of and susceptible to following leaders who lack integrity and trustworthiness. Lipman-Blumen (2005) expounded on "how these psychological needs and fears drive us into the arms of leaders, some good, some bad (p. 30)."

Individuals may quench the psychological need for a parental figure by seeking an authority figure or external authority in a leader. The need for security, and to be considered personally significant to others, may be paramount for some individuals. An essential human need is to be accepted by others in the community considered vital to the individual, and the fear of ostracism by that community can be devastating (Lipman-Blumen, 2005; Maslow, 1943). When these psychological needs are met to some extent, it can lead to an individual becoming vulnerable to a leader lacking integrity (Lipman-Blumen, 2005).

Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling of Enron were the reassuring authority figures to their employees through growing business challenges and declining stock prices creating a false feeling of security and certainty in the decisions they were making on behalf of the company. Some employees could sense and realize that the actions of their leaders were not actually in the best interest of the company but felt powerless to take action until a couple of the managers took the risk to be forthright and expose the deception (Ellwood, Kliot, Motamed, & Gibney, 2005; Thomas, 2002).

Jim Jones, the leader of the Peoples Temple, exploited all six of the human psychological needs and fears delineated by Lipman-Blumen (2005). Teri Buford O'Shea, a survivor of the Jonestown tragedy, recounted her experiences, noting that Jim Jones was a father figure to many of his followers and, seizing on that, he isolated them from their families and the outside world. Jones' followers felt privileged and were committed to being a part of this special utopian community. Through intimidation, blackmail, terror, and physical and emotional abuse, Jones created an environment where his followers felt powerless to challenge him (Gritz, 2011).

Adolf Hitler also exploited the psychological needs and fears of his followers to advance his vision for Germany. Hitler became the supreme authority in Germany and convinced the German people they were a superior race and a "chosen people," and that provided a means to protect and secure the German race (Fairweather, 1932). Since Hitler was the ultimate authority, his followers were powerless to oppose him or criticize his actions.

Some followed Hitler for seemingly practical reasons related to security, safety, simplicity, and certainty. Jessica Shattuck (2017) related that her grandmother, as a teenager, became a Nazi through an agricultural program that promoted the rebuilding of Germany in a time of severe unemployment. Her grandmother stated she did not know everything that was going on, and she did not listen to everything that was being said. She had been selective in what she heard and gravitated toward the appealing aspects. Shattuck profoundly observed, “My grandmother heard what she wanted from a leader who promised simple answers to complicated questions. She chose not to hear and see the monstrous sum those answers added up to. And she lived the rest of her life with the knowledge of her indefensible complicity” (para. 13).

When untrustworthy leaders face opposition, a common practice they use is to target those who do not follow them, who actively oppose them, or who can be seen as the problem. Many times the leader will give a name or classification to the dissenters, the opposition, or the problem to devalue or minimize them. Adolf Hitler chose the Jews as the problem, and they became the unifying scapegoat for Hitler’s movement. This was seen in the 2016 presidential campaign with Donald Trump demeaning illegal immigrants and those of the Islamic religion, while Hillary Clinton used the same tactic by demonizing those with differing philosophical beliefs as a “basket of deplorables.” Lipman-Blumen (2005) explained this transformation of “huddling followers into superior beings” (p. 68) when she stated, “The heroic leader’s promise to eradicate the polluting enemy relieves the group’s insecurities and its projected guilt” (p. 67).

Followers may rationalize following untrustworthy leaders when the leader has painted a captivating vision; however, in the 2016 presidential campaign there was a wide disparity in the candidates presenting their vision or policy in their advertising campaigns. Approximately 60% of Hillary Clinton’s campaign advertising focused on candidate characteristics while 25% focused on policy. In contrast, over 70% of Donald Trump’s advertising focused on policy (Fowler, Ridout, & Franz, 2017). It cannot be concluded if this was the determining factor in the outcome of the election, but one of the candidates concentrated more on visionary glimpses of what could be rather than character assaults. The propensity for followership can be related to a captivating vision.

Another group of individuals who follow untrustworthy leaders are those followers who have a similar worldview, share similar values, and can fulfill ambitious desires. Padilla, Hogan, and Kaiser (2007) label this group of susceptible followers as colluders. These followers recognize that they may personally benefit from following a leader lacking integrity, since it may advance their personal views, is congruent with their value system, and furthers their career or personal ambitions. In the Enron Corporation, there were employees who acquiesced by virtue of their agreement with the worldview and values of Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling. Additionally, by following, they sought to advance their professional careers and potentially realize tremendous financial rewards.

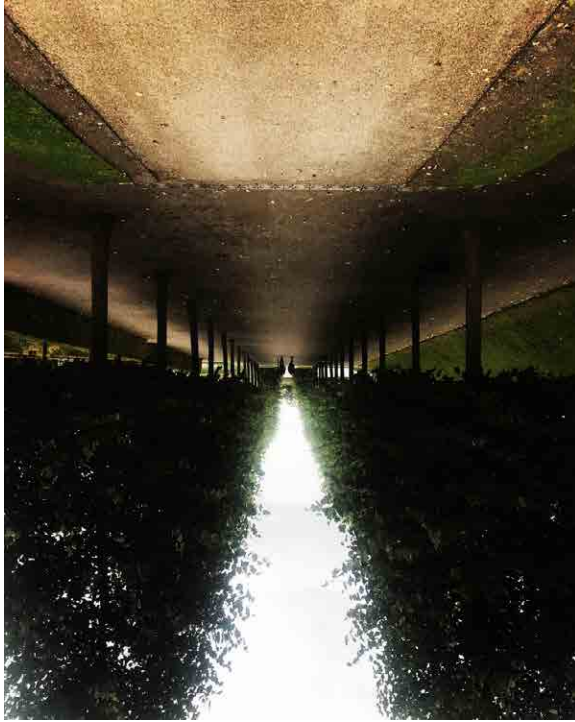
Followers consistently state their desire for leaders with integrity, who exhibit trustworthiness, honesty, credibility, and conviction; however, their longing for certain personal and psychological needs may overrule that desire with their actions, contradicting their stated beliefs. Examples of followers conjoining with leaders lacking integrity are prevalent in business, religious, and governmental organizations, but there is a dearth of research in the occurrence of these events documenting the reasons for people following leaders lacking integrity. Further examination of these contradictory behaviors and actions has the potential of allowing followers to reflect on their needs in relation to the leaders they are following and any incongruences with the behaviors and actions of their leaders not consistent with their own personal values. Further awareness would better equip followers in responding to the leader's behaviors and actions and increase understanding of their personal motivations.

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ODIN'S VIEWPOINT
CHANDLER HOLLOWAY
Photograph

In Norse Mythology, Odin hangs himself upside down from the Tree of Life for nine days. In doing so, he receives the gift of understanding and wisdom he ultimately desires.

Leaders take risks and suspend themselves in a position to see the bigger picture.

Sometimes your world needs to go topsy-turvy before you can get a really good look at it.

STUDENT LEADERSHIP PERCEPTIONS REGARDING RESILIENCE AND SELF-EFFICACY

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Resilience and self-efficacy are emerging issues in student-leadership literature. As malleable skills, these concepts show potential to positively influence leadership development and appropriately prepare students for engagement with an increasingly diverse workforce and social change beyond graduation. This qualitative study utilized open-ended interviews and directed content analysis to explore leadership perceptions of female college students (n=6) at a regional, public university in Northwest Louisiana. The student narratives are consistent with previous research demonstrating the importance of relationship building, personal characteristics, and external influences in student leadership perceptions. Additionally, this investigation extends the research by giving specific consideration to the concepts of resilience and self-efficacy within the students' narratives. Observations regarding differences in gender and race are also noted where appropriate.

In their efforts to prepare all college students for a diverse workforce and complex social issues following graduation, student affairs practitioners appropriately attend to leadership development on college campuses. However, leadership and its development have proven to be complex concepts which have multiple influences and evade clear definitions (Northouse, 2007). In recent studies, self-efficacy and resilience have demonstrated an influence on leadership development (Hannah, Avolio, Luthans, & Harms, 2008; Machida & Schaubroeck, 2011). The current study

proposes to extend the investigation into the relationship among self-efficacy, resilience, and leadership with specific focus on female college students. Expanding the investigation into the role of self-efficacy and resilience in leadership behavior would enhance our understanding of the phenomenon and provide information to student leadership development efforts. These considerations may serve not only to prepare student leaders, but also to minimize barriers, such as lack of confidence, role expectations, and biases which limit leadership opportunities for women (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Haber, 2011).

According to Bandura (1977), self-efficacy is the individual's belief about his or her capabilities to affect change. Several investigations (Dugan, Komives, & Segar, 2008; Haber, 2012; McCormick, Tanguma, & Lopez-Forment, 2002; Shertzer & Schuh, 2004) have explored the relationship between college student beliefs and leadership development. These explorations conclude that students' beliefs about their abilities influence their leadership choices, behaviors, and development. Shertzer and Schuh (2004) assert there are empowering-versus-constraining beliefs which either enhance or inhibit student action with respect to leadership opportunities. Gender differences have been noted in the relationship between leadership and self-efficacy in college students. Women report lower levels of self-efficacy despite higher levels of leadership capacity (Dugan et al., 2008) and no differences in the number of leadership roles in which they engage (McCormick et al., 2002).

Generally viewed as a process for effectively adapting to significant stressors, resilience has proven to be a difficult concept to define (Richardson, 2002). Current thinking is that resilience is more than a response to or simple recovery from difficult circumstances, but a process of adaptation and growth which builds upon internal strengths (Richardson, 2002). While much of the resilience literature is situated in developmental and clinical psychology (Windle, 2010), a review of the literature reveals emerging interest between resilience and outcomes in higher education. For example, a review reveals investigations into academic outcomes (Cassidy, 2015), adjustment to the college environment (Pidgeon, Rowe, Stapleton, Magyar, & Lo, 2014), and coping skills in college students (Hartley, 2012). In a study of college students of color, Brown (2008) reported

interpersonal interactions and social supports contribute to an individual's resilience. These studies indicate resilience provides protection against social and environmental stressors. While resilience in leadership has been explored in relation to job satisfaction, job performance, work/life happiness and organizational commitment (Luthans & Youseff-Morgan, 2017), investigations into the potential influence of resilience on student leadership are limited.

Cassidy (2015) and Schwarzer and Warner (2013) assert a positive relationship between self-efficacy and resilience. That is, when faced with challenges, individuals with higher levels of self-efficacy cope better and are more resilient. Less efficacious individuals show less ability to cope with challenges. These studies are important to the current investigation in that they add to an understanding of the relationship between resilience and self-efficacy. The relationship may be instrumental in understanding college students' adjustment as much of their stress, and subsequently, their ability or desire to engage in leadership opportunities arises from academic tasks. While the existing literature provides some guidance on the potential influence of self-efficacy and resilience on leadership in college students, additional information is needed to better understand how these constructs influence leadership development. Gaining a better understanding of the relationship may inform student leadership development efforts and prepare future leaders.

METHOD

Participants

Following Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, students from a regional public university in Northwest Louisiana participated in the investigation. According to Robinson (2014), a sample size between 3 and 16 is sufficient when results target a specific group and are not intended to generalize to the larger population. A convenience sampling strategy was intentionally selected as the objective was to gather in-depth information and a rich understanding of students' lived experiences (Klenke, 2015). The participants were recruited through chain-referral sampling, beginning with two students known by the researcher. Snowball sampling identified additional participants as each of the initial students referred other female students. A total of six students participated in the

study. Prior to beginning each interview, the students were informed of the purpose of the study, confidentiality and its limits, and the voluntary nature of their participation.

Although small, this sample of students reflected the characteristics relevant to the study; that is, all participants were female, from diverse backgrounds and had varying experiences with leadership. Additionally, all participants represented a variety of academic majors, ranging in age from 22 to 26 years. The students' experience included formal and informal leadership positions in employment, athletics, academic organizations, honor societies, and Greek organizations. Half of the participants had leadership experience, both prior to and during college. Two of the participants engaged in leadership experiences only after beginning college. The final participant identified minimal experience related to her off-campus job. Four of the participants were seniors and two were recent graduates with plans to enter graduate school. Half of the participants identified as Caucasian. Of the three other participants, one identified as Hispanic, one identified as Indian, and one identified as African American. The two graduate students were also international students and had lived in the United States for the past six years.

Procedures

While leadership perceptions can be investigated through either quantitative or qualitative methods, the researchers determined qualitative methodology to be the most appropriate, as the primary objective was to identify and understand rather than quantify college students' perceptions of leadership (Creswell, 2013). The exploration incorporated the researcher's observations with a semi-structured interview. The interview protocol comprised of five demographic questions and seven broad questions about their perceptions of leadership as well as their personal leadership experience. The five demographic questions were used to establish rapport with the participants and thus increase trustworthiness (Klenke, 2015). The interview protocol, adapted from Armino, Carter, Jones, Kruger, Lucas, Washington, Young, and Scott (2000), can be found in the Appendix. Although the interview protocol was administered consistently to all participants, the researcher remained flexible and rephrased or clarified questions in an effort to further ensure trustworthiness (Klenke, 2015).

The student interviews were audio recorded and the recordings transcribed via computer-assisted transcription (Trint.com). The researcher edited the text of the transcribed interviews for accuracy and analyzed the transcripts using directed content analysis. As described by Hsieh and Shannon (2005), this process utilizes categories which are defined before and during the analysis and derived from theory rather than from the data. A review of college student leadership literature revealed several primary concepts related to college student leadership development, including relationship building, personal characteristics, influences, and leadership outcomes. These categories were further explored for examples or concepts related to self-efficacy and resilience within the students' narratives.

To analyze the themes, the researcher initially read all six transcriptions twice to become familiar with both the content and the context in which it was presented. The researcher then re-read all the transcripts to identify content matching associated concepts identified in the literature. Each of the six transcripts was evaluated and highlighted for one major category prior to considering a subsequent category. Each of the six transcripts was then coded for each of the four major categories. Examples of self-efficacy and resilience were coded separately within each of the major categories.

RESULTS

Despite unique personalities and backgrounds, similarities emerged in responses to the broad concept of leadership. Further, these responses were consistent with themes from college student leadership literature which conceptualizes leadership as relational, a developmental process, and focused on shared values and goals. For instance, beyond their personal characteristics, all participants provided examples of building relationships with supportive individuals which was understood as foundational to their own leadership development. Additionally, all students framed their leadership development in terms of their connection with or impact on others, and they seemed to consider the outcomes of their performance in their evaluation of their leadership outcomes. Of particular interest to this investigation, concepts associated with self-efficacy and resilience were also interwoven into the narratives.

Themes of self-efficacy and resilience were heard in Sarah's narrative, especially in her interactions with others and decisions to make different

choices for herself. Sarah, a Caucasian student, is completing her final semester of study. She reported gradually assuming several leadership positions on campus, both formal and informal, especially in response to others communicating confidence in her. Throughout the interview, she was quiet and reserved. She responded to the inquiries with a questioning intonation that seemed to seek validation of her responses. Unlike other students interviewed, her initial description of leadership was one of position. Yet, she also revealed experiences in which she characterized a leader as a caring friend or a mentor who “helps you be better.” She believed females frequently feel “intimidated,” resulting in males dominating or taking the lead. However, she also acknowledged overcoming this apprehensive attitude by developing trusting relationships which facilitated her ability to “push through” her “comfort zone” and become more engaged. When discussing the impact of a trusted mentor she stated, “I think really anybody could be a leader if they really pushed towards it. Because I know when I started college, I was never going to be in any leadership position and I’d kinda go to class, go home.” Sarah recognized her own lack of confidence and responded to trusting relationships to assist in the development of her self-efficacy. Interestingly, once she found her voice, Sarah indicated that her confidence grew with each positive experience. By her account, this internal change resulted through others listening to her and validating her own voice. She stated, “A lot of the time, you’re not always heard, and to have someone listen to you helps create change in you.”

The ability to adapt was also seen in the narrative of Ann, a graduate student. Raised in Africa, Ann identified as Indian. She was lively and opinionated during the interview. Ann readily acknowledged both her struggle with the strongly defined gender roles in her native culture and with acclimating to Western culture. She desired not to be confined by a rigid gender role yet struggled to resist her habitual behaviors and perceptions of others’ expectations. By “coming from such a narrow place,” so different from her current environment, she was fearful to practice autonomy and exert her own voice. Being open to and accepting of others’ perspectives allowed her to re-evaluate and learn to see challenges and criticism as a path forward rather than a constraining belief. She now welcomes challenge and chooses “not to be afraid.”

Mary, an African American student, was soft-spoken and mildly deferential in her manner. While she had the least formal experience in a leadership role at college, Mary emphasized the importance of positive interpersonal experiences and cultural values to effective leadership. She commented that the relationship “establishes everything. If you’re not comfortable with someone, if you don’t respect someone, they are not a leader to you.” However, in contrast to Sarah who pushed herself, actively seeking interactions to spark internal change and involvement, Mary did not actively pursue any type of leadership position. Mary acknowledged her shyness, but also observed differences in values between leadership approaches within the African American and Caucasian communities which may have also inhibited her involvement. Mary described leadership on campus as focused on the individual. By contrast, she described a collectivistic approach to African American leadership when she stated, “We shoulder the burden together . . . you know, we all try to come to aid when needed . . . Because, it’s been, this has been instilled in us, like, if this person fails, we all fail. It’s a team effort.” Further, Mary expressed her belief that a more collectivist approach helps African Americans to adapt and confront social challenges.

Growth through adversity, a foundational concept of resilience, was seen in two of the narratives (Ungar, 2014). One of these students, Bea, was extremely open and gregarious. She was mildly tangential and laughed easily. By contrast, Beth presented as very soft-spoken and slightly disengaged. Both described being bullied as young adolescents and the subsequent negative impact on their beliefs about themselves. Despite the negative impact, each described later influences which strengthened them. For example, following years of bullying and internalizing others’ beliefs that she was incapable, Bea participated in a Louisiana Youth Seminar. She credited this experience with changing her beliefs about herself. Bea stated, “actually hearing ‘you can do this’ and ‘you’re capable’” provided the opportunity to reframe previous negative beliefs to more positive, productive beliefs. Through being encouraged and socially supported, Bea began to view her behaviors as leadership potential and strengths rather than her previously held belief as something “wrong with her.” Beth had a similar realization in her beliefs about her ability to lead following exposure to a supportive, caring campus environment. She defined

the supportive environment as one “that appreciates you and what you are doing.” Once she felt less isolated, her self-efficacy reportedly improved, and she voluntarily took on leadership roles in several organizations.

Amelia’s narrative illustrated optimism or a positive outlook as a concept which has been associated with self-efficacy and resilience (Luthans & Youssef-Morgan, 2017). Haber (2011) also revealed positivity as an interpersonal characteristic consistent with student perceptions of leadership. Amelia, a graduate student from Mexico, presented as very soft-spoken and reflective in her responses. Like Ann, Amelia described needing to adapt to her environment. However, she drew a connection between positivity and forward thinking to “adapting and overcoming.” Amelia revealed she attended a very expensive and demanding high school: one she would not have been able to attend without a scholarship. She felt extreme pressure, did not feel a sense of belonging, and was challenged to fit into the demanding environment. However, she found guidance in her athletic trainer/life coach who provided a positive worldview and taught her to “keep it positive.” More than social support, he provided a model for positivity and forward thinking. That is, her coach instructed her on how to look beyond current challenges, recognize her ability to adapt, and persevere.

LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

In addition to the small sample size, there are several limitations related to the sample in this study. All six participants in this study were upperclassmen at a single regional university. Further, the majority of the participants were actively involved in student leadership on campus. As a result, the consistency of their responses and uniformity of themes may be related to their individual stage of leadership development and current lifestyle activities. Additional studies to include both a wider age range of participants and those not actively engaged in student activities may address potential differences in identity development.

DISCUSSION

Interviews of the six women revealed themes of self-efficacy and resilience woven into their leadership narratives. The students described various themes which fell into several categories, including adapting to change, overcoming obstacles, growing through adversity during college,

and having a positive frame of reference and future orientation. The narratives illustrated leadership outcomes resulting from the interactions of their internal characteristics with external influences, such as social interactions, culture, and supportive environments. All students referred to a caring environment and the development of supportive relationships as foundational in their personal and leadership development.

Many of their descriptions parallel resilience theory. Resilience theory conceptualizes resilience as a process of adaptation and growth which builds upon internal strengths (Richardson, 2002; Ungar, 2014). This conceptualization encompasses self-efficacy beliefs in that efficacy beliefs determine not only how you think, but also how (if) you choose to act (Schwarzer & Warner, 2013). For example, some students recognized negative beliefs about themselves which limited their interaction, personal growth, and leadership development. However, encouragement and social support facilitated a re-evaluation of their perceptions, allowed new decisions, and increased their engagement in leadership opportunities. As a result, most of these women were able to move beyond challenges, engage, and grow in their leadership development. These students' narratives reflect positivity, another concept associated with students' perceptions of leadership (Haber, 2011). Accessing positive emotions, especially in times of stress, leads to a strengthening of personal resources and facilitates adaptive coping (Fredrickson, 2001). Sarah's narrative illustrates this growth in her description of gaining confidence and increasing engagement. As she stated, "I mean you can see at least a slight change in their perspective, their outlook, being leaders . . . You can really see growth in them."

With increasing diversity on campuses and in the workforce, it is important to consider racial, cultural, and gender influences in leadership development (Ayman & Korabik, 2010). Two students noted how their cultural beliefs created barriers to their integration into a different cultural environment. Ann initially struggled with individuating from her family's gender expectations and worked to assimilate values from the Western culture. While Ann was able to successfully challenge her beliefs regarding rigid gender roles and become successfully involved, Mary remained disengaged on campus. One explanation may be found in her acknowledgment of differences between the individualism of the

Caucasian community and the collectivism of the African American community. With the primary focus on the individual in the leadership position rather than on the common goal, some students may feel less motivated to engage, especially with regard to student leadership and the development of a campus community.

Listening to students' experiences provides student affairs practitioners with some insights into the complexity of leadership development and the important roles self-efficacy and resilience play in leadership development. As illustrated by these students' narratives, an inclusive, supportive climate is instrumental in developing an individual student's belief not only in their own capabilities, but also in the ability to adapt to change and grow through adversity. These skills will serve them well on-campus, but more importantly, as future leaders in negotiating the challenges associated with a diverse, global environment and the complex issues surrounding social change.

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APPENDIX

Interview Protocol

Intro to study and informed consent:

alias: _____

Age: Classification: Gender

Race: Leadership Roles:

1. Many concepts come to mind when we think of the role of a leader. In broad terms, share with me what you think of when you consider leadership or the role of a leader. Share an example.
2. Complete this sentence: “When serving in a leadership role, I...: (Consider follow up questions based upon initial response, i.e., formal v. informal; “type,” cohesion, common goal, etc.)
3. To what do you attribute this ability or skill? (Possible follow ups: models, values, innate, etc.)
4. What are some of the changes in your perceptions or skills since you’ve been in college? Or changes that you’ve seen in others during their college experience?
5. Consider the setting in which you are a leader. What is the setting or culture of that organization? How does it feel to be a part of this organization?
6. Within your organization, do you see any differences in the ways leadership occurs for men and women? (Follow up questions regarding motivation? Perception of others? Expectations?)
7. Within your organization, do you see any differences in the ways leadership occurs for students of color and white students? (Follow up questions regarding motivation, perception of others, expectations?)



LEADERS IN ACTION

EMILIE MINSHEW

Photography

TRANSITIONING MILITARY LEADERSHIP SKILLS INTO A CIVILIAN SETTING

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Although a member of the armed forces may be taught how to be a leader within their respective branch of service, this does not always mean they can successfully transfer these skills once out of the military. Identifying and strengthening those skills that work within a civilian setting is key to success as a leader outside the military.

All branches of the military have a heavy focus on leadership. This focus may be on maintaining the standards of current leaders, or on molding the leaders of tomorrow who are coming up through the ranks. Most people who have served have, at one point or another, been in some form of leadership position. However, military leadership skills are often very different from skills needed to succeed in a corporate setting and many veterans struggle with this transition. If done correctly, military leadership skills can transition to stronger corporate teams and success in any leadership position. To successfully make this transition, one must first identify what skills were taught in the specific branch of service they were in, as well as skills taught in all branches, and cultivate those that will lead to success.

BACKGROUND

I spent four years in the United States Army, and even in basic training we were told by our drill sergeants that we were the next generation of Army leaders. Because of the Army's high turnover rate, training new leaders is always a high priority. In combat, anyone may

end up in a situation where they are leading soldiers. Despite attempts by the Army to create a uniform style of leadership, different styles still exist. Though many of these may work in that environment, most do not translate outside of the Army.

In four years, I had leaders I would follow anywhere who inspired us all to be our best and to give it our all. I also had leaders whom I hated with a hate I didn't know I was capable of. While different leadership styles often lead to these two very divergent feelings, they usually lead to the same end result of work completed. In the Army, the types of leadership that get things done through fear and threats only work because everyone there is under contract to be there, and to leave is literally a felony. This would never work in a civilian workplace; people would just leave in search of greener pastures.

Within two years of enlisting, I oversaw a team of five soldiers and always tried to be the best I could be. I always wanted to be the inspiring leader, the one who brought out the best in his soldiers. Sometimes though, I had to be mean. I had to be the bad guy to get the point across. Since leaving the Army, I have found myself in leadership positions at work or in school projects and have realized that transitioning my experience over is much harder than I originally thought it would be. I would have benefited from a concise guide to the key points of making the switch to the civilian side of things.

IDENTIFYING LEADERSHIP SKILLS BY SERVICE BRANCHES

Though the whole of the armed forces is usually just referred to as the military, each branch differs drastically from the others. These differences go beyond their mission, be it ground warfare in the case of the Army, surface and subsurface nautical warfare in the Navy, aerial fighting and supply with regard to the Air Force, or amphibious combat landing in the Marine Corps. Every one of these different missions brings with it different requirements on the part of leaders at all levels of the structure of each respective branch. It is imperative that, as a veteran transitions from service, they know what leadership skills each branch has equipped them with, so they can find the best place to play well to their strengths.

The Army and Marines

The Army and Marine Corps are very similar in their approaches to leadership because both have very similar missions. Both branches engage heavily in ground combat with either troops mounted in vehicles or on foot, as well as extensive logistical networks to back up these frontline troops. Adaptability, initiative, and critical thinking are paramount leadership skills in these branches and are taught to all members.

Adaptability is one of the most important skills a leader must have when in a combat situation. When the Army or Marines conduct an operation, there is always an overarching mission objective, but individual leaders on the ground are given the ability to make changes to the plans as the situation develops on the battlefield so long as the original goal of the operation is met (Groysber, Hill, & Johnson, 2010, p. 84). This means leaders in the Army and Marine Corps are incredibly adaptive to ever changing situations. As they adapt what they're having to do in the face of a fluid environment, these leaders must also keep the original objective in mind. In a leadership position that requires rapid decisions to be made while keeping a larger end goal in mind, a veteran of the Army or Marine Corps would thrive.

Initiative and critical thinking also go hand in hand with adaptability and are both leadership skills honed in the Army and Marines. In their article for the *Harvard Business Review* in 2010, Groysber, Hill, and Johnson gave the example that no matter how large an operation is, the lowest ranking person can initiate combat with the enemy, if it is needed; no permission needs to be given (p. 84). Furthermore, they affirm the importance of all members of an operation understanding the operation so if anyone goes down, the operation can continue despite the setbacks (p. 84). Initiative and critical thinking are both skills instilled in not just leaders, but every member of a team so when contact must be made with the enemy or a mission must continue, even the lowest of ranking soldiers can do so. Initiative in leaders will lead to tasks being completed in the first place and critical thinking often means that these tasks are seen before they are even an issue.

Any veteran that transitions out of the Army or Marines should find a team or management position that affords them a great deal of

independence. This independence would play to the skills of adaptability, initiative, and critical thinking. In this kind of environment, a soldier or Marine would thrive as a leader, as skills picked up during their service would naturally shine through.

The Navy and Air Force

The Navy and Air Force engender leadership skills that are almost the polar opposite of their ground-pounding cousins in the Army and Marines. While the ground combat branches foster independence in their leaders, the Navy and Air Force teach strict adherence to procedure, as well as attention to the smallest detail.

Both the Navy and Air Force operate very large, very expensive, and very deadly machines of war where straying from the plan can have terrible consequences. In 1967, a pilot on a Navy aircraft carrier deviated from his preflight procedure. This led to a chain reaction in the aircraft itself, causing a rocket firing inside the carrier and 134 crewmen dying as a result (Groysber, Hill, & Johnson, 2010, p. 83). Because of this incident, both branches have since put much more weight behind teaching service members to stick to the plan and occurrences like this have become few and far between.

Attention to detail is another skill leaders in the Navy and Air Force bring to the table in the civilian world. Both branches operate aircraft with incredibly powerful weapons at their disposal. While deployed to Afghanistan in 2013 for the Army, I witnessed an airstrike on a Taliban leader's house. I'll tell you right now that the destructive power of a 2000 pound bomb is frankly insane. One moment a house was there, and the next, there was almost nothing. If those pilots had gotten anything wrong, if they hadn't been precise in what they were doing, it could have ended very badly. That bomb could have easily landed on my position only about 150 meters away, or into the village full of civilians just beyond that house. Since then, I've had massive amounts of respect for the precision those pilots can bring to the fight while also flying their aircraft at speeds of over 500 miles per hour.

Any leadership position that combines a strict adherence to rules and regulations, or extreme precision, would fit veterans of the Navy

or Air Force very well. Working within rigid structure plays well to the skills both branches teach to their members. For jobs where safety is key, a leader from either one of these branches would excel.

COMMUNICATION

No matter which branch of the military a person comes from, communication is key to the success of any operation. Up the chain of command or down the chain, in a five-man team or five-thousand-man division, communication is what often makes or breaks a great organization, no matter what branch of service it is. In the Army, if you could shoot, move, and communicate effectively, then you were a great soldier or part of a great team.

In a study published in the *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, communication and leadership in the military were looked at heavily. Researchers found that communication facilitated more efficient responses in team members during times of crisis. When things went wrong in these stressful, usually combat situations, teams responded quickly and efficiently. Those members of the teams with the equipment or skills to best deal with the problem at hand knew where and when to move. Clear and defined lines of communication were the key to these successes (Matkin & Ramthun, 2014, p. 251). Clear communication is the key to success in any field, be it responding to battlefield conditions or a crisis in the boardroom or on the factory floor. Veterans bring a skill set that pushes communication as a top priority.

Having been in civilian teams after leaving the military I have often found that I'm the only veteran and that I'm also the best communicator. When I am just a member and not a leader I find myself frustrated on a regular basis. Leaders and members of these teams often communicate very poorly. This makes it harder on everyone, especially those who must cover for these communication breakdowns. If I oversaw any of these teams, my first priority as leader would be establishing a standard for clear and efficient communication. When communication is clear and informative, everyone's lives are easier and so is any job.

MILITARY CULTURE

The military as a whole has a fairly distinct culture that forms within it. Transferring this culture into a civilian setting can lead to many positive outcomes for any team. Any sized team in the military becomes a family over time. With a leader at its head, the unit becomes a home away from home (Popper, 1996, p. 5). Be it a five-man team or a thousand-strong division, a family forms. A good leader in any of these teams should cultivate a feeling of family, be it through shared fun, training, or activities as a team. This leads to a loyalty within and to the team that is rare in the civilian world. Loyalty like this must be fortified for the moment when it's all on the line and this family is all that you have. In fact, one of the best leaders I ever had, Sergeant First Class Adam Batt, once told me, "It's not what we do that makes me proud, it's that we're so close that makes me proud."

Another bit of military culture that would make a very successful transition has to do with the higher-ranking veterans leaving the services. Once in the higher ranks, a leader may not be able to manage things in person, perhaps because of physical distance, and they must rely on those below them to get things done. Those who lead larger units must learn to trust their subordinates and empower them to make tough calls when they must (Yardly, 2009, p. 16). If a leader can learn to not micromanage, those below them will like them much more. Showing trust in those below you to do the right thing and make the right decisions is key to building loyalty. Furthermore, if a leader below you makes a mistake, use it to teach not to belittle. If micromanagement is required then do it, but if not, step back and let the team operate on their own and learn to be independent.

One final bit of culture instilled by all the branches is the value of integrity. Everyone in the military is taught on the first day to do the right thing even when no one is looking. This is important because often you are left in situations where you must do right, and no one is even close to see. This drive to always do the right thing engenders trust in those below the leader as well as those above (Hassan & Hussain, 2015, p. 5). Just imagine if the heads of Enron had integrity like what is built up by the military. The blind greed that drove the company to the top and then over the edge may have been curbed by just a little integrity.

CONCLUSION

While the transition from military to civilian life can be stressful and full of uncertainties, transitioning leadership experience shouldn't be. The most important part of this transition is to identify which branch of service a veteran is leaving and what skills that branch taught them. Then, one must know that communication is one of the greatest skills taught in any branch of the military. Finally, the culture of the military, if brought to the civilian world, can build strong bonds of trust and loyalty to all those being led. Not making the most of the experience gained in the military would be a shame. While it is often a tough part of any veteran's life, it will set anyone up for success later in life.

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TAMIL TIGERS

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This paper takes you through the rise and fall of one of the most powerful terrorist organizations to have ever been formed: The Tamil Tigers. The Tamil Tigers were based in Sri Lanka and owned their own army, navy, and air force. Their fierce leader (Velupillai Prabhakaran) had a goal to give his people independence, but his never ending lust for power would lead to the group's downfall.

Velupillai Prabhakaran, later referred to by his Tamil nickname “Thamby” (which means “Little Brother”), was born on November 26, 1954 in the small coastal village of Velvettithurai in Sri Lanka. He was the youngest of four children. In his younger years, he was described as a shy student. Even though his father hated the Tamil politics, Prabhakaran became involved in activism at a young age after becoming angered by what he saw as discrimination against the Tamil people by Sri Lanka’s majority Sinhalese population. In one of only a few known interviews, Prabhakaran stated he was influenced by the lives of two Indian leaders: Subhash Chandra Bose (1897-1945) and Bhagat Singh (1907-1931), both of whom took part in the armed struggle for independence against the British that lasted from 1857 until 1947. He was equally intrigued by the lives and works of Alexander the Great and Napoleon, stating that he had studied and read many books on the two leaders.¹ His goal was to get Tamil Eelam recognized as a nation. To his enemies,

1. “Obituary: Velupillai Prabhakaran,” *BBC News*, modified May 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7885473.stm

he was a secretive man who had no regard for human life; Prabhakaran was a ruthless terrorist who pioneered the use of suicide bombings, brutally annihilated his own Tamil critics, and refused every compromise or treaty that was thrown in his direction that might have led to peace.

During an interview conducted in 1994, Prabhakaran recollected that, when he was in the eighth grade, he had an English teacher who encouraged students to take up arms against the military. “[The English teacher] . . . impressed upon me the need for armed struggle and persuaded me to put my trust in it.”² In 1969, at the age of 15, he joined the Thangathurai-Kuttimani militant group and gradually developed into a leader through his bravery and dedication. Two years later, Prabhakaran founded the Tamil New Tigers (TNT). The group was composed of a dozen close associates he would later lead on a bomb attack at a carnival in Jaffna, the key Tamil city in the northern part of Sri Lanka (September 1972). However, most consider the founding of the TNT to have begun in 1975, with the assassination of the mayor of Jaffna, Alfred Duriappah.

Prabhakaran spent hours upon hours developing and shaping the Tamil New Tigers. Influenced by the previously mentioned Subhash Chandra Bose and the practices of Prabhakaran’s father, he had a very strict code of conduct for his group. Members of his group were to abstain from alcohol and tobacco; they were also expected to dedicate their lives to the Tamil race. They decided to call themselves Tigers because the Tiger was the emblem of the Chola dynasty who established one of the longest-ruling empires in history across South India and Sri Lanka from the 300s BCE-1279 CE.³ In 1976, Prabhakaran renamed his group to The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Initially he believed that members should not marry; in fact, he took a vow of chastity. However, in 1983 he married Mathivathani Erambu, a student at that time; they later went on to have three children. Tamil Tigers are now allowed to marry, but only after five years of service in the military.⁴

2. Jyoti Thottam, “Prabhakaran: The Life and Death of a Tiger,” *Time*, May 19, 2009, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1899590-1,00.html>

3. T. Sabaratnam, *Pirapaharan*, retrieved November 27, 2018, <https://www.sangam.org/Sabaratnam/PirapaharanChap6.htm>

4. Jerome Taylor, “Velupillai Prabhakaran: Leader of the Tamil Tigers,” *The Independent*, May 2009, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/velupillai-prabhakaran-leader-of-the-tamil-tigers-1687239.html>

Velupillai Prabhakaran made it very clear from the beginning that he was going to be a ruthless leader who did not mind sacrificing the lives of others, including civilians, for his greater cause. To his followers who would follow him to his death, he was a freedom fighter who fought for the autonomy of the Tamil people. To the millions of Tamils scattered across the earth who would generously donate to his cause, he was a hero. Prabhakaran was viewed as the only person capable of defending them from Sri Lanka's mostly Sinhalese government and their foreign-funded army, who had violated numerous human rights against the Tamils. He was a brilliant military strategist, and with the use of suicide bombings, he could keep the Sri Lankan Army at bay for several years with little more than assault rifles.⁵

Prabhakaran's objectives were straightforward when he drafted the constitution for the Tamil Tigers. As adapted from his objectives:

- Total independence of Tamil Eelam.
- The establishment of a sovereign, socialist democratic people's government.
- . . .
- Establishment of a socialist mode of production.
- Uphold armed revolutionary struggle; an extension of the political struggle for liberation.
- Guerrilla warfare will be gradually and systematically transformed into a genuine people's war of liberation.⁶

The LTTE leadership was split along a two-tier structure: the military and the political division. Overseeing both of these divisions was a central governing committee headed by Prabhakaran himself. Prabhakaran would direct and control the subdivisions of the group, which included their navy (the Sea Tigers), air force (the Air Tigers), suicide unit (the Black Tigers), and the political office. His roles were Chairman of the Central Governing Committee and Commander-in-Chief of the Tamil's army.

5. Taylor, "Velupillai Prabhakaran."

6. T. Sabaratnam, *Pirapaharan*, retrieved November 27, 2018, <https://www.sangam.org/Sabaratnam/PirapaharanChap9.htm>

Prabhakaran felt that both men and women should be given the opportunity to fight, and in 1983 the women's front was created. Later, in 1987, Prabhakaran set up the first training camp exclusively for women in Jaffna. He also thought that children should have the right to fight. In 1983, Prabhakaran set up a training base for recruits under the age of 16. In the early 2000s, it was estimated that as much as 60 percent of the LTTE consisted of fighters under the age of 18. These child soldiers were referred to as "Tiger Cubs."⁷

Always being outnumbered by the Sri Lankan Army, Prabhakaran would lead his forces in a series of guerrilla warfare actions against a range of targets. In 1983, his fame and prominence skyrocketed after he ambushed a patrol of the Sri Lankan Army outside of Jaffna, resulting in the deaths of 13 soldiers. This ambush later led to what is called Black July. Over the span of 7 days, many riots and attacks against the Tamil people occurred, resulting in the deaths of thousands of Tamil civilians. Many Tamils fled the country, while many Tamil youths joined the militant group. Prabhakaran said, "The '83 July holocaust has united all sections of the Tamil masses."⁸ The Sri Lankan people later came to fear the month of July as the LTTE commemorated this attack with bombings and assassinations. This event is also widely considered the start of the Sri Lankan Civil War.

After seeing the successful attack of two suicide bombers in 1983 on the U.S. Marine base in Beirut, Prabhakaran began to encourage a culture of martyrdom among his followers. Long before Islamic jihadists realized the effectiveness of suicide bombs, the LTTE used them as a common form of attack. Often these attacks were against civilians.⁹ A few years later, in July of 1987, Prabhakaran decided to try and model an attack after the Beirut suicide truck assassination. The very first Tamil Tiger suicide attack was made by a Sri Lankan member of the LTTE, under the *nom de guerre* of Captain Miller, who drove a truck into a barracks of Sinhalese army troops who were sleeping. To encourage and recruit more suicide bombers,

7. "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)," *South Asia Terrorism Portal* (SATP), retrieved February 2017. <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/shrilanka/terroristoutfits/Ltte.htm>

8. Thottam, "Prabhakaran: The Life and Death of a Tiger."

9. Taylor, "Velupillai Prabhakaran: Leader of the Tamil Tigers."

Prabhakaran decided to make a large political display in the Tamil homelands of Captain Miller. In 1987, he erected a statue of the captain and displayed it with pride in Jaffna.¹⁰ Prabhakaran would also appear in public every November to honor those who were killed in battle or in suicide missions. Even with these attacks and suicide bombings, Prabhakaran did not consider himself a terrorist. Through all of these killings, his intent was to receive political gain. In 1993, the assassination of President Ranasinghe Premadasa, the third president of Sri Lanka from 1989-1993, was the only time a suicide attack had killed a sitting president.¹¹

Being aware of the influence of European human rights non-governmental organizations, Prabhakaran enlisted their assistance to show the LTTE's war against the Sri Lankan government as an ethnic conflict between Sinhala and Tamil. With the backing of the Norwegian government, Prabhakaran declared a ceasefire in 2001 and began showing his desire to work out a "comprehensive and just peace."¹² With the ceasefire in effect, Prabhakaran secretly demanded his top commanders return to the heart of LTTE territory and told them they were to prepare their men militarily to launch a new war in five years' time. During the ceasefire period of 2002-2006, Prabhakaran, through his military power and popularity among the Tamil people, emerged as a ruler of almost a third of the Sri Lankan coast and a fourth of the country's land. Prabhakaran would often mention democracy to gain support from the West, but it was never something he was intent on. By the time the 2005 presidential elections came around, the focus of the LTTE was gaining parity with the Sri Lankan military.¹³

The tide started to turn against Prabhakaran in large part because of a poll boycott he enforced to keep a pro-peace candidate out of office. Despite this campaign from Prabhakaran, President Mahinda Rajapaksa

10. Robert Pape, "Tamil Tigers: Suicide Bombing Innovators," *National Public Radio*, May 2009, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=104391493>

11. Pape, "Tamil Tigers."

12. M.D. Nalapat, "Why the Tamil Tigers Lost Ealem and How Sri Lanka Won the War," *Jewish Institute for National Security of America*, March 2011, <http://www.jinsa.org/publications/global-briefing/defeating-terrorism-why-tamil-tigers-lost-eelamand-how-sri-lanka-won-wa>

13. Nalapat, "Why the Tamil Tigers Lost Ealem."

(2005-2015) narrowly won and made it his goal to defeat Prabhakaran and bring unity to Sri Lanka. Prabhakaran made some dire mistakes. His continual lust for more land and legal recognition for an Independent Tamil Eelam weakened his forces. It didn't help that Prabhakaran was always suspicious of his people, even his closest commanders. This lack of trust led to him killing many of his own commanders, eventually leading to one of his commanders breaking off from the Tamil Tigers in fear of his own life. It is said that his personal dictatorship and refusal to listen to anyone close to him discouraged his LTTE commanders and led to a few surrendering to the government.¹⁴

Prabhakaran led one of the most successful terrorist groups. What started as a couple dozen friends would eventually rise upwards of 15,000 members in his military, including an army, navy, and air force. Although he was very quiet and secretive, Prabhakaran was a brilliant military strategist; his methods would be used as a guide for future terrorist groups. In most terrorist organizations, the leader is just a figurehead and when he is killed another one is chosen in his place. Prabhakaran was more than a figurehead; he was the founder and dictator of the LTTE. He meant so much to his group that, after his death, the LTTE was essentially destroyed.

Prabhakaran fought for the Tamil people, giving them an opportunity to stand up to those who were oppressing them. He showed his people courage and taught them to follow their goals and to never fear. His biggest goal was to unite a race of people that had been oppressed for years. While he had some success doing this, he also drove some Tamil people out of the country because of his bloody campaign. He gave them hope for a better world, but in the end, his lack of trust of his closest friends and excessive acts of violence against anyone who opposed him, including Tamils, led to the leader's downfall and eventual death. After being chased by the Sri Lankan Army for a few days, Prabhakaran would not allow himself to be taken alive and on May 19, 2009, he was killed in a firefight by the Sri Lankan Army.

Many believe terrorists have two goals in mind: to kill people and to gain power. Prabhakaran, however, may have sincerely wanted his people

14. Nalapat, "Why the Tamil Tigers Lost Eelam."

to receive equal rights with the Sinhalese and to stop being oppressed by the Sri Lankan government. His goals were different from the terrorist groups who attack the West. He never attacked outside of Sri Lanka and always knew there were outside forces at play hindering his movement. Prabhakaran was a powerful terrorist leader and could have become a powerful president had he not made those few critical errors. As opposed to other terrorist organizations who have little support outside of their group, the Tamil Tigers were supported by most of the Tamil people as evidenced by his narrow defeat in the 2005 presidential election. Prabhakaran was followed closely because of his dedication to his members and his willingness to show his love for them. He changed the country of Sri Lanka for decades and has left a legacy behind him.

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RISE

J. L. TROUT
Digital

Many people in America reacted to 9/11 in different ways,
but for me it was an eye opener.
I realized how horrifying the world could be,
but also how quick humanity can be
to stand together in the face of pure evil.
Bravery seen in normal people, firefighters, cops,
medics, our forces abroad, and many others
is the type of virtue I see the best leaders having.

PORTRAIT OF JOHN GLENN

LAYTON SCARBROUGH

Colored Pencil on Acrylic Background

John Glenn was the first American to orbit the earth; he orbited three times in 1962. He was also the first person to make a supersonic transcontinental flight across America, where his camera took the first panoramic picture of the United States.

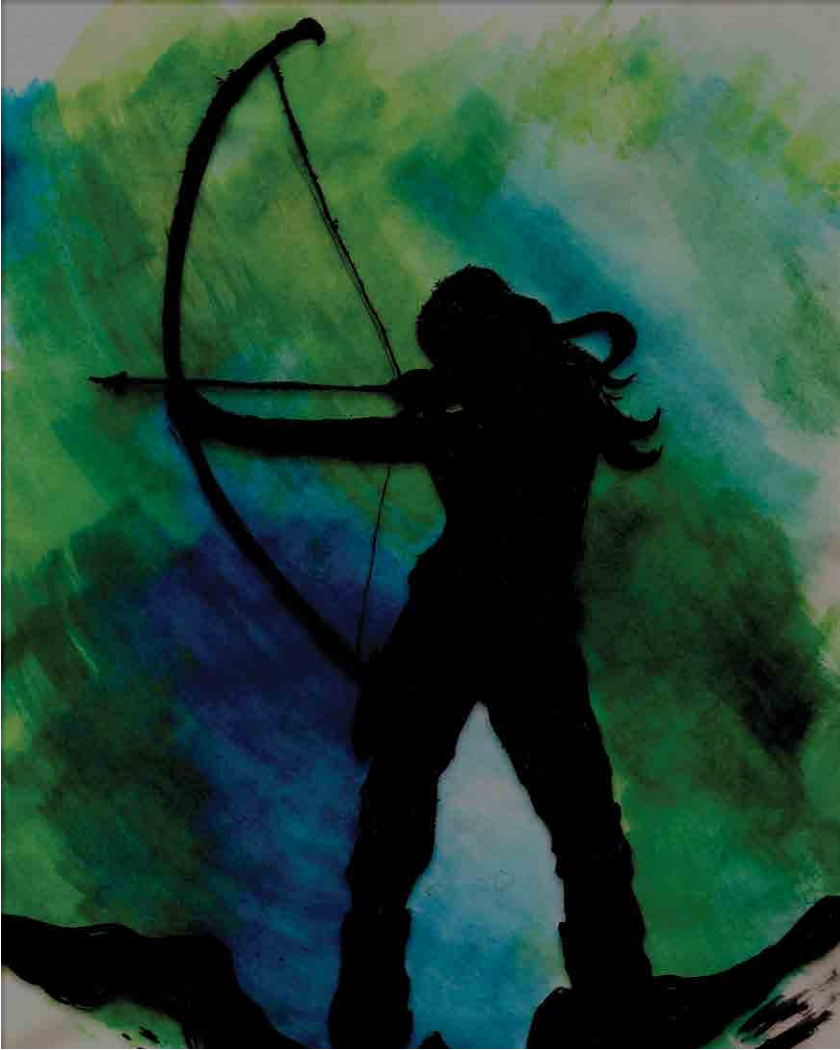
In 1998, John Glenn went back into space on the shuttle Discovery, making him the oldest person to have ever gone to space.

John Glenn was truly a leader by its definition, paving the way for others to try new and incredible things, never stopping until he made the impossible possible.



PORTRAIT OF JOHN GLENN

LAYTON SCARBROUGH



STANDING STRONG

SARAH LYLE

Watercolor and Ink

I believe that each one of us wants to be able to stand strong for who we are and what we believe in. This piece gives me that feeling. It is a depiction of the feelings that come deep within each one of us.

ROMAN LEADERSHIP PATTERNS IN ANTIQUITY

JESSICA WALLACE
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From the founding of Rome to the informal establishment of the Roman Empire, leadership played a crucial role in the way history unfolded. More compelling than the leaders themselves, however, is the way history repeated itself in two of Rome's most vital periods of (re)formation. The purpose of this essay is to examine the parallels between one of Rome's most popular origin myths, the story of Remus and Romulus, with two of the most important figures, Marcus Antonius and Gaius Octavianus, at the turn of the Roman Republic as it transformed into the beginnings of the Roman Empire. More specifically, the leadership capacities of these four Roman figures are analyzed and related to more contemporary examples of leadership.

The culture in Ancient Rome was largely based on tradition. It is arguable, however, that some “traditions” were (unintentionally) followed a little too closely, particularly in terms of leadership. Arguably, the most interesting occasion of an ancient Roman leader mirroring a leadership pattern from generations earlier is that of Gaius Octavianus and Marcus Antonius battling for control over Rome. Throughout this paper, I draw connections between the leaders who ushered in the Roman Empire and the supposed founders of Rome. To accomplish this purpose, I briefly summarize Livy’s account of the Remus and Romulus myth, and analyze the characters and political goals of Marcus Antonius and Octavianus. Furthermore, contemporary examples of leadership in the United States are examined in relation to Roman leaders of antiquity.

REMUS AND ROMULUS

As Livy composed his multi-volume work, *History of Rome*, he determined it necessary to start from the beginning (around 753 BCE), even though he questioned the legitimacy of Rome's generations-old foundation legend. Like many other stories in antiquity, the supposed creation of Rome was rooted in familial contention. Remus and Romulus, twins who were royal by birth, wanted to establish their own city in the region they were raised. According to Livy, their decision was reinforced by the overgrown populations of nearby Alban and Latin settlements; Remus and Romulus wanted to have a fresh territory to themselves. With numerous followers to aid in their endeavors, the brothers decided the city would prosper and proceeded with such plans. Livy notes,

These considerations were interrupted by the curse of their grandsires, the greed of kingly power, and by a shameful quarrel which grew out of it, upon an occasion innocent enough. Since the brothers were twins, and respect for their age could not determine between them, it was agreed that the gods who had those places in their protection should choose by augury who should give the new city its name, who should govern it when built.¹

With growing contention and no clear resolution, the brothers consulted the gods to decide who would lead their newly-established city. Each brother chose their lots and awaited an augury (a "sign from the gods"). Augury and divination were primary methods of decision-making for leaders in Ancient Rome when reason offered no clear answer.² Though Remus allegedly received an augury of six vultures first, Romulus received twice as many vultures not much later. Contention ensued. Remus and Romulus were each supported by their own followers: "one party laying claim to the honor from priority, the other from the number of birds."³ As the rest of the myth continues, Romulus slew his brother and sole power fell on him. "...and the city, thus founded, was called by its founder's name."⁴

1 Livy, *History of Rome*. Books I-II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919), 25.

2 Joseph Miller, "Roman Culture," Lecture at Utah Valley University, February 26, 2018.

3 Livy, *History*, 25.

4 Livy, *History*, 25.

In terms of leadership, much can be learned from the account of Romulus. One of the most infamous world powers in history bore his namesake, meaning he was able to establish a city with a lively culture and spirit. Among these values was a strong devotion to honor and defend the Roman way of life. However, the legend of Romulus also nurtured seeds of heartless competition, a spirit of spiteful conquering, and internal factions within the Roman image as brother slayed brother over a simple namesake. This example is replicated, to an extent, later in Roman history, as will be illustrated in a later section.

MARCUS ANTONIUS

Many generations after Rome was founded, Julius Caesar (100-44 BCE) was assassinated and left no clear heir to his rule. However, Marcus Antonius (83-30 BCE) “was both a leading man in the Caesarian party and consul, head of the government.”⁵ Though the Ides of March, when Caesar was assassinated, left the Roman Republic shaky under the constant threat of civil war, Antonius appeared to be a good candidate for holding the Republic together. He had been in the political system long enough to jump through the hoops; he was an experienced soldier, military leader, and politician. Ronald Syme, a prominent Roman historian, notes that “on the whole, Antonius was distinctly superior to what Rome had learned to expect of the politician in power.”⁶ Overall, Antonius appeared to be more levelheaded and had no apparent lust for dominion. Once the provinces of the Caesarian faction were allotted, Antonius found himself in the consular position over Macedonia and leading Caesar’s Balkan Army—six of the best legions in the army—which reflected Antonius’s capabilities as a military leader. However, as Antonius focused his attention on his newly-acquired province and legions, he left Rome for a month, leaving room for other various factors, like Octavianus, to make a move on the city.⁷

Though Antonius may have looked like a shoo-in at the beginning, his reputation and strategic capabilities were soon bogged down. Syme noted that Cicero and propaganda were the two leading factors which led to Antonius’s downfall. He observed that Cicero, a major force in the

5 Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 96.

6 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 109.

7 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 109.

Roman State during the time, notoriously despised Antonio and used Antonius's character and political blunders as propaganda.⁸ Antonius was caught supporting parties other than the Caesarian (which an important number of Roman citizens favored) and was tainted with scandal for his relationship with Cleopatra (which was viewed as unpatriotic and treasonous).⁹ Syme argued, "In the end it was not debauchery that ruined Antonius, but a fatal chain of miscalculations, both military and political, and a sentiment of loyalty incompatible with the chill claims of statesmanship."¹⁰ While Antonius appeared to be the best candidate for Rome's next great ruler, his self-interest and personal agenda outshone his capacity for leadership. The citizens of Rome were not thoroughly convinced by a man who sought to expand foreign relations instead of reflecting the needs and values of the people he was meant to represent. Considering all of Antonius's slipups, the game of Roman tradition was played much better by Octavianus.

OCTAVIANUS

Though Antonius was the alleged heir to Caesar's political state because of his political background, Gaius Octavianus (63 BCE-14 CE) was the appointed heir of Julius Caesar's name and fortune. However, Octavianus was only distantly related to Caesar and lacked any kind of nobility aside from being adopted into the Julian house. When Octavianus first heard news of Caesar's assassination, he was in Apollonia studying oratory and the practice of military exercises. He did not hesitate to cease his chance at the throne. He got in touch with many "persons of influence and had surveyed the political situation."¹¹ He established connections with Campania, Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa, and, most importantly, Cicero.

Octavianus started out as an unlikely success due to his lack of political and military history. At only eighteen-years-old, he had not gone through the traditional hoops that were required of Roman leaders, however he was resolute: "He had a cause to champion, the avenging of Caesar, and was ready to exploit every advantage."¹² Octavian, teamed

8 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 109.

9 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 109.

10 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 105.

11 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 114.

12 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 119.

with Cicero, played to the memory of Caesar and the ideals of his followers to gain power. Syme suggests:

As his enemies bitterly observed, the name of Caesar was the young man's fortune. Italy and the world accepted him as Caesar's son and heir. . . . One thing at least is clear. From the beginning, his sense for realities was unerring, his ambition implacable. In that, the young man was a Roman and a Roman aristocrat. He was only eighteen years of age: but he resolved to acquire the power and the glory along with the name of Caesar.¹³

The inherited name of Caesar and his followers undoubtedly gave Octavianus an edge over Antonius. Though no one would have expected him to become the next Roman tyrant, Octavianus employed a great deal of strategy while encountering a great deal of luck. Most importantly, he became a leader and representative whom many Roman citizens were willing to support, as they realized he was in line with their desires and culture.

MIRRORING MYTH

When analyzing the contention between Antonius and Octavianus, there are many parallels to the Remus and Romulus myth. Each similarity marks important milestones in the development of a new Roman phase, both in the creation of Rome and of the Roman Empire.

The first parallel is the presence of familial ties. Though Antonius and Octavianus were not twins, both had undeniable connections to the highly-esteemed memory of Julius Caesar and were related by marriage. Both Antonius and Octavianus desired control over the Caesarian faction. However, after experiencing much inner-turmoil, those of the Caesarian faction were not keen on fighting more battles. Syme acknowledges this by positing, "The prospect of a split between the Caesarian leader and Caesar's heir was distasteful to the sentiments of soldiers and officers, ruinous to their interests. Remonstrance was addressed to Antonius: the military men urged him to treat Caesar's heir with loyalty and respect."¹⁴ If Antonius had immediately turned against Octavianus, he would have lost all the respect and support from valuable members of

¹³ Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 113.

¹⁴ Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 118.

his army and faction. Faction members who were devoted to upkeeping Caesar's memory would have felt betrayed if Antonius were to destroy Octavianus, whom they honored as Caesar's heir. Thus, Antonius and Octavianus were forced to play nice to gain respect from the Caesarian faction, which had the most political sway in Rome at the time.

Much like Remus and Romulus, Antonius and Octavianus could not contain their lust for power and avoid contention amongst themselves. As Antonius started to make imprudent decisions, such as focusing his attention on Eastern provinces rather than Rome itself, Octavianus started acquiring more backing in Rome and surrounding provinces. By playing to the Caesarian faction, which dominantly appealed to the lower and middle classes, Octavianus gained more valuable allies within Rome and the government. M. Cary and H. H. Scullard, scholars of the ancient Roman period, discuss Octavianus's rise in reputation within the military and discuss the intentionality behind his turn from an allegiance with Antonius. According to Cary and Scullard,

[Octavianus] could offer no guarantee of peace in the future, except by retaining the armed forces of the empire under his undivided control. His prestige among the troops was now so high that he could answer for their good behavior; but if he were to abdicate his military power or to share it with others, there was every reason to fear the ambitious military officers might again turn their soldiery upon the civil authorities or upon each other. Fifty years of civil war and revolution had created a tradition within the Roman army which none but Octavian could break; therefore it was his duty no less than his right to keep the entire military *imperium* in his own hands.¹⁵

In other words, after generations of civil unrest, civilians and soldiers were ready for stability in their government and leaders. By remaining true to the memory of Caesar, Octavianus placed himself in a position that inspired trust. Continuing an alliance with Antonius, however, would run against the name of Caesar and Roman patriotism. While retrospect allows us to see the benefits of Octavianus's moves over Antonius, at the

15 M. Cary and H. H. Scullard, *A History of Rome: Down to the Reign of Constantine* (New York: Palgrave, 1975), 315.

time it was uncertain which political moves would prove efficacious or damning. Placing bets on different political allegiances is comparable to Remus and Romulus choosing the gods to whom they would expect auguries from.

As in the Remus and Romulus story, “signs” and games played just as important of a role in the contention between Antonius and Octavianus. Remus’s augury of six vultures, which arrived before Romulus’s, is comparable to the immediate advantage Antonius was allotted after Caesar’s death. However, this “first sign” was easily contested by Octavianus. Throughout his political career, Julius Caesar devoted himself to propaganda in the form of games and festivals, “which were customary devices for the organization of popular sentiment.”¹⁶ Playing to the image of his successor, Octavianus hosted a festival that was abundantly funded by many of Caesar’s former friends. Octavianus began gaining more momentum and support against Antonius. Finally, Octavian secured the upper hand when a comet appeared in the northern quadrant of the sky. The superstitious mob believed this was a sign from Caesar himself, who was essentially esteemed as a god. “Octavianus accepted the sign with secret confidence in his destiny—and with public exploitation.”¹⁷ This “twelve-vulture sign” was enough to convince Caesar’s followers that Octavianus was the rightful heir to the Caesarian faction. This sign is comparable with the one Romulus received, and with his newly-obtained credibility, Octavianus gained enough support from citizens and soldiers to gain leverage over Antonius.

Another major comparison is Antonius’s death and defeat, which is similar to Remus’s death. As Syme notes, Antonius was in a position where he had to balance support of the Senate and the opposing support of the Caesarian faction. Syme asserts, “A move to one side would alienate the other. Hitherto Antonius had neglected the avenging of Caesar and prevented his cult; he had professed conciliated towards the assassins, with impunity. The disloyal Caesarian would soon be brought to book.”¹⁸ After allying with Cleopatra and the East and dishonoring the motives of the Caesarian faction and its followers, Antonius placed himself in a

16 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 116.

17 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 117.

18 Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 115.

position he could not recover from.¹⁹ In the Battle of Actium, Antonius was defeated by Octavianus, who was then able to acquire total power of Rome. Though Octavianus did not slay Antonius like Romulus slew Remus, the end for Antonius was arguably more bitter. Antonius, having lost everything he hoped to gain, namely power and high honor, fled to Egypt in exile and committed suicide the year following his defeat in Actium.²⁰ Comparable to Romulus after Remus's death, Octavianus was then in prime position to (re)invent Rome without being contested. Octavianus's new system of government and leadership was the strong foundation on which the Roman Empire was built.

DEIFICATION OF LEADERS

The Roman tradition is one that honors and reveres its strongest leaders. As seen before, the foundation of Rome reflects the strength and divine acknowledgement of its namesake, Romulus. With Octavianus taking the name of Caesar Augustus, using the name of his predecessor as a title and signal of strength, the city of Rome underwent severe changes in its governmental structure, particularly in the way it regarded its new "imperator." Love and respect for Caesar Augustus extended past regular fanfare; he became a god in the people's eyes. Arguably, obedience to Augustus turned into blind faith. The "Oath of Allegiance to Augustus," which was commonly recited by Roman delegates, officials, and citizens, illustrates the godlike status Augustus achieved:

I swear by Jupiter, Earth, Sun, by all the gods and goddesses, and by Augustus himself, that I will be loyal to Caesar Augustus and to his children and descendants all my life in word, in deed, and in thought, regarding as friends whomever they so regard, and considering as enemies whomever they so adjudge; that in the defense of their interests I will spare neither body, soul, life, nor children, but will in every way undergo every danger in defense of their interests . . .²¹

19 Joshua J. Mark, "Mark Antony," *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, 2013. https://www.ancient.eu/Mark_Antony/

20 Joshua J. Mark, "Mark Antony."

21 "Oath of Allegiance to Augustus," in *Roman Civilization: Selected Readings*, ed. Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 589.

In this passage, Augustus is repeatedly named as or counted among the divine, and those reciting the oath declare their allegiance to him and his family at all costs. However, such loyalty to Augustus and his descendants had negative consequences later down the line as monarchs turned into tyrants who led the Roman people through turmoil and struggle. Though a common theme throughout modernity has been to grieve or chide the Romans for allowing corruption to sneak into their government, many people fail to see the way their own leaders reflect the Roman tradition of leadership that shines through Romulus and Augustus. Contemporary civilizations are no strangers to civil wars, international conflicts, political corruption, and leaders who wreak of tyrannical tendencies. Though such leaders may succeed for a season, their reigns always come with a heavy price, which is, as many Romans stated in the Augustan oath: life.

Herein lies the dangers of strong, yet unpredictable leaders: such leaders often inspire blind obedience and unyielding devotion of their citizens. Though some leaders who can navigate the strange terrain of political and/or military power, like Octavianus, do so in ways that positively impact their followers, they can also create unfortunate traditions and corruptible structures that are prone to collapse. Such is the case with American history, especially, which often draws comparison to the Roman Empire. Kristofer Allerfeldt, a U.S. historian at the University of Exeter, posits in reference to America, “It seems that the Fall of Rome was at the turn of the twentieth century, and is now, a lesson from the past for everything from the results of hubristic overreaching to the consequences of decadent immorality.”²² When leaders, particularly, exemplify characters of this “hubristic overreaching” and “decadent immorality,” meaning they are driven by self-interest and pleasure, followers need to think carefully before pledging their full, unwavering loyalty.

A MODERN PARALLEL

Within the realm of politics particularly, it is important to truly analyze the character and trajectory of the leaders who represent a country’s interests. As the polarization of political parties increases,

²² Kristofer Allerfeldt, “Rome, Race, and the Republic: Progressive America and the Fall of the Roman Empire, 1890-1920,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 7, no. 3 (2007): 297.

cultural standards for leadership have been lost. Many scholars and citizens have spoken to this message. Tony Michels, a historian at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, comments on the current leadership standards by asserting, “For the first time in modern American history, we have a president obviously unfit for the office according to previously accepted standards. Trump’s political inexperience, authoritarian leanings, and incessant dishonesty would have disqualified him not long ago.”²³ These words paint a portrait that looks a lot like Octavianus: lack of political experience, a reputation for tyrannical leanings, and the employment of propaganda to further self-image. Though the leadership similarities between Octavianus and President Donald Trump may begin or end at this point, there is certainly an eerie resemblance about the situation which ought to make citizens stop and critically think about the path their leaders are taking them down. Though the path may appear to be “great,” small flashes of tyranny, deceit, and division ought to make us pause for reflection before further degeneration and corruption take root.

CONCLUSION

Though separated by generations, Antonius and Octavianus paralleled the tradition of lust for power and civil war that Remus and Romulus patterned at the very foundation of Rome. The similarities between both stories and the morals that can be learned from each are valuable in modern society. After studying different histories and civilizations, a similar pattern of desire for dominion at any cost becomes apparent when those in positions of leadership are critically analyzed. The events that transpire before the brinks of new governmental/political status are not exclusive to Remus, Romulus, Antonius, and Octavianus. The cycle was present before and after the Roman Empire and has found itself into many other civilizations’ histories and current situations. As Livy posits at the beginning of his history:

What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous moment; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and in the result.²⁴

²³ Tony Michels, “Donald Trump and the Triumph of Antiliberalism,” *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society* 22, no. 3 (2017): 186–192.

²⁴ Livy, *History*, 7.

In other words, history has been set, and it is up to current citizens to identify trends in leadership that have and may threaten freedom and security. Though superpowers like the Roman Empire may dominate for an impressive number of generations, a foundation of bloodshed, civil war, and contention ultimately crumbles, affecting everything that is built on top of it. The presence of leaders, deified or otherwise, may seem fleeting but can have drastic impacts for generations thereafter, whether positive or negative. If there is anything to learn from the Roman tradition of seeking imperium, it is that tyranny and war lead to transient governments and civilizations as well as the perpetuation of corrupt traditions.

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