

**CULTURAL VARIATIONS OF THE PERSONALITIES, LEADERSHIP  
STYLES AND PROTOTYPES OF POLITICAL LEADERS. A  
COMPARISON OF POLITICIANS, ORGANISATIONAL LEADERS  
AND VOTERS.**

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## Declaration

I, Petia Paramova, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed:

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## ABSTRACT

Guided by gaps in the literature with regard to the study of politicians and the formation of a definition of 'political leader', the aim of this research was to develop a descriptive model of political leaders based on direct measurement findings. The research endeavoured to underline the traits, behaviours and implicit leadership theories (ILTs) associated with political leaders via comparison of the aforementioned variables across groups (i.e. political leaders, N=108; organisational leaders, N=50; and members of the general public, N=206) and cultures (i.e. Bulgarian, N=181; and British, N=183).

The personality traits of all participants were measured with the Big Five TIPI (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swan, 2003) and SYMLOG (Blumberg, 2006) measures, while data on leadership styles and ILTs were obtained from the MLQ (Bass & Avolio, 2004). Moreover, the ILTs associated with political leaders were further explored through emic and locally-constructed culture-specific scales.

The statistical exploration of the data relied mainly on multivariate analyses of variance. The findings of comparisons across groups reveal that political leaders were associated with more dominance, emotional stability, conformity and transformational styles. Moreover, the ILTs related to public leaders were less transactional in nature when compared to the ILTs of organisational leaders. In terms of culture, the results show that, compared to British leaders, Bulgarian leaders were more conforming, less open to new experiences and more likely to frequently use both transactional and passive/avoidant behaviours. Furthermore, aspects of morality were more visible in the political ILTs generated by Bulgarians.

The present research combined the study of culture and various measured dimensions into a single framework, thus enabling a variety of main effects and interactions to be evaluated simultaneously. Its main contribution is the directly measured data relating to the traits, behaviours and ILTs of political leaders. Such information on the characteristics of politicians could allow for more directional hypotheses in subsequent research. Moreover, the findings could act as a base from which one could expand in a bid to achieve a description of political leadership. Similarly, the outcomes might aid applied fields. Information about followers' images of good political leaders could inform image management practices relevant to the election of politicians. More specifically, knowledge gained of culturally different leaders could be welcomed by structures such as the European Union, wherein understanding and allowances might aid communication.

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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the research topic. Section 1.1 gives an overview of the research, while section 1.2 provides an overview of the chapters.

## 1.1 Research Overview

The importance of studying leadership is hard to dispute. Unlike other scientific concepts, leadership is not purely academic because it impacts us daily. Its bearing on matters is significant, and some view it as both a problem and a solution to many issues, such as world poverty, organisational success and social regeneration (Jackson & Parry, 2007).

According to Bennis (2007), the study of political leadership, in particular, is even more essential. He noted that the exploration of concepts that could inform the selection of political leaders is 'desperately important', because political leadership has a direct effect on the quality of our lives, our freedom, our ability to exercise rights and our ability to develop in a direction we find fulfilling. Moreover, according to Silvester (2008), the performance of politicians affects the economic and social well-being of nations, and this makes its examination fundamental.

While investigation of leadership characteristics in the areas of organisational and military psychology has been relatively widespread, the research of political leaders has been limited. Bennis (2007) noted that this has resulted in the absence of a widely accepted definition of political leadership. Often, an excuse for not understanding the dynamics of public leadership is the vast and 'slippery' nature of the subject. Nevertheless, many would agree that discrepancies and gaps in our awareness of political leadership have been partly caused by the lack of methodologically sound psychological studies. Most work addressing political leaders has relied on archival materials, content analyses or expert evaluations. In contrast, studies that have used direct measures or assessments are rare. This could mean that available studies have an increased likelihood of poor result reliability. Moreover, Yulk (1998) pointed out that the little available work on political leadership is mostly North American and Western European, in character. This could pose problems with regard to the generalisation and usefulness of findings beyond areas branded as the 'West'.

There is, of course, a unique difficulty in obtaining direct cross-cultural access to politicians who are willing to respond to objective and reliable attribute measures, and this could ultimately account for the problems outlined above. Nevertheless, such data is essential

for initiating discourse in an area that is rarely attended to. Exploring the characteristics of political leaders is not only useful for defining political leadership, but it might also be necessary for this end, as the gathered knowledge could inform challenging practical areas such as political leader selection, political leader image formation and political leader collaboration across diverse contexts.

The focus of this research was the cross-cultural relationship between political leaders and personalities, leadership styles and implicit leadership theories. These central concepts have not only been researched with major leadership theories (e.g. trait theory, behavioural theory, leadership categorisation theory and situational theory), but they have also been widely researched in terms of 'other' leaders (e.g. organisational, military and pastoral leaders). Moreover, they have been associated with the attainment and maintenance of leadership posts. The direction of the present study was guided by an attempt to achieve a direct description of political leaders by identifying the universal and cultural attributes associated with a group of politicians, compared to groups of 'followers' and 'other leaders'. It is my hope that this research will provide the groundwork for a 'political leader' definition, and that it will also secure a base for further work and inform applied settings. This thesis argues that organisational psychologists must research the political field, apply their theories to public leadership and develop new methods of research that are typical of the political environment.

## **1.2 Chapter Overview**

Following the overview presented in this chapter, the discussion in Chapter 2 explores the current literature on leadership research, in general, and political leadership research, in particular. Section 2.1 looks at trends in leadership trait theory and notes that findings associated with the investigation of leaders underline that extraversion (Taggar, Hackett, & Saha, 1999), dominance (Rueb, Foti, & Erskine, 2008) and conscientiousness (Barbuto, Phipps, & Xu, 2010) are consistently tied to leadership criteria such as emergence and effectiveness.

Section 2.2 reviews behavioural research that proposes that, when comparing task-, person- and change-oriented styles, the style that leads to substantially higher effectiveness is that which promotes transformation (Barling, Weber, & Kelloway, 1996; Derue, Nahrgang, Wellman, & Humphrey, 2011; Geyer & Steyrer, 1998; Judge & Bono, 2000; Judge & Piccolo, 2004; Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996; Rowold & Heinitz, 2007). Following a discussion of the variables affecting transformational style, it is generally agreed that the pervasiveness of the transformational style is stimulated by certain contextual variables and by cultural value descriptors such as collectivism (Jung, Bass, & Sosic, 1995).

Section 2.3 considers categorisation theory, which examines followers and their stake in the leadership process. After collectively accepting that implicit leadership theories (ILTs) affect both power distribution and leader labelling, researchers in this area have concentrated on looking at how ILTs vary, and, in turn, how this variance might affect leadership. Once again, situational (Den Hartog, House, Hanges, et al., 1999) variables have been found to account for much of the attributable variance in ILTs, with culture promoted as the variable affecting transactional, but not transformational, aspects of leader behaviour.

The final literature section in Chapter 2 (i.e. section 2.4) examines the situational approach and presents contingency theories, which currently dominate the literature. Such theories underline the situational effect of leadership research, but some have noted that various aspects (e.g. those pertaining to personality, behaviour and situation) related to both the leader and the follower might work together, and might therefore collectively define leadership (Fiedler, 1967; 1978).

After considering leadership theories, the summary notes common gaps in the literature. In general, one could suggest that there has been relatively little research examining political leadership, and even less research examining political leaders via direct self-measurement. In addition, relatively few studies have considered leaders from less developed, smaller and more Eastern European cultures. Moreover, only some have attempted to simultaneously study multiple variables—such as personality, context and behaviour—which, until recently, were largely reviewed independently and were even seen to compete in terms of the proposed amount of leadership variance that each explained.

Leading from this, Chapter 3 presents the current thesis, which aims to address the literature gaps noted above. Section 3.1 includes the research questions and associated hypotheses, developed in relation to each of the theories reviewed in Chapter 2. In general, the research questions enquire about the traits, behaviours and ILTs associated with political leaders in Bulgaria and the UK, compared to the traits, behaviours and ILTs of members of referent groups. Section 3.2 introduces the research setting, underlining historical and political facts about both Bulgaria and the UK while also pointing to the cultural values of each nation. Furthermore, section 3.3 describes the procedure and samples associated with phase 1 (N=243) and phase 2 (N=121) of the research. Following this description, the research measures (i.e. the Big Five TIPI, the SYMLOG [Systematic Multiple Level Observation of Groups] and the MLQ [Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire] and open-ended questionnaires) and the rationales behind their use are presented.

An account of the research results is offered in Chapter 4. Overall, the personality results suggest that, while similar to organisational leaders, political leaders displayed higher levels of dominance, emotional stability and Forward (i.e. acceptance of the task orientation of an established authority), compared to members of the general public. Moreover, the results suggest that, in Bulgaria, leaders (i.e. both organisational and political) tended to be less open to new experiences and more likely to accept/conform to the task orientation of an established authority.

With regard to leadership behaviours, results show that political leaders across both cultures tended to be more transformational in nature, compared to organisational leaders. In addition, leadership styles also appear to have varied as a function of context, with Bulgarian leaders showing greater use of both transactional and passive/avoidant behaviours.

Following inspection of the ILTs, the results revealed that culture was not associated with variance in the political ILTs held by followers. Implicit leadership theories were only affected by the context variable 'leadership arena' (i.e. political/organisational leadership context), in that good organisational leaders were believed to display more transactional leadership behaviours, compared to good political leaders.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings in light of previous literature, and proposes possible explanations as to why some of the hypotheses were confirmed and some remained unsupported. This is followed by Chapter 6, which discusses: (a) the theoretical, conceptual and methodological limitations of the research; (b) alternative methods of statistically analysing the data; and (c) suggestions for future research. In addition, it investigates the contributions, implications and applications of the study with regard to the following domains: leadership literature; personality psychology; statistical consideration; selection, assessment and development of political leaders; and cross-cultural work between Bulgarian and UK politicians.

Generally, the research concludes that dispositional and context-related aspects associated with both political leaders and followers accounted for some variance in leadership. This research can be seen to bridge the gap between many leadership theories and, in places, to examine aspects related to international political leader relations and political candidate selection, with the help of tools originating from occupational and personality psychology.

As contemporary research practice often holds that author background might impact research and therefore lead to a particular perspective, Appendix Four gives a personal overview, which, by some standards, might have led to partialities in the study approach.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter reviews the literature addressing trait, behavioural, situational and leader categorisation theories. The studies presented highlight gaps in past research and help to justify the choices and decisions made within the current research with regard to question formulation, hypotheses formation and investigation methods. Section 2.1 is dedicated to research looking at trait theory, while sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 look at research concentrating on behavioural, leader categorisation and situational theories, respectively. Section 2.5 considers the current research in light of the presented literature.

Within each section, where feasible (i.e. apart from sections 2.4 and 2.5), the sequence of presentation generally proceeds from a focus on group (i.e. political /organisational leader or follower) to a focus on culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British) or, more generally, context. This foreshadows the sequence of questions and hypotheses in the next chapter and, to a large extent, the order of topics within subsequent chapters, as well. Inevitably, there are minor exceptions to this—for instance where it is useful to follow a chronological trail. More generally, group and context can arguably be seen to (conceptually) cover central tendency, then dispersion.

### **2.1 The Trait Approach to Leadership**

The question of whether leaders are associated with particular types of traits has been discussed widely. According to Zaccaro (2007), leadership traits are ‘relatively coherent and integrated patterns of personal characteristics reflecting a range of individual differences that foster consistent leadership effectiveness across a variety of group and organisational situations’ (p. 7). The trait approach, which was previously referred to as a ‘great man theory’, was very popular in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The approach studies human personality and is used to research the innate qualities of leaders and the ways in which they differ from non-leaders. Within the literature, there are two major groups of studies—those looking at the characteristics associated with the emergence of leaders and those looking at the traits associated with leader effectiveness. However, the distinction between the criteria used to determine leadership is unclear, and this has created conflicts when researchers have attempted to define what they intend to measure.

The following section explores the leadership criteria debate; this is followed by section 2.1.2, in which studies looking to explore the general link between personality and

leadership are discussed. Moreover, section 2.1.3 reviews the literature exploring the effects of context on the association between leadership and personality, with special emphasis on the variables 'leadership arena' and 'culture' (sections 2.1.3.1 and 2.1.3.2, respectively). The final section (2.1.4) provides a summary of trait theory, highlighting gaps in the literature and proposing ways to account for them.

### ***2.1.1. The Leadership Criteria Debate***

As noted above, leadership trait studies aim to find the association between a trait and either leadership emergence or leadership effectiveness. While this is an organised way of differentiating research, the differences and similarities between the two leadership criteria have not been empirically explored. On the one hand, according to Hogan, Curphy and Hogan (1994), leadership emergence studies research the factors associated with whether a person is seen to possess leadership qualities. 'Emergence', here, refers to the perception of someone as leader-like or the appointment of someone as a leader. On the other hand, Ilies, Gerhardt and Le (2004) noted that 'leadership effectiveness' refers to the ability of a leader to influence his or her followers to achieve specific goals. This is assessed in a number of ways, as leaders can be evaluated in terms of self-/subordinate ratings (subjective criteria), company turnover (objective criteria) or performance of activities at assessment centers. Many would describe emergence and effectiveness as unrelated, but some scholars would perceive them as parallel in many ways.

According to Judge, Bono and Gerhardt (2002), 'effectiveness' and 'emergence' are theoretically distinct leadership criteria; however, as both are measured by perception ratings, one could suggest that, overall, they both provide representations of what leadership entails. Similarly, House and Podsakoff (1994) stated that, although different, the criteria become blurred and intertwined when measured perceptually (i.e. with the use of self-/other reports, as opposed to with objective measures such as turnover). Brown (2000) also suggested that, when leaders stand out, they do so because they are effective at influencing their peers to a greater extent than they, themselves, are influenced; this, in turn, causes them to emerge. Some (Hogan & Kaiser, 2005; Lord & Gradwohl-Smith, 1999; Taggar et al., 1999) have stated that the emergence of a leader among a group of people is an important indicator of effectiveness. Silvester and Dykes (2007) also judged emerged leaders as effective, as emerging entails the demonstration of leader potential, which can be accepted as a type of effectiveness.

However, others would disagree with this. Lord, DeVader and Alliger (1986) were some of the first to acknowledge and clarify the distinction between leader effectiveness and leader emergence. They suggested that leader emergence deals with the attainment of leadership status, while leader effectiveness deals with performance and the ability to lead a group that effectively achieves goals. Ilies et al. (2004) considered these two criteria to stand at different levels. According to them, leader emergence is the first step in the leadership process, while effectiveness should be examined later, in order to suggest which emerged leaders perform better. The two have also been thought to concentrate on different levels of analysis (Judge et al., 2002), with emergence being a within-group phenomenon—in that a leader emerges from within a group—and effectiveness being a between-group phenomenon—in that a leader exercises influence outside a group. On the other hand, Derue et al. (2011) suggested that there is variation even within each of the two criteria. For example, effectiveness can be related to content (e.g. What is being evaluated—is it the task performance, the leader satisfaction, the group satisfaction or overall effectiveness?), level of evaluation (e.g. Who is doing the evaluation—the individual, group or organisation?) and target of evaluation (e.g. Who is being evaluated—the leader or the group?). The scholars stated that studies employ different combinations of these to present their findings.

The presence of differing views has not helped the debate and, according to Zaccaro (2007), both leader effectiveness and emergence are related to leader role occupancy. Due to this, many articles looking at the connection between personality traits and leadership have assumed no variation of traits across leadership criteria (Zaccaro, 2007). In order to provide structure to the current debate, Judge, Picolo and Kosalka (2009) presented a conceptual model called the Leader Trait Emergence Effectiveness (LTEE) heuristic model. This model suggests that genetics and selection processes lead to the development of personality traits, which, via a number of mediators, result in leader emergence. Following emergence, traits—as well as implicit leadership theories, threats, resources and culture—influence subjective and objective measures of leadership effectiveness. The model emphasises the direct links between personality and the emergence and effectiveness of leaders and, although it treats the two as distinct, it effectively demonstrates the interdependency of the criteria. A theoretical framework that underlines the common and unique characteristics of both criteria is still not available. This has caused researchers to consider emergence and effectiveness simultaneously, and to sometimes use them interchangeably when attempting to underline trait–leadership associations. The interdependence of these criteria is difficult to dispute, as one rarely speaks of emergence without mention of effectiveness, and vice versa. Foti and

Hauenstein (2007), themselves, underlined that those who emerge as leaders are more likely to become effective long-term leaders. Due to this, the below review of studies includes research that has used both emergence and effectiveness as criteria for studying the relationship between personality traits and leadership.

### ***2.1.2 Personality and Leadership***

Through many investigations, a large array of diverse traits (e.g. height, masculinity, dominance, responsibility, insight, sociability, self-confidence, etc.) has been found to be associated with leadership. Early and mid-20th century studies looking at leadership and personality provided some support for trait theory. For instance, in his work, Drake (1944) suggested that personality traits such as aggressiveness, cheerfulness, originality, emotional stability, persistence and trustworthiness are all positively associated with emerging leaders, while anger and introversion are negatively related. The study also noted the presence of cross-gender stability. Further to this, a number of studies utilising the California Psychological Inventory to measure personality presented consistent findings with regard to the association between leadership, dominance and sociability (Gough, 1990; Hogan, 1978; Megakgee, Boyart, & Anderson, 1966). This link was additionally confirmed by others, who employed alternative personality measures such as the Omnibus Personality Inventory, the Bernreuter Personality Inventory and the SYMLOG (Chakraborti, Kundu, & Rao, 1983; Jesuino, 1988; Leslie & Van Velsor, 1996; Nelson, 1964; Richardson & Hanawalt, 1944; Rychlak, 1963; Holmes, Sholley, & Walker, 1980). Moreover, those who carried out testing in educational establishments (Carter & Nixon, 1949; Hunter & Jordan, 1939) provided a link between leadership emergence and the traits of dominance, self-sufficiency, power-orientation, persuasiveness and masculinity. Likewise, additional studies (George & Abraham, 1966; Kureshi & Bilquees, 1984; McCullough, Ashbridge, & Pegg, 1994; Sinha & Kumar, 1966) reported that, as well as being more extraverted, leaders possess lower anxiety, higher dominance, stronger power motivation and a higher locus of control. Moreover, Barrick and Mount (1991), who studied the effectiveness of different occupational groups and considered different performance criteria, showed that conscientiousness and extraversion are good predictors of manager effectiveness. Additionally, Graziano, Jensen-Campbell and Hair (1996) concluded that high scores on agreeableness encourage a friendly working environment and therefore promote positive leader evaluations.

In order to provide an overall view of the findings associated with this large number of early leadership trait studies, Stogdill (1948, 1972) carried out influential meta-analyses that considered the results of 287 studies carried out between 1904 and 1970. Like other early leadership trait studies, his results concluded that a number of personality traits (e.g. responsibility, initiative, persistence, self-confidence and sociability) are important to leadership. However, in addition to claiming some relationship between these traits and leadership, he also asserted that they only cause leader emergence (i.e. a social process during which an individual adopts the role of a leader) if they are relevant to the context in which leadership is exercised. Later, and in a similar study, Mann (1959) considered 1,400 findings and presented some support for trait theory (i.e. he noted that effective leaders are more masculine, dominant, extraverted, conservative and flexible, compared to non-leaders). Nevertheless, like Stogdill (1948), he was unsure about the strength of the relationship between traits and leadership, and therefore emphasised the fact that the correlations he uncovered were only small (i.e. the highest correlation was less than  $r=.25$ ). Such claims brought doubt with regard to the leadership–personality association, and this uncertainty was possibly further inflated by additional early studies that showed no relationship between the variables of interest. An example of this is the study by Gowan (1955), who used the Bernreuter Personality Inventory to determine the personality–leadership interplay in a sample of graduate military students. His results suggest that there were non-significant negative correlations between leader emergence and all inventory scores (neuroticism, self-sufficiency, introversion) apart from dominance, wherein each relationship was positive but still insignificant. Similarly, Nath and Seriven (1981), who used the Pictorial Self-Concept Scale on 4- to 8-year-old children, found a positive but once again insignificant relationship between self-esteem and leader emergence. Moreover, Palmer (1974) noted that the four traits he measured using the Gordon Personal Profile (i.e. ascendance, responsibility, emotional stability and sociability) are unrelated to leadership.

Such negative results and uncertainties possibly led to the loss of interest in trait theory in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This loss was perhaps further instigated by additional problems experienced by scholars at the time, such as a lack of sound (broadly replicable) personality structure. Earlier leadership studies appeared to research a wide range of individual differences. This diversity within the empirical work suggests that scholars were more interested in producing descriptive research and less focused on research that defined and hypothesised the link between leadership and specific characteristics. Such research was somewhat a-theoretical. Moreover, the methods of data collection were often confounded by

leniency, measure unreliability and variable misspecification (Gibb, 1954). Most of the early studies mentioned above used newer personality measures that lacked the back-up of thorough research support. In addition, they also specified leadership criteria loosely; this is reflected in their use of diverse leadership ratings (i.e. popularity, effectiveness and job attainment ratings). Often, these ratings derived from scales that had been specifically constructed for the intended research, as opposed to standardised leadership scales that were comparable across research efforts. Furthermore, the leadership situations explored were too variable, and this reduced the likelihood of consistent results across studies. Study samples ranged from children in schools to business leaders and well-documented historical figures. In addition, the methods used were also diverse and this brought about questions of result generalisability. On the one hand, many favoured the leaderless group discussion method, which asks several small groups of participants to complete a task or solve a problem while onlookers provide ratings on a number of leadership status items. On the other hand, other researchers simply compared already emerged leaders to a normative group, often labelled 'followers'.

Nevertheless, despite issues of measurement, structure and validity—which, at the time, possibly weakened findings and raised doubts over the existence of the personality–leadership link—interest in leadership traits was renewed. A general resurgence of leader trait theory came in the 1980s, and this brought with it a burgeoning number of studies. In 1986, Lord et al. (1986) statistically re-examined Mann's (1959) claims. They conducted another meta-analysis, but this time they looked at the relationship between personality traits and leadership perceptions. They found that masculinity and dominance are significantly related to leadership perceptions, and noted that both Mann (1959) and Stogdill (1948, 1974) should have recognised that, despite the presence of low correlations, the trends show great consistency. They also noted that, even though Mann (1959) and Stogdill (1948, 1974) had been unable to find a substantial relationship between performance and personality traits, they should not have assumed that relationships between other leadership criteria (such as leader perceptions) and traits are also weak. More studies reporting a positive association between traits and leadership surfaced. For example, Smith and Foti (1998) used the Wonderlic personality test to measure personality in undergraduate males participating in building tasks. Their results suggest that those who emerged as leaders also scored high on dominance and self-efficacy. Similarly, Taggar et al. (1999) looked at 94 leaderless teams. They used the NEO (Neuroticism-Extroversion-Openness) Inventory to measure the personality of those performing a number of tasks over a period of time. Their results show that leadership

emergence is often associated with high scores on conscientiousness, extraversion and emotional stability. In addition, both Salgado (2002) and McCormack and Mellor (2002) have concluded that conscientiousness is related to effectiveness. According to Salgado (2002), more conscientious leaders displayed fewer deviant behaviours and reported higher turnover. Furthermore, in military settings, Popper, Amit, Gal, Mishkal-Sinai and Lisak (2004) and Rueb, Foti and Erskine (2008) have found a strong connection between: (a) internal locus of control, lower anxiety, higher self-efficacy and more optimism and dominance; and (b) leadership emergence. Likewise, in more recent leadership studies, Carter (2009) and Barbutto et al. (2010) have further supported the conscientiousness–leadership effectiveness link by showing that conscientiousness accounts for up to 14% of the variance in effectiveness criteria studied. Besides, Ilies et al. (2004) studied the Big Five as a mediator of the genetic effect on leader emergence and their findings assert that personality has a stronger predictive power, compared even to intelligence.

Newer meta-analyses have also been very supportive of the leadership–personality link. In 2002, Judge et al. looked at 222 correlations from 73 samples. Their results suggest that Big Five traits are related to both emergence ( $r=.53$ ) and effectiveness ( $r=.39$ ). In their study, extraversion and conscientiousness appeared as the strongest correlates of leadership, followed closely by low neuroticism and openness to experience. The only personality factor that showed a very weak correlation was agreeableness. Even more recently, Derue et al. (2011) carried out a meta-analysis of 79 studies and concluded that, jointly, the personality and ability of leaders (i.e. the Big Five traits and intelligence) explained between 2% and 22% of the variance in all effectiveness criteria studied. When looking at overall leader effectiveness, the studied traits explained 22% of the variance in this criterion, with conscientiousness and extraversion independently explaining 27% and 35% of the suggested 22%.

These later studies—carried out since about 1998—show more similarity in terms of results significance. Indeed, there is an absence of published research reporting insignificant associations. Moreover, newer investigations have often been described as more experimentally potent and less descriptive in nature. It is likely that this has partially been caused by the growth in our understanding of the personality concept, which has marked a positive change in trait theory studies. The large number of traits—most of which were once unsystematically placed under the same umbrella of ‘personality’—have slowly become better defined. Winter (2005) suggests that personality includes aspects such as traits, beliefs, attitudes, values, motives and contextual features such as gender, social class and ethnicity.

According to him, 'traits' refer to publicly observable and consistent qualities, described in terms of the 5(+/-2) items that feature within the widely accepted personality categorisation of the Big Five model. The emergence of this model is often claimed to have revolutionised personality psychology (Judge & Bono, 2000). Its discovery was born from the re-analysis of data that were originally collected by Cattell and later presented by Tupes and Cristal (1961). The Big Five typology describes the presence of five broad personality constructs: extraversion, neuroticism, agreeableness, conscientiousness and openness to experience. The acceptance of this classification is by all means not universal, but its robust structure across cultures and measures has led to its recognition and wide usage both in research and applied settings. Furthermore, the Big Five personality traits are considered partly heritable (Jang, McCrae, Angleitner, Riemann, Livesley, 1998), and, due to the wide interest in genetically-based and arguably more stable leadership traits, use of the Big Five model is noted in many leadership studies. Its application, and the application of similar and widely accepted models (e.g. the Myers Briggs Type Indicator [MBTI]), is believed to lead to more consistent results. Following its creation, researchers were seen to concentrate on smaller sets of personality concepts, and this allowed for the construction of better hypotheses. This, in itself, resulted in less exploratory and more causal research. Moreover, the development of personality knowledge not only equipped leadership studies with a structure for studying traits, but it also brought about associated taxonomies with which those traits could be measured. It is possible that this added further credibility to newer leadership trait investigations.

On the whole, looking at the studies presented here, one can see consistencies in the findings. With regard to leadership emergence, it appears that dominance and extraversion have repeatedly been found to be associated with leadership. Consistency in levels of dominance was suggested even as early as 1948, when Stogdill asserted that 11 out of the 17 studies he reviewed showed that high dominance leads to positive leadership outcomes. Taken together, half of the studies reviewed here showed a dominance–leadership emergence association, while a quarter showed a significant extraversion–leadership relationship. With regard to leadership effectiveness, the trend suggests that overall conscientiousness is the strongest predictor of leader effectiveness, with more than half of the studies described here suggesting positive significant associations.

In general this section has noted the problems associated with earlier leadership trait research that potentially led to the diminished exploration of traits in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Issues such as inappropriate measurement and definition of both personality and leadership criteria, as well as diverse study designs, resulted in inconsistent associations

between personality and leadership. Nevertheless, following a gradual increase in research potency and knowledge of the concepts studied, more recent studies have shown consistency in their results, and have agreed that personality does account for some variance in leadership criteria. Despite this, gaps in the literature are still present. Most research in the area has concerned generic or organisational leadership, and has failed to provide specificity with regard to the traits associated with other types of leaders. Political leaders, in particular, have rarely been attended to, and—as noted in Chapter 1—when they have been studied, qualitative and subjective methods of research have often been prominent. This has possibly limited our political leadership knowledge. Moreover, modern scholars should not only describe the personality of leaders, but like Chan and Drazgow (2001), they could go a step further to investigate the size of the effect that personality traits have on leadership. In their study Chan and Drazgow (2001) suggest that the predictive ability of personality traits is, on some occasions, overshadowed by the predictive ability of other variables. Alternatively, others (Hirschfeld, Jordan, Thomas, & Feild, 2008) have noted that personality is important, but they have also asserted that its effect on emergence is indirect and mediated by other variables, such as team-oriented proactivity. Studies like those (i.e. studies by Chan & Drazgow [2001] and Hirschfeld et al. [2008]) are presenting a new direction for the aims of trait theorists who can now explore not only the list of leader traits, but can also provide understanding of how certain personality characteristics achieve leadership effectiveness and how these aspects vary. For example, Ng, Ang and Chan (2008) noted that the relationship between the traits of extraversion, neuroticism, conscientiousness and leader effectiveness is mediated by leadership self-efficacy (i.e. one's perception of one's capability to lead). According to them, leader personality is an important antecedent to leadership self-efficacy, which, in turn, leads to effectiveness. Further to this, a number of other mediators/moderators of the relationship between personality and leadership have been suggested. These include context variables, and studies that acknowledge these variables have illustrated variance in leader personalities as a function of the environment. As suggested earlier, taken together, the studies reviewed in this section indicate that in any given dataset there is at most about a 50:50 chance that a particular 'known relationship' will be substantially extant - hence the particular importance of studies that examine the contextual underpinnings of such associations. In relation to this, section 2.1.3 looks at the effect of context on the personality–leadership association.

### **2.1.3 Context, Personality and Leadership**

As noted in section 2.1.2, some of the early leadership trait studies drew negative conclusions about the leadership–personality association. This might have provided an impetus for the emergence of leader trait situationism, which asserts that the leadership–personality link is moderated by the context in which leadership exists. Context, as a variable, refers to the circumstances in which an event occurs. Standardised terminology for context or groups of contextual factors is not available, and many researchers use words such as ‘situation’, ‘environment’, ‘circumstance’ and ‘context’ interchangeably. Examples of contextual features studied by leadership theorists are culture, leadership arena, group task and subordinate group composition. Early investigations, which accounted for some of these features, used so-called ‘rotation design’ to investigate whether a leader would remain a leader despite a change in circumstances. Three types of rotation studies were carried out: first, studies in which researchers varied only the task (in order to test leaders in different work environments); second, studies in which researchers varied only the group members (in order to present different group dynamics); and third, studies in which researchers varied both the task and the group members. In these studies, task and group member types were considered context variables, as the alteration of both led to changes in the environment.

Two studies attempted a rotation design that varied group composition (Bell & French, 1950; Borgatta, Couch, & Bales, 1954). The findings of both suggest that leadership status shows consistency despite situational changes. Because of this stability, Bell and French (1950) asserted that more than half (56%) of leadership status variance is accounted for by personal characteristics. Nevertheless, despite the strength of the evidence, one must note that the presence of similar tasks across different groups might cause the repeated emergence of a single person as a leader. This would then suggest that leadership status might still be attributable to situation.

Others (Carter & Nixon, 1949; Gibb, 1947) chose to vary the task while keeping the group composition constant. Like Bell and French (1950) and Borgatta et al. (1954), they also concluded that a leader remains a leader despite a change in circumstance. However, these conclusions are also seen as somewhat problematic. In these studies, it is likely that the leadership status established in task one influenced leadership status ratings on subsequent tasks.

To account for these methodological issues, in 1962, Barnlund was apparently the first to vary both group members and group tasks. In the study, participants carried out motor, artistic, mathematical, literary, social and spatial activities, but, unlike the findings of previous

studies (i.e. those by Bell & French [1950] and Borgatta et al. [1954]), the reported results suggest that stable individual traits do not significantly account for a proportion of the variance in leadership emergence. In the study, leaders who emerged under one condition did not emerge under another. In his conclusions, Barnlund (1962) stated that 'leadership grows out of the special problems of coordination facing a given group and the available talent of the participants' (p. 51). These findings weakened trait theory and provided grounds for the further exploration of contextual variables.

However, unsure of Barnlund's (1962) results, Kenny and Zaccaro (1983) reviewed the findings. As supporters of trait theory, they believed that dismissing it would be premature. Unlike Barnlund (1962), they concluded from their results that the percentage of variance in leadership due to traits is 49–82%, as the leaders in their study emerged as leaders despite changes in situation and group member composition.

Such mixed associations presented a problem for leadership literature. A need for some consensus was evident, and this forced some to reconceptualise their conclusions. Despite providing some support for trait theory, Gibb (1947) also proposed the existence of general and specific traits of leadership. According to him, 'it would be impossible to characterise a leader type or to enumerate leadership traits common to all military situations' (p. 273); however, he also asserted that 'there do seem to be certain general characteristics of personality the possession of which does not necessarily cause a man to have leadership status conferred upon him but which does place him higher than he would otherwise be on the scale of choice in any group' (p. 284). He suggested that some leadership traits might show stability across contexts, and some traits might be unstable in their consistent prediction of leadership. Studies exploring the mediating effects of context and the stability of personality as a leadership predictor are, however, largely unavailable. Zaccaro, Foti and Kenny (1991) were some of the few to have employed a rotation design in an attempt to uncover which specific traits lead to leadership emergence in all situations and which traits predict emergence on some occasions but not on others. In their study, they measured both leadership and self-monitoring—the latter of which is described as containing three subscales (extraversion, directiveness and acting). Their results show that both self-monitoring, in general, and acting, in particular, correlate with leadership emergence across all contexts. This suggests that these personality traits are stable in their prediction of leadership in different situations. Prompted by Zaccaro et al.'s (1991) study, Ehigie and Akpan (2006) continued to address the stability of personality traits in leadership. In their study, they aimed to discover not only the aspects of a leader's personality that are stable across environments, but also those that vary across

situations. According to them, different personality traits are necessary in organisations that practice different management styles. They showed that organisations using total quality management (TQM) contain leaders who are higher in extraversion, compared to managers from alternative organisations who do not utilise TQM. Based on this, they concluded that the favoured organisational managerial style affects the kind of leaders that rise to power. Moreover, in a study with similar aims, Bartone, Eid, Johnsen, Laberg and Snook (2009) looked at West Point military cadets in two contexts (during summer field training and the academic semester). Their results led them to conclude that different personality traits are necessary for different settings. While extraversion was highly needed by the cadets in social active environments, conscientiousness was essential during the academic semester in order for particular cadets to emerge as leaders. The researchers did, however, suggest that hardiness was required in both settings.

The above studies note that the presence of certain personality traits in leaders is not moderated by context variables, but that some leader characteristics vary across environments. Even though the researchers (i.e. Ehigie & Akpan [2006]; Zaccarro et al. [1991]; Bartone et al. [2009]) considered the effects of diverse context variables (i.e. task type, group composition and organisational aspects [e.g. leadership style used]) on the variance of leader personality, other situational variables are not uniformly covered well by the literature. For example, leadership arena is likely to influence the personality traits associated with leaders. In a study by Judge et al. (2002), the findings suggest that, while leaders in different arenas are generally similar in terms of personality, emotional stability is more related to leaders in politics than to leaders in other environments. Comparisons across settings, like the one carried out by Judge et al. (2002), are, however, rare, and studies that explore specific types of leaders are also limited. As noted earlier, most studies have addressed the idea of generic or organisational leadership, and most have studied the leadership concept with the help of the 'leaderless group discussion' method. One could ask which personality traits are associated with specific types of leaders; because the group of political leaders has rarely been attended to (as noted in section 2.1.2) and is of interest in this work, section 2.1.3.1 explores studies particular to this type of leadership arena.

Moreover, in addition to the lack of leadership arena research, only a few studies have explored the context dimension of 'culture'. This is likely due to the difficulty associated with cross-cultural research (as discussed in Chapter 6). The evident gap in the literature calls for the exploration of culture effects on the leadership–personality relationship. Consequently,

section 2.1.3.2 looks at the few available studies that have studied the concept and claimed that leader personality variables vary across the world.

### *2.1.3.1 Personality Traits and the Political Leadership Arena*

Studies in section 2.1.2 were shown to present supporting evidence for the association between personality and leadership criteria such as emergence and effectiveness. However (as already noted), the majority of the findings are relevant to general leadership, or to leadership in areas outside of politics. Unlike 'other' leaders, political leaders have almost always been studied at a distance. Analyses of political leaders have been limited due to access restrictions on information. This has left our knowledge of political leader personality—and our knowledge of how they compare to 'other' leaders—limited. As Winter (2005) suggested, most living political leaders who are of some interest cannot be directly assessed, and, even if they could be, there would be a multitude of problems surrounding use of the collected data. Because of this, most political leader studies utilise content analyses of speeches and texts as methods of research, and they often rely on bio-facts and archives in order to collect data. This makes findings in the area incomplete, subjective and, maybe, of limited generalisability. Additionally, as noted by Constantini and Craik (1979), studies that have attempted direct measurement have usually used small samples, abbreviated measures with unknown psychometric properties and procedures that are limited to exploring only one or two trait dimensions. Moreover, such studies (e.g. Jansen, Winborn, & Martinson, 1968; Winborn & Jansen, 1967) have chosen to explore political leadership through specialised samples of students that are usually distinguished through political activity and/or inactivity. Nonetheless, perusal of such political psychobiographies and methodologically weak studies is still advocated, mainly due to the lack of robust investigations.

Early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Woods (1913) reviewed monarchs from a number of countries. In addition to assessing their leadership qualities, he also evaluated the general state of the nation they ruled. He found a correlation between the two, but concluded that only genetic factors, such as longevity and intelligence, had a significant effect on their leader effectiveness. Towards the end of the century, an interest in presidents developed. Simonton (1986, 2006) first looked at 39 (and later 42) American presidents and, in the first of the studies, concluded that Machiavellianism, forcefulness, a low need for affiliation or intimacy and intellectual brilliance were associated with their presidential greatness. Later, he moved away from the idea of researching mainly motives, and, in the second study presented here, he

concluded that openness to experience predicted their presidential leadership performance. The latter finding was also suggested by Rubenzer, Faschingbauer and Ones (2000), who, furthermore, pointed to the strong association between presidential success and the openness to experience factor of the Big Five. Unlike Simonton (1986, 2006) and Rubenzer et al. (2000), Herman (1980) concentrated on an alternative location and studied Russian Politburo officials who were described as very self-confident. On the other hand, in Canada, Ballard and Suedfeld (1988) asked historians and scientists to evaluate Canadian prime ministers on a 10-point Likert scale, which was intended to assess the leaders' personalities in addition to other variables. They concluded that the personality traits correlated with prime minister prestige and perceived accomplishments were strength, activeness, innovativeness, flexibility and—interestingly—dishonesty with the public! Pancer, Brown and Widdis-Barr (1999) looked at veteran leaders such as Bush and Thatcher and concluded that the three descriptive factors that contributed to the positive evaluation of these political leaders were integrity, charisma and competence.

A number of case studies have looked at political leaders. Immelman (1998) used published biographical material to assess the personalities of Clinton and Dole. On the Five Factor model, Clinton was seen as charismatic/extraverted, while Dole was seen as conscientious but slightly unfriendly. Hogan et al. (1994) also studied Clinton and proposed that he would score high on extraversion, agreeableness, intellectance and openness to experience. In addition, Taysi and Preston (2001) studied the Iranian president Khatami who, in comparison to others, attained very high ratings on self-confidence and 'need for power'. On the other hand, Kimhi (2001) looked at Benjamin Netanyahu and, after analysis from a distance, described him as ambitious and determined. More recently, Steinberg (2008) described Indira Gandhi, Golda Meir and Margaret Thatcher as dominant, with the latter two also described as contentious.

However, many would disagree that personality traits predict political leader success/effectiveness. Tolstoy was a great critic of great man theories and claimed that the most important factor one should associate with political leader effectiveness is historical activity. Nevertheless, from the above data, one can see a slight pattern with regard to traits such as dominance and maybe extraversion/activeness, which are most likely predictive of political leadership. Despite this, studies in this area have not been integrated, and they have not been considered highly scientific due to the usually qualitative nature of the research methods used. Research looking into political leader personality and utilising quantitative and direct measures might therefore provide more credible findings.

While researching the associated literature, I came across only three studies that had employed political leaders as their sample and directly measured different aspects of personalities. The first study, which reports a comprehensive description of political leaders, was carried out by Costantini and Craik (1980), who collected data from five US presidential campaigns. The participants—members of California’s presidential delegation—completed the Adjective Check List and their responses were compared to those of a group of non-politicians. The results show that the political leaders scored higher in terms of confidence, achievement and dominance. More recently, Caprara, Barbaranelli, Consiglio, Picconi and Zimbardo (2003) carried out a study set in Italy. In the study, the sample of political leaders represented a variety of political institutions, such as parliament and city councils. Their personalities were measured with the use of a Big Five measure called the BFQ, and the responses of the leaders were once again compared to the responses of a large sample of members of the general public. The results of this study show that the politicians scored higher on energy, agreeableness and social desirability. This was later confirmed in a study carried out by Weinberg (2010), who tested UK politicians and found that they also scored higher in terms of extraversion and agreeableness, compared to the general population. Moreover, Weinberg (2010) showed that, in addition to being more extraverted and agreeable, UK members of parliament were also more emotionally stable. One could also add that there are a number of other studies directly targeting politicians, but, while these studies have also researched individual differences, they have concentrated on belief systems, social values and attitudes, such as dogmatism (Direnzo, 1981; Feldman, 1996).

Investigations like those carried out by Costantini and Craik (1980), Caprara et al. (2003) and Weinberg (2010) are valuable, and, together—in line with findings from qualitative studies—hint to an association between political leadership and aspects of extraversion, dominance, emotional stability and agreeableness. Overall, the direct measurement studies carried out by Costantini and Craik (1980), Caprara et al. (2003) and Weinberg (2010) (as opposed to studies that have evaluated leaders from a distance or based on archives) more convincingly show the personality traits of already emerged political leaders, with causal linkages still remaining uncertain. The execution of similar studies might strengthen the already developed trends and provide more weight to the already gathered knowledge about political leaders.

Moreover, following an exploration of the literature, it became evident that studies looking to compare leaders from diverse arenas are generally lacking. Judge et al. (2002) were some of the few who commented on the differing association between personality and

leadership in different leadership settings. More studies of this kind might not only underline the traits specific to political leaders, but also suggest the effect of leadership arena—as a context variable—on the personality of leaders.

### *2.1.3.2 Leader Personality Traits and Culture*

As noted earlier, the context variable culture has rarely been explored. Cross-cultural comparative studies are limited in number and—as mentioned in Chapter 1—the concept of leadership has been mainly studied in Western countries (such as America), leaving Eastern, smaller and largely underdeveloped cultures unexplored. Moreover, because the execution of cross-cultural rotation studies is difficult, these studies have typically employed a simple leader comparison method to infer differences. Although such studies do not show the personality traits' predictive ability of emergence or the similarity or differences between leaders and followers in each of the cultures studied, they do suggest the presence of similar/different levels of leadership traits across cultures. From this, one can cautiously infer that similar/different traits lead to leader emergence. As the difference here might be solely caused by each sample's association with a particular culture and not by the sample's association with both a particular culture and a leadership status, one might want to use such results mainly to indicate cultural personality and not cultural leader personality types. Nevertheless, such findings might suggest the kind of personality traits that a leader from one culture should take into account when dealing with a leader from another.

An example of cross-cultural leader personality exploration was carried out by Silverthorne (2001). After researching samples from the USA, Taiwan and China, he concluded that, while all managers in his sample (i.e. in the USA, Taiwan and China) described themselves as more extraverted, agreeable, conscientious and emotionally stable, American managers used the concept of openness to experience in their accounts. Furthermore, Turetgen, Unsal and Erdem (2008) also researched similar concepts and reported that the emergence of Turkish students as leaders was only predicted by self-monitoring, while studies on US students also highlighted dominance as a predictor.

These findings are, however, not strong enough to indicate whether culture moderates the relationship between leadership and personality. To explore the moderating abilities of culture, one can look at the interaction between group and culture variables. Such study designs might present data that go a step further from mere descriptions of leader personality

differences across cultures. Moreover, the exploration of cultures other than those situated in the West might provide diverse and novel findings.

#### **2.1.4 Summary of Trait Theory**

It would be incorrect to state that trait theory in leadership has not evolved greatly. Indeed, the past 100 years have witnessed periods of ups and downs. In the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, trait theory appeared to be very popular, and, despite being largely forgotten towards the middle of the century, it later re-emerged and reinstated itself. Early studies (Mann, 1959; Stogdill, 1948, 1974) of the relationship between traits and leadership provided somewhat inconsistent associations between the two. However, the growth of personality research informed trait theory of its faults and allowed researchers in the area to focus on smaller and related sets of traits, which they could research with the use of arguably better taxonomies (e.g. the Five Factor model; Costa & McCrae, 1992; Goldberg, 1993). The use of such descriptive models increased the validity of trait research, which more confidently began to show the relationship between leadership and personality (Derue et al., 2011; Judge et al., 2002; Lord et al., 1986).

While researching the literature, evidence of several leadership criteria was found. Many (Derue et al., 2011; Ilies et al., 2004; Lord et al., 1986) would agree that there is a distinction between the emergence and effectiveness of leaders. However, some (Brown, 2000; Foti & Hauenstein, 2007; Hogan & Kaiser, 2005; House & Podsakoff, 1994; Judge et al., 2002; Lord & Gradwohl-Smith, 1999; Silvester & Dykes, 2007; Taggar et al., 1999) would also use the terms interchangeably, as there is still no formal framework to define their similarities and differences. As noted earlier, Zaccaro (2007) claimed that both criteria relate to leader role occupancy, which is why they have been jointly considered in attempts to gather knowledge of the association between personality and leadership.

Overall, the large number of studies considering the trait theory of leadership have presented similarity in their findings. For instance, both dominance and extraversion have been repeatedly reported as associated with leader emergence in the studies reviewed here (Chakraborti et al., 1983; George & Abraham, 1966; Gough, 1990; Hogan, 1978; Holmes et al., 1980; Hunter & Jordan, 1939; Kureshi & Bilquees, 1984; Richardson & Hanawalt, 1944; Rueb, Foti, & Erskine, 2008; Rychlak, 1963; Smith & Foti, 1998; Taggar et al., 1999). Additionally, the majority of research has asserted that there is a link between leader effectiveness and high

scores on conscientiousness (Barbuto et al., 2010; Barrick & Mount, 1991; Carter, 2009; McCormack & Mellor, 2002; Nana et al., 2010; Salgado, 2002; Silverthorne, 2001).

Further to this, the lack of support for trait theory in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century instigated research into the effect of context; currently, this research searches for moderators of the personality–leadership association. A few early rotation studies addressed the idea of context effects and showed the existence of cross-situational consistency in leadership status (Bell & French, 1980; Borgatta et al., 1954; Gibb, 1947); however, they failed to describe which precise traits led to this consistency. Some recent studies (Bartone et al., 2009; Ehigie & Akpan, 2006; Silverthorne, 2001; Turetgen et al., 2008) have attempted to tackle this lack of precision, but their limited number has kept trends from being established across investigations. Taken together, the context studies show that there are, indeed, similarities and differences between the personalities of leaders in different contexts. This could imply that, early in 1947, Gibb was right to talk of the existence of general and specific personality traits associated with leadership. In an attempt to theorise which traits are specific and which are generalisable, Zaccaro (2007) described leader traits as either ‘traitlike’ or ‘statelike’, with the former exhibiting more cross-situational consistency and the latter exhibiting more cross-situational inconsistency. An example of a traitlike trait would be personality, while skills would be considered statelike. Although this sounds like a plausible explanation of which traits might vary in their prediction and which might remain the same across situations, one must note that stability and instability are found not only in statelike traits, but also in those that are traitlike. This is exemplified by studies that have studied traitlike traits and shown that they also vary (Bartone et al., 2009; Ehigie & Akpan, 2006; Silverthorne, 2001; Turetgen et al., 2008). Nevertheless, due to the lack of many studies, it is difficult to note the presence of a trend underlining which personality traits are mostly cross-situationally stable in their associations with leadership, and which are not.

On the whole, a number of gaps in the literature were captured while reviewing the research. The use of students and children has been widespread in studies applying the leaderless group discussion paradigm. This has provided an association between personality and generic leadership, while discounting the presentation of specificity in terms of the type of leaders studied. In addition, most of the field studies—which have provided specificity through the use of leader samples and by attempting to compare leaders with members of a referent group—have mainly concentrated on doing this, with the aim of describing the personality traits of organisational leaders. A group of leaders that has been largely overlooked is that of politicians; when they have been considered in research, the main methods used have been

qualitative and based on archival or distantly collected data. This could have possibly resulted in a lack of awareness of political leader personality and a lack of knowledge related to the effect of context variables such as leadership arena (i.e. political, organisational, military, pastoral, etc.) on the personality–leadership relationship.

Moreover, the reviewed literature suggests that culture has also often been disregarded. Studies of culture are limited in number, and those that are available mainly relate to Western nations. According to Weinberg (2012), Eastern cultures with a totalitarian history experience lower levels of accountability, which usually results in the reduced likelihood of leader participation in research. Nevertheless, this difficulty in gaining access and response does not defeat the idea that—even if they are difficult to research—exploring these new areas could be valuable for providing results that might generalise beyond the West.

To account for the stated gaps in the literature, a comparison between the directly measured personalities of political leaders and the directly measured personalities of those in referent groups (e.g. followers and non-political leaders) could be appropriate. Such comparison could indicate the personality traits that are particular to politicians or shed light on the effect of leadership arena on personality variance. Moreover, the addition and exploration of culture, which has previously been omitted from research, could provide some alternative findings that could secure a more diverse outlook on the political leadership–personality association. Similarly, findings from such studies could possibly inform the selection and assessment of political candidates—an area of study new to organisational psychology.

## **2.2 The Style Approach to Leadership**

With the growth of the behaviourist approach and the shortcomings of trait studies, towards the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars interested in leadership opted to research behaviours as predictors of leader emergence and effectiveness. Many believed that leaders are not born, but made. Scholars came to emphasise actions, rather than mental qualities and internal states. Questions at the forefront of researchers' interests included: What do emergent/effective leaders do? Which behaviours help them be perceived as such? What behaviours increase the likelihood of their success? Initial observations in laboratory settings and in the field, as well as in surveys and case studies, revealed that leaders display two types of behaviours: task-oriented and person-oriented behaviours. The former include structuring work tasks, providing instructions, setting standards and distributing rewards and punishments; the latter include behaviours related to caring for the well-being of employees,

with respect and concern as core values. These groups of behaviours were later referred to as 'leadership styles', and researchers aimed to suggest which of the two led to the emergence, effectiveness and success of leaders.

The below section (2.2.1) reviews style theory research—the early aim of which was to suggest the behaviours that positively affect leadership. In this section, justification for the decision to explore the transformational style in depth is provided. Section 2.2.2 looks at the interplay between the environment and transformational style theory, with a special emphasis on variation across leadership arena and culture (sections 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2, respectively). The final section (2.2.3) summarises the trends while noting gaps in the literature and ways in which these gaps can be addressed.

### ***2.2.1 Leadership Styles Research***

Over the years, a number of leadership styles have been examined. Different researchers have referred to different behavioural aspects by different names, though there is substantial overlap in these aspects. A number of disputes over the names of styles have emerged, but all researchers in the area have had a common aim: to identify the correct way to lead.

One of the first formal and indeed classic investigations—which considered the behaviours, rather than the traits, expressed by leaders—was carried out in 1939 at the University of Iowa. Lewin, Lippit and White (1939) studied groups of boys who were under the leadership of democratic, autocratic or laissez-faire leaders. In the study, democratic leaders encouraged the group to create the working policies and choose the actions needed to achieve goals, while autocratic leaders determined the policies alone and specified allowed actions. Further, laissez-faire leaders supplied complete freedom and gave guidelines only when asked. Members in each group were matched in ability and popularity, and the results show that the boys under democratic leadership were more productive and satisfied than were those led by autocratic or laissez-faire leaders.

Later, Lewin et al.'s (1939) initial distinction between the three styles re-emerged, but under a slightly different guise. In the 1940s, under the direction of Stogdill and Shartle at Ohio State University, subordinates were asked to complete the Leader Behaviour Description Questionnaire (LBDQ; Hemphill & Coons, 1957) and identify the number of times their leaders engaged in certain types of behaviour. The results show that subordinate responses on the questionnaire clustered around two types of behaviours, which the researchers called 'initiating structure' and 'consideration'. The former included organising work, giving structure

and applying rewards, while the latter (which were seen as more effective) concentrated on forming relationships and building respect, trust and liking. The two groups of behaviours were viewed as distinct and independent, forming two separate continua.

At the same time as the studies at Ohio State, the Michigan leadership studies, under the direction of Rensis Likert (1961), also researched the behaviours associated with leadership and their impact on performance. Once again, two types of behaviours were identified: 'employee orientation' and 'production orientation'. Leaders with employee orientation showed concern for interpersonal relationships at the workplace, while those with production orientation focused on the task or technical aspects of the job. Once again, the former were assumed to impact production more positively than the latter. In contrast to the Ohio State studies, the Michigan leadership studies suggested that the two types of behaviours are on a single continuum that prevent persons from exhibiting varying degrees of both groups of behaviours at the same time. This view was supported by Bales (1950), who saw his proposed styles (i.e. task-specialist and socio-emotional specialist) as inversely related. Later, however, the Michigan researchers and Bales (1950) were forced to reconceptualise and employ the thinking presented by Stogdill and Shartle (1955), which accepted that the employee and production orientation styles lie on two separate continua. One must, however, note that the researchers believed task and social leadership to be statistically unlikely to rest in the same person; this is not because the two were negatively correlated, but because they had typically been shown to have a near-nil correlation.

All of the above studies and others (Larson, Foster-Fishman, & Granz, 1998) have advocated for the superiority of democratic/employee-oriented styles showing consideration; such styles, on the one hand, foster positive relationships and trust, and, on the other hand, increase independence. The results suggesting this superiority are, however, inconclusive (Gastil, 1994). It is true that high consideration leads to improved group morale and makes working conditions pleasant; however, without structure, workers lack efficiency. This finding has forced researchers to reconceptualise their beliefs, which has led them to conclude that high scores on both types of behaviours leads to efficiency. For example, in Sorrentino and Field's (1986) study, persons who emerged as leaders after conducting a problem solving experiment scored high on both of Bales's (1950) task and socio-emotional dimensions. Rather than bring unique to leadership dimensions such findings seem broadly parallel - for example - to androgynous behaviour being more adaptive than either masculine/instrumental or feminine/expressive behaviour on its own (e.g. Brown, 1986, chapter 9).

Further work advocating the joint usefulness of the task- and person-oriented styles includes that of Blake and Mouton (1978). These researchers incorporated the results of the Ohio and Michigan studies and proposed a behavioural leadership model called the 'Managerial Grid', with the aim of explaining how leaders help organisations achieve their full potential through the use of two factors: 'concern for production' and 'concern for people'. This dichotomy is similar to the dichotomies proposed by previous studies. In the Managerial Grid, each style (group of behaviours) is mapped onto one of two axes. By scaling each axis from 1 to 9, Blake and Mouton (1978) plotted four leadership styles. They proposed that those who scored 9 on both the x-axis ('concern for people') and y-axis ('concern for production') would be most effective as leaders, while those who scored 1 on both axes would be least effective. In addition, they proposed that those who used only one or the other style and scored either (1, 9) or (9, 1), would display maternal or paternal tendencies, respectively.

Despite the consistency in finding two styles of behaviour, behavioural research at the time failed to point to a superior style of leadership. This handicapped researchers and practitioners, as they were unable to decide which of the two types of behaviour should be investigated or developed more. In addition, it indicated that more work was necessary in order to gather knowledge on a set of behaviours that would have greater impact on leader effectiveness. In the bid to find this, some looked at transforming organisations, where, under difficult conditions, some leaders managed to secure organisational effectiveness. Researching leaders in crisis who were managing to move employees to achieve effectiveness was one key to determining the successful leadership style.

In 1978, the presidential biographer James Burns was the first to introduce the transformational leadership style, which he defined after observing politicians achieve transformations in critical environments. In contrast to previously posited styles, Burns's (1978) assertion was that transformational leaders are concerned not only with the completion of tasks—like task specialists—or with the provision of support—like socio-emotional leaders—but also with the facilitation of change, wherein followers advance to a higher level of morale and motivation.

Led largely by the then favoured humanist approach, Burns (1978) underlined the importance of looking at people's needs and increasing their capacity to reach full potential. Moreover, he contrasted transformational leadership with transactional leadership, which he described as involving the execution of transactions associated with the completion of a task, and as somewhat comparable to task-/production-oriented leadership. According to Burns (1978), transformational and transactional styles are mutually exclusive. This assertion had

been previously suggested with regards to task-specialist and socio-emotional leadership styles; however, the notion was later criticised by Bass (1985). He developed the transformational/transactional ideas further, but stated that the two leadership styles can exist alongside each other. Like Burns (1978), Bass (1985) described transformational leaders as: (a) those who raise subordinates' awareness of the importance of achieving commonly set goals; (b) those who encourage subordinates to disregard what interests them for the sake of the common goal; and (c) those who develop their subordinates' needs to a higher level, wherein they feel autonomous yet affiliated with the group. Moreover, Bass (1985) also contrasted transformational leadership with transactional leadership. He saw the latter as descriptive of those leaders who recognise what subordinates want to get from their job, help subordinates get what they want (if their performance allows) and exchange rewards for effort.

Later, Bass was joined by Avolio and, together, they concentrated on empirically testing the transformational ideas posited previously by Burns. Initially, using factor analysis, Bass (1985) aimed to present a framework to describe the transformational and transactional styles in terms of their components. However, he also included a third type of leadership called 'passive/avoidant', which was used as a baseline anchor point (Avolio, 1999). The work he carried out with regard to the three styles resulted in a published questionnaire that aimed to measure transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant leadership styles. After a number of amendments, they published the current version of the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ; Bass & Avolio, 1995), which evaluates nine factors that explain variance in the three styles. The first five factors (idealised attributes, idealised behaviours, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individual consideration) measure transformational leadership; a further two factors (contingent rewards and management by exception–active) measure transactional leadership; and the final two factors (management by exception–passive and laissez-faire) measure passive/avoidant leadership (see Table 10 in section 3.4.1.3 for a description of these components). Together, the factors provide ratings in terms of the 'Full Range Model', which is the name associated with Bass and Avolio's (1995) transformational leadership style theory.

The arrival of transformational theory is considered to have had a large impact upon leadership as a scientific domain. According to some (Antonakis, 2012), it delivered leadership researchers from their plight at a time when there was no direction and much pessimism. It presented researchers with a set of behaviours that were considered superior for inducing effectiveness, compared to the set of behaviours measured in the so-called two-factor theories

(i.e. task- and person-oriented behaviours). This proposed superiority provided researchers with justification for studying transformational leadership. Towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a large number of studies had already presented findings in support of the transformational leadership–effectiveness association. In their meta-analysis, Lowe et al. (1996) utilised both objective (e.g. profits) and subjective (e.g. subordinate ratings) effectiveness criteria and reviewed 39 published and unpublished studies in the area. Their results suggest the superiority of the transformational leadership style relative to the transactional leadership style. Lowe et al. (1996) agreed that transactional leadership is also valuable, but they also noted that the magnitude and consistency of its effects across the reviewed studies were smaller. Other investigations—such as the one carried out by Barling et al. (1996)—looked at the performance of teams before and after their managers’ transformational style training. In Barling et al.’s (1996) study, the researchers used only objective measures of effectiveness and showed that transformational leader training affects both subordinate commitment and financial criteria such as loan and credit card sales. Similarly, Geyer and Steyrer (1998) showed that transformational leadership has an effect on performance, over and above the effect of the transactional style. This was later confirmed by Rowold and Heinitz (2007), who demonstrated that transformational behaviours uniquely accounted for 14% of the variance in the objective effectiveness criteria studied. Further to this, and while researching the predictors of the transformational leadership style, Judge and Bono (2000) also looked at its effect on organisational outcomes. They showed that transformational leadership is strongly associated with effectiveness, even after such variables as personality—which is also thought to affect outcomes—are controlled for. In their study transformational behaviours appear to predict subordinate work motivation, leader effectiveness, subordinate satisfaction with the leader and subordinate organisational commitment. Moreover, Judge and Picollo’s (2004) meta-analysis shows similar associations. Unlike the earlier meta-analysis carried out by Lowe et al. (1996), Judge and Picollo’s (2004) meta-analysis reviewed both studies that had used the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire to measure transformational leadership and studies that had used alternative measures. The results of their meta-analysis are not as strong as those reported by Lowe et al. (1996) but they are judged as more realistic due to the presumed increase in methodological potency after 1996, which was noted in most of the studies Judge and Piccolo (2004) reviewed. Nevertheless despite support for the superiority of transformational leadership, the style has been considered similar to both person-oriented and task-oriented leadership (Bass, Avolio, & Goodheim, 1987). Recently, however, Derue et al. (2011) explored this and underlined the

differences between the three styles. He suggested that task-oriented leadership predicts performance-related outcomes, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, person-oriented leadership predicts affective criteria (such as subordinate/follower satisfaction). Moreover, he claimed that the transformational style is superior because, unlike the task- and person-oriented styles, it predicts both affective and performance criteria.

Such consistency in findings resulted in diminished interest in the two-factor theories. However, while researchers found it easy to justify the shift in focus from task- and person-oriented theories to transformational theories, they still needed to defend the choice to study transformational leadership over related theories, such as those of charismatic (Conger & Kanungo, 1987) and visionary leadership (Sashkin, 1988). According to some (Fiol, Harris & House, 1999; Rowold & Heinitz, 2007), all 'new models of leadership' should be categorised as 'neo-charismatic theories', as they concern themselves with the articulation of a vision, the practice of innovation and the support of radical changes used to reach goals. This accepted similarity between the so-called 'new theories' has often been the cause of researchers' indecisiveness when choosing which theory to explore. Nevertheless, it is important to note the advantages associated with the transformational leadership model—as presented by Bass and Avolio (1995)—since they often justify its investigation over and above the investigation of comparable models.

For example, Bass's Full Range Model is considered a flagship theory of the transformational and charismatic movement. It is an operationalised theory that can be reliably measured via the MLQ. Moreover, the existence of the styles it focuses on has been demonstrated on a large scale, in studies that have modelled sample heterogeneity (Antonakis, Avolio, & Sivasubramaniam, 2003). Such studies have been a particular asset to the theory, as many of the competing transformational/charismatic models are only theoretical exposes that lack the back-up of empirical support (e.g. the theory of self-concept and charisma by Shamir, House and Arthur, 1993). Further to this, it can be useful to add that, in comparison to the Full Range Model of transformational leadership, similar models tend to omit causes. This is characterised by their tendency to regress effectiveness measures 'y' only onto single predictors 'x' (e.g. a measure of charismatic leadership). The discount of variables that correlate with 'y'—and with other predictors in the equation—ultimately produces biased estimates. Because of this, it is important that additional theoretical causes of 'y' (e.g. measures of transactional and passive/avoidant leadership in addition to measures of transformational leadership), which one can control for in the bid to produce a more valid estimate of the criterion variable, are included. The Full Range Model—which, unlike other

models, provides measures for a number of 'y' correlates—allows for this, and that has often been the justification provided by researchers who have chosen to use it over similar models. Moreover, the exploration of Bass and Avolio's (1995) conceptualisation of transformational leadership is of particular relevance to the current research, which considers political leadership. As noted earlier, the transformational paradigm emerged from the work of Burns (1978), who studied political leaders and defined the concept based on his observations.

Additionally, a number of other leadership theories have been seen to rival transformational theory. Some of these theories look to define what leadership is from a process perspective (e.g. shared leadership theory and complexity leadership theories), so their comparison to the transformational paradigm (which is less concerned with processes in leadership) might be inadequate. Nevertheless, similar to transformational theory, other theories look to define leadership in terms of its content. Such theories (e.g. authentic leadership theory and servant leadership theories) can therefore be compared to the theory favoured in this research (i.e. transformational leadership theory). With regard to authentic leadership (George, 2003), some have claimed that it is distinct from transformational leadership as it accounts for unique variance in leader performance (Walumbwa, Avolio, Gardner et al., 2008). Others, however, have seen it as a type of theory that underpins positive leadership in general—an aspect related to transformational leadership (Avolio & Gardner, 2005). The emphasis on honesty and ethical relationships with followers within authentic leadership is accounted for by the 'individual consideration' factor in the MLQ. This, too, allows for an overlap between the two theories.

Moreover, servant leadership (Greenleaf, 1991; Spears, 2004) tends to include concepts similar to those in transformational theory. Having vision and being honest, service-oriented and a good role model are some of the proposed defining aspects of servant leaders (Russell & Stone, 2002). The aforementioned characteristics are, however, also defining of transformational leaders. Servant leadership has been seen to be highly related to follower satisfaction, and this criterion has also been well-associated with transformational leadership (Judge & Bono, 2000). Therefore, the overlap between transformational leadership and other content-related leadership theories makes the distinction between them difficult. In general, both authentic and servant leadership theories have been seen as underdeveloped (Gardner, Gogliser, Davies et al., 2011) and lacking in research interest. Authentic leadership, in particular, became popular only after the start of the data collection for this work. This made it a less prominent choice when research decisions were made. Moreover, the measurement of servant leadership is problematic. Many different measures have been proposed, but the

scales and items of these measures vary due to the problems associated with defining the term 'servant' (Avoilo, Walumbwa, & Webber, 2009). Russell and Stone (2002) noted that research is still needed to capture whether the personal values of servant leaders are, in fact, different from those of transformational leaders. Distinguishing them more clearly would allow researchers to favour one over the other or to justify the choice of studying one as opposed to the other. As noted earlier, in this research, the transformational model was the preferred choice due to its relevance to political leadership and its operationalised nature.

### ***2.2.2 Context and the Transformational Model***

As presented above, since the late 1990s, transformational leadership theory has attracted much research, of which most has supported the notion of the superiority of the transformational style. As noted in section 2.2.1, the style has been thought to relate to both objective and subjective measures of leader effectiveness, and this phenomenon has been witnessed across numerous organisations, irrespective of type. Because of this, researchers have been largely interested in examining how this supposedly more effective style varies. A variable that has been shown to affect transformational leadership is context. Over the years, different dimensions of context have been studied (e.g. organisation type, organisation size and level of hierarchy). The main aim of such studies has usually been to investigate whether the effectiveness, desirability and pervasiveness of the transformational leadership style varies across different situations.

Bass carried out a number of investigations and reviewed much of the literature in the area. In 1997, he suggested that, even though there are small variations and a slight instability in terms of 'transformational style desirability' (i.e. how preferred the style is) and 'transformational style effectiveness', the portion of this variance that is accounted for by context dimensions is minimal. He did, however, emphasise that there might be a difference in the pervasiveness (i.e. how often behaviours associated with the styles are exercised) of the transformational style, as some of its dimensions could be more readily embedded in some environments than in others.

Such claims with regard to the occurrence of transformational leadership, as defined in the Full Range Model (Bass & Avolio, 1995), have prompted research in the area. In 1985, Bass proposed a number of organisational factors that could increase or decrease the likelihood of transformational leadership style from occurring. He anticipated that the transformational style would more readily emerge in organic organisations that are not as concerned with rules

and therefore allow for the presence of change. Transformational style generally achieves its effects by instigating change, so 'structure' might not allow for the development of change-associated styles. Similarly, Pawar and Eastman (1997) proposed the idea of organisational influence on transformational leadership styles. Like Bass (1985), they too noted that simple organisational structures such as 'adhocracy' (Mintzberg, 1979) foster the use of transformational behaviours. According to Pawar and Eastman (1997), organisations that are more concerned with adaptation and therefore set adaptive goals are more welcoming to the transformational leadership style. Further to this, in 1985, Bass also stated that the transformational leadership style is more pervasive in upper management. He asserted that lower level managers are more concerned with day-to-day transactions rather than larger visions and plans for change—which are both associated with transformational leadership.

Stimulated by some of the propositions made by the above scholars, Lowe et al. (1996) carried out a meta-analysis to explore the consistency of claims that organisational factors affect the presence of transformational leadership. Based on Bass's (1985) ideas that organic, rather than mechanistic, structures give birth to transformational leaders, Lowe et al. (1996) proposed that private, rather than public, organisations would witness the same. In their study, they assumed that private firms would be more organic and receptive to change. Their results show not only weak support for these predictions, but also suggest a relationship opposite to the one hypothesised; public organisations showed a larger number of transformational leaders. This disvalued earlier claims and left some confused about the extent to which organisational factors affect the transformational style. Later, Brazier (2005) opposed Lowe et al. (1996) and showed that bureaucratic structures, which are usually found in public organisations, are less likely to facilitate transformational leadership. Moreover, other recent studies have looked at aspects such as businesses size (Ling, Simsek, Lubatkin, & Veiga, 2008) and, once again, hierarchy (Bruch & Walter, 2007) as reasons for the presence or absence of transformational leaders. These studies have noted that transformational leadership is more pervasive in small organisations and the upper levels of the studied organisational employee hierarchies.

From the work noted in this section it becomes clear that there is speculation over the stability of transformational leadership style pervasiveness, and results have not necessarily been conclusive. Overall, research looking at organisational variables has suggested that transformational leadership style is associated with upper level leaders (Bruch & Walter, 2007) in organic (Bass, 1985) and public (Lowe et al, 1996) organisations of small sizes (Ling et al., 2008). However, trends of transactional leadership are not as clear. In general, studies have

failed to consider all of the styles within the Full Range Model, which gives only a partial view of the leadership style concept across settings. Most studies have addressed solely transformational leadership behaviours. This has certainly been useful for underlining which settings are led by transformational leaders, but not so useful for noting which kind of styles are used in settings in which transformational behaviours are practiced infrequently. Lowe et al. (1996) were some of the few to also explore differences in transactional leadership. Despite hypothesising that public bodies—which are accepted as more mechanistic—would be more transactional in nature, their results show a lack of transactional leadership difference between public and private organisations. The lack of joint exploration of the transformational and transactional styles, as well as the lack of studies looking at differences in the baseline anchor style of passive/avoidant leadership, has left a gap in the literature. Considering this, looking at all of the styles in the Full Range Model might be of use for providing a fuller picture of the leadership behaviours used across settings.

Moreover—like in the case of trait theory—certain contextual variables have rarely been investigated. Leadership arena is not attended to in the literature. Comparisons of leadership style pervasiveness across leadership settings (i.e. organisations, the military, politics, etc.) are apparently not available. This limits our knowledge of leadership arena, within which Full Range Model styles thrive. Besides, once again, the area of political leadership has rarely been acknowledged, despite the fact that the transformational style concept originated from observations of politicians. Nevertheless, due to this work's interest in public leaders, section 2.2.2.1 explores work that possibly connects leaders from the political arena to the transformational concept.

Additionally, the role of culture in moderating the pervasiveness of the Full Range Model leadership styles has also rarely been studied, relative to the role of organisational variables. Despite this, section 2.2.2.2 reviews work suggesting that leadership style display may vary across the world.

### *2.2.2.1 The Transformational Model and the Political Leadership Arena*

Although the transformational leadership concept is rooted in the study of political leaders, its exploration in the political environment has—as already noted—been limited, compared to its exploration in organisational settings. Max Weber (1922, translated in 1947), in his early 20th century writings, was the first to cite political leadership and concepts related to the transformational style in the same body of literature. He was also first to propose the

existence of a charismatic leadership style. Much of his work approaches the idea of political leader charisma and suggests personal and situational variables that determine its presence. His theory is, however, vague and lacks specificity as to how political charismatic leaders should be described and when they are seen to emerge. In addition, his work was based on philosophical discussions and observations that were largely free of empirical tests. His inability to directly approach political leaders resulted in him researching the latter group from a distance.

Influenced by Weber's (1922, 1947) writings, later scholars (Blau, 1963; Dow, 1969; Willner, 1984) looked to provide more specific descriptions of political charismatics. According to their findings, charismatic leaders portrayed as visionary are able to inspire and instill confidence. Similarly, House, Spangler and Woycke (1991) showed that personal characteristics such as power needs were directly related to charisma exhibited by US presidents. More recently, in a rare direct measurement study of political leaders, Barbuto and Burbach (2006) looked at a number of personality characteristics associated with transformational political leaders. Their findings describe them as more emotionally intelligent, genuine, transparent and gifted in terms of interpersonal skill.

Others have touched on facets of the Full Range Model by conducting political leader case studies. For instance, Kaarbo and Hermann (1998) studied British prime ministers and the effects of their leadership styles on the policy making process. They used content analysis to construct the leaders' styles and described Margaret Thatcher as being oriented towards problem solving, lacking concern for others and discounting towards relationship building. According to them, this resulted in her style leading to conflicts. On the other hand, John Major was described as a consensus builder and one who was concerned with the maintenance of relationships and the inclusivity of others' opinions. The authors (Kaarbo and Hermann, 1998) suggested that, under his government, internal conflict was minimal and his interests were in building support. Kaarbo (2001) also noted that Atlee and Thatcher—who were more goal-oriented (i.e. transactional)—generated competition, which resulted in the early termination of their cabinets. In addition, their terms in office were characterised by much reshuffling of roles, which caused instability. Such findings suggest that the presence of transformational behaviours in political settings—which are partly defined by concern for others—could have a positive effect on outcomes such as conflict resolution. Moreover, transactional goal-oriented behaviours can sometimes have a negative effect.

The above findings suggest that ideas of transformational style can be translated into political environments; however, clarity with regard to the extent to which transformational

behaviours are practiced in such settings is still lacking. Most of the studies described above utilised qualitative research designs, which suffer from bias. Quantitative comparisons across different leader arenas are—as noted in section 2.2.2—apparently absent. Lowe et al.'s (1996) study, which compared public and private organisations, was one of the few investigations to suggest variance in the Full Range Model behaviours across public and private settings. From their findings, one can cautiously infer that leaders in public arenas are more transformational, but equally transactional, compared to leaders in private settings. Nevertheless, more research is possibly needed before we can describe with some level of certainty whether leadership arena might affect the pervasiveness of transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant styles, and whether political leaders are associated with a particular type of leadership style.

#### *2.2.2.2 The Transformational Model and Culture*

As noted earlier, the context dimension culture has been studied, but maybe not as widely as organisational variables have been. Jung et al. (1995) investigated the pervasiveness of transformational leadership in collectivist, rather than individualistic, cultures, and noted that the former entail aspects of transformational leadership that are already imbedded in associated customs. The researchers proposed that collectivist cultures would be more receptive to transformational leadership, and showed that this is, indeed, the case in East Asia. Similarly, Conger (1999) also accepted that some cultures might facilitate certain styles more than others, and noted that cultures experiencing crisis might witness the emergence of more transformational leaders who move and motivate the public to reach goals beyond their expectations and abilities. Furthermore, Kuchinke (1999) compared American and German settings and concluded that there are fewer instances of transformational leadership style in Germany, compared to the USA. To add, more recently, Leong and Fisher (2011) carried out a meta-analysis and proposed that cultural differences explain up to 50% of the variability in transformational leadership style usage.

Similar to research considering organisational context variables, studies considering the cultural context variable have also addressed transformational leadership variation but have disregarded differences in terms of other Full Range Model styles (i.e. transactional and passive/avoidant styles). Ozorovskaja, Voordijk and Wilderom (2007) were—like Lowe et al. (1996)—some of the few to address not only transformational, but also transactional, leadership variation. Their results show that there are differences in the transactional leadership style between Lithuania and the Netherlands. The former culture (i.e. Lithuania)

incorporates a higher number of both transformational and transactional style aspects, while the latter culture (i.e. the Netherlands) relies mainly on transformational behaviours.

On the whole, transformational leadership has been proposed as tightly related to culture-contingent variables such as values (Jung et al., 1995; Leong & Fischer, 2011), crisis (Conger, 1999) and political structure (Alas, Tafel, & Tuulik, 2007; Ozorovskaja et al., 2007), all of which lead to the pervasiveness of transformational leadership in some cultures, but its containment in others. Nonetheless, some studies have still shown a lack of variation across cultural contexts. For instance, Zagorsek, Jaklic and Stough (2004) studied the USA, Nigeria and Slovenia and asserted that all of these cultures engage in equal amounts of visionary and inspirational leadership. Therefore, more research, using a wider range of cultures, might yield additional knowledge related to the effect of culture on the variance of leadership styles.

### ***2.2.3 Summary of Behavioural (Style) Theory***

The emergence of the behavioural style theory of leadership was largely prompted by the shortcomings of the trait theory. Initial research aimed to group behaviours under a common denominator. This led to the emergence of two major groups that characterised two distinct styles. An array of names has been used to label these groups, but there is currently common agreement that one of the styles contains task-oriented properties while the other contains person-oriented properties.

Research aiming to show which of the two styles is superior in producing results has proved largely fruitless, with scholars agreeing that a combination of the two is the winning formula. Some (Burns, 1978), however, have refused to agree that a superior style is absent and have looked to describe leaders who have emerged and ensured effectiveness in times of crisis. Such leaders have been seen as transformational, as they have produced positive results by instigating change. A more elaborate theory with regard to the idea of transformational leadership was produced by Bass and Avolio (1988, 1990), who presented the Full Range Model, wherein transformational leadership style is contrasted with transactional and passive/avoidant styles. This led to the design of a test (the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire) that is currently used to measure the frequency of behaviours associated with the three styles and produced by leaders.

In general, studies have consistently shown that the transformational leadership style is superior for inducing effectiveness, compared to other styles (Barling et al., 1996; Derue et

al., 2011; Geyer & Steyrer, 1998; Judge & Bono, 2000; Judge & Piccolo, 2004; Lowe et al., 1996; Rowold & Heinitz, 2007). This has often made its exploration justifiable. Nevertheless, its relation to other change-related styles (such as charismatic leadership), as well as to other positive leadership theories (such as authentic and servant leadership), has posed problems for researchers looking to choose which model to explore. Despite this, some scholars still prefer to use the Full Range Model, because it is not only a flagship model, but also a fully operationalised theory (Antonakis, 2012).

The widely accepted effectiveness of transformational leadership has stimulated research into the way in which it varies. Contextual factors have been seen to affect the stability of transformational style pervasiveness. Studies have suggested that occurrence of the style is contingent on organisational and cultural factors (Bruch & Walter, 2007; Jung et al., 1995; Kuchinke, 1999; Leong & Fischer, 2011; Ling et al., 2008; Lowe et al., 1996; Ozorovskaja et al., 2007; Pawar & Eastman, 1997). Organisational structure, type, hierarchy level and size have been thought to affect the frequency of its use. Transformational leaders have been seen to emerge mainly in the upper levels (Bruch & Walter, 2007) of the hierarchy in organic (Bass, 1985) and public (Lowe et al., 1996) organisations of small sizes (Ling et al., 2008). Similarly, studies looking at culture have noted that those experiencing crisis (Conger, 1999) provide better contexts for the emergence of transformational leaders. In addition, other culture-contingent variables, such as political structure (Alas et al., 2007; Ozorovskaja et al., 2007) and differential values (Jung et al., 1995; Leong & Fischer, 2011), have been seen to play a role in determining pervasiveness. Studies have noted that transitional democracies and cultures, which are both collectivist and mastery-oriented, show more transformational behaviours in their leaders.

Overall, despite the widespread exploration of transformational leadership, gaps in the literature are present. For instance, there is a notable absence of comparisons across leadership arenas and an even more notable absence of studies of political leaders. Once again, the difficulty in directly approaching politicians could explain this trend, but it does not fully justify the apparent near total absence of studies that quantitatively explore behaviours displayed by political leaders. Moreover, other gaps concern the lack of studies that take into account self-ratings. Current trends note the widespread use of 'other' ratings, which sometimes provide one-sided or skewed views of the concepts studied. Besides this, only a few studies have considered all three styles within the Full Range Model. Trends relating to the pervasiveness of transactional leadership and the effects of context on it are not as clear, because, often, studies that have looked at transformational leadership have not contrasted its

effects with those of transactional and passive/avoidant styles. Lowe et al. (1996) and Ozorovskaya et al. (2007) were some of the few to have presented results on transactional leadership variation. Further to this, the exploration of culture as a context variable also seems to have been limited. Therefore, investigations in this area might produce knowledge of the styles practiced in different areas of the world, which could possibly aid cooperation and understanding in multinational organisations or political structures such as the EU.

Due to aforementioned gaps, the literature might benefit from studies of the dynamics and presence of leadership styles—as presented in the Full Range Model (Bass & Avolio, 1995)—in the area of political leadership. The inclusion of political leader self-ratings from direct leader assessment, comparison of these self-ratings to the data of a referent organisational leader sample and examination of the effects of variables such as culture might allow for more complete knowledge of political leadership style. The implication of such knowledge would be in the area of political leader definition and possibly the sphere of political leader relations across cultures.

## **2.3 Leadership Categorisation Theories**

Trait and behaviour theories concentrate on both leaders and their characteristics as predictors of leadership. Such theories are labelled leader-focused theories, and they research first order constructs (i.e. constructs central to and associated with leaders), which are more easily observable and have a direct impact on more easily measured outcomes. Despite their success in suggesting which variables are associated with leadership, these theories are one-sided. As leadership is a process that involves followers, in addition to leaders, it has become intuitively obvious that researchers need to look at the latter, in addition to the former. This has given birth to follower-centred theories considering followers' stake in the leadership process. One such theory is leadership categorisation theory, which concerns itself with implicit leadership theories (ILTs), or prototypes that followers hold with respect to leaders.

The following section (2.3.1) presents an overview of categorisation theory research. Section 2.3.2 concentrates on some of the predictors and concepts that cause changes in ILTs—with a special emphasis on contextual variables—while section 2.3.3 provides a summary, highlighting gaps in the literature.

### **2.3.1 Categorisation Theory Research**

The idea of implicit leadership theories (ILTs) first emerged as implicit personality theory, which refers to the general expectations we possess about a person after we discover at least one of their most prominent and explicit traits. Once we uncover at least one salient trait, we are able to generate a list of others, which we implicitly associate with the one we explicitly know.

Asch (1946), Cronbach (1958) and Schneider (1973) were some of the first to carry out work on the concept outlined above. Following their work, Eden and Leviatan (1975) took on the idea of implicit personality theory and applied it to organisations and leadership, in particular. This marked the birth of ILTs. Implicit leadership theories are here referred to as the human ability to display enduring beliefs about the traits and behaviours of a leader. This set of traits and behaviours is sometimes referred to as a prototype or a schema, which is described as 'an abstract conception of the most representative member or most widely shared features of a given cognitive category' (Phillips, 1984, p. 126).

Early studies of ILTs mainly looked at whether they serve as biases in organisational questionnaires. Eden and Leviatan (1975) presented participants with ambiguous and fictitious scenarios and asked them to describe a leader. The results of this show that perceptions of leaders are organised; based on this, the researchers concluded that when people fill in a questionnaire in a non-fictitious situation, their ratings are affected by biases deriving from internal predefined prototypes. Eden and Leviatan (1975) stated that questionnaire data are a manifestation of raters' conceptions, rather than their perceptions. Such a statement prompted further investigations in the area, with most of the elaborate work carried out by Lord and colleagues. Like Eden and Leviatan (1975), Lord's initial research stemmed from the idea that ILTs serve as biases in organisational questionnaires. Nevertheless, as early as 1986, Phillips and Lord also claimed that, in addition to organising perceptions, ILTs help to specify appropriate behavioural reactions to others. According to Cronshaw and Lord (1987), ILTs affect the formation of status and the development of leader–follower relations. They described a process of 'labelling', which is directly related to leader emergence. With labelling, the salient behaviours and traits of a leader cause an implicit search for an internal prototype that matches those behaviours and traits. If a match between the explicit leader characteristics and the implicit prototype is formed, then one is likely to apply a leader label to the observed individual. According to Cronshaw and Lord (1987), this label is then stored in long-term memory and used on occasions when one is asked to make judgements about the individual in question. Moreover, this label allows for the distribution of power and the formation of a

relationship in which one is superior (the leader) and the other is subordinate (the follower). A lack of a match between the ILTs held by followers and the behaviours and traits displayed by leaders could result in the absence of labelling and, therefore, the absence of power distribution and leader–follower relationship development. This idea has been supported by many (Epitropaki & Martin, 2005; Foti, Frazer, & Lord, 1982; Kenney, Blascovich, & Shaver, 1994; Lord, Foti, & de Vader, 1984; Lord & Maher, 1991; Phillips & Lord, 1982), with Fraser and Lord (1988) also suggesting that ILTs could be useful in the process of distinguishing leaders from non-leaders, as they are benchmarks to which comparisons can be made.

In 1984, Lord, Foti and DeVader (1984) were first to show the effects of ‘matching’ on leader emergence and effectiveness in an empirical study. In their study, variances in leadership prototypicality of a hypothetical leader description led to differences in the ratings of that leader. Later, in a similar study, Fraser and Lord (1988) succumbed to using a wider range of prototypicality for the leadership category in order to once again test the effects of matching on leader ratings and leader labelling. Their results resemble those presented by Lord et al. (1984), and both studies suggest that increasing the behaviours that are typical for a leader in a hypothetical description might secure a match between the ILTs held by the raters and the characteristics of the described hypothetical figures. This, in turn, could result in leader emergence due to labelling, or to perceived leader effectiveness due to the likelihood of more favourable ratings. More recently, Epitropaki and Martin (2005) considered the effects of ILTs on leader–member exchange and subsequently on organisational outcomes such as job satisfaction. Their findings suggest that congruence between ILTs and leader profiles results in favourable leader–member exchange, which, in turn, affects followers’ satisfaction. Moreover, an increase in follower satisfaction prompted by a pleasant leader–follower relationship was proposed to affect leadership effectiveness ratings and other leader-related organisational outcomes, such as retention. With their study, Epitropaki and Martin (2005) underlined that our knowledge of the effects ILTs have on emergence and effectiveness can also be used to guide leader training and leader behaviour. According to the researchers, training organisational leaders on the accepted organisational leader prototype might increase the likelihood of a match, which could, in turn, affect the quality of the relationships between leaders and subordinates. However, in order to educate leaders about ILTs and encourage them to utilise ILT-relevant behaviours at the workplace, we must gain more knowledge of implicit leadership theory content and structure.

A number of empirical investigations have looked at the structure of ILTs, and most of these studies have presented different findings. One of the first studies was carried out by

Lord et al. (1984). Participants in their study suggested 59 characteristic traits of leadership. These included personality aspects such as honesty and dedication, as well as cognitive ability characteristics such as intelligence and skills attained through education. Ratees viewed an abundance of these attributes as prototypical of leaders, and an absence as anti-prototypical. Later, Kenney et al. (1994) carried out a study aiming to generate exemplars for leaders, with a special concentration on new leaders. Their results revealed 11 general exemplars of leader behaviour, many of which surrounded the ideas of: conforming to already developed group norms without trying to change too much; learning about already set group goals, as well as setting new ones; and working with, but challenging, other leaders and group dynamics. Despite these descriptions of ILT components, a clearer picture of the substance of implicit leadership theories did not emerge until the publication of Offerman, Kennedy and Wirtz's (1994) work. Not only did their study generate a list of individual descriptors of leadership behaviours and traits, but it also suggested a factor structure for the latter. The results presented 41 items separated in eight dimensions: sensitivity, dedication, charisma, attractiveness, intelligence, strength, tyranny and masculinity. The former six were seen to be prototypical of leadership, and the latter two were seen to be anti-prototypical. In order to check the generalisability of this proposed ILT structure, Epitropaki and Martin (2004) were some of the few to attempt a replication of the factor structure. Their results suggest that Offerman et al.'s (1994) dimensions were valid. Despite this positive outcome, others went on to study the structure of ILTs and suggested alternative factors. For instance, Frolov, Petrunko and Poznyak (2012) looked at the political cognition of post-Soviet voters. They identified five clusters believed to capture the nature of a politician and called them 'political aptitude', 'reliability', 'integrity', 'affluence' and 'image'. Moreover, Ling, Chia and Fang (2000) examined Chinese cognition and suggested four factors associated with implicit leadership theories, which the researchers named 'personal morality', 'goal efficiency', 'interpersonal competence' and 'versatility'. Not much later, Abdalla and Al-Homoud (2001) showed that, in their study, the implicit dimensions associated with good leadership were competence, diplomacy, visionary, integrity, performance orientation and inspiration. Furthermore, Zagorsek et al. (2008) looked at the descriptions associated with cluster leaders and pointed out that some of the important dimensions and exemplars of leadership were formal appearance, expertise, skilled management and credibility.

While the literature is not short of propositions about the content and structure of ILTs, the factors that have been uncovered are inconsistent. To some extent, this could be due to the variance in methodology and measurement tools used in the different studies. For

instance, the lack of a single well-accepted measure of ILTs has resulted in scholars using diverse instruments to measure them. Some have employed Lord et al.'s (1984) items or Offerman et al.'s (1994) eight dimensions. Others, however, have applied leadership behaviour/style questionnaires such as Campbell's Leadership Index (1991), the Schein Descriptive Index (1973) or the MLQ (MacDonald, Sulsky, & Brown, 2008). The latter gives only a partial view of ILTs, as the questionnaires provide information solely on the role/behavioural schema of ILTs and omit information on traits, values, skills and other aspects of leadership prototypes. Moreover, most studies—for example the investigation of new leaders by Kenney et al. (1994) and the investigation of organisational leaders by Epitropaki and Martin (2004)—have explored the ILTs associated with different types of leaders. This has reduced the chance of result generalisation. Further, one can note that, in order to capture the richness of ILTs, exploration can also be carried out in qualitative ways (i.e. through open-ended questionnaires, quasi-experimental designs and focus groups). Although qualitative research is beneficial, it also poses problems with regard to the objectivity of results. This has forced many to study the concept quantitatively, and this may have limited the amount of knowledge gathered, but secured control.

Such criticisms open doors for the execution of better research. Moreover, the availability of studies (Epitropaki & Martin, 2005; Fraser & Lord, 1988) that illustrate the contribution of ILTs to leadership calls for further exploration of the concept. In order to gain more in-depth knowledge, research on how ILTs vary has been carried out. Context is thought to affect the type of ILTs people hold with regard to leaders. Section 2.3.2, therefore, looks at the effects of context on ILT formation.

### ***2.3.2 Context and ILTs***

Having shown that ILTs exist and have a structure and having proposed that ILTs might affect leadership criteria such as emergence and effectiveness, researchers became eager to gain more in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon and to study how its structure varies. A number of contextual variables have been shown to influence ILTs. For instance, organisational variables such as hierarchy were studied as part of the GLOBE study (Den Hartog et al., 1999). In their publication, Den Hartog et al. (1999) presented findings on the differences in ILTs associated with upper and lower level managers. After testing 2,161 participants in the Netherlands, results revealed similarities and differences. Characteristics that were equally important to both upper and lower level managers were trustworthiness, communication and

calmness. Moreover, diplomacy and vision were seen as vital for top level positions, while team building, participation and attention to subordinates were associated with lower level managers. Further to this, in a different study, Smothers, Bing, White, Trocchia and Absher (2011) researched leaders in private and public universities. Once again, differences were noted. Nevertheless, despite the success of such studies, exploration of further contextual variables (e.g. organisational structure) and their effect on the construction of ILTs has been rare. Moreover, the general trend has been for researchers to study only some levels of Lord et al.'s (1982, 1984) implicit leadership categories. According to Lord et al. (1982, 1984), these categories—which reside in the minds of followers—are hierarchically organised. They constitute three categorical levels, which relate to the context within which the target leaders reside. The most general category (the superordinate level) is characterised by the attributes held for leaders, in general, and the attributes common to all leaders. The middle category (the basic level) refines the notion of leadership by including contextual information and implying that there are different types of leaders (e.g. military, political and religious)—the attributes of whom might differ. The third category (the subordinate level) sees individuals differentiating the leaders within their contexts (e.g. left- and right-wing political leaders; Catholic and Protestant religious leaders). For the purpose of clarity it might be helpful to note that in cognitive psychology's categorisations for prototypes, "basic level" refers to an INTERMEDIATE rather than extreme (low or high) level of specificity, being what is most useful for semantic differentiation and usefulness. For instance, in saying one's occupation on a general form, one would usually say "doctor" or "farmer" rather than proctologist or soybean grower on the one hand, or professional or rural worker on the other.

In general, the majority of the research on ILTs has considered either the first (i.e. superordinate) category or the last (i.e. subordinate) category. Little research on the middle and basic category has been done. For example, work on the ILTs associated with good political leaders and how they compare to those of other leaders is largely unavailable, with the exception of the study by Frolov et al., who qualitatively explored the factors within political leader ILTs in Ukraine (see section 2.3.1). This literature gap is surprising, given the usefulness of such knowledge for impression management activities during elections. Often, in order to conceptualise the substance of political leader ILTs, practitioners have been forced to use the findings of generic leadership studies or studies such as that carried out by Den Hartog et al. (1999). Den Hartog et al.'s (1999) work shows that upper level leaders—whose job is described as more political in nature—tend to be seen as more transformational, while lower level leaders are associated with more transactional behaviours. Despite the usefulness of such

studies, the analogy between upper level leaders and political leaders might be flawed, so new studies that explore actual political ILTs might be more directly informative to practitioners. Due to the absence of work looking to explore the ILTs of politicians, this literature review does not include a section on political leader ILTs to parallel the sections on political leader personalities (section 2.1.3.1) and political leadership styles (section 2.2.2.1) presented earlier. Nevertheless, a contextual variable that was explored in depth in previous sections and that has gathered more attention in the exploration of ILTs is culture. Section 2.3.2.1, therefore, explores cross-cultural ILTs separately and in depth.

### *2.3.2.1 Culture and ILTs*

With regard to ILTs, culture has been a more widely researched variable relative to other context variables. According to Lord et al. (1986), ILTs might not be so similar across societies due to cross-cultural differences in Hofstede's cultural value dimensions. Helgstrand and Stunmacher (1991) explored this proposition and used the SYMLOG (Bales, 1970) to measure leader prototypes in a study in which Dutch and US participants were asked to judge the applicability of a list of characteristics to the role of an ideal leader. Their results showed differences in leader prototype, with the two cultures agreeing only on the extent to which dominance was characteristic of an ideal leader. The researchers did, however, note that, when participants were given a vignette about a leader that they were asked to rate for effectiveness, both cultures rated the feminine-individualistic leader most effective. Later, Gerstner and Day (1994) carried out a study that was quite influential in the field. Participants were asked to assign prototypicality ratings to a list of leadership attributes. Despite the study's small sample, the results show that ratings differed as a function of participants' cultures. Moreover, in 1991, House and colleagues embarked on a very large investigation into the effects of culture on ILTs. The GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organisational Behavioural Effectiveness) study consisted of three phases. The first dealt with the development of research instruments, while subsequent phases examined the effects of culture on ILTs. This study considered not only differences in prototypes across cultures, but also similarities. A debate was born over which conceived leader characteristics were cross-culturally stable, and which were cross-culturally specific.

Some of the first findings based on the GLOBE study emerged in the late 1990s. In their 1999 publication, Den Hartog, House, Hanges, Ruiz-Quintanilla and Dorfman (1999) suggested that the way in which social environments are interpreted is strongly affected by cultural

background. In the empirical research article, they presented data from 62 countries (collectively representing each continent), 15,000 managers and 799 organisations. Their research procedure consisted of asking participants to rate the extent to which they believed a list of leader attributes (which had been developed in phase 1 of the GLOBE project) enhanced or impeded outstanding leadership. Their findings, which derived from factor analyses, showed that most of the attributes that were endorsed as important by all countries were components of the charismatic/transformational, team-oriented and excellence-oriented dimensions. Such attributes were: motive arousing, encouraging, trustworthy, dynamic, positive, motivational and confidence building. In addition to these, Den Hartog et al. (1999) uncovered a set of culturally-contingent attributes including enthusiasm, risk-taking behaviour, ambition, uniqueness, self-sacrificing behaviour, sincerity, sensitivity, compassion, wilfulness and high self-efficacy. Based on this, in their discussion, they argued that attributes associated with charismatic/transformational leadership are universally endorsed as important to outstanding leadership, while attributes that are more task-oriented in nature are culture-specific.

In order to further explore the suggestions made by the GLOBE study, Broadbeck, Michael, Akerblom, Audia, Bakacsi, Bendova et al. (2000) also researched the variance in ILTs across cultures. However, their study concentrated on cultures from one geopolitical region (Europe), as opposed to cultures from very distinct regions. The expectations were that cultural variance in terms of ILTs would be lower than that found in the GLOBE study, as the removal of trade barriers and the presence of structures like the EU might have increased the permeability of territorial borders. Nevertheless, the scholars still hypothesised that geopolitical location would moderate the extent of ILT similarities and differences. After the administration of the 112-item questionnaire (which had originated in the GLOBE study), findings suggested an overlap in attributes that were seen as important in facilitating exceptional leadership. Such attributes included inspiration, vision, decisiveness, performance orientation, team integration and integrity. However, the cultures varied in terms of aspects such as participation and administration. Preference for these factors was high in the north and east and low in the west and south. Some variation was also noted within the clusters, themselves. For example, the Anglo, Germanic and Latin subclusters of the Western European cluster differed in terms of the importance they attributed to characteristics such as team collaboration, team integration and conflict inducement. Nevertheless, based on their findings, the scholars made conclusions similar to those of Den Hartog et al. (1999) and asserted that there are both culture generalisable and culture-contingent aspects of ILTs. They also agreed

that attributes perceived as important to leadership across borders belong to the charismatic/transformational dimension.

A number of other studies have also supported the idea of charismatic/transformational ILT item stability. For example, Ling et al. (2001) showed the presence of a dimension called 'interpersonal competence', which is similar to that of charisma in the US leader prototype, within the Chinese leader prototype. Similarly, other researchers have performed comparisons (Abdalla & Al-Homoud, 2001; Boehnke, Bontis, Distefano, & Distefano, 2003; Deng & Gibson; 2009; Holmberg & Akerblom, 2006) that, all together, show that cultures such as Sweden, Qatar and Kuwait, as well as cultures within North and South America, Northern Europe, Southern Europe, the Far East and the Commonwealth all describe charismatic and transformational behaviours as necessary—with differences appearing mainly with regard to task-oriented or transactional attributes. Moreover, in their Ukrainian studies, Frolov et al. (2012) noted the similarity between Ukrainian and Western political leadership schemas (as researched by Miller, Wattenberg, & Malanchuk, 1986) but, additionally, they highlighted that the factor of affluence was present only in post-Soviet categorisations of politicians. According to the researchers, wealth and resourcefulness were often used to get into politics during the Soviet Union period.

Overall, there is some consistency in the findings of studies that have explored culture as a variable affecting the substance and structure of ILTs. Most studies have proposed that aspects related to transformational and charismatic leadership are cross-culturally stable in their association with 'good' leadership. It is, however, important to suggest that criticisms do exist. For instance, an observation was made that underlined the fact that some of the culture-contingent aspects proposed by both Den Hartog et al. (1999) and Broadbeck et al. (2000) (e.g. sensitivity, compassion) also belong to the charismatic/transformational dimension. Moreover, some cultures have been largely omitted from the research, which has mainly targeted those countries that are usually more researched and those that are possibly assumed to be more accessible. For example, the studied Eastern European clusters in several of the associated studies (i.e. Broadbeck et al., 2000; Den Hartog et al., 1999) have always included Central European cultures such as Poland and the Czech Republic, and have rarely provided data on more Southern European nations like Bulgaria and Macedonia. This has led us to a partial picture of the variance of ILT aspects, and further research studying unexplored cultural settings might increase knowledge in this area.

### **2.3.3 Summary of Categorisation Theory**

Categorisation theory was instigated by the lack of follower variables in the leadership theories of traits and styles. After taking on concepts belonging to implicit personality theory, Eden and Leviathan (1975) proposed the existence of implicit leadership theories (ILTs), which were initially considered biases in organisational questionnaires. Such theories were believed to reside in the minds of followers and were later shown to affect the emergence and effectiveness of leaders. The majority of the key work on ILTs was carried out by Robert Lord and colleagues, who proposed the idea of 'matching' (Cronshaw & Lord, 1987). Matching entails a process whereby the prototypes in the minds of the followers are matched against the traits and behaviours displayed by the leader of interest. Congruence between the two allows for 'labelling' to occur and for power to be distributed. Some explored this proposition (Epitropaki & Martin, 2004, 2005; Foti et al., 1982; Kenney et al., 1994; Lord et al., 1984; Lord & Maher, 1991; Phillips & Lord, 1982) and confirmed that congruence leads to leader emergence and affected organisational outcomes. This stimulated research into the structure and content of ILTs.

While Offerman and Wirtz (1994) were instrumental in the description of ILT content and the provision of a factor structure to a number of generated ILT attributes, work in this area, more generally, has not been so integrated. The lack of an accepted ILT measure is notable, and this has resulted in large methodological differences across empirical studies. Such differences have interfered with the generalisability and stability of findings.

Nevertheless, some scholars (e.g. Den Hartog et al., 1999) have opted to design study-specific measures to research how ILTs vary. The context variable of culture has been widely researched and findings propose that it has an effect on the substance of ILTs. It is now generally agreed that aspects related to charismatic and transformational leadership are cross-culturally accepted as valuable to 'good' leadership (Abdalla & Al-Homoud, 2001; Boehnke et al., 2003; Broadbeck et al., 2000; Deng & Gibson, 2009; Holmberg & Akerblom, 2006; Ling et al., 2001). Moreover, aspects that are more task-oriented in nature are seen as culture-contingent. Other lines of research have targeted alternative context variables such as leader position in the organisational hierarchy (Den Hartog et al., 1999) and organisation type (Bing et al., 2004). Trends with regard to findings associated with these are, however, difficult to suggest, as context variables other than culture have not been as widely explored.

In general, the literature is good at underlining the importance, substance and variance of ILTs, but gaps are present. First, one can note that most of the studies presented above were carried out in the area of generic leadership and in cultures that are possibly

presumed to be both more important and more accessible. This leaves our view of the ILT dynamics skewed. For example, an examination of political leader ILTs is almost entirely absent. Similarly, examinations of small and economically challenged cultures are also lacking. Moreover, although the concept of ILT is one that should be explored—at least partly—qualitatively, many have used surrogate measures in the bid to explore it quantitatively. While behavioural questionnaires might provide easily manageable data, they are insufficient because, as noted earlier, they only explore the role/behavioural schema of ILTs.

In order to fill gaps in the literature and to account for the shortcomings of previous studies, the examination of political leader ILTs in unexplored cultures using both qualitative and quantitative measures might prove beneficial. Knowledge of how political leaders are conceptualised could inform practical areas such as the construction of election strategies. Moreover, a comparison between the ILTs of political and organisational leaders could provide further knowledge related to Lord et al.'s (1982, 1984) basic level ILT category, which, as noted earlier, aims to underline the difference in attributes held for leaders in different leadership arenas. This could equip practitioners with specific knowledge of discrete leader groups, which they could then utilise more effectively than the findings of generic leadership research.

## **2.4 Context Theories of Leadership**

The context approach emphasises the importance of situational variables and their effects on leadership. Such variables include the nature of the external environment, the type of task performed, the requirements of the job and the nature of the relationships within the work setting. The approach is divided into subcategories, each of which show the importance of studying the situation but propose a different role of context in leadership formation. One line of research on the effects of the situation on leadership concerns itself with the type of leader attributes and behaviours that emerge as a result of circumstance. In such research, leader characteristics are considered the dependent variables, while situational aspects are considered the independent variables. This line of research is typically referred to as the 'situational approach'. Another line of research investigates the validity of contingency theories. In studies of this type, the situation is predicted to act as a moderator of the relationship between leader characteristics and outcome criteria such as emergence and effectiveness. This line of research is described as the 'contingency approach'.

Some of the sections presented in parts 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 already suggest the importance of studying the situation and illustrate the predictive power of context variables

such as culture and leadership arena. The following sections (2.4.1 and 2.4.2) explore context further and present additional propositions made by both situational and contingency theory supporters.

### ***2.4.1 Situational Theories of Leadership***

Much of the evidence within this area comes from research on organisational settings and, especially, research on organisational management. Although management and leadership are thought to differ, there is an overlap in their roles, and findings associated with research in both spheres often complement each other. Some of the dominant theories within this line of work are role theory (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964), demands-constraints-choices theory (Stewart, 1976) and the Multiple Influence Model (Hunt & Osborn, 1982).

Role theory (Kahn et al., 1964) provides insight into the work aspects that affect the behaviour of a role holder. The role is a function fulfilled by an employee. When embarking on this role, an individual learns about the expectations associated with the role and gains such knowledge from interactions with peers, superiors, subordinates and individuals external to the organisation. These figures are referred to as 'senders', who are responsible for placing demands on the 'receivers'. Receivers can perceive the communicated material as minimal in load, easy and unambiguous. In contrast, they can also perceive it as excessive, demanding and ambiguous. Differences in perception of the communicated information are believed to affect the way in which receivers behave in the workplace. Role conflict arises from multiple sources of information and multiple contradicting demands. Such environmental constraints are proposed to attract behaviours different from those in a minimally constrained environment.

There is a significant lack of leadership research that incorporates role theory. An important study was, however, carried out fairly recently by Shivers-Blackwell (2004), showing that managers' perceptions of organisational contexts influence their interpretations of leadership role requirements and, in particular, their perceived transformational and transactional role requirements. After studying 186 managers, Shivers-Blackwell (2004) found that if the managers perceived the organisational culture and their superiors' role expectations as transformational, they were more likely to perceive their own role requirements as transformational, too.

The demands-constraints-choices theory (Stewart, 1976) has also been underutilised. Stewart (1976) described managers as facing an inner core of demands, an outer boundary of constraints and an area of choices, and the unique combination of these aspects was thought

to affect behaviour. In the model, 'demands' refers to role expectations. The technical aspects of the role are specified in the job description, while the behavioural aspects become known via observation of others with whom one is likely to work (i.e. peers, subordinates, superiors) and whose behaviours have been subject to organisational culture influence. On the other hand, 'constraints' are internal and external limiting factors. Such factors include laws, rules, and regulations. Finally, by 'choices', Stewart (1976) referred to the opportunities with which a job holder is presented.

In their qualitative study based on the NHS (UK National Health Service), Stewart, Smith, Blake and Wingate (1980) interviewed 41 district administrators and showed that the varying demands of each district resulted in differing behaviours by the administrators, despite the fact that all worked in the same organisation. While some took the role of educators, others led as a result of their dedication and increased interest in work. Stewart et al. (1980) also noted that, where difficulties were greater, demands increased, and this automatically reduced the number of choices with which the leaders were presented.

Finally, the Multiple Influence Model (Hunt & Osborn, 1980) also attempts to explain why leaders act in a particular manner under different organisational conditions. The authors noted that 'no unit is a typical unit any more than the average American family has 3.4 members' (p. 12), which is why one would be correct to assume that leaders react differently to the unique conditions within which they work. One would expect that if there were great pressure for performance, then a leader would increase the support provided to subordinates. Differing goals would here be assumed to lead to differing leader behaviours. The Multiple Influence Model looks at micro-influences on behaviour and, in particular, the influences of the external environment, contextual conditions and structural conditions relevant to an organisation. By the external environment, Hunt and Osborn (1980) meant the economic, political, legal, socio-cultural and educational aspects within which the organisation resides. By contextual conditions, they meant the size, technological sophistication and technological variability of the organisation. Finally, by structural conditions, they meant the vertical and horizontal specialisation of the organisational structure, as well as the pattern diversity within these specialisations.

In their study of military settings, Hunt, Osborn and Martin (1981) explored whether leader behaviour would vary as a function of the previously described external environment or as a function of the contextual and structural conditions of the organisation. Their results were not confident in suggesting that context affects leadership behaviour, but variance within the organisational structure yields variance in discretionary leadership. Stronger results emerged

when environmental factors were considered moderators of the relationship between the level of discretionary leadership displayed and organisational effectiveness. However, despite this lack of result strength, the authors underlined that investigation of situational variables, in addition to other leadership variables, is important, as the former can cause leadership to vary.

A number of other studies have confirmed that organisational context affects leader characteristics (Ehigie & Akpan, 2006; Bartone et al., 2009; Hammer & Turk, 1987; Ling et al., 2008; Lowe et al., 1996; Pawar & Eastman, 1997). For a review of these studies and the cultural factors associated with leader personality and leader behaviour variance, see sections 2.1.4 and 2.2.3.

## ***2.4.2 Contingency Theories of Leadership***

As noted earlier, contingency theories of leadership understand situation to moderate the relationship between leader characteristics and outcome variables such as effectiveness and emergence. There are six main contingency theories, each of which is addressed in the sections below.

### ***2.4.2.1 Fiedler's Contingency Theory (1967, 1978)***

Fiedler's contingency theory concentrates on the moderating influence of position power, task structure and leader-member relations on the relationship between a leader trait called 'LPC' ('least preferred co-worker') and effectiveness. The LPC refers to how highly a leader rates his or her least preferred co-worker and, hence, indicates (among other things) the extent to which a leader fails to differentiate among the quality levels of workers. In addition, this leader trait indicates a leader's motive hierarchy, in that a leader with a high LPC score is described as having higher affiliation needs, while one with a low LPC score is described as having high task achievement needs. This theory proposes that the situation dictates which type of leader will reach effectiveness. It proposes that, when the situation is highly favourable (showing strong position power, high task structure and good leader-member relations) or highly unfavourable (showing weak position power, low task structure and bad leader-member relations), then leaders who score low on the LPC scale will be most effective. On the other hand, if the situation is intermediate in favourability, wherein some situational factors are favourable and some are unfavourable, then those who score high on the LPC scale will be most effective.

In terms of empirical interest, this theory has been highly tested. Some of the reviews (Peters, Hartke, & Pohlman, 1985; Strube & Garcia, 1981) have presented support for the theory, but such support has been limited—to some extent—to laboratory settings and similar samples, which has prevented generalisability. These meta-analyses have also suggested that additional variables must be specified if researchers are to account for the majority of the variance; the target context variables have been seen as insufficient. Moreover, one could say that the definition of the LPC leader attribute is unclear. Originally, Fiedler (1958) saw the LPC score as one of ‘psychological closeness’, with low LPC scorers seen as aloof and high LPC scorers seen as social. Later, together with Foa and Michell, Fiedler (1971) reconceptualised and noted that high LPC scorers are also more cognitively complex than those with low LPC scores. While trying not to contradict Fiedler’s explanations of the LPC, Rice (1978a) attempted to clarify what the score represents. He saw the score as an indication of a leader’s personal values and attitudes towards their least preferred co-worker. According to him, low LPC scorers are task-oriented and hold negative attitudes towards their least preferred co-worker, while high LPC scorers are relationships-oriented and hold relatively positive attitudes towards their least preferred co-worker. Despite this clarification, Rice (1978a) went on to suggest that LPC is not the perfect measure for the above values and attitudes, as the test shows very low test-retest stability. In addition to arguing over what the LPC scale measures, scholars have also noted that the attribute is too narrow. Other criticisms have arisen from the way in which studies in the area have been carried out. In these studies, confounds are evident, as isolating the contextual variables of interest has proved difficult to achieve (Yulk, 1989).

Despite such weaknesses of the model, Fiedler carried on insisting that situation moderates the relationship between leaders’ attributes and effectiveness. He went on to develop a second model, called ‘cognitive resource theory’ (Fiedler, 1986). This theory looks at leader attributes such as intelligence, experience and technical expertise, and, in particular, how situational variables such as stress, group support and task complexity moderate the relationship between these attributes and effectiveness. The model proposes seven hypotheses—an example of which is the hypothesis stating that intelligence is effective in instigating success only in low stress situations, while experience is valuable in high stress situations (including generic roles such as fire-fighting).

There has not been much research looking to test cognitive resource theory, and some consider what little research has been done spotty. While some researchers (Strube, 1988) have acclaimed the theory and its evidence as impressive, others (Neider & Schriesheim, 1988; Vecchio, 1990) have considered it weak, along with Fiedler’s earlier contingency theory.

According to Yulk (1989), there are three crucial issues with Fiedler's (1986) second theory. First, studies that look to investigate cognitive resource theory rely on surrogate measures of experience (e.g. length of service), which can be affected by extraneous variables. In addition, the theory fails to incorporate decision making process measures, which are necessary for a claim of a negative relationship between intelligence and decision making in high stress contexts. Moreover, Yulk (1989) also pointed out that the theorists should have looked at specific aspects of intelligence, such as deductive reasoning, as current studies in the area have already moved away from looking at the intelligence factor as a whole. Measurement of specific cognitive abilities is more applicable and more relevant to current research.

#### *2.4.2.2 Path-Goal Theory (Evans, 1970; House, 1971; House & Mitchell, 1974)*

The path-goal theory of leadership was originally studied by Evans (1970), who investigated the relationship between the Ohio State (Stogdill, 1974) measures of leadership behaviour (i.e. 'initiating structure' and 'consideration') and follower perceptions of path-goal relationship. His findings show that the same leader behaviours affect path-goal relationships differently, and therefore lead to success in some organisations but failure in others. This suggests that leader behaviour effects could be contingent on situation. As Evans's (1970) paper did not present a theory to describe this, House was encouraged to develop one. At the time, House was already starting to formulate hypotheses on the stability of the leader behaviour-subordinate satisfaction relationship across organisations. The initial version of his theory (House, 1971) incorporated Vroom's (1964) expectancy theory of motivation and stated that leaders motivate higher subordinate performance by making subordinates believe that goals can be attained through the exertion of effort. Such motivation can be carried out via the presentation of rewards, but the path to these rewards must be made easier by the clarification of the task and the presentation of opportunities.

A later version of the theory (House & Mitchell, 1974) advanced some of the same propositions. It explained that a leader is effective in motivating and achieving to the extent that he or she complements the context within which he/she and subordinates reside. A leader is responsible for the provision of path-goal clarification, guidance and resources, if the environment does not provide a clear definition of how one can attain goals. Moreover, a leader is also responsible for clarification if subordinates fail to see the link between effort, the attainment of goals and rewards, and if the resources available for the achievement of goals are missing. The leadership style that leaders choose and the extent to which the style is

effective is determined by the situation. Aspects such as the nature of the task, the work environment and subordinate attributes affect the leadership style that proves effective in bringing about positive organisational outcomes. The initial model (House, 1971) presented two leadership styles: path-goal clarifying behaviour (i.e. initiating structure) and behaviour directed towards satisfying subordinate needs (i.e. consideration). The later version of the model (House & Michell, 1974) included four types of leader behaviours: directive, supportive, participative and achievement-oriented. Moreover, the current version (House, 1996) has increased that number to eight (i.e. directive, supportive, achievement-oriented, work facilitation, interaction facilitation, group-oriented decision process, networking and value-based leadership). An example of how these styles and their effects are moderated by the environment can be demonstrated by the directive style, which is effective when the task is ambiguous and when subordinates lack confidence in their abilities. In addition, the directive style is seen as ineffective when the task is easy and when subordinates are confident and therefore demand more trust, space for initiative and authority.

The theory was initially largely considered promising, especially after the meta-analysis carried out by Wofford and Liska (1993), which presented supporting results. Wofford and Liska's (1993) findings show that, out of the 16 moderator tests, seven can formally be considered moderators. This supports the importance of contexts in determining organisational outcomes. However, Yulk (1989) suggested a number of shortcomings. He claimed that some of the propositions are based on questionable assumptions, as, while some see role ambiguity as unpleasant, others might thrive on it. Similarly, one could state that, in this theory, responsibility for effectiveness lies mainly in the hands of the leader, and contemporary theories that consider followers would disagree with this. Moreover, this theory's complicated nature (characterised by a large number of context variables), leader behaviours and difficult to measure motivational processes make it challenging to apply.

#### *2.4.2.3 Decision Process Theory/Normative Decision Theory (Vroom & Jago, 1988; Vroom & Yetton, 1973)*

In 1973, Vroom and Yetton embarked on specifying the nature of the decision making process that a leader chooses after identifying the type of problem he or she is dealing with, judged along a number of situational demands. Vroom and Yetton (1973) believed that the effectiveness of the decision making process is very much determined by the type of situational demands present. In the current version of the model, presented by Vroom and

Jago (1988), the theorists described three main types of decision making processes. The first was called 'autocratic', and consists of two subgroups: AI and AII. AI leaders use available information to make a decision on their own, while AII leaders first seek information from their subordinates, after which they once again opt for making a decision alone. The second process, 'consultative', also consists of two subgroups: CI and CII. Leaders utilising CI choose to inform their group of the decision in one-to-one conversations, but, once again, succumb to taking the decision alone. On the other hand, CII leaders discuss the decision with the group and solicit suggestions. Finally, the 'collaborative' decision making process (GII) involves leaders making a decision together with their group and holding discussions until a consensus is reached. According to the initial version of the theory (Vroom & Yetton, 1973), the choice between these decision making processes is dependent on seven problem attributes, which correspond to situational variables. Later, Vroom and Jago (1988) extended the number of problem attributes to 12 and presented them in the form of questions that leaders must answer in order to arrive at the decision making process and determine which process, according to the combination of these attributes, will be most effective. Vroom and Jago (1988) stated that these attributes deal with aspects such as decision quality, subordinate commitment, available information in connection with the problem, problem structure, conflicts between subordinates and time constraints. One would, for example, expect that, when the situation demands good decision quality and high subordinate commitment, and when these are paired with low time constraints, then leaders will likely choose more collaborative decision making processes. A joint decision making process usually produces a decision that everyone is committed to, while having the time to make such a decision allows leaders to choose the collaborative decision making style, which can build and strengthen team dynamics.

This model has, in general, been empirically supported (Field, 1982; Field & House, 1990; Vroom & Jago, 1978), with Yulk (1989) stating that it is probably the best of the available situational contingency theories. A number of criticisms have also been made. According to Yulk (1989) and Field (1979), the model lacks parsimony and deals solely with decision making, which is seen as only one aspect of leadership. Moreover, Yulk (1989) also asserted that the theorists held the wrongful assumption that leaders are skilled at using each of the decision making processes described. In addition, Field (1979) noted that the model has mainly been tested with self-report data, in which social desirability factors can appear as biases. Likewise, individual leader and subordinate differences in terms of intelligence and experience have

been ignored, as Field and House (1990) confirmed the model's validity using only managerial, rather than subordinate, reports.

#### *2.4.2.4 Substitutes for Leadership (Kerr, 1977; Kerr & Jermier, 1978)*

While considering the available contingency theories, Kerr and Jermier (1978) accepted that many of them do not account for much variance in criteria. Moreover, while a large number of characteristics have been seen to affect leadership outcomes, and while the styles that leaders choose to lead with have been researched, no work has looked at variables that neither enhance nor diminish the leadership–outcome relationship. Pointing to situations in which such variables are in action would successfully point to situations in which leadership should not be studied, as it has been substituted by other variables. In their 1978 paper, Kerr and Jermier distinguished between groups of external variables. They called such variables ‘neutralisers’, ‘enhancers’, ‘supplements’ and ‘substitutes for leadership’. Neutralisers were not thought to relate directly to any outcome variables, and were proposed to reduce or cancel leadership–outcome relationships. Enhancers were thought to strengthen the relationship between leadership and outcomes and, like neutralisers, were seen as unrelated to outcome criteria. Supplements were considered to have their own relationship with the outcome criteria, but not to enhance or diminish the leadership–outcome relationship. Finally, substitutes for leadership were suggested as making leadership impossible or unnecessary, and were also proposed as having a direct relationship with subordinate outcome criteria, making leadership redundant. Examples of the latter group, which is central to this theory, are environments in which one is presented with cohesive work groups or in which goals and plans are highly formalised.

This ‘substitutes for leadership theory’ has been intuitively supported, as it outlines new concepts. It points to variables beyond the leader’s control, and is good at explaining why some leaders are perceived as effective but do not have a positive influence over unit outcomes. Despite this, many of the initial tests of the model did not prove supportive (Farh, Podsakoff, & Cheng, 1987; Podsakoff, Dorfman, Howell, & Todor, 1986; Podsakoff, Todor, Grover, & Huber, 1984). In their 1997 article, Podsakoff and Mackenzie reviewed some of the literature looking at the model and stated that the substitutes of leadership studied did not behave in a consistent manner across samples and situations. Moreover, they suggested that the substitute scales developed by Kerr and Jermier (1978) had poor psychometric properties, poor reliability and poor factor structure, all of which added to the presence of unstable

substitutes of leadership effects. Following this, Podsakoff and colleagues attempted to redesign the scales and account for some of the criticisms. Newer studies (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Bommer, 1996a; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Fetter, 1993) have used the newly improved scales, as well as bigger samples, but, once again, have yielded poor results. This has caused many to abandon their support for the theory, while others have chosen to use some of the findings to inform other areas of research. For example, in their meta-analysis, Podsakoff, MacKenzie and Bommer (1996b) showed that employee citizenship behaviours such as courtesy and altruism are influenced more by substitutes for leadership variables than by leadership variables. Such a finding is useful, as it informs the direction that researchers should take if they are to study the dynamics of subordinate citizenship behaviour.

#### *2.4.2.5 The Life Cycle or Situational Leadership Theory (Hersey & Blanchard, 1969)*

The fifth contingency theory first appeared as the 'life cycle theory of leadership' (Hersey & Blanchard, 1969) and was subsequently renamed the 'situational leadership theory' (SLT). The theory asserts that follower maturity moderates the relationship between leadership style and success. The theory purports four leadership styles. The delegating style is assumed present when the group is allowed to take responsibility for a task and when the emphasis on both task- and relationship-oriented goals is low. The participating style involves participative decision making and is characterised by low task- and high relationship-oriented goals. The selling style is evident when the task is explained and support is provided, and when the goal orientations are both task- and relationship-oriented in nature. The final style is the telling style, and is apparent when subordinates are given specific task directions and close supervision and when the goal is task-oriented. As noted, the presence and effectiveness of these styles is thought to be affected by follower maturity, which is indicated by follower readiness, with readiness related to followers' ability and confidence. As explained by Hersey and Blanchard (1969), when follower maturity is high, a delegating style is applicable, while a telling style is needed when follower maturity is low. The participative and selling styles are applicable when the level of maturity is intermediate, with the former and latter applied when levels of maturity are low to moderate and moderate to high, respectively.

The theory underlines the importance of leader flexibility, as both subordinates and situation are subject to change over time, and one style might not be applicable for the duration of a job placement. Leaders' effectiveness is subject to their ability to apply different styles in different situations and with different subordinates. As subordinates' maturity

increases, leaders should shift from using a telling style to using a more participative style, as their support may no longer be necessary, but only desirable. Hersey and Blanchard (1969) saw the leader–subordinate relationship as similar to that of a mother–child, wherein, as the child matures, the mother abandons the idea of control.

The theory is certainly intuitively appealing and important in highlighting the idea of leader flexibility; however, a large number of criticisms have been raised. Due to its negative evaluation, the model has been subjected to many improvements, leading to the formulation of multiple versions (Blanchard, Zigarmi, & Nelson, 1993; Hersey & Blanchard, 1969; Hersey & Blanchard, 1993; Hersey, Blanchard, & Johnson, 2001), the last of which is called 'Situational Leadership II'. According to Graeff (1997), this has led to much confusion, mainly due to the frequent renaming of key concepts. He added that, despite the theory's popularity and wide usage, there is a lack of agreement over its validity. He pointed out that the limited number of published empirical studies (Blanck, Weitzel, & Green, 1990; Goodson, McGee, & Cashman, 1989; Norris & Vecchio, 1992; Vecchio, 1987) show mixed results. According to Graeff (1997), this could be due to researchers' confusion (stemming from the conflicting guidelines for the same situations in the different versions of the model). Moreover, the lack of significant results could be due to the lack of validity of the LEAD (Leadership Effectiveness and Adaptability Description) instrument (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982), which measures different aspects of leader behaviour in its different versions (Graeff, 1997). Due to this, and to avoid criticism over the lack of a theoretical foundation, Hersey and Blanchard (1993) stated that the SLT is not a theory, but only a model, which, according to them, is applicable to many areas of life.

#### *2.4.2.6 The Multiple Linkage Model (Yulk, 1971, 1989, 1998)*

The Multiple Linkage Model was generally built on the previously presented contingency models of leadership and was first introduced in 1971; however, its refinements continued into the early 90s. The model posits the existence of four variables: leader behaviours, intervening variables, criterion variables and situational variables. Yulk (1971) suggested that leader behaviour is generally aimed at reducing the deficiencies of six intervening variables (commitment to the task, ability and clarity of members' roles, work organisation, cooperation and trust between workers, available resources and support and coordination with other organisational parts), and that this process positively affects criterion variables. The extent to which leaders can reduce the deficiency of intervening variables is moderated by situational variables. Moreover, situational variables can have an independent effect on intervening

variables. According to the model, in the short term, leader behaviour should aim to reduce deficiencies, while, in the long term, it should aim to improve the situation.

This model is more comprehensive than previous theories, but supporting empirical evidence is limited, compared to evidence regarding the validity of the previously described contingency theories. According to Yukl (1989), himself, much research is needed to test and refine the theory, which will, in turn, help specify which leader behaviours influence which intervening variables, and how the links between variables operate. Rather than defending the model and calling it a theory, Yukl (1989) admitted that one should accept it as only a framework that describes causal linkages amongst groups of variables. The lack of specificity prevents one from calling this paradigm a theory.

### ***2.4.3 Summary of Context Theories***

As noted earlier in section 2.4, the context approach to leadership is divided into two subcategories. The first subcategory is named ‘the situational approach’, through which the situation is seen as the independent variable that, if manipulated, affects the emergence and effectiveness of different leader characteristics. The second subcategory is named ‘the contingency approach’, and considers situation to be the moderating factor in the relationship between leader characteristics and leader effectiveness and emergence.

There are three main theories that one should consider when exploring the first line of research. Role theory (Kahn et al., 1964; section 2.4.1) proposes that differences in the perception of the role that one is to fulfil affect behaviours at the workplace. In this theory, the perception of the role is thought to affect the interpretation of what the role requires. On the other hand, the demands-constraints-choices theory (Stewart, 1976; section 2.4.1) considers the presence and interaction of job demands, environmental constraints and leader choices. The interplay between these aspects is thought to produce the emergence and effectiveness of different leader characteristics. The last of the three theories (the Multiple Influence Model described in section 2.4.1 and proposed by Hunt and Osborn, 1980) considers micro-influences, such as those deriving from the external environment and those connected to the contextual and structural conditions, that are relevant to the job.

Support for the theories associated with the first subcategory of the situational approach (i.e. role theory, the demands-constraints-choices theory and the Multiple Influence Model) is minimal, due to the difficulty of studying the environment. The lack of a control in

studies looking at the environment as a variable has allowed for extraneous variables, which, in turn, has weakened the findings.

Theories associated with the second subcategory of the situational approach (i.e. the contingency theories described in sections 2.4.2.1, 2.4.2.2, 2.4.2.3, 2.4.2.4, 2.4.2.5 and 2.4.2.6) have been more widely researched. Fiedler's contingency theory (1967, 1978) is well-known. It proposes the presence of a leader characteristic called 'least preferred co-worker', and Fiedler suggested that the situation affects the extent to which high or low scorers on the Least Preferred Co-worker Scale are effective or ineffective leaders. Moreover, path goal theory (Evans, 1970; House, 1971; House & Mitchell, 1974) suggests that the behaviours leaders employ in different situations and which, in different contexts, lead to different degrees of path-goal clarifications and follower motivation, result in different levels of effectiveness. On the other hand, decision process theory (Vroom & Yetton, 1973; Vroom & Jago, 1988) considers the type of decision-making style that one chooses as a result of their evaluation of the situation. The newest version of this theory presents 12 situational variables that determine which decision making style leads to effectiveness. To add to the contingency approach, in 1977, Kerr proposed the substitutes for leadership theory, which looks at a number of external variables that neither enhance nor diminish the leadership–outcome relationship, but still have a direct effect on subordinate outcomes. Outlining such variables and pointing to when they are in action allows researchers to know when they should study leadership and when they should explore the aspects that successfully substitute for it. The fifth theory, looking at the idea of contingency, is Hersey and Blanchard's (1969) life cycle or situational leadership theory. This theory considers follower variables and, in particular, follower maturity, which, according to the theorists, indicates the type of style that a leader should employ. Hersey and Blanchard (1969) proposed four possible styles (delegating, participating, telling and selling), each of which yields different levels of effectiveness depending on followers' maturity. The last of the theories is referred to as the Multiple Linkage Model (Yulk, 1971, 1981, 1998), which employs concepts presented in the previous theories, making it both comprehensive and somewhat complex. This model proposes four groups of variables (leaders' behaviours, intervention, criterion and situational variables), all of which interact to produce different effectiveness patterns.

The discussed contingency theories have not been inundated with support, with most studies having concentrated on Fiedler's contingency theory (Peters, Hartke, & Pohlman, 1985; Strube & Garcia, 1981). The theories have generally been criticised for being difficult to test, and the majority have undergone excessive restructuring. To avoid criticisms, some theorists

(Yulk, 1989) have even gone on to claim that their theories are, in fact, only models, and are therefore descriptive and not specific in nature.

One can also note gaps in this part of the literature. As most studies have been carried out in organisational settings, the theories presented here relate only to this context. In addition, culture as a situational variable has been largely under-researched and is absent from any of the presented theories. As noted in previous sections, more research in non-organisational settings and dimensions of context other than structure is needed before one can propose an all-encompassing situational theory of leadership.

## **2.5 The Current Study**

The review of work on trait, behaviour, categorisation and contingency theories has underlined that, when we study leadership, we should consider not only leader characteristics, but also follower and situational characteristics. In general, the literature suggests that leadership is a multilevel concept, and variance within it is accounted for by multiple aspects. These aspects have been shown to share the common ability to explain who emerges, who is effective and who is successful as a leader.

In reviewing published work, a number of gaps in the literature common to all of the considered theories were identified. One such gap reflects the minimal number of studies of political leadership. As leadership is a hierarchical concept, once a generic leader definition is formed, a number of higher order specific and diverse definitions (with regard to leaders in different spheres) are generated. Studies using direct measurement of non-political leaders have allowed for more convincing descriptions of these leaders to be formed, while the lack of direct measurement of political leaders and the reliance on biased and indirect sources of information have resulted in a potentially skewed view of political leadership.

In order to construct a description that is comparable in validity to that of organisational leaders, researchers need to utilise the research methods that have been applied to organisational leaders. In studies looking at trait and behavioural associations with political leaders, this means attempting, despite the difficulties, to attain a sample of political leaders who can be measured directly. Moreover, in studies exploring categorisation theory, this means attempting to map the implicit leadership theories linked to politicians. Such exploration could secure knowledge about the traits, behaviours and implicit leadership theories associated with political leaders; all of these aspects are, according to previous literature, predictive of the attainment and maintenance of leadership status.

While this might provide us with a general feel for the substance of political leaders, one must also respect the findings of the situational and contingency theories. These theories acknowledge the presence of factors that initiate variance in the qualities associated with leaders. According to general leadership research, context affects the relationship between leadership and traits, behaviours and ILTs. This might, therefore, suggest that context has a similar effect on the relationships between political leadership and the aforementioned variables of traits, behaviours and ILTs.

A context dimension that has led to diverse findings across the leadership literature spectrum is that of culture. However, the difficulties in isolating culture as a variable have stopped many from targeting its investigation, to the extent that other context variables have been targeted. When it has been investigated, an interest in Western cultures has been predominant and, while this has been helpful, this regional emphasis has led to a potentially skewed knowledge of the effects of culture on leadership characteristics. According to Weinberg (2012), most studies that have looked at European leadership, in particular, have explored stable and developed democracies. Studies such as the GLOBE project (Den Hartog et al. 1999) have been some of the few to also research developing and transitional democracies; however, as noted in section 2.3.2, their clusters have also lacked full diversity. For instance, within their Eastern European post-communist cluster, Den Hartog et al. (1999) included only Central European cultures such as those of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. While these countries share some historical similarity with other post-communist cultures—like those of Bulgaria in the south or Lithuania in the north—and can therefore allow for some generalisations, one must generalise only with caution. Broadbeck et al. (2000), as well as other scholars (such as Ardichvili and Kuchinke, 2000), noted differences associated with not only historical issues, but also the geographical location of cultures. Due to this, they proposed the importance of researching each of the previously communist Eastern European countries independently, before making such generalisations.

In the bid to fill gaps in the literature, this research attempts to directly measure the traits, behaviours and ILTs associated with political leaders. Moreover, this work aims to contrast the traits, behaviours and ILTs of political leaders with the traits, behaviours and ILTs of normative comparison groups (i.e. 'followers' and organisational leaders). This might more clearly exemplify the qualities that are specific to the group of political leaders, and might also provide knowledge of the variation of traits, behaviours and ILTs as a function of leadership arena. Information about the characteristics of political leaders could secure a knowledge base that could be expanded on in the bid to achieve a description of what political leadership

entails. Moreover, the provision of findings related to the essence of political leadership could allow for the construction of better and more directional hypotheses in subsequent research. Similarly, knowledge of which characteristics are typical for successfully elected officials could aid applied fields such as political candidate selection. Likewise, learning about followers' images of good leaders could inform image management practices relevant to the election of political leaders, in particular.

Further to this, in order to honour Weinberg's (2012) suggestion that there is a great need for focusing some political leadership research on Europe and a great need for accounting for the natural diversity of communist, royalist and other backgrounds, a comparison between a Western European culture (i.e. the UK) and a previously referred to Eastern European culture (i.e. Bulgaria) is made. In general, this comparison of Bulgaria to an established Western democracy could inform the hypothesis formation of future research by underlining the difference in leadership variables between a culture geographically situated in Western Europe and a culture geographically situated in Southern Europe. In addition, the comparison could also reveal much about the differences—and similarities—between cultures with varying historical, political and cultural profiles. More specifically, knowledge gained about Bulgarian political leaders could be applied within Bulgaria, itself, as the country is currently drawing up new and more democratic election laws that could be usefully informed by the findings presented here. Similarly, any knowledge of the differences and similarities between Bulgarian and British leaders could possibly be welcomed by structures such as the European Union, in which understanding and allowances in communication could aid collaborative work such as that carried out on immigration since about 2012.

In summary, this research will look at the variance in personality, behaviours and implicit leadership theories across the variables 'groups' (political leader/organisational leader/follower) and 'cultures' (Bulgarian/British) as well as the interaction between the aforementioned factors. Enquiries, as such, might provide political leader information that is somewhat equivalent to the information provided on other types of leaders. The use of direct measurement to show the associations between political leaders and traits, behaviours and ILTs would at least partially fill the literature gap associated with the lack of quantitative studies. Furthermore, the addition of other factors of interest, such as the contextual variable culture, could increase the depth of our knowledge and allow us to understand trait, behavioural and ILT aspects that are cross-culturally stable or cross-culturally unstable in their associations with political leaders. Finally, the application of established standardised measurement instruments with population norms, the formulation of multidimensional

procedures that tap into a number of personality and style domains and the use of genuine political leaders might result in more generalisable research results. The overall aim is to produce a descriptive model of political leaders based on findings of direct measurement and, therefore, findings that are, to an extent, parallel in diversity and substance to those in the organisational and generic leadership literature. Such a model could underline a pattern of distinguishable characteristics for political leaders.

## CHAPTER 3: THE CURRENT RESEARCH METHOD

Section 3.1 of this chapter explores the questions asked and the hypotheses stated. In addition, section 3.2 gives an overview of the settings, tools, methods and procedures associated with this research.

### 3.1 Research Questions and Hypotheses

Taking into account past studies and bearing in mind the literature gap associated with political leader enquiries—especially the gap associated with investigations carried out with direct measurement—the following questions and hypotheses were formulated. Before listing these, one must note that the questions associated with the interaction between variables (i.e. questions 3, 6 and 9) in each of the three sections (3.1.1, 3.1.2 and 3.1.3) are labelled as exploratory due to the lack of similar studies—the findings of which would have informed possible expectations. Three distinct areas are presented. Section 3.1.1 presents questions and states hypotheses with regard to the variance in personality across groups and cultures. Moreover, section 3.1.2 presents questions and proposes hypotheses with regard to the variance in style/behaviour across groups and cultures. Finally, section 3.1.3 presents questions and formulates hypotheses in terms of the variance in ILTs across groups and cultures. Within each of the sections, where no experimental hypothesis is specified for a particular Big Five, SYMLOG and MLQ scale, it is generally *expected* that no appreciable differences will be found. Nevertheless the scales were included in the respective data analyses to explore this expectation, given that they measure major personality/style dimensions that have been shown to account for relevant variance in a wide variety of contexts.

#### ***3.1.1 Questions and Hypotheses Concerning Trait Theory in its Relation to Context***

##### ***3.1.1.1 Questions and Confirmatory Hypotheses Looking at the Personality Variance Across Groups and Culture***

**Q.1** What personality traits are associated with political leaders, compared to:

- (a) followers; and
- (b) organisational leaders?

(a) **H1a<sub>1</sub>** *Compared to followers, political leaders will score higher on extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness and emotional stability (from the Big Five TIPI), and will score higher on Up and Positive (from the SYMLOG).*

**H1a<sub>0</sub>** *Political leaders and followers will score similarly in terms of the aforementioned variables.*

Hypothesis 1a was constructed based on findings of previous research suggesting trends with regard to leader/follower differences in some, but not all, of the personality traits tested here (i.e. agreeableness, conscientiousness, extraversion, openness to experience, emotional stability, Up, Positive, Forward). In general, leaders have been reported to score higher in terms of dominance and extraversion (Chakraborti et al., 1983; George & Abraham, 1966; Gough, 1990; Hogan, 1978; Holmes et al., 1980; Hunter & Jordan, 1939; Kureshi & Bilquees, 1984; Richardson & Hanawalt, 1944; Rueb, Foti, & Erskine, 2008; Rychlak, 1963; Smith & Foti, 1998; Taggar et al., 1999). Moreover, research that has directly considered political leaders has also found leaders to be more dominant (Constantini & Craik, 1980), energetic and extraverted (Caprara et al., 2003). Additionally, both Weinberg (2012) and Caprara et al. (2003) have reported increased agreeableness in political leaders, with Caprara et al. (2003) noting heightened appeal for agreeableness in voters. Furthermore, the literature proposes that political leaders are also more emotionally stable, in general, because—as Weinberg (2012) and Kwiatkowski (2012) have suggested—the job of a political leader requires a great deal of emotional control, given the public scrutiny with which politicians are faced. Similarly, increased conscientiousness scores have also been reported as typical in most generic leadership effectiveness studies (Barbuto et al., 2010; Barrick & Mount, 1991; Carter, 2009; McCormack & Mellor, 2002; Nana et al., 2010; Salgado, 2002; Silverthorne, 2001). With regard to the latter, Sylvester and Dykes (2006) implied that election success is a product of the demonstration of potential, which they judged to be a type of leader effectiveness stimulated by heightened conscientiousness.

(b) **H1b<sub>1</sub>** *Political leaders will score higher on emotional stability, compared to organisational leaders.*

**H1b<sub>0</sub>** *Political and organisational leaders will score similarly in terms of emotional stability.*

Hypothesis 1b was constructed based on limited past research, which has aimed to compare leaders in different arenas. However, some of the few studies have suggested a link between political leadership and heightened levels of emotional stability. In a study of emergence and effectiveness, Judge et al. (2002) found emotional stability to have greater predictive power in government than in organisational settings. They did not find differences in any of the other personality traits tested.

**Q.2** Is culture (Bulgarian/British) associated with variance in personality traits?

***H2<sub>1</sub>** Compared to British participants, Bulgarians will score higher on the SYMLOG dimension Forward, but lower on extraversion, openness to experience (Big Five) and Up (SYMLOG dominance).*

***H2<sub>0</sub>** Bulgarian and British participants will score similarly in terms of the aforementioned variables.*

In relation to hypothesis 2, cross-cultural personality research has supported differences in some traits across cultures (McCrae, 2002). As suggested by research looking at cultural scores in terms of Hofstede's value dimensions, Bulgaria scores relatively high in terms of femininity, while Britain, on the other hand, appears to be highly masculine. The presence of high femininity in Bulgaria is likely to affect the extent to which the masculine facet of assertiveness is practiced, which could suggest that Bulgarians are generally more likely to score lower in terms of traits such as extraversion and dominance. Moreover, the recorded (Minkov, 2011) high instances of power distance (inequality) and uncertainty avoidance (see section 3.2.1.3 for a description of Hofstede's cultural value dimensions) in Bulgaria were expected to predispose Bulgarian participants to more conforming and cautious behaviour in novel and risky situations.

### *3.1.1.2 Exploratory Questions Looking at the Interaction Between Groups and Culture, in Terms of Personality*

**Q.3** Are personality differences across followers, political leaders and organisational leaders stable between cultures?

Question 3 lacks confirmatory hypotheses due to the lack of previous research that had jointly studied the same variables and which would have been valuable in informing the predictions of this work. The likely direction of findings here was considered unknown. So the goal here is simply to assess the extent of any such interactions.

### ***3.1.2 Questions and Confirmatory Hypotheses Concerning Behavioural/Style Theory and its Relation to Context***

#### *3.1.2.1 Questions and Confirmatory Hypotheses Looking at Style Variance Across Groups and Culture*

**Q.4** What leadership style behaviours are displayed by political leaders, compared to organisational leaders?

**H4<sub>1</sub>** *Political leaders will rate themselves as displaying a higher frequency of transformational leadership behaviours, compared to organisational leaders.*

**H4<sub>0</sub>** *Political and organisational leaders will rate themselves as displaying transformational leadership behaviours with equal frequency.*

Literature comparing the styles of political and organisational leaders is rare. Nevertheless, hypothesis 4 was based on the findings of the meta-analysis by Lowe et al. (1996), who noted the heightened prevalence of transformational behaviours in public, rather than private, organisations. Other differences between public and private organisations were not noted and their study in particular proposed a lack of frequency differences across the different leadership arenas, in terms of the transactional leadership scale contingent reward. In addition, while passive/avoidant leadership style has been rarely acknowledged in studies, it is possible that negative leadership behaviours are equally avoided by both types of leaders.

**Q.5** Is culture (Bulgarian/British) associated with variance in leadership style behaviours?

***H5<sub>1</sub>** Bulgarian leaders, irrespective of group type (political/organisational leader), will rate themselves as displaying higher levels of both transformational and transactional leadership behaviours, compared to British leaders.*

***H5<sub>0</sub>** Bulgarian and British leaders, irrespective of group type (political/organisational leader), will rate themselves as displaying equal levels of transformational and transactional leadership behaviours.*

The predictions noted in hypothesis 5 were partly based on the findings of cross-cultural studies that have studied leadership behaviours. The results of these studies suggest that leaders in collectivist cultures (Jung et al., 1995) and cultures in critical conditions (Conger, 1999)—such as Bulgaria—are likely to be more transformational in nature. Moreover, Ozorovskaja et al. (2007) asserted that post-communist leaders—such as those in Bulgaria—practice more transactional leadership, which, according to her, is tied to high power distance (inequality) and authoritarianism. To add, cross-cultural equality in terms of passive/avoidant leadership style display is possible, as both cultures were presumed equally likely to avoid any association with salient indicators of ‘bad leadership’.

### *3.1.2.2 Exploratory Questions Looking at the Interaction Between Groups and Culture in Terms of Leadership Styles*

**Q.6** Are leadership style differences between political and organisational leaders cross-culturally stable?

Question 6 is exploratory and therefore lacks a confirmatory hypothesis. The absence of previous exploration of the variables of interest did not allow for the construction of directional hypotheses. Some could argue that group differences are stable across contexts, as they would accept that the jobs of political and organisational leaders are comparable in different cultures. Others could, however, advocate for cross-cultural instability in terms of group differences. They could suggest that different sets of behaviours are often practiced and valued in leadership roles across diverse cultural settings. It was therefore expected that group differences might vary in some areas but be stable in others. This is, then, an open question of

interest for empirical investigation rather than a matter presenting an a priori experimental hypothesis.

### **3.1.3 Questions and Confirmatory Hypotheses Concerning Categorisation Theory and its Relation to Context**

#### **3.1.3.1 Questions and Confirmatory Hypotheses Looking at ILT Variance Across Groups and Culture**

**Q.7** What role schema ILTs are associated with political leaders, compared to organisational leaders?

*H7<sub>1</sub> Followers, in this study, will possess political leader ILTs that include higher frequencies of transformational, but lower frequencies of transactional, leadership behaviours, compared to the ILTs of organisational leaders.*

*H7<sub>0</sub> Followers, in this study, will possess political leader ILTs that are equally transformational and equally transactional, compared to organisational leader ILTs.*

The above hypothesis was based on the findings of the GLOBE study (Den Hartog et al., 1999), which noted that political and diplomatic positions are associated with more transformational, and less transactional behaviours, compared to positions that are more task-focused. Moreover, the explicitly negative baseline style of passive/avoidant leadership has typically been endorsed as being equally detrimental to all types of leaders. It is likely that differential contextual inputs may exert influence at the prototype activation stage, and therefore change the formation of leadership prototypes.

**Q.8** Is culture (Bulgarian/British) associated with variance in the ILTs associated with leaders?

*H8<sub>1</sub> Good leader ILTs generated by Bulgarian followers will contain higher frequencies of transactional leadership behaviours, compared to the ILTs generated by British participants.*

*H8<sub>0</sub> Good leader ILTs generated by Bulgarian and UK followers will contain equal frequencies of transactional leadership behaviours.*

In relation to hypothesis 8, both Broadbeck et al.'s (2000) cross-cultural study and Den Hartog et al.'s (1999) GLOBE study have noted that the endorsement of transformational behaviours in ILTs across cultures is equal. Difference is, however, probable in terms of the frequency of transactional behaviours attributed to good leaders in different cultures. Although the GLOBE study noted that cross-cultural ILT differences in terms of transactional behaviours are unclear, the high power distance value score (i.e. endorsed inequality)—which is usually associated with authoritarianism—in Bulgaria (Minkov, 2011) was expected to push Bulgarian followers (as opposed to British followers) to associate more task-oriented transactional behaviours with good leadership. It is possible that underlying attributes commonly associated with leadership are differentially activated in individuals from different cultures, and this might lead to different leadership prototypes.

(N.B. As the ILTs of the current sample were explored using both qualitative and quantitative research methods [see sections 3.3.1.1, 3.3.2.1 and 3.4.1.4.2], the above hypothesis [8] refers to the predicted outcome of the quantitative measurement of ILTs [i.e. the measurement via the MLQ] and not to the expected outcome of the qualitative analyses [i.e. those using local ILT scales]. In this instance, the qualitative analyses were exploratory and aimed to supplement the quantitative findings.)

### *3.1.3.2 Exploratory Questions Looking at the Interaction Between Groups and Culture, in Terms of ILTs*

**Q. 9.** Are the ILT differences between political and organisational roles cross-culturally stable?

Confirmatory hypotheses with regard to question 9 were difficult to construct. This area of research had been largely unexplored, and, subsequently, there was a lack of previous findings to inform the direction of research. It was deemed equally possible for ILT group differences to appear both stable and unstable across cultures. The direction of the findings was here judged as unknown.

**Table 1.** Summary of questions and hypotheses

Research questions concerning the variance of personality across groups and cultures	Alternative hypotheses	Null hypotheses
<p><b>Q.1</b> What personality traits are associated with political leaders, compared to:                      (a) followers; and                      (b) organisational leaders?</p>	<p>(a) <b>H1a<sub>1</sub></b> Compared to followers, political leaders will score higher on extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness and emotional stability (from the Big Five TIPI), and higher on Up and Positive (from the SYMLOG).</p> <p>(b) <b>H1b<sub>1</sub></b> Political leaders will score higher on emotional stability, compared to organisational leaders.</p>	<p>(a) <b>H1a<sub>0</sub></b> Political leaders and followers will score similarly in terms of the aforementioned variables.</p> <p>(b) <b>H1b<sub>0</sub></b> Political and organisational leaders will score similarly in terms of emotional stability.</p>
<p><b>Q.2</b> Is culture (Bulgarian/British) associated with variance in personality traits?</p>	<p><b>H2<sub>1</sub></b> Compared to British participants, Bulgarians will score higher on the SYMLOG dimension Forward, but lower on extraversion, openness to experience and Up.</p>	<p><b>H2<sub>0</sub></b> Bulgarian and British participants will score similarly in terms of the aforementioned variables.</p>
<p><b>Q.3</b> Are the personality differences across followers, political leaders and organisational leaders stable between cultures?</p>	<p>N/A—exploratory</p>	<p>N/A—exploratory</p>

Research questions concerning the variance of styles across groups and cultures	Alternative hypotheses	Null hypotheses
<b>Q.4</b> What leadership style behaviours are displayed by political leaders, compared to organisational leaders?	<i><b>H4<sub>1</sub></b> Political leaders will rate themselves as displaying a higher frequency of transformational leadership behaviours, compared to organisational leaders.</i>	<i><b>H4<sub>0</sub></b> Political and organisational leaders will rate themselves as displaying transformational leadership behaviours with equal frequency.</i>
<b>Q.5</b> Is culture (Bulgarian/British) associated with variance in leadership style behaviours?	<i><b>H5<sub>1</sub></b> Bulgarian leaders, irrespective of group type (political/organisational leader), will rate themselves as displaying higher levels of both transformational and transactional leadership behaviours, compared to British leaders.</i>	<i><b>H5<sub>0</sub></b> Bulgarian and British leaders, irrespective of group type (political/organisational leader), will rate themselves as displaying equal levels of transformational and transactional leadership behaviours.</i>
<b>Q.6</b> Are leadership style differences between political and organisational leaders stable across cultures?	<i>N/A—exploratory</i>	<i>N/A—exploratory</i>

Research questions concerning the variance of the role ILTs across groups and cultures	Alternative hypotheses	Null hypotheses
<b>Q.7</b> What role schema ILTs are associated with political leaders, compared to organisational leaders?	<b>H7<sub>1</sub></b> Followers, in this study, will possess political leader ILTs that include higher frequencies of transformational, but lower frequencies of transactional, leadership behaviours, compared to the ILTs associated with organisational leaders.	<b>H7<sub>0</sub></b> Followers, in this study, will possess political leader ILTs that are equally transformational and transactional, compared to organisational leader ILTs.
<b>Q.8</b> Is culture (Bulgarian/British) associated with variance in ILTs associated with leaders?	<b>H8<sub>1</sub></b> Good leader ILTs generated by Bulgarian followers will contain a higher frequency of transactional leadership behaviours, compared to ILTs generated by British participants.	<b>H8<sub>0</sub></b> Good leader ILTs generated by Bulgarian and UK followers will contain equal frequencies of transactional leadership behaviours.
<b>Q.9</b> Are political and organisational role ILT differences stable across cultures?	N/A—exploratory	N/A—exploratory

### **3.1.4 Summary**

#### **3.1.4.1 Rationale Behind the Choice of Questions**

The choice of questions was prompted mainly by literature gaps associated with the following:

1. studies acknowledging the importance of the equal study of leader, follower and contextual variables;
2. studies that directly measure political leaders;
3. studies in which equal attention is directed towards variables such as context and its effect on aspects that, according to each of the addressed theories (i.e. trait, behavioural and categorisation), facilitate or impede the emergence and maintenance of leadership posts;
4. studies looking at the similarities and differences between cultures and, especially, between Eastern and Western European cultures, within leadership literature; and
5. studies incorporating measures based on self-perception, rather than peer and subordinate perception.

In addition, the decision to compare political leaders with referent groups such as followers and organisational leaders was prompted by the ability of such comparisons to highlight characteristics that are both unique and common to political leaders, the followers who vote for them and organisational leaders.

Figure 1 (section 3.1.4.2) illustrates a schematic representation of the present research and provides a further summary of the agendas, objectives and questions asked.

#### **3.1.4.2 Symmetry of Potential Outcomes**

Symmetry of potential outcomes refers to the ability of research outcomes to be valuable, whatever the result (Gill & Johnson, 1997). The research reported in this thesis complies with Gill and Johnson's (1997) statement. Whether trait, behavioural and ILT differences or similarities between political leaders and followers or between political leaders and organisational leaders across both cultures, are found, the knowledge gained will be equally important. Differences found in this study will allow the unique characteristics associated with political leaders in both Bulgaria and the UK to be isolated. Moreover, similarities found in this study will suggest characteristics that are common to all participants from both cultures in this sample. This will therefore shed light on the variables that are likely to play a role in leader

emergence and effectiveness, while also underlining the variables that are unlikely to be effective in this endeavour. Either way, this research will advance our knowledge of political leadership and the dynamics within it, which is valuable, considering our lack of understanding in this area.

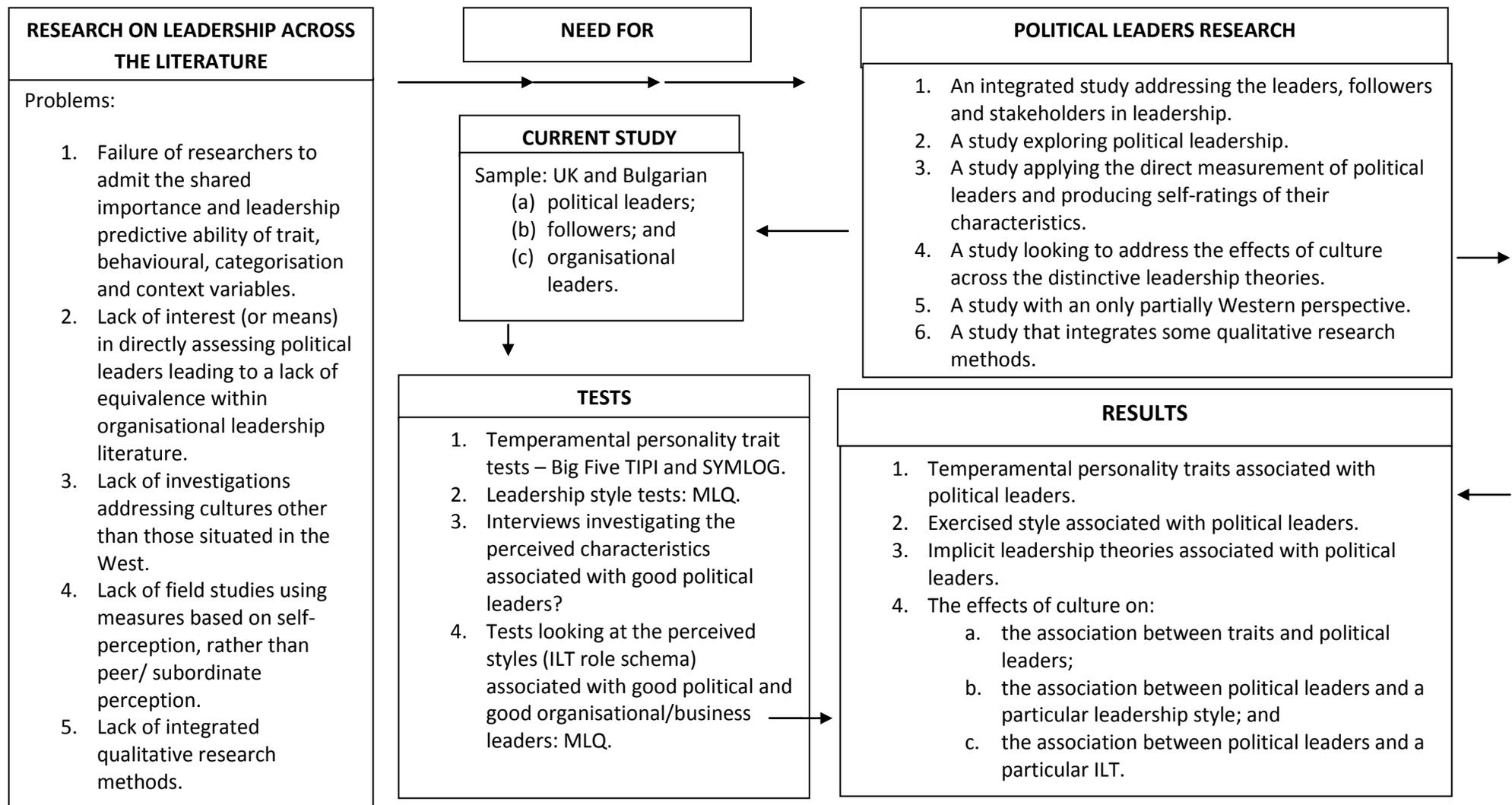


Figure 1. Schematic representation of the research project

## **3.2 Research Setting**

### ***3.2.1 Bulgaria***

Bulgaria is a small country (110,910 km<sup>2</sup>) in the south of Central Europe, situated between Greece and Turkey in the south, Romania in the north, Serbia and Macedonia in the west and the Black Sea in the east. At the time of writing, its population was 7,364,570, of which 84.8% were of Bulgarian ethnicity, 8.8% of Turkish ethnicity, 4.9% of Roma ethnicity and 1.5% of other mixed ethnicity. The official national language is Bulgarian, and the majority of the population (76% at the time of writing) practices Christianity.

#### ***3.2.1.1 Historical Overview***

The official Bulgarian state was formed in 681AD by Khan Asparuh, and, by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, it occupied only a small territory in Europe. In 863, under the rule of Khan Boris, Christianity was proclaimed the official state religion. All church services were performed in Greek until the writing of the first Bulgarian alphabet by the brother philosophers Cyril and Methodius. During the Golden Age and under the rule of Tzar Simeon the Great, Bulgaria grew in size and its lands included areas beyond Belgrade to the north and Thessaloniki to the south, and as far as Italy to the west and Constantinople to the southeast. Despite its strength, the Bulgarian state's extensive fights with the Byzantine Empire resulted in its collapse in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This was followed by its restoration in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, though the restored state never gathered the strength of the first Bulgarian state and this led, once again, to its collapse at the hands of the Ottoman Empire in 1396. Its liberation in 1887 saw the country lose a lot of land, with many of its nationals residing in neighbouring countries. Beyond the liberation, the state was headed by Ferdinand Koburg Gotha, who was later succeeded by his son, Boris III. Compelled by the need to reclaim lands lost under the Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria sided with the Germans in both World Wars. At the end of WWII, in 1944, Bulgaria surrendered to the Russians, which led to the abdication of the then monarch Tsar Simeon II in 1946 and the proclamation of Bulgaria as a communist state (Mutafchiev, 1987). This state was ruled by its general secretary Todor Zhivkov until the collapse of the communist regime in 1989, which saw the country's transition from communism to capitalism headed by the Union of Democratic Forces. In comparison to other Eastern European countries, Bulgaria found the transition

lengthy and problematic. However, its acceptance as both a NATO and an EU member in 2004 and 2007, respectively, is indicative of the country's attempt and wish to change.

### *3.2.1.2 Political System*

Bulgaria is a parliamentary republic with a unilateral national assembly (parliament), a president (head of state) and a central government made up of a prime minister (head of government) and council of ministers (cabinet). This central government has authority in local districts, which it exercises through the appointed regional governors and the elected mayors and local councils.

The Bulgarian National Assembly consists of 240 deputies (ministers of parliament, MPs). At the last election—and for the first time—the MPs were elected through a mixed electoral system, with 209 of them voted in via the proportional representation system and 31 voted in by the majority system. The former system entails voting for different fixed-rank ordered party lists in each of the 31 Bulgarian districts. A party must obtain at least 4% of the national vote to qualify for parliamentary representation. In contrast, the majority system entails voting for individual candidates within each of the 31 regions. Each candidate is affiliated with a political party and the candidate who gains the majority of votes wins for that region and therefore gains a seat in parliament. The elected individuals serve a 4-year term and are responsible for the selection and dismissal of ministers (including the prime minister), the enactment of laws, the approval of the budget and the formation of agreements. In addition, the parliament is able to declare wars or deploy troops, if the need arises.

The president is elected for a 5-year term with the possibility of only one re-election. The president is the head of state, and cannot pass laws but can certainly veto them. This veto can, however, be overridden by a parliamentary majority.

The prime minister is also the head of the council of ministers, which is usually composed of individuals from the ruling party. He or she has the responsibility of managing the budget and enforcing and maintaining law abidance. If a vote of no confidence is passed by the National Assembly, the council of ministers and the prime minister must resign.

Bulgaria, itself, is divided into 31 regions and 267 municipalities. Each region is managed by a governor who is appointed by the council of ministers, while each municipality is headed by a mayor and supported by the municipal council. Both the mayor and the council are elected by the local population for a 4-year term. Each municipality is entitled to its own budget, which is managed by both the council and the mayor. Local governments are

empowered to make policies at a local level, to provide public services for individuals within their jurisdictions and to manage some aspects of services connected to health and education.

On the whole, the Bulgarian system is such that the majority of power is concentrated in parliament, which judges the performance of the other ruling figures. (Avramov, Ivanova, Prodanov & Todorov, 2009)

### *3.2.1.3 National Cultural Values*

In 1984, Hofstede defined culture as 'the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one human group from another' (p. 21). This definition has been widely used in research on individuals' cultural values. In his initial work, Hofstede (1984) proposed four cultural value dimensions that describe a culture.

The first of the four dimensions is 'power distance', which refers to the relationship of dependence in a society. Small and large power distance cultures are described as holding opposing values. The latter are characterised by inequality and a steep hierarchy, with those low in the hierarchy depending on those who are higher up. In addition, a wide salary range, authoritarian views, and conformity and obedience are all evident in large power distance cultures. On the other hand, small power distance cultures aim to minimise inequalities, reduce hierarchy by designing flatter organisational structures, increase interdependence between those who are low and high on the hierarchy, de-centralise power and narrow the salary range, while maintaining the view of equality and a reduced need to obey.

The second of the dimensions is 'uncertainty avoidance', and refers to the extent to which members of a particular culture feel threatened by uncertain and unknown situations. Cultures with weak uncertainty avoidance present low signs of stress, comfort in ambiguous situations, acceptance of the unknown, openness to new experiences and motivation through achievement or belongingness. In contrast, those with strong uncertainty avoidance fear uncertainty and ambiguous situations, experience high levels of stress in new environments and avoid risk taking. In addition, they are more emotional and are motivated by security and belongingness.

The next dimension is referred to as 'individualism', which looks at the role of the individual versus the role of the group. Individualistic cultures base identities on individuals and use thinking that mainly involves the word 'I'. In these cultures, persons believe in speaking their mind and grow up to look after only themselves and their immediate family. In addition, members of individualistic cultures engage in mutually advantageous relationships

and insist on placing more importance on tasks, rather than relationships, at the workplace. On the other hand, individuals in collectivist cultures are brought up to think of themselves as part of a group, and the word 'we' is often utilised. In these cultures, maintenance of relationships is important, and caring for extended family is expected.

The fourth dimension is 'masculinity', which looks at a society's preference for masculine or feminine behaviours. Masculine societies maintain clearly distinct social gender roles, wherein males are expected to be assertive, ambitious and tough, while females are expected to be modest, tender and emotional. In these societies, fathers deal with facts while mothers deal with feelings; furthermore, boys and girls tend to study different subjects. Feminine societies "(which would perhaps better be labelled androgynous societies), in contrast, are those in which social gender roles overlap and where both males and females are supposed to display similar behaviours. In these cultures, everyone is expected to be modest and caring, and equality, solidarity and consensus are the norm.

The dimensions of 'long-term orientation' and 'indulgence' were added in 1991 and 2010, respectively. The former refers to the extent of a culture's respect for traditions and (in)ability to move with the time. The latter looks at the level of gratification allowed and the level of indulgence present, both of which are connected to natural instincts. These dimensions have not been explored as much as the first four, but worldwide scores are currently being collected.

Bearing the above descriptions in mind, one will attempt to describe Bulgaria in terms of the initial four dimensions. Not much research looking at Bulgaria's scores is available, but a few newly available studies have surfaced. After conducting a survey looking at the organisational culture in Bulgaria, Davidkov (2004) presented results that suggest Bulgaria's culture scores very high on power distance and somewhat high on uncertainty avoidance, feminism and collectivism. In addition, in a comparative study between Bulgaria, Finland and Japan (Routamaa, Hautala, & Tsutzuki, 2009), Bulgaria scored the highest on power distance, and the rest of its scores were also considerably high; this suggests the additional presence of uncertainty avoidance, collectivism and, in contrast to Davidkov's (2004) findings, masculinity. More recently, Minkov (2011), who worked with Geert, himself, described Bulgaria as maintaining a large power distance, with evident hierarchy and inequality. In addition, his results show that the country scores very high on uncertainty avoidance, with a large preference for avoiding novel/ambiguous situations and preventing risk taking. With regards to masculinity and collectivism, Minkov (2011) suggested that Bulgaria is both a collectivist and

feminist culture, showing a group-based way of life as well as concern for others and for quality of life.

### **3.2.2 United Kingdom**

Compared to Bulgaria, the United Kingdom is significantly larger (245,610 km<sup>2</sup>). It is an island in Western Europe, located to the northwest of France. Its population at the time of writing was 62,698,362, of which 92.1% were White, 2% Black, 1.8% Indian, 1.3% Pakistani and 2.8% mixed or other. The official language is English, and the majority of the population (71.2% at the time of writing) practices—although not always actively—Christianity.

#### *3.2.2.1 Historical Overview*

The first tribes to have settled in the British Isles were Celtic, and are believed to have arrived in 800BC. They were then followed by the Brythons, after whom the country was named. The Roman Empire invaded Britain in 55BC, but only managed to conquer it much later, in 43AD; despite this, formal adoption of the Latin language never took place. As the strength of the Roman Empire declined, new invasions took place by the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes, until the Norman Conquest in 1066. The Normans secured safety and provided a period of development, which prepared the way for Britain's rise as a world power. This carried on until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, at the dawn of the Tudor period. These years were characterised by the birth of the Church of England and the birth of Britain as a Protestant nation. From the Norman Conquest through to 1801, the country experienced years of fighting between England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, which ultimately resulted in their unification and the formation of the United Kingdom. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century and during the Victorian era, Britain consolidated itself as the greatest world power; this was typified by a great colonial expansion. The 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the two World Wars, weakened Britain. However, one must point out that, in both wars, Britain emerged as a victor. It was during this time that the colonial empire disintegrated and Britain joined other capitalist countries as part of a European Community.

### *3.2.2.2 Political System*

Politics in the United Kingdom takes place within the framework of a constitutional monarchy. The monarch is determined by hereditary principles, with the oldest child of the monarch next in line for the throne. The respective king or queen is accepted as head of state, while the prime minister is head of the government. The latter oversees the operation of structures such as the civil service, in addition to carrying out responsibilities such as appointing ministers and acting as the main figure in the House of Commons. He or she is the main informant to the monarch and is in charge of recommending the appointments of individuals of importance. The prime minister works with his/her office, which provides support and advice. The cabinet, which is made up of appointed ministers who head government departments, meets regularly with the prime minister to discuss developments and to draw agendas.

The UK is a parliamentary democracy. Its parliament is bicameral, with two houses (or chambers). The House of Commons is the lower of the two chambers, but it holds most of the authority. It comprises 646 members of parliament (MPs), and each of these members represents a geographical constituency. MPs are elected by a majority system, or 'first past the post'. As noted earlier, this system allows for individual candidates from each of the constituencies to gain a place in parliament by gathering the majority or plurality of votes in their respective constituencies. As there are a different number of voters per constituency (and as the percentage of the plurality/majority varies across constituencies in any election), this method of voting allows a party to gain a parliamentary seat majority even if they do not secure the overall majority of votes. The parliamentary seat majority is defined by the total number of constituencies within which a political party wins. Since 2011, there have been fixed term parliaments in the UK with elections held every 5 years. The role of parliament is to pass laws, inspect government policy and discuss current issues. Its vote of 'no confidence' could dismiss the cabinet, which, itself, is directly accountable to the parliament.

The House of Lords is the second and upper chamber, and holds less authority. It is rather large and, at the time of writing, had 830 members. Historically, the title 'Lord' and the right of a seat in the House of Lords were inherited. The number of so-called 'hereditary peers' has now been reduced to only 92, as the idea of passing on the right to sit in the House of Lords is rather undemocratic. The rest of the members are now called 'life peers'. They have been nominated by the monarch to advise until their death, but they do not have the right to pass on their title to future generations. The overall responsibility of this chamber is to revise legislation, scrutinise the government and provide expertise. It works closely with the House of Commons in these tasks.

In terms of local government, England alone is divided into nine regions that use different models of authority provision. There are both double and single tier councils. Double tier councils entail a county council divided into a number of district councils; responsibility for local matters is shared between these two sets of councils. Single tier councils entail a single all-purpose council responsible for all local authority functions. These single tier councils are present in Scotland, Wales and England, and go by the name of unitary, metropolitan or London borough councils. There are two types of mayors in the UK: ceremonial mayors and elected mayors. The former represent the district but their role is non-political, while the latter are elected by the citizens and have the power to make decisions. Elected mayors serve for 4 years; a good example of an elected mayor is the mayor of London, who heads the Greater London Authority. In addition to mayors, local councils are run by elected councillors who are voted in by the people. The councillors make decisions on a local level and on behalf of the community. There are more than 20,000 local councillors representing wards in the 410 local authorities. The system used to vote for councillors is, again, 'first past the post', while the system of voting for elected mayors is the 'supplementary vote'. The supplementary vote asks voters to declare both a first and a second choice of candidate. Like the elected mayors, local councillors serve for a fixed period of 4 years. (Leach, Coxall, Robins, 2011)

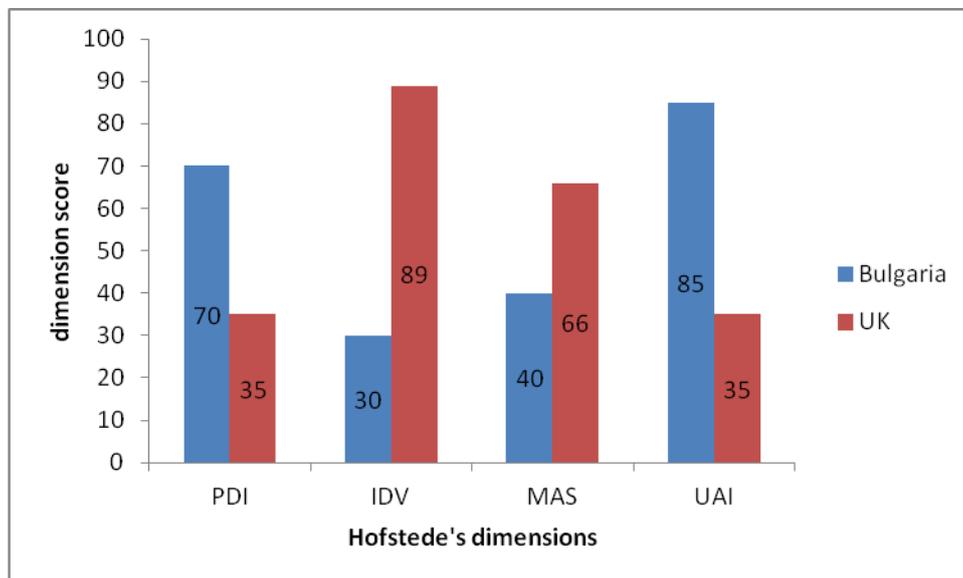
### *3.2.2.3 National Cultural Values*

The UK is generally described as a problem-solving and optimistic country. Taking on Hofstede's classification of cultural values explained above, one can rather easily describe the values held by the British people. In 1980, Hofstede administered a questionnaire to 117,000 respondents around the world with more than 1,000 of them British. His findings suggest that UK citizens score very high on individualism and reasonably high on masculinity. This suggests that British individuals are taught to think for themselves and concentrate on reaching self-actualisation. In addition, their masculine nature allows them to be success-oriented, ambitious and driven. Moreover, Britain has been shown to score very low in terms of uncertainty avoidance and power distance. British individuals hold very negative views of inequality, and they do not fear ambiguous situations. Studies carried out with alternative samples have very much supported the scores presented by Hofstede (Shackleton & Ali, 1990).

### 3.2.3 Cultural Comparative Tables and Charts

**Table 2.** Comparison between demographic variables of Bulgaria and the United Kingdom

Demographic	Culture	
	Bulgaria	United Kingdom
<b>Size</b>	110,910 km <sup>2</sup>	245,610 km <sup>2</sup>
<b>Population size</b>	7,364,570	62,698,362
<b>Language</b>	Bulgarian	English
<b>Religion</b>	Mainly Christian (76%)	Mainly Christian (71.2%)
<b>Political system</b>	Parliamentary republic	Constitutional monarchy
<b>Voting system</b>	Proportional representation/majority systems	Majority system
<b>GDP per capita</b>	\$13,500 USD	\$34,800 USD



**Figure 2.** Comparative analysis of Hofstede's cultural dimension scores in the United Kingdom and Bulgaria (PDI: power distance index; IND: individualism index; MAS: masculinity index; UAI: uncertainly avoidance index)

### **3.3 Research Procedure and Participants**

The data collection for the present research was carried out in two phases. The sections below (3.3.1 and 3.3.2) describe the procedures and participant samples associated with each of the two phases of data collection.

#### **3.3.1 Phase 1**

##### *3.3.1.1 Phase 1 Procedure*

Data collection for this initial phase was carried out in 2009. In January of that year, letters of invitation to participate were sent to members of parliament and local councils in London and Sofia, the respective capitals of the United Kingdom and Bulgaria. The letters described the purpose of the study and provided recipients with the researcher's contact details. In addition, they assured the addressed that if they were to accept the invitation, all personal data would be kept confidential. A total of 1,481 invitations were sent to political leaders. The response rate at this stage (suggesting interest in participation) was 8.6%. Those who expressed interest were then sent hard copies of the questionnaires (Appendix Three), which were accompanied by an informed consent form (Appendix Two). The majority of political leaders replied without having to be reminded, and those who delayed their response were later contacted via telephone or e-mail. Around 37% of all reminders resulted in the completion of the questionnaires. At this stage, response rate was 7.3%, which is considerably low, but similar to the response rates achieved by other researchers using similar samples (e.g. the response rate in Caprara et al.'s (2003) study stood conservatively at 10%). One must, however, point out that this rate would likely be higher if one had accounted for e-mails that had not been received or had been eliminated by filtering, as well as questionnaires that had been lost or forgotten. Nevertheless, substantial systematic cross-cultural data for existing major political leaders are, as noted, fairly rare in the literature, because such data are difficult to obtain. One can, moreover, to some extent compensate for low response rates by examining biases derived from within-group differences.

There was a considerable delay in response due to elections taking place and due to political leaders' work commitments. Some declined immediately, expressing concerns over confidentiality and the way in which the data would be used.

Members of the general public who formed the follower sample were invited to participate using similar measures to those used for the political leaders in both Bulgaria and

the United Kingdom. Opportunity sampling was utilised to select participants. Friends, acquaintances, work colleagues, friends of friends and neighbours were approached, and, while this might signify potential bias, representativeness was taken into account when likely respondents were approached. The use of opportunity sampling did, however, result in a somewhat low number of invitations being sent (256 in total), simply because the number of invitations sent was directly related to the limited number of contacts. The response rate was, however, higher than that of the sample of political leaders. In total, 67% of the invited individuals expressed interest in participating. After hard copies of the questionnaires were sent, the response rate fell to 53%. Within this sample, reminders were not as successful at gaining a response as they were in the political leader sample, as those who failed to complete the questionnaires at receipt also failed to complete them after the reminder. Common sense suggests that, for the sample of "followers", commonalities across leader-follower and to a perhaps lesser extent across cultures would, by parsimony, probably represent valid findings whereas culture-specific follower-specific properties (such as might be manifest in statistical interactions) might be veridical and/or might be due to sampling bias. Even the latter possibility would however be expected to be at least partly ameliorated by the de facto quota sampling (see next section).

The participants in both groups responded to a number of questionnaires (three closed and standardised questionnaires and one open-ended questionnaire) as part of this comparatively large investigation. The standardised questionnaires, which are thoroughly discussed in the next section (section 3.4), were the Big Five TIPI (Ten Item Personality Inventory; Appendix Three), the SYMLOG (Systematic Multiple Level Observation of Groups; Appendix Three) and the MLQ (Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire; Appendix Three).

In addition to providing demographic information such as nationality, gender, age, party orientation, level of education and voting behaviour, participants in both the leader and follower samples completed the self-rating forms of the Big Five TIPI and the SYMLOG, both of which provided data on the temperamental personality traits associated with both groups. Moreover, all political leaders and any members of the follower sample who declared themselves organisational leaders also completed the self form of the MLQ. These leaders provided data on the style they claimed to utilise. The rater form of the MLQ was presented to all followers, who were urged to consider the nature of both a good political and a good organisational leader by attributing frequencies to the presented MLQ behaviours (i.e. the 45 behavioural statements) for both types of leaders. In addition, the followers also completed the open-ended questionnaire, which looked at an open-ended description of a good political

leader. The data gathered from follower responses on the MLQ rater form and the open-ended questionnaire indicated the political leader role schema ILT and the political leader ILT as a whole.

### *3.3.1.2 Phase 1 Participants*

The total sample of 243 respondents tested in this phase consisted of 136 males (56%) and 107 females (44%) from Bulgaria (n=120) and the United Kingdom (n=123), aged 18 to 77.

The political leader subsample was made up of political leaders (n=108) who had been elected and were currently holding office positions (i.e. as members of parliament or as local councillors). Within that sample, 51 of the leaders were from Bulgaria and 57 were from the United Kingdom. Table 3 (section 3.3.1.2) represents demographic and political characteristics of this subsample, arranged by nationality, age, gender, education, political involvement and political affiliation. Most of these characteristics were well-represented and, in most cases, balanced between the UK and the Bulgarian samples.

The follower subsample consisted of 135 middle-aged respondents (M=39 years, SD=14.7) who did not hold elected office positions. They were referred to as 'followers' and the proportion of males (43%: 29 Bulgarian and 29 British) was roughly equal to the proportion of females (57%: 40 Bulgarian and 37 British). Eleven (8.1%) of these respondents had completed only secondary education (7 Bulgarians, 4 British), 51 (37.7%) had completed further education (28 Bulgarians, 23 British), 72 (53.3%) had completed higher education (33 Bulgarian, 39 British) and the educational datum for one participant (1 Bulgarian) was unknown. There were 69 Bulgarian and 66 British nationals in this sample. The number of participants within each education and gender group in the UK and Bulgaria were similar, which ensured some between-group similarities. The characteristics of the two cultural follower samples were also roughly related to the respective population trends in the rest of the UK and Bulgaria, which made the samples generally representative. Table 4 (section 3.3.1.2) represents the demographic characteristics of this subsample, arranged by age, education, gender and political affiliation.

**Table 3.** *Political leader demographic characteristics*

<b>Demographic</b>	<b>Bulgarian (n=51)</b>	<b>British (n=57)</b>	<b>Total (N=108)</b>
<b>Age</b>			
18–37	8 (15.7%)	6 (10.5%)	14 (13%)
38–57	33 (64.7%)	25 (43.9%)	58 (53.7%)
58+	10 (19.6%)	26 (45.6%)	36 (33.3%)
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	36 (70.6%)	42 (73.7%)	78 (72.2%)
Female	15 (29.4%)	15 (26.3%)	30 (27.7%)
<b>Education</b>			
Secondary	0 (0%)	2 (3.5%)	2 (1.8%)
Further	12 (23.5%)	5 (8.8%)	17 (15.7%)
Higher	39 (76.5%)	37 (65%)	76 (70.4%)
Unknown	0 (0%)	13 (23%)	13 (12%)
<b>Level of political activity</b>			
Local government	29 (57%)	45 (79%)	74 (68.5%)
MP	22 (43%)	12 (21%)	34 (31.5%)
<b>Political affiliation</b>			
Left	11 (21.5%)	22 (38.6%)	33 (30.6%)
Right	19 (37.2%)	22 (38.6%)	41 (37.9%)
Centre	1 (2%)	11 (19.2%)	12 (11.1%)
Unknown	20 (39.2%)	2 (3.5%)	22 (20.3%)

*Note.* Percentages refer to the respective column

**Table 4. Demographic characteristics of followers**

<b>Demographic</b>	<b>Bulgarian (n=69)</b>	<b>British (n=66)</b>	<b>Total (N=135)</b>
<b>Age</b>			
18–37	23 (33.3%)	47 (71.2%)	70 (51.8%)
38–57	35 (50.7%)	10 (15.1%)	45 (33.3%)
58+	11 (15.9%)	6 (9%)	17 (12.6%)
Unknown	0 (0%)	3 (4.5%)	3 (2.2%)
<b>Education</b>			
Secondary	7 (10.1%)	4 (6.1%)	11 (8.1%)
Further	28 (40.5%)	23 (34.8%)	51 (37.7%)
Higher	33 (47.8%)	39 (69.1%)	72 (53.3%)
Unknown	1 (1.4%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.7%)
<b>Gender</b>			
Males	29 (42%)	29 (44%)	58 (43%)
Females	40 (58%)	37 (56%)	77 (57%)
<b>Political affiliation</b>			
Left	5 (7.2%)	24 (36.4%)	29 (21.5%)
Right	16 (23.1%)	10 (14.5%)	26 (19.3%)
Centre	2 (2.9%)	14 (21.2%)	16 (11.8%)
Unknown	46 (66.6%)	18 (27.2%)	64 (47.4%)

*Note.* Percentages refer to the respective column

As noted earlier, some of the participants in the follower subsample declared themselves to be organisational leaders. The total number of organisational leaders stood conservatively at 50 (22 Bulgarian and 28 British). Some of these leaders described themselves as leading at the middle to high hierarchical level (16 participants), and others described themselves as leading at the middle to low hierarchical level (34 participants). Table 5 (section 3.3.1.2) represents the demographic characteristics of this subsample, arranged by age, education, gender, political affiliation and hierarchical level.

**Table 5. Demographic characteristics of the organisational leader subsample**

<b>Demographic</b>	<b>Bulgarian (n=22)</b>	<b>British (n=28)</b>	<b>Total (N=50)</b>
<b>Age</b>			
18–37	2 (9.1%)	16 (57.1%)	18 (36%)
38–57	17 (77.3%)	7 (25%)	24 (48%)
58+	3 (13.6%)	5 (17.9%)	8 (16%)
Unknown	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<b>Education</b>			
Secondary	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Further	6 (27.3%)	3 (10.7%)	9 (18%)
Higher	16 (72.7%)	25 (89.3%)	41 (82%)
Unknown	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<b>Gender</b>			
Males	8 (36.4%)	18 (64.2%)	26 (52%)
Females	14 (63.6%)	10 (35.7%)	24 (48%)
<b>Political affiliation</b>			
Left	0 (0%)	11 (39.3%)	11 (22%)
Right	2 (9.1%)	6 (21.4%)	8 (16%)
Centre	0 (0%)	6 (21.4%)	6 (12%)
Unknown	20 (90.9%)	5 (17.9%)	25 (50%)
<b>Hierarchical level</b>			
Middle–low	12 (54.5%)	22 (78.6%)	34 (68%)
Middle–high	10 (45.5%)	6 (21.4%)	16 (32%)

*Note.* Percentages refer to the respective column

Although all participants were encouraged to complete all the questionnaires with which they were presented, some returned only partially completed forms. This resulted in different numbers of participants completing each of the presented questionnaires. The table below (Table 6, section 3.3.1.2) indicates the number of participants who completed each questionnaire.

**Table 6.** Number of participants completing each of the presented questionnaires

Participants	Questionnaire					
	Big Five TIPI (n=243)	SYMLOG (n=243)	MLQ self form (n=158)	MLQ rater form/ref. good political leader (n=135)	MLQ rater form/ref. good organisatio nal leader (n=135)	Open- ended (n=135)
<b>Political leader</b>						
Bulgarian	48 (19.7%)	48 (19.7%)	51 (32.3%)	N/A	N/A	N/A
British	56 (23.9%)	55 (22.6%)	55 (34.8%)	N/A	N/A	N/A
No completion	4 (1.6%)	5 (2.1%)	2 (1.3%)	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Follower</b>						
Bulgarian	64 (26.3%)	69 (28.4%)	N/A	50 (37%)	49 (36.3%)	58 (43%)
British	66 (27.1%)	66 (27.1%)	N/A	49 (36.3%)	50 (37%)	50 (37%)
No completion	5 (2.1%)	0 (0%)	N/A	36 (26.7%)	36 (26.7%)	27 (20%)
<b>Organisational leader (also included in the follower subsample)</b>						
Bulgarian	20 (8.2%)	22 (9.1%)	20 (12.7%)	18 (13.3%)	20 (14.8%)	21(15.6%)
British	28 (11.5%)	28 (11.5%)	28 (17.7%)	28 (20.7%)	28 (20.7%)	26(19.3%)
No completion	2 (0.8%)	0 (0%)	2 (1.3%)	4 (3%)	2 (1.5%)	3 (2.2%)
<b>Total completed</b>	234	238	154	99	99	108

*Note 1.* Percentages refer to the respective column

*Note 2.* The 'n' for each column less the missing cases is larger than 'total completed' because 'organisational leader' is a subsample of the 'followers' subsample, as explained in the text

### **3.3.2 Phase 2**

#### *3.3.2.1 Phase 2 Procedure*

The second phase of data collection was associated with the need for further exploration of the findings via the qualitative open-ended questionnaire. The administration of this questionnaire resulted in the attainment of lengthy and good political leader descriptions. To initiate reduction and quantification, each of the descriptive items present within the descriptions were extracted. The group of extracted items was noted to contain many identical descriptors of similar meaning, which prompted a frequency count. Following the latter, a decision was made to retain only those items that appeared more than five times, and were therefore considered important to political leadership by at least 10% of the sample.

The latter procedure was carried out separately for the two cultural samples, which resulted in the data's final reduction to 19 descriptive items associated with good Bulgarian political leaders and 12 descriptive items associated with good British political leaders. These items were included in two implicit leadership scales (Bulgarian and British implicit leadership scales).

The two scales were then administered to 121 Bulgarian and British nationals who were urged to rate how characteristic each of the items was of good political leaders. The latter participants were, like in phase 1, selected with the help of opportunity sampling. Once again, friends, acquaintances, friends of friends, neighbours and colleagues were approached and invited to participate. The e-mail invitation included an electronic copy of either the Bulgarian or the British scale. Participants were told the theme of the study and were given the option to either print, complete and post the questionnaire or to complete and e-mail it. Invitations were sent to 226 individuals, and the response rate was 53.5%.

#### *3.3.2.2 Phase 2 Participants*

As noted earlier, the scales were completed by 121 participants (61 Bulgarian and 60 British). The number of male and female participants was generally similar, but most participants in both cultural samples fell in the 18–37 age group. While this reduced the representativeness of the samples, it nevertheless made them roughly cross-culturally comparable. The table below (Table 7, section 3.3.2.2) represents the demographic characteristics of this subsample, arranged by age and gender.

**Table 7.** Demographic characteristics of participants taking part in phase 2

Demographic	Bulgarian followers (n=61)	UK followers (n=60)	Total (N=120)
<b>Age</b>			
18–37	33 (54.1%)	52 (86.7%)	85 (70.8%)
38–57	23 (37.7%)	8 (13.3%)	31 (25.8%)
58+	2 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	2 (1.6%)
Unknown	2 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	2 (1.6%)
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	31 (50.8%)	25 (41.7%)	56 (46.7%)
Female	29 (47.5%)	35 (58%)	64 (53.3%)
Unknown	1 (1.6%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.8%)

*Note.* Percentages refer to the respective column

### 3.3.3 Summary

All 364 participants were recruited via e-mail invitations and were assured that their data would be kept confidential. Ethical considerations associated with the execution of social science research were fully taken into account and ethical approval to carry out this research was granted. Explanation of the research purpose, permission to withdraw at any time and a debrief were given to each participant. An opportunity sample was used when targeting those in the follower subsample of phase 1 and those in the subsample of phase 2. The use of a student sample might have secured a larger size, but students would not have provided a sample representative of the general public. The samples, themselves, were not impressively large, but were large enough to underline differences and large enough also when considering the difficulty associated with direct measurement of political leaders. Balance, in terms of cross-cultural sample equivalence, was generally achieved, although an effort was also made to ensure that these samples were representative of the cultures that they derived from. Due to the low sample size in some cases, one might argue that within-group differences might have acted as biases. These are thoroughly addressed and accounted for in sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2.

## 3.4 Research Tools

As noted earlier, the participating individuals completed a number of questionnaires. The following sections (3.4.1, 3.4.2, 3.4.3, 3.4.4 and 3.4.5) discuss each of the questionnaires in detail.

### 3.4.1 Phase 1 Questionnaires

#### 3.4.1.1 Big Five TIPI (Ten Item Personality Inventory [Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swan, 2003])

##### 3.4.1.1.1 Big Five overview.

The Big Five personality framework has enjoyed much support and, to date, it has been the most widely used model of personality. The framework posits the presence of five broad personality factors and claims that most individual differences in human personality can be classified in terms of these five domains:

1. extraversion (outgoing versus reserved);
2. emotional stability (sensitive versus secure);
3. agreeableness (friendly versus cold);
4. conscientiousness (organised versus careless); and
5. openness to experience (curious versus cautious).

Work in this area was initiated by Cattell (1943) and later refined by both Tupes and Christal (1992) and Goldberg (1990). There have been many replications of the five factors (Borgatta, 1964; Dingman & Takemoto-Chock, 1981; Norman, 1963), and this has made some researchers reluctant to dispute their existence. It has also led to the development of many instruments aimed at measuring the five factors. Amongst them, the most comprehensive and well-known measure is the NEO Inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1985, 1992). The first version of this (the NEO-I) measured only neuroticism (N), extraversion (E) and openness (O). Its later refinement led to the development of the NEO-PI, which looked at all five factors (Costa & McCrae, 1985). Its current and revised version (NEO-PI-R; Costa & McCrae, 1992) includes 240 items and takes 45–60 minutes to complete. This lengthy completion time has led to the development of a shorter test, which includes 60 items and is called the 'NEO-FFI' (Costa & McCrae, 2004). Other widely used instruments are the 44-item BFI test (Big Five Inventory; Benet-Martinez & John, 1998), as well as the 100-item TDA measure (Trait Descriptive Adjectives; Goldberg, 1992).

All three tests have been shown to have great internal consistency, with mean alpha reliabilities of .89, .83 and .79 for the TDA, BFI and NEO-FFI, respectively; the lengthier tests have shown even higher reliabilities. The tests have also been found to show convergence, with the strongest being between the BFI and the TDA ( $r=.81$ ), followed by that between the BFI and the NEO-FFI ( $r=.78$ ) and, finally, that between the TDA and the NEO-FFI ( $r=.68$ ). The main overlap is in terms of the conceptualisations of factors such as agreeableness and conscientiousness, with slight differences in the other dimensions. Discriminant validity analyses have suggested that all five factors are very weakly correlated, and this has illustrated their substantial independence (John & Srivastava, 1999).

Despite the strength of the later measures, one must note that even the short versions of these tests are sometimes considered too lengthy to complete. Of these shorter tests, the BFI is the most efficient, as it takes no more than 10 minutes to complete; however, in scenarios in which participants are faced with multiple tests, even as little as 10 minutes spent on each measure could lead to boredom, fatigue and frustration. This motivated Gosling, Rentfrow and Swan to look at even shorter measures, such as those with a minimal number of items and those taking no more than a couple of minutes to complete. The tests they put forward measured the Big Five in terms of only 5 (FIPI: Five Item Personality Inventory) or 10 (TIPI: Ten Item Personality Inventory) items (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swan, 2003). One must note that both measures stand well in terms of brevity, but the TIPI is currently viewed as better in terms of test-retest reliability, with a mean of  $r=.72$ , as opposed to the FIPI's mean of  $r=.68$ . This makes the TIPI a somewhat better option, and it was therefore chosen as a temperamental personality measure in this research.

Although inferior to standard measures of Big Five personality (and unable to measure facets within each dimension), such as the NEO-PI-R/NEO-FFI, the short TIPI version is not only less time consuming, but it also reaches adequate convergent (mean  $r=.77$ ) and discriminant (mean  $r=.20$ ) correlations with the BFI (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swan, 2003). Each of the five factors (extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, openness to experience and emotional stability) are, in this measure, assessed by two items (containing two descriptors each) and rated on a 7-point scale (anchored with 1 [disagree strongly] and 7 [agree strongly]). Participants are generally asked to rate the extent to which each pair of descriptors applies to them. A high score on a scale means that the participant believes that they display more of the respective trait. Table 8 (section 3.4.1.1.1) defines the five factors employed by the TIPI and suggests some lexical examples that the test uses for each of the outlined personality factors.

**Table 8.** *Personality factors as conceptualised by Big Five TIPI*

<b>Personality Factor</b>	<b>Factor definition</b>	<b>Lexical examples of the personality factors</b>
Extraversion	The extent to which one is sociable, talkative and competitive	Enthusiastic/quiet
Agreeableness	The extent to which one is helpful and cooperative, and concerned about others' needs	Warm/quarrelsome
Conscientiousness	The extent to which one is organised, responsible and self-disciplined	Self-disciplined/careless
Emotional stability	The extent to which one can control emotions and feel calm and secure	Calm/easily upset
Openness to experience	The extent to which one explores novelty and is imaginative	Complex/conventional

*Note.* A full version of the TIPI is available in Appendix 3

#### *3.4.1.1.2 Rationale for choosing the TIPI.*

The decision to use the Big Five framework to measure the temperamental personality traits of participants in this study was not difficult to make, given the support this framework has warranted. In addition, its cross-cultural generalisability made it a likely choice for this study of cross-cultural differences (McCrae & Allik, 2002). One must, however, point out that the choice of test was not so easy, given the availability of many different questionnaires that measure the five broad domains.

The main reason for choosing the TIPI for this study was brevity. Brevity is of utmost importance when dealing with political leaders, who are well-known for being too busy and therefore reluctant to engage in such activities.

The complex sample was, however, not the only issue. As the theoretical focus of this research was on multiple constructs—all of which were proposed as equally important—I was reluctant to include the full and lengthy measures of all constructs, as this would have increased the testing sessions substantially. Opting for short measures, where possible, allowed me to study different concepts simultaneously. While this might have somewhat compromised the validity of the gathered data, the data are still valuable, given the complex situation.

Moreover, the inclusion of a short Big Five measure also meant that participants did not feel as if they were being 'oversurveyed'. This, in turn, led to a reduced level of non-responses and reduced levels of fatigue, boredom and agitation.

In addition, one must once again note that the TIPI has scored well in terms of test-retest reliability, with a mean of  $r=.72$ ; this is not much lower than that of the BFI ( $r=.80$ ). This high reliability also placed it in a good position when the choice of measures was made.

#### *3.4.1.2 The SYMLOG (Simplified Version of SYMLOG7 Trait Rating Form [Blumberg, 2006])*

##### *3.4.1.2.1 SYMLOG overview.*

Despite the strengths of the Big Five framework and the measures designed to capture the prevalence of the five domains in individuals, one must note that, while both the measures and framework have been used in leadership research, they were not specifically designed for studying leadership or social interaction at the workplace. The lack of leadership studies using the TIPI, in particular, caused concerns over its likely robustness in the experimental field of leadership. This prompted the search for a personality measure that had been designed to study individual differences in work/leadership environments and could also be included in this research.

The SYMLOG emerged as one such measure. The theory upon which the SYMLOG measure was built is, in origin, a field theory. Unlike the Big Five framework, the SYMLOG theory—which originated from the work of Harvard Professor Robert Bales—proposes that social interaction takes place in a metaphorical three-dimensional space. This space is conceptual, in which one can imagine particular groups and individuals operating. It is therefore not just statistical or hypothetical, and its three dimensions are 'Up' (dominant/submissive), 'Positive' (friendly/unfriendly) and 'Forward' (acceptant of or opposed to the task orientation of an established authority).

The SYMLOG questionnaire, which emerged out of a desire to measure the three proposed personality/social interaction dimensions, is based on Bales's 1970 framework. It exists in three forms, measuring values, traits and behaviours. For the present study, the traits form was of interest, in which 26 items measure the variation of the three dimensions within individuals. Similar to measures looking to provide data on individual positions on the Big Five factors, the SYMLOG questionnaire is rather lengthy. This, once again, caused difficulties for my intention of administering multiple tests. To counter this problem, Blumberg (2006)

devised a short form containing 14 one-word multidimensional items. The completion time of this shorter test is fewer than five minutes, while the correlations between the full and the shortened form are rather large (.88 for Up, .87 for Positive and .89 for Forward). In addition, the correlations between different scales on the same form are all very low (i.e. about  $r=.2$  or less), which confirms that the three dimensions are generally independent of each other. Participants completing this questionnaire are generally asked to indicate the traits that they expect others will rate as showing in their (the participant's) behaviour; that is, participants rate whether others would probably rate them as showing the trait 'rarely', 'sometimes' or 'often'. Table 9 (section 3.4.1.2.1) defines the three dimensions employed by the SYMLOG and suggests some lexical examples that the test uses for each of the outlined personality domains.

**Table 9.** *Personality dimensions as conceptualised by the SYMLOG*

<b>Personality dimension</b>	<b>Dimension definition</b>	<b>Lexical examples of the personality dimensions</b>
Up	The degree of dominance 'or submissiveness' within one's personality	Dominant/silent
Positive	The degree of expressed friendliness	Equalitarian/selfish
Forward	Whether one is instrumentally controlled/accepting of the task orientation of established authority or emotionally expressive/opposed to the task orientation of established authority—i.e. conforming/opposing	Task-oriented/unpredictable

*Note.* A full version of the SYMLOG is available in Appendix 3

#### *3.4.1.2.2 Rationale for choosing the SYMLOG.*

The decision to complement the TIPI measure with a second measure to gather data on personality traits was, as noted, prompted by the TIPI's lack of prior use in leadership settings. The need for a questionnaire that had already been used in leadership studies—and even designed for such settings—was apparent. The SYMLOG was the obvious choice, as it was specifically intended for studying social interaction and, in particular, leadership and associated phenomena. Moreover, the measure had been previously used in published studies

that had researched political/public leaders (Ellis & Nadler, 1996; Isenberg & Ennis, 1981). This increased my confidence in the instrument's applicability for this research.

One might, however, argue that the two measures (i.e. the SYMLOG and TIPI) measure similar constructs, as studies have shown that they overlap and correlate. After the emergence of SYMLOG, Bales (1999) proposed that the Big Five personality factors and the three SYMLOG dimensions measure similar concepts. His predictions were that extraversion would be positively related to Up, while agreeableness and emotional stability would be positively related to Positive. Conscientiousness and openness to experience, on the other hand, would (respectively) be positively and negatively associated with Forward. Blumberg (2001) partially confirmed these predictions and, in his research, noted that extraversion and openness to experience correlate with Up, while agreeableness is related to Positive and Forward. Similarly, neuroticism and conscientiousness also correlate with Positive and Forward, respectively. In his work, Blumberg (2001) suggested that, although the SYMLOG and Big Five measures are fairly similar in their mapping of individual differences, they each derive this map in a very distinctive way, with the SYMLOG often emphasising how one thinks others would view their personality and the Big Five typically focused on how people view themselves. Considering Baumeister and Tice's (1986) classification of 'the self', one could argue that the Big Five TIPI measures the 'private self' (i.e. how one perceives one's self), while the SYMLOG measures a combination of the public self (i.e. how one judges one's self to be perceived and rated by others) and private self (how one perceives one's self), which results in a third 'self' category (i.e. how one perceives the way in which others view one's self). In addition, while significant, the correlation coefficients between the SYMLOG and Big Five factors present in Blumberg's (2001) work are only small to medium in size, and do not exceed  $r=.52$ —a finding that is supported by the results of this work (for  $r$  and  $r^2$  statistics regarding the association between the Big Five TIPI and SYMLOG dimensions in the current research, see Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix Six). This suggests that the SYMLOG might account for unique personality variance, which one could explore in addition to the variance accounted for by the TIPI. Moreover, additional differences between the SYMLOG and Big Five measures might also lead to the provision of unique information associated with each of them. Their structure is such that the SYMLOG contains unequally weighted items that represent various combinations of the measured dimensions, while the Big Five measures include equally weighted items measuring single dimensions.

Of course, the decision of how many dimensions and which measures to use in a given situation depends on the purpose of the research. According to Blumberg (2001), for general

purpose 'benchmark' personality measures, the five factors represent a 'common currency'; however, he also asserted that profiles of everyday social interaction can be adequately covered by Bales's three SYMLOG dimensions (Hare & Hare, 1996); this makes the measure particularly relevant to concepts such as leadership.

In addition, one must once again note that the short form of the SYMLOG is quick and easy to complete, which, as presented earlier, is an important criterion in studies of political leaders and is also important when one is introducing multiple tests. Brief forms benefit from the positives associated with brief measures and the positives already outlined in section 3.4.1.1.2. One should also not forget that the SYMLOG short form is largely comparable to the full form, with a mean correlation of  $r=.88$ . Moreover, the test has also been shown to be consistent over time, culture and situation (Polley, Hare, & Stone, 1988), which is an important factor for cross-cultural comparisons.

Such merits encouraged the additional use of the SYMLOG for evaluating personality differences. Its relation to leadership and its previous use in similar research made it relevant, and it might have led to superior robustness in this study.

### *3.4.1.3 The MLQ (Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire [Bass, 1985; Bass & Avolio, 1995, 2000, 2004])*

#### *3.4.1.3.1 MLQ overview.*

As suggested in the literature review in Chapter 2, section 2.2.1, many conceptualisations of leadership styles have been uncovered. Early models were particularly interested in testing task- and person-oriented leadership styles (e.g. Stogdill & Shartle's Ohio State studies and Likert's Michigan State studies, both in the 1950s), but, as neither style proved superior, interest shifted to a style that initiated and facilitated transformation in a positive manner.

Over the past 20 years, in particular, there has been considerable interest in testing the new paradigm of transformational and transactional leadership, the latter of which resembles task-oriented leadership. This has led to the development of the Full Range Leadership Model (Bass & Avolio, 1988, 1990), which includes a broader range of leadership styles than the paradigms of initiation (task-oriented) and consideration (person-oriented). The model proposes leadership styles that range from charismatic and inspirational to avoidant and laissez-faire. As noted in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, it suggests the existence of three styles—transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant—with literature confidently showing that the first is uniquely superior for inducing effectiveness, compared to the second

and third styles (Barling et al., 1996; Derue et al., 2011; Geyer & Steyrer, 1998; Judge & Bono, 2000; Judge & Picollo, 2004; Lowe et al., 1996; Rowold & Heinitz, 2007).

The tool, which was designed to measure the styles in Bass and Avolio's (1988, 1990) model, was named the 'Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire' (MLQ; Bass, 1985; Bass & Avolio, 1995, 2000, 2004), and is the most commonly employed measure of the transformational style and the accompanying transactional and passive/avoidant styles. The questionnaire has undergone many metamorphoses, but it currently exists in four forms, under the names of 'MLQ-5X-Short' (leader and rater form) and 'MLQ-5X-Long' (leader and rater form). The former includes 45 items, while the latter includes 65 items. The 12 components of the 5X-Short version, which was used in this research, measure key leadership and effectiveness behaviours that are empirically linked to individual and organisational success. Five of the components (measured by four questions each) describe transformational leadership. These components are, as noted in section 2.2.1: idealised attributes, idealised behaviours, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration. In addition, the two components associated with transactional leadership are also measured by four questions each, and are called 'management by exception-active' and 'contingent reward'. Moreover, passive/avoidant leadership is also represented by two components, 'management by exception-passive' and 'laissez-faire'. The remainder of the components (three, in total) deal with outcomes of leadership such as extra effort, effectiveness and satisfaction with leadership, and are jointly measured by nine items. Table 10 (section 3.4.1.3.1) shows each of the leadership style components and their definitions, as well as lexical examples of the items within the questionnaire.

**Table 10.** *Components of transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant leadership styles*

<b>Leadership style</b>	<b>Key aspect definition</b>	<b>Item examples</b>
<b><i>Transformational leadership</i></b>		
Idealised attributes (IA)	Instills pride in others by displaying power and confidence; goes beyond self-interest and considers the good of the group	- I instill pride in others for being associated with me - I go beyond self-interest for the good of the group
Idealised behaviours (IB)	Talks about values and beliefs and the importance of a strong sense of purpose and a collective sense of mission	- I talk about my most important values and beliefs - I specify the importance of having a strong sense of

		purpose
Inspirational motivation (IM)	Enthusiastically and positively motivates those around them to envision and pursue goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I talk optimistically about the future</li> <li>- I talk enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished</li> </ul>
Intellectual stimulation (IS)	Stimulates followers to be innovative by questioning assumptions and approaching old situations in new ways	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I get others to look at problems from many different angles</li> <li>- I suggest new ways of looking at how to complete assignments</li> </ul>
Individualised consideration (IC)	Acts as a coach or a mentor to create a supportive climate for followers while recognising individual needs and differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I consider individuals to have different needs, abilities, aspirations and strengths</li> <li>- I help others develop their strength</li> </ul>
<b>Transactional leadership</b>		
Management by exception–active (MBEA)	Specifies the standards for compliance and what constitutes bad performance; punishes followers if deviations are present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I concentrate my full attention on dealing with mistakes, complaints and failures</li> <li>- I keep track of all mistakes</li> </ul>
Contingent reward (CR)	Clarifies expectations and offers recognition for all goals achieved in order to stimulate high levels of performance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I provide others with assistance in exchange for theory efforts</li> <li>- I discuss in specific terms who is responsible for achieving performance targets</li> </ul>
<b>Passive/avoidant leadership</b>		
Management by exception–passive (MBEP)	Avoids specifying agreements and expectations and demonstrates that problems must be chronic before any action is taken	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I fail to interfere until problems become serious</li> <li>- I show that I am a firm believer in ‘If it ain’t broke, do not fix it’</li> </ul>
Laissez-faire (LF)	Avoids making decisions or being present and delays responding to urgent questions and important issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I avoid making decisions</li> <li>- I avoid getting involved when important issues arise</li> </ul>

*Note.* A full version of the MLQ is available in Appendix 3

When presented with the leader form, leaders completing the questionnaire are usually asked to describe their style by judging how frequently each of the 45 statements fit them. In addition, the rater form typically asks participants to describe the leadership style of a particular, imaginary or 'good' leader by noting the frequency display of the 45 behavioural statements. Items on both forms are rated on a 5-point scale, anchored with 0 (not at all) and 4 (frequently, if not always).

The MLQ is considered a valid measure of the three leadership styles (i.e. transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant), with alpha coefficients for each component ranging from .74 to .94. This suggests good internal consistency, as the items appear to measure the components that they claim to measure (Bass & Avolio, 1995). Moreover, it is important to add that, even though Bass and Avolio (1995) proposed that the components of each style are independent (even *within* each style), high positive intercorrelations (i.e. correlations above .8) have been noted, especially between transformational style components (Bass & Avolio, 1995). Such high correlations might not be welcomed by the questionnaire designers, as they suggest a level of component redundancy; however, despite this, some studies have used component integration, which usually corrects for this issue (Hetland & Sandal, 2003; Ross & Offerman, 1997). High significant positive intercorrelations have also been found between the five components of the transformational style and the contingent reward component of the transactional style. Although this is not a strength, the researchers suggested that it is due to both components representing active and positive forms of leadership. In addition, these intercorrelations could be due to the claimed ability of leaders to be both transformational and transactional, which would see them scoring high/low on both components (Bass & Avolio, 2004).

#### *3.4.1.3.2 Rationale for choosing the MLQ.*

While there are many leadership style questionnaires (e.g. the Leadership Behaviour Description Questionnaire [LBDQ; Hemphill & Coons, 1957]; the Transformational Leadership Behaviour Inventory [TLI; Podsakoff, Mckenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990]; and the Transformational Leadership Questionnaire [TLQ; Alimo-Metcalfe & Alban-Metcalfe, 2001]), the MLQ is, according to Bass and Avolio (2004), superior and widely used for targeting the measurements of transformational leadership; for this reason, it was selected for this study.

In addition, while many of the other leadership questionnaires originated in areas other than politics, the MLQ relates to the work of Burns (1978), who was, as noted earlier, the first to propose the idea of transformational leadership, which he based on his observations of political leaders. This made the MLQ especially suitable for the present purposes.

The MLQ has also been widely used across the world, with tests carried out in all continents, and its structure has been widely and cross-culturally replicated (Bass & Avolio, 1995). The widespread usage has resulted in many tested translations of the questionnaire, including a Bulgarian translation. This positive aspect, alone, was strong enough for this test to be considered, as standardised measures of any kind are rarely used in countries such as Bulgaria, and this poses problems for researchers wishing to validly explore the constructs these questionnaires measure. The availability of a tested Bulgarian translation of the MLQ and its widespread usage in cross-cultural studies made it a suitable option from within the large array of available leadership behaviour tests.

Last, but not least, one should not forget the great internal consistency with which the test has been warranted. This consistency made issues of exceedingly high transformational component intercorrelations easier to overlook. Moreover, the availability of a short form was welcomed, given the difficulties associated with testing political leaders and the difficulty associated with introducing multiple measures.

#### *3.4.1.4 Open-Ended Questionnaire*

##### *3.4.1.4.1 Open-Ended Questionnaire Overview.*

The open-ended questionnaire that the participants were presented with consisted of four questions. The first two questions concerned political leaders, in that participants were asked what—in their opinion—constitutes a good political leader, and how they would describe an ideal political leader. The same questions were then asked with regard to business/organisational leaders. Participants were free to answer the questions as they wished, and they were encouraged to write as much as they felt necessary.

For the purpose of this research, only the data from the answers to the first question were analysed. This decision was prompted by the great overlap and similarity between the answers to the first two questions, which would have resulted in similar analytical outcomes—one of which would have therefore appeared as redundant. In addition, the decision to not consider the third and fourth questions (which dealt with business/organisational leaders) was made due to the lack of available answers given. It appears that fatigue and boredom were in

place by the start of the third question (or simply that respondents felt they had little to add to what they had already written in this section), which resulted in this unbalanced answer pattern. Counterbalancing would have been applicable here, and might have secured equally rich data for both groups of questions (i.e. those looking at political leaders and those looking at business/organisational leaders). Table 11 shows the questions asked.

**Table 11.** *Open-ended questions*

<b>Open-ended question</b>
1. In your opinion, what is a good political leader?
2. Describe your ideal leader.
3. In your opinion, what is a good business leader?
4. Describe your ideal business leader.

#### *3.4.1.4.2 Rationale for choosing to administer an open-ended questionnaire.*

Although the ILTs associated with political and organisational leaders were measured with the standardised MLQ questionnaire, the data gathered from this questionnaire were somewhat incomplete. The introduction of a leader behaviour questionnaire to measure ILTs was welcomed due to the already noted absence of a widely used ILT measure. However, one must note that this questionnaire provided information solely about ILT role schemas, which, in this case, were characterised by opinions of applicable political and organisational leader behaviours. Thus, the questionnaire did not uncover aspects other than behaviours (e.g. personality, skills).

The introduction of an open-ended questionnaire was not only a good decision due to its ability to gather rich qualitative data, but also due to its ability to gather information about diverse ILT descriptors. While the scope of this thesis does not allow for a full overview of the collected qualitative data, it was hoped that the data would supplement and confirm the data gathered by the standardised measure. This was thought to result in a fuller picture of the ILTs associated with (in this case) political leaders, at minimum.

### 3.4.2 Phase 2 Questionnaire

#### 3.4.2.1 ILT Scale

##### 3.4.2.1.1 ILT scale overview.

The richness of data gathered from open-ended questionnaires called for techniques to transform the data into a manageable load. As noted earlier, in section 3.3.2, once the ‘good’ political leader descriptors (described in section 3.4.1.4) were extracted, a sorting and frequency counting task reduced their number to 19 (in the Bulgarian sample) and 12 (in the British sample). Table 12 (section 3.4.2.1.1) shows each of the descriptors gathered from the two cultural samples and the total frequency with which they appeared in the participants ‘good’ political leader descriptions.

**Table 12.** Bulgarian and UK political leader descriptors and their frequencies, derived from the answers associated with open-ended question 1

<b>Good political leader descriptors gathered from the Bulgarian follower sample</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Good political leader descriptors gathered from the British follower sample</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Honest	30	Has a vision	18
Able	25	Honest	16
Good communicator	21	Good communicator	16
Responsible	20	Works for the people	16
Charismatic	18	Can listen	14
Works for the people	18	Charismatic	9
Disciplined	15	Can inspire	8
Consistent	15	Decisive	8
Pleasant	15	Delivers results	7
Persuasive	14	Has integrity	7
Educated	13	Can motivate	6
Calm	10	Intelligent	6
Strong	10		
Not corrupted	9		
Organised	8		
Professional	7		
Decisive	6		
Moral	6		
Principled	6		

As noted already in section 3.3.2, the above descriptors were used as items in the Bulgarian and British implicit leadership scales, which had been constructed with the aim of testing how characteristic each of the proposed descriptors was believed to be of political leaders. The items in each of the scales (i.e. 19 in the Bulgarian scale and 12 in the British scale) were randomly ordered and placed in a Likert-style format, with a score of 1 suggesting

the item was totally uncharacteristic of a good political leader and a score of 10 suggesting the item was very characteristic of a good political leader. The use of a 10-point rather than a 5-point scale was favoured due to the absence of a middle point associated with scales with an odd number of response alternatives. The presence of a middle point in such scales allows respondents who wish to exert low response effort to circle the neutral option, which, in turn reduces the presence of meaningful data (Coelho & Esteves, 2007).

#### *3.4.2.1.2 Rationale for including implicit leadership scales.*

The inclusion of scales allowed for the quantification and reduction of the rich qualitative data. This made the data manageable, easier to analyse and more meaningful. Data reduction rules were not concrete. The decision to retain descriptors that were suggested as important to political leadership by more than five participants was based on the scope of this study. Retaining descriptors that were mentioned more than twice (as was done by some, e.g. Ling et al. 2000) would have resulted in a large number of possible scale items. This large number of scale items would have then called for a large number of available participants to complete the scales. The provision of such large samples would have been caused by the need to satisfy the assumptions of the chosen and later described (in section 4.4) factor analytical procedures, which were utilised for further data reduction and data quantification. Tabachnik and Fidell (2007) noted that, for a valid factor analytical study, one should employ at least 10 participants per item/descriptor. While this would have been worth pursuing, the scope of the study would not have allowed it. However, this study was interested in the descriptors that warranted substantial frequency.

To add, Ayman and Chemers (1983) suggested that the application of Western-designed leadership measures to non-Western cultures might lead to inaccurate conclusions. Although the MLQ, which was also used here to measure aspects of ILTs, has been replicated cross-culturally, it ultimately derived from the West. Using the qualitative data to create scales that were specific to each culture possibly provided a more valid outlook on the political leader ILTs in the UK and Bulgaria. However, this raises questions about calibration and comparability. The data from these cultural scales not only supplemented my data from the MLQ, but also provided an alternative view of the ILTs associated with political leaders in both cultures—a view free of biases associated with the Western design of the measures.

### **3.4.3 Summary**

Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 described the tools used to measure the studied concepts. The Big Five TIPI and the SYMLOG were used to measure personality traits. Both tests exist in short forms, and therefore completing them is not time consuming. This made them suitable for the current purposes, given the difficult sample (i.e. political leaders) and the multiple tests with which participants were faced. The inclusion of the SYMLOG was mainly prompted by the TIPI's relative lack of prior use in leadership settings, which led me to question its robustness for the present purpose. While the two measures have been shown to overlap, they are also known to measure unique variances (Blumberg, 2001). This reduced fears of measure redundancy and made their joint use possibly more applicable.

In this study, the MLQ was used to measure both political and organisational leadership styles as well as the ILTs that followers held with regard to both types of leaders. Despite some measure design weaknesses, the questionnaire was highly suitable for the purposes of this study, especially due to its previously used formal Bulgarian translation. In addition, the theory upon which the test was based originated in the work of Burns (1978), who first proposed the transformational concept following his observations of political leaders. Moreover, while there are a number of transformational leadership measures (e.g. the Transformational Leadership Behaviour Inventory [TLI; Podsakoff et al., 1990] and the Transformational Leadership Questionnaire [TLQ; Alimo-Metcalfe & Alban-Metcalfe, 2001]), the MLQ is the most widely used and provides measurement of leadership styles across a wide range. Some would argue against its suitability for the measurement of implicit leadership theories, but a commonly used measure for ILTs is not available. Moreover, previous studies researching the same concepts have also opted for leader behaviour questionnaires (like the MLQ) to measure ILT aspects such as role schema (e.g. MacDonald et al., 2008).

The open-ended questionnaire was introduced for the purpose of gathering qualitative data on ILTs, and one hoped this data would provide a fuller view of the leadership schemas held by followers. The richness of the gathered information called for some data reduction techniques, which then led to the development of two cultural implicit leadership scales. Their administration was aimed at the provision of a fuller and less biased version of the ILTs, supplementing the information provided by the standardised MLQ. The use of the expression 'less biased' is warranted due to the fact that each of these scales originated in the culture within which they were administered. It is possible that this reduced the amount of error associated with the use of foreign measures.

On the whole, one must note that the models the standardised questionnaires were based on are accepted as cross-culturally replicable, and the structure of the tests that are already widely used (e.g. the MLQ) is also seen as cross-culturally generalisable (McCrae & Allik, 2002; Bass & Avolio, 1995; Leslie & Van Velsor, 1996). Such merits make the use of these measures in cross-cultural research more applicable.

While all of the standardised questionnaires in the present research were originally designed in an English speaking country, only one of them (the MLQ) appeared to have an already tested Bulgarian translation. Those that lacked a formal Bulgarian translation (i.e. the Big Five TIPI and SYMLOG) were, firstly, fully translated into Bulgarian by a professional translator with 12 years of translation experience and one native Bulgarian speaker who had lived in the UK for 15 years. The second stage of the translation process included a discussion that compared the translated copies and addressed aspects such as semantic and conceptual equivalence. Translation challenges (e.g. scale grading differences, inclusion of culturally appropriate expressions, etc.) were noted during this stage, and joint decisions were made about how these could be tackled. During this process, single versions of each of the translated questionnaires were agreed on. This stage was then followed by back translations of the decided versions, prepared by a 'blind to the original questionnaire' third translator. This third translator was also a native Bulgarian speaker who had lived in the UK for 15 years. The produced back translations were then contrasted with the original versions of the Big Five TIPI and the SYMLOG. This was carried out by the translators who had provided the initial translations into Bulgarian, and by the individual who had produced the back translations. The aim of the group discussion was to consolidate the different versions and produce the final ones. The back translations were generally accurate, with differences emerging only with regard to the 'equalitarian' and 'rebellious' items from the SYMLOG, and 'quarrelsome' from the Big Five TIPI, which the back translator translated as 'fair', 'disobedient' and 'argumentative', respectively. Because 'fair', 'disobedient' and 'argumentative' are accepted (by the *Oxford English Dictionary*) as synonyms of 'equalitarian', 'rebellious' and 'quarrelsome', the discussion group decided against any alterations of the translated questionnaires. One should nevertheless keep these discrepancies in mind when evaluating the results derived from these measures.

## CHAPTER 4: ANALYSES/RESULTS

This chapter reviews the statistical analyses performed, the rationale behind the choice of statistical tests and the results associated with each of the research questions. As presented earlier (in section 3.1)—with regard to the main questions/hypotheses of the present research—questions 1 and 2 looked at the variance of traits across groups (i.e. political leader/organisational leader, follower) and culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British), while question 3 considered the interaction between these variables. Similarly, questions 4, 5 and 6 considered the variance across the same variables (i.e. group and culture), but in terms of behaviours, rather than traits. Moreover, questions 7 and 8 studied the difference in ILTs as a function of leadership arena (i.e. political/organisational) and culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British), while question 9 considered their interaction. In this chapter, section 4.1 investigates the analyses and results associated with questions 1, 2 and 3, which considered the variance of personality across groups and culture. Further to this, section 4.2 explores the analyses and results relevant to questions 4, 5 and 6, which investigated the differences in leadership styles across groups and cultures. Similarly, section 4.3 considers questions 7, 8 and 9 and describes the rationale behind the use of the chosen statistical tests and presents their results. This section (i.e. section 4.3) also explores the variance in ILTs as a function of group and culture. Table 13 illustrates the questions, their corresponding hypotheses and the types of analyses carried out to explore them.

**Table 13.** *Questions, hypotheses and corresponding analyses*

Questions	Hypotheses	Analyses
Q.1a; Q.1b	H1a; H1b	All three questions were simultaneously explored by the following:  <b>MANOVA 1-IV-leader/follower; DVs-TIPI traits</b> <b>MANOVA 2-IV-leader/follower; DVs-SYMLOG traits</b> <b>MANOVA 3-IV-political/organisational leader; DVs-TIPI traits</b> <b>MANOVA 4-IV-political/organisational leader; DVs-SYMLOG traits</b>
Q.2	H2	
Q.3	N/A (exploratory area)	

Questions	Hypotheses	Analyses
Q.4	H4	All three questions were simultaneously explored by the following:  <b>MANOVA-IV-political/organisational leader; DVs-MLQ styles</b>
Q.5	H5	
Q.6	N/A (exploratory area)	
Questions	Hypotheses	Analyses
Q.7	H7	All three questions were simultaneously explored by the following:  <b>MANOVA-IV-political/organisational leader; DVs-attributed MLQ styles</b> <b>Factor analysis 1</b> —providing structure to the Bulgarian implicit leadership descriptors <b>Factor analysis 2</b> —providing structure to the British implicit leadership descriptors
Q.8	H8 (this hypothesis refers only to the quantitative exploration carried out with regard to Q.8. The qualitative investigation carried out with regard to the same question was exploratory, and therefore unaccompanied by outcome predictions.)	
Q.9	N/A (exploratory area)	

## 4.1 Analyses and Results Associated with Questions 1, 2 and 3

### 4.1.1 Rationale Behind the Choice of Analyses Associated with Questions 1, 2 and 3

As noted earlier, questions 1 and 2 looked at the difference in personality—which was measured by the Big Five TIPI (Gosling et al., 2003) and the Simplified SYMLOG (Blumberg, 2006)—as functions of group membership (i.e. political leader/organisational leader/follower) and culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British), respectively. Further, question 3 explored the variable interaction and asked whether possible group differences were moderated by the added factor of culture.

In order to explore these differences, Big Five TIPI and SYMLOG political leader scores were compared to the norms of the follower and organisational leader samples. The preferred tests for these comparisons were independent measures MANOVAs. Two sets of comparisons were made, and both consisted of two MANOVAs each. Within each set, one of the MANOVAs considered the Big Five factors as dependent variables, while the other utilised the SYMLOG dimensions as the same. The first set of two MANOVAs employed participant type (i.e. follower/leader) and culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British) as the independent variables and TIPI and SYMLOG dimension scores respectively as the dependent variables in each of the two independent analyses. The second set also employed (a) participant type, culture and (b)

personality trait scores as the independent and dependent variables respectively, but the participants compared were political and organisational leaders, as opposed to political leaders and followers.

The decision to employ MANOVA was instigated by the test's ability to simultaneously explore multiple dependent variables. This resulted in four statistical tests (i.e. two for the comparison of TIPI or SYMLOG scores for political leaders and followers, and two for the comparison of scores of the same dependent variables for political and organisational leaders), as opposed to 16 tests, which would have been required for univariate tests (i.e. eight ANOVAs for the comparison of political leader and follower scores on the eight temperamental personality traits tested—extraversion, conscientiousness, emotional stability, agreeableness and openness to experience from TIPI and Up, Positive and Forward from the SYMLOG—and eight for the comparison of political and organisational leader scores on the same traits). MANOVA's ability to simultaneously consider many dependent variables reduced the likelihood of type I error (wherein the null hypothesis is rejected when it is, in fact, true), which is usually associated with multiple statistical analyses.

Despite the suitability of MANOVA, before deciding on its use, other statistical tests were explored. MANCOVA was considered, due to the presence of covariates. For instance, in cross-cultural studies, the difficulty of isolating culture as a variable sometimes results in questionable findings. In such cases, variables other than culture and those that increase within-group differences are considered responsible for reported group differences. Therefore, partialling out their effects is important. Previous studies have shown that gender, age, education and party membership might affect personality, in addition to culture and other group variables (Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Vecchione, & Barbaranell, 2006; Church & Ortiz, 2005; Costa, Terracino, & McCrae, 2001; Ellis & Nadler, 1996; McCrae, Costa, & de Lima et al., 1999). MANCOVA would have allowed one to partial out within-group demographic differences caused by these variables. This would have enabled one to suggest that any differences in personality between the cultural and group samples were possibly due to cultural or group characteristics, and not due to differences related to age, education, gender or party membership. Despite this notable advantage, this statistical test was not utilised, as the preliminary correlation analyses showed that the covariates (e.g. age, gender, party membership, etc.) were weakly or non-correlated to the DVs in question (i.e. the measured personality traits) (see Appendix Five, Tables 1, 2 and 3). This violated the assumptions of MANCOVAs and suggested that the study might pose low power if such covariates were included. The inclusion of non-reliable and non-pertinent covariates would not have been able

to justify the loss of degrees of freedom associated with the addition of these covariates. This, in turn, might have masked differences that did, actually exist. Because of this inability to automatically and validly account for covariates, additional analyses were carried out. These analyses suggested that the proposed covariates did not have an effect on personality within each group. Personality was not predicted significantly by education, gender, age or party membership in each of the cultural follower and leader samples. This, as well as the relative balance across groups (Tables 2 and 3, section 3.3.1.2), once again discouraged one from using MANCOVAs.

The decision to use MANOVAs was further instigated by the data's suitability for these tests. Preliminary analyses revealed that each of the DVs (i.e. the five Big Five factor score and three SYMLOG dimension score variables) were approximately normally distributed for each category of the IVs. Slight skewness, but no kurtosis, was detected when a more stringent normality criterion (i.e. judging the skewness statistic against the standard error of the same statistic  $\times 2$ , and accepting the distribution as normal if the skewness statistic lay in the range of this newly produced value, with  $[-\text{standard error} \times 2]/[+\text{standard error} \times 2]$ ) was used. Despite this, one must note that the skewness statistic exceeded the value of  $\pm 1$  on one occasion, but it was still substantially smaller than  $\pm 2$ , which is the more relaxed rule of thumb that has been used by many (e.g. Pallant, 2001). Both the Kolmogorov-Smirnov and the Shapiro-Wilk normality tests and their results were ignored, due to their heightened sensitivity, which almost always results in a consideration of data as non-normally distributed. In addition, tests for homogeneity of variance suggested that the data were fit for MANOVAs. The Levene's test appeared significant only on three occasions (Tables 14, 15, section 4.1.1), which did suggest a slight heterogeneity. However the rule of thumb states that a problem exists only if the ratio between the largest and the smallest group variances within the analyses exceeds the value of 10 (Garson, 2012). This was certainly not the case, as, when Levene's test was significant, the ratio between the largest and the smallest group variances did not exceed the value of 1.71. This homogeneity was therefore unlikely to result in an inflated likelihood of type I error. Moreover, the final important assumption was also satisfied, as independence of observations was certainly present. The groups compared in each of the MANOVAs were independent, and participants in each group were classed as members of that group and non-members of the other.

**Table 14.** Results for homogeneity of variance tests for the personality score dependent variables by participant type (political leader/follower) and culture

Dependent variable	df1	df2	Levene's test F statistic
Extraversion	3	230	.657
Agreeableness	3	230	.264
Conscientiousness	3	230	3.179*
Emotional stability	3	230	1.215
Openness to experience	3	230	3.660*
Up	3	234	1.105
Positive	3	234	1.438
Forward	3	234	1.236

Note. \*p<0.05

**Table 15.** Results for homogeneity of variance tests for the personality score dependent variables by leader type (political/organisational) and culture

Dependent variable	df1	df2	Levene's test F statistic
Extraversion	3	148	.272
Agreeableness	3	148	1.877
Conscientiousness	3	148	2.195
Emotional stability	3	148	.595
Openness to experience	3	148	2.935*
Up	3	149	.628
Positive	3	149	1.137
Forward	3	149	.801

Note. \*p<0.05

#### 4.1.2 Results Associated with Questions 1, 2 and 3

##### 4.1.2.1 MANOVAs Performed with Regard to the Comparison Between Political Leaders and Followers (Q.1, Q.2, Q.3)

As noted earlier, two independent measures MANOVAs were carried out with regard to the comparison of political leader and follower personality scores across the cultures studied. The independent variables in both MANOVAs were participant type (i.e. political leader/follower) and culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British). Moreover, the dependent variables in MANOVA 1 (see section 4.1.2.1.1) were the five personality traits measured by the Big Five TIPI (i.e. extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and openness to experience), while the dependent variables in MANOVA 2 (see section 4.1.2.1.2) were the three personality dimensions measured by the SYMLOG (i.e. Up, Positive and Forward).

A summary of the results of each MANOVA is provided below. Where significant multivariate effects of the variables in question were noted, the results of the univariate tests were also explored. Moreover, if significant interactions were evident, both univariate and simple main effect tests were considered—the latter of which allowed for pairwise comparisons of cell means. Further to this, a Bonferroni correction to the alpha level was employed, where applicable, in order to prevent type I error, which is associated with further univariate and simple main effects analyses.

*4.1.2.1.1 MANOVA 1: Big Five TIPI factors as dependent variables.*

The results of the multivariate analysis of variance show a significant multivariate effect of both participant type ( $F[5, 226]=5.010, p<.001$ ) and culture ( $F[5, 226]=4.205, p<.01$ ); however, a significant interaction between the two variables is absent ( $F[5, 226]=1.991, p>.05$ ) (see Table 16 in section 4.1.2.1.1). This suggests that TIPI personality varied across the groups (i.e. political leader/follower) and cultures (i.e. Bulgarian/British) studied.

**Table 16.** Summary of the MANOVA results for the dependent variable TIPI personality by participant type (political leader/follower) and culture

Independent variable	Pillai's trace	F	df	Error df
Participant type	.100	5.010***	5	226
Culture	.085	4.205**	5	226
Participant type x Culture	.042	1.991	5	226

Note. \*\* $p<0.01$ , \*\*\* $p<0.001$

Further to this, the results reveal some significant univariate effects. After the application of the Bonferroni correction, they show significant group differences (i.e. between political leaders and followers) with regard to emotional stability ( $F[1, 230]=21.323, p<.01$ ) (see Table 17 in section 4.1.2.1.1). However, significant culture differences (i.e. between Bulgarian and British cultures) are only present in terms of openness to experience ( $F[1, 230]=15.539, p<.01$ ) (see Table 18 in section 4.1.2.1.1). The latter results suggest that the political leaders were significantly more emotionally stable ( $M=5.52, SD=1.26$ ) than were followers ( $M=4.71, SD=1.38$ )—an effect that was cross-cultural. Moreover, they show that Bulgarians, as a whole, scored lower ( $M=4.79, SD=1.35$ ) on openness to experience, compared to British participants ( $M=5.40, SD=1.10$ ) (see Table 22 in section 4.1.2.1 for all means and standard deviations).

**Table 17.** Summary of the ANOVA results for the dependent variable emotional stability by participant type (political leader/follower) and culture

Independent variable	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Participant type	37.896	1	37.896	21.323***
Culture	.044	1	.044	.025
Participant type x Culture	.035	1	.035	.020
Total	6458.000	234		

Note. \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

**Table 18.** Summary of the ANOVA results for the dependent variable openness to experience by participant type (political leader/follower) and culture

Independent variable	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Participant type	.001	1	.001	.001
Culture	23.266	1	23.266	15.539***
Participant type x Culture	1.801	1	1.801	1.203
Total	6471.000	234		

Note. \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

#### 4.1.2.1.2 MANOVA 2: SYMLOG dimensions as dependent variables.

The results of the multivariate analysis of variance show a significant multivariate effect of both participant type ( $F[5, 226]=5.010, p < .001$ ) and culture ( $F[5, 226]=4.205, p < .01$ ). They do, however, lack significant interaction ( $F[5, 226]=1.991, p > .05$ ) (see Table 19 in section 4.1.2.1.2). This suggests that SYMLOG personality varied across the groups (i.e. political leader/follower) and cultures (i.e. Bulgarian/British) studied.

**Table 19.** Summary of the MANOVA results for the dependent variable SYMLOG personality by participant type (political leader/follower) and culture

Independent variable	Pillai's trace	F	df	Error df
Participant type	.177	9.716***	3	232
Culture	.112	16.667***	3	232
Participant type x Culture	.030	2.431	3	232

Note. \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

The analysis of univariate effects shows significant group (i.e. political leader/follower) differences only with regard to Up ( $F[1, 234]=13.922, p < .001$ ) (see Table 20 in section 4.1.2.1.2) and Forward ( $F[1, 234]=16.526, p < .001$ ) (see Table 21 in section 4.1.2.1.2). Moreover, significant culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British) differences are only present with regard to Forward ( $F[1, 234]=36.871, p < .001$ ) (see Table 21 in section 4.1.2.1.2). This suggests that political leaders were more dominant ( $M=3.40, SD=3.73$ ) and more Forward ( $M=6.71, SD=3.78$ ), compared to members of the general public ( $M=1.40, SD=4.40; M=4.83, SD=4.30$ , respectively). Also, Bulgarians, as a whole, appear to have been more Forward ( $M=7.19, SD=3.45$ ), compared to British nationals ( $M=4.14, SD=4.29$ ) (see Table 22 in section 4.1.2.1 for all means and standard deviations).

**Table 20.** Summary of the ANOVA results for the dependent variable Up by participant type (political leader/follower) and culture

Independent variable	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Participant type	236.666	1	236.666	13.922***
Culture	15.954	1	15.954	.938
Participant type x Culture	10.768	1	10.768	.633
Total	5461.250	238		

Note. \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

**Table 21.** Summary of the ANOVA results for the dependent variable Forward by participant type (political leader/follower) and culture

Independent variable	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Participant type	230.684	1	230.684	16.526***
Culture	514.666	1	514.666	36.871***
Participant type x Culture	80.885	1	80.885	5.795**
Total	11709.750	238		

Note. \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

**Table 22.** Means and standard deviations for TIPI and SYMLOG personality scores of Bulgarian and British political leaders and followers

DV	Bulgarian leaders		Bulgarian followers		British leaders		British followers	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Extraversion	4.58	1.44	4.79	1.25	5.31	1.44	4.58	1.41
Agreeableness	5.49	1.15	5.10	1.17	4.99	1.11	5.02	1.20
Conscientiousness	5.70	1.51	5.62	1.25	5.79	1.14	5.20	1.11
Emotional stability	5.52	1.39	4.72	1.49	5.52	1.16	4.68	1.27
Openness to experience	4.68	1.39	4.86	1.33	5.50	1.01	5.32	1.15
Up	3.45	3.28	1.86	4.33	3.35	4.11	0.91	4.44
Positive	4.68	3.89	3.96	4.03	5.04	4.43	5.03	3.42
Forward	7.66	3.27	6.86	3.55	5.87	4.01	2.70	3.99

#### *4.1.2.2 MANOVAs Performed with Regard to the Comparison Between Political and Organisational Leaders (Q.1, Q.2, Q.3)*

Two independent measures MANOVAs were carried out with regard to the comparison of personality scores between political and organisational leaders in Bulgaria and the UK. The independent variables in both MANOVAs were participant type (i.e. political/organisational leader) and culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British). Moreover, the dependent variables in MANOVA 1 (see section 4.1.2.2.1) were the five personality traits measured by the Big Five TIPI (i.e. extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and openness to experience), while the dependent variables in MANOVA 2 (see section 4.1.2.2.2) were the three personality dimensions measured by the SYMLOG (i.e. Up, Positive and Forward).

A summary of the results of each MANOVA is provided below. Once again, where significant multivariate effects of the variables in question were noted, the results of the univariate tests were also explored. Moreover, if significant interactions were evident, both univariate and simple main effect tests were considered. Additionally, as noted in section 4.1.2.1, a Bonferroni correction to the alpha level was employed, where necessary, in the bid to prevent type I error associated with multiple follow-up analyses.

##### *4.1.2.2.1 MANOVA 1: TIPI factors as dependent variables.*

The results of the multivariate analysis of variance show insignificant multivariate effects of participant type (i.e. political/organisational leader) ( $F[5, 144]=5.010, p>.05$ ) and culture ( $F[5, 144]=4.205, p>.05$ ), and the interaction between the two ( $F[5, 144]=1.991, p>.05$ ) (see Table 23 in section 4.1.2.2.1). This suggests that TIPI personality did not vary across political and organisational leaders, or across Bulgarian and British nationals. Moreover, group and culture did not interact to produce unique effects.

**Table 23.** Summary of the MANOVA results for the dependent variable TIPI personality by participant type (political/organisational leader) and culture

Independent variable	Pillai's trace	F	df	Error df
Participant type	.052	1.569	5	144
Culture	.064	1.977	5	144
Participant type x Culture	.040	1.188	5	144

#### 4.1.2.2.2 MANOVA 2: SYMLOG dimensions as dependent variables.

For SYMLOG the results of the multivariate analysis of variance do show significant multivariate effects of participant type (i.e. political/organisational leader) ( $F[3, 147]=3.208$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and culture ( $F[3, 147]=11.737$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and the interaction between the two ( $F[3, 147]=2.934$ ,  $p>.05$ ) (see Table 24 in section 4.1.2.2.2).

**Table 24.** Summary of the MANOVA results for the dependent variable SYMLOG personality by participant type (political/organisational leader) and culture

Independent variable	Pillai's trace	F	df	Error df
Participant type	.061	3.208*	3	147
Culture	.193	11.737***	3	147
Participant type x Culture	.056	2.934*	3	147

Note. \* $p<0.05$ , \*\*\* $p<0.001$

After the univariate tests and application of the Bonferroni correction, it became evident that the interaction effect is, in fact, insignificant, when each of the SYMLOG traits is considered independently (see Table 25 in section 2.1.2.2.2). Due to this, it is applicable to still note the results of the univariate tests, which further explored significant multivariate main effects. The univariate statistical output shows that political and organisational leaders differed only with regard to Forward ( $F[5, 144]=6.893$ ,  $p<.01$ ) (see Table 26 in section 2.1.2.2.2), in that politicians rated themselves more prone to accepting the task orientation of an established authority ( $M=6.77$ ,  $SD=3.64$ ) than did organisational leaders ( $M=5.075$ ,  $SD=3.83$ ). Moreover, once again, Bulgarians as a whole scored significantly higher ( $M=7.51$ ,  $SD=3.64$ ) than did British participants ( $M=4.33$ ,  $SD=3.83$ ) in terms of the Forward dimension of the SYMLOG ( $F[5, 144]=24.351$ ,  $p<.001$ ) (see Table 26 in section 2.1.2.2.2; see Table 27 in section 4.1.2.2 for all means and standard deviations).

**Table 25.** Summary of the results of the univariate follow-up analyses looking to further explore the significant multivariate interaction between the group (political/organisational leader) and culture variables

Dependant variables	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Up	52.714	1	52.714	3.395
Positive	.002	1	.002	.000
Forward	64.489	1	64.489	4.649*

Note. \*p<0.05

**Table 26.** Summary of the ANOVA results for the dependent variable Forward by group (political/organisational leader) and culture

Independent variable	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Culture	337.821	1	337.821	24.351***
Leader type	95.623	1	95.623	6.893**
Culture x Leader type	64.489	1	64.489	4.649*
Total	8195.500	153		

Note. \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

**Table 27.** Means and standard deviations for TIPI and SYMLOG personality scores of Bulgarian and British political and organisational leaders

<b>DV</b>	<b>Bulgarian organisational leaders</b>		<b>Bulgarian political leaders</b>		<b>British organisational leaders</b>		<b>British political leaders</b>	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Extraversion	4.95	1.54	4.58	1.44	4.36	1.26	5.31	1.44
Agreeableness	5.32	0.95	5.49	1.15	5.02	1.37	4.99	1.11
Conscientiousness	5.50	1.26	5.71	1.51	5.13	1.40	5.79	1.14
Emotional stability	5.15	1.37	5.52	1.39	4.88	1.20	5.52	1.16
Openness to experience	5.03	1.45	4.69	1.39	5.26	1.26	5.50	1.01
Up	3.68	4.31	4.45	3.28	1.07	4.32	3.35	4.11
Positive	4.27	3.43	4.68	3.89	4.89	3.83	5.40	4.34
Forward	7.36	4.01	7.66	3.27	2.79	3.64	5.87	4.01

## 4.2 Analyses and Results Associated with Questions 4, 5 and 6

### *4.2.1 Rationale Behind the Choice of Analyses Associated with Questions 4, 5 and 6*

As noted earlier, questions 4 and 5 looked at the differences in leadership style behaviours—measured by the self form of the MLQ (Bass & Avolio, 1995)—as functions of group (i.e. political/organisational leader) and culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British). Moreover, question 6 considered the interaction between the two variables.

In order to explore the likely variations, political and organisational leader frequency scores on the MLQ scales (i.e. the five transformational leadership scales, two transactional leadership scales and two passive/avoidant leadership scales) were compared. The preferred test for these comparisons was MANOVA. MANOVA was chosen due to the multiple dependent variables. As noted in section 4.1, the employment of a single MANOVA test—with multiple DVs—rather than the several ANOVA tests—one with each of the independent DVs—reduced the likelihood of type I error and ensured that the alternative hypotheses would be accepted when appropriate.

While exploring the assumptions for the MANOVA, some of the requested analyses showed sizeable correlations between scales belonging to each of the measured styles. This finding posed problems similar to those of other scholars who have used the MLQ as a measure of leadership style (e.g. Hetland & Sandal, 2003). In order to deal with the possible presence of redundant dependent variables, variable integration was undertaken. Combining the frequency scores of the five transformational scales into a single rating variable called the ‘transformational leadership frequency score’ and combining the scores of the transactional and passive/avoidant scales into two more single score variables (i.e. the ‘transactional leadership frequency score’ and the ‘passive/avoidant leadership frequency score’) was something that other scholars in the area had done (Hetland & Sandal, 2003), and something the present study benefitted from.

Further to this, one must note that, before deciding to use MANOVAs, other tests were considered. For instance, the use of MANCOVAs would have discounted the issue of covariate effects, which often lead to an increase in within-group error. Aspects such as gender (Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Van Engen, 2003) and age (Kobacoff & Stoffey, 2001, Oshagbemi, 2008) have been previously shown to affect the frequency of leadership behaviours displayed by leaders; since these aspects were measured here,

partialling them out could have helped me draw inferences about group variation. Once again, however, the DVs in question did not appear to correlate consistently and strongly with the covariates, which means that the assumptions of the test were often violated (see Appendix Five, Tables 4 and 5). This resulted in a decision to disqualify MANCOVA as a likely statistical analysis procedure.

Moreover, the data were fully suitable for MANOVAs, with all three dependent variables normally distributed for each level of the IVs (i.e. all skewness and kurtosis values were substantially lower than the more stringent cut-off value of +/-1). Heterogeneity was also absent, with all Levene's tests insignificant (Table 28, section 4.2.1). Similarly, the independence assumption was certainly complied with, as individuals in the political leader sample were not also members of the organisational leader sample. Further to this, in order to deal with within-group differences (in terms of gender or age) and their effects on the self-reported leader behaviour data (still largely present due to my inability to carry out MANCOVAs), additional analyses were undertaken that suggested that the proposed covariates did not have a substantial effect on leader behaviour frequency display within each of the groups studied. This possibly secured some validity when the option to execute tests that partialled out the effects of covariates (i.e. MANCOVAs) was not undertaken.

**Table 28.** *Results for homogeneity of variance tests for the leadership style dependent variables by participant type (political/organisational leader) and culture*

<b>Dependent variable</b>	<b>df1</b>	<b>df2</b>	<b>Levene's test F statistic</b>
Transformational leadership frequency score	3	150	1.373
Transactional leadership frequency score	3	150	1.031
Passive/avoidant leadership frequency score	3	150	0.103

#### **4.2.2 Results Associated with Questions 4, 5 and 6**

As discussed in section 4.2.1, in the bid to reduce variable redundancy, the original nine leadership style frequency score dependent variables were combined to produce three new dependent variables: transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant leadership frequency scores. Before this combination, One was tempted to carry out exploratory factor analysis to investigate the higher order factor structure of the MLQ, in order to confirm that

the five transformational, the two transactional and the two passive/avoidant scales loaded onto three separate factors. The need for this was further prompted by evidence (Ardichivilli & Kuchinke, 2002; Bass & Avolio, 2004; Geyer & Steyrer, 1994; Hetland & Sandal, 2003) suggesting that the transactional leadership scale contingent reward is highly correlated with all transformational leadership scales, and therefore often loads onto that factor. Exploring this was therefore necessary before we could embark on variable integration.

The scores on the nine leadership style scales were therefore subjected to an exploratory factor analysis using the principal component method with varimax rotation. The factor structure that emerged is shown in Table 29 (section 4.2.2).

**Table 29.** *Rotated component matrix for the factor analysis of the MLQ leadership behaviour scales*

<b>Component</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	
Idealised attributes*	<b>.737</b>	.097	.096	
Idealised behaviours*	<b>.712</b>	.141	.127	
Inspirational motivation*	<b>.844</b>	-.055	-.207	
Intellectual stimulation*	<b>.693</b>	.032	.173	
Individualised consideration*	<b>.589</b>	-.092	.110	
Contingent reward**	<b>.685</b>	-.009	<b>.411</b>	
Management by exception– active**	.162	.154	<b>.931</b>	
Management by exception– passive***	.058	<b>.887</b>	.081	
Laissez-faire***	-.015	<b>.892</b>	.075	
<b>% Variance</b>	<b>36.64</b>	<b>18.95</b>	<b>9.91</b>	<b>Total: 65.5</b>

*Note 1.* Extraction method: principal components analysis

*Note 2.* Rotation method: varimax

*Note 3.* Rotation converged in four iterations

*Note 4.* \*transformational leadership style, \*\*transactional leadership style, \*\*\* passive/avoidant leadership style

As presented in Table 29 (section 4.2.2), the results of the factor analysis note that, while the five transformational scales and two passive/avoidant scales loaded onto their respective factors, the transactional leadership scale contingent reward appears to have loaded quite highly onto both the transformational leadership factor and the factor containing the remaining transactional leadership scale management by exception–active.

Some might, therefore, argue that one should include contingent reward in the combined transformational leadership frequency score variable, rather than in the combined transactional leadership variable, where it is thought to belong. However, the common practice up until now has noted the opposite and, despite its high loading onto the

transformational leadership factor, contingent reward was still included in the transactional factor during variable combination. This common practice has been supported by the test publishers and by other researchers (Bass & Avolio, 2004; Hetland & Sandal, 2003), who insist that contingent reward is applicable to both types of leadership and note its high loading onto two of the three leadership behaviour factors/styles. Based on the publisher's advice, a decision was therefore made to include contingent reward in the transactional leadership frequency score variable.

As noted earlier, a single MANOVA was carried out with regard to questions 2, 5 and 8. The independent variables were leader type (i.e. political/organisational leader) and culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British), while the dependent variables were the three combined leadership style frequency score variables (i.e. transformational, transactional, passive/avoidant) measured by the self form of the MLQ-5X-Short.

A summary of the multivariate analyses of variance results is provided below. Once again, where significant multivariate effects of the variables in question were noted, results of the univariate tests were also explored. Further to this, as noted in section 4.1.2.1, a Bonferroni correction to the alpha level was employed where applicable in the bid to prevent the type I error associated with multiple follow-up analyses.

The results of the multivariate analysis of variance reveal significant main effects of group ( $F[1, 148]=3.917, p<.01$ ) and culture ( $F[1, 148]=18.967, p<.001$ ). Moreover, they suggest an insignificant variable interaction ( $F[1, 148]=1.208, p>.05$ ) (see Table 30, section 4.2.2).

**Table 30.** Summary of the MANOVA results for the dependent variable MLQ leadership styles by participant type (political leader/organisational) and culture

Independent variable	Pillai's trace	F	df	Error df
Participant type	.074	3.917**	3	148
Culture	.278	18.967***	3	148
Participant type x Culture	.024	1.208	3	148

Note. \*\* $p<0.01$ , \*\*\* $p<0.001$

The statistical output of the univariate analyses show that political and organisational leaders differed solely in terms of transformational leadership ( $F[1, 150]=10.806, p<.001$ ) (see Table 31, section 4.2.2), with political leaders scoring higher ( $M=3.06, SD=.45$ ) than organisational leaders ( $M=2.80, SD=.49$ ). Similarly, Bulgarian and British participants, as a whole, varied with regard to their transactional ( $F[1, 150]=41.038, p<.000$ ) (see Table 32,

section 4.2.2) and passive/avoidant style scores ( $F[1, 150]=12.517, p<.001$ ) (see Table 33, section 4.2.2). On both occasions, Bulgarians appear to have scored higher ( $M=3.13, SD=.47$ ;  $M=1.25, SD=.58$ , respectively), compared to UK nationals ( $M=2.47, SD=.57$ ;  $M=.87, SD=.59$ , respectively) (see Table 34 in section 4.2.2 for all means and standard deviations).

**Table 31.** Summary of the ANOVA results for the dependent variable transformational leadership frequency score by leader type (political/organisational) and culture

Independent variable	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Leader type	2.293	1	2.293	10.806***
Culture	.341	1	.341	1.606
Leader type x Culture	.127	1	.127	.599
Total	1401.112	154		

Note. \*\*\* $p<0.001$

**Table 32.** Summary of the ANOVA results for the dependent variable transactional leadership frequency score by leader type (political/organisational) and culture

Independent variable	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Leader type	1.134	1	1.134	4.157*
Culture	11.195	1	11.195	41.038***
Leader type x Culture	.850	1	.850	3.117
Total	1246.359	154		

Note. \* $p<0.05$ , \*\*\* $p<0.001$

**Table 33.** Summary of the ANOVA results of the dependent variable passive/avoidant leadership frequency score by leader type (political/organisational) and culture

Independent variable	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Leader type	.620	1	.620	1.817
Culture	4.275	1	4.275	12.517***
Leader type x Culture	.141	1	.141	.413
Total	227.096	154		

Note. \*\*\* $p<0.001$

**Table 34.** Means and standard deviations for the three MLQ leadership style frequency scores for Bulgarian and British political and organisational leaders

DV	Bulgarian organisational leaders		Bulgarian political leaders		British organisational leaders		British political leaders	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Transformational leadership frequency score	2.82	0.43	3.15	0.38	2.78	0.54	2.98	0.50
Transactional leadership frequency score	2.88	0.44	3.23	0.45	2.46	0.52	2.48	0.60
Passive/avoidant leadership frequency score	1.31	0.58	1.23	0.59	1.01	0.60	0.80	0.58

### 4.3 Analyses and Results Associated with Questions 7, 8 and 9

#### 4.3.1 Rationale Behind the Choice of Analyses Associated with Questions 7, 8 and 9

As noted in the introduction of this chapter, questions 7 and 8 looked at the difference in role ILT—as measured by the rater form of the MLQ (Bass & Avolio, 1995)—as a function of group (i.e. political/organisational leader) and rater culture (Bulgarian/British). Further to this, question 9 explored the interaction between the two variables. Moreover, as the MLQ provided only a partial view of ILTs (i.e. role schema), this section considers the effects of culture on the additional, more comprehensive and qualitatively constructed political leader ILTs.

In order to explore the data derived from the rater form of the MLQ, a decision was made to employ a single mixed MANOVA with a two-levelled repeated measures factor (i.e. transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant leadership frequency scores attributed to good political and good organisational leaders) and a two-levelled independent measures factor (i.e. follower culture—Bulgarian/British). The decision to use the MANOVA was prompted by aspects identical to those outlined in section 4.2.1. In addition, the rationale behind the transformation of the nine MLQ leader behaviour score variables into three combined variables was similar to that noted in section 4.2.2. Once again, the contingent reward scale loaded more strongly onto the transformational leadership factor in the case of both the political and organisational leader ratings. Nevertheless, as advised by the test

publishers, contingent reward was considered part of the transactional leadership style and was therefore included within that category for variable integration. MANCOVAs were also explored when test decisions were made. According to research by Mehra, Kilduff and Brass (1998), follower attributes (e.g. gender and age) are likely to affect their views, as people tend to include aspects of their own demographic group in the implicit theories they hold for leaders. This prompted me to consider entering the available gender and age data as covariates. Doing so would have allowed me to partial out the covariate effects and thus achieve more valid results. The decision not to carry out MANCOVA was, however, made, as the covariates appeared to be only weakly or non-correlated to the DVs in question (i.e. attributed transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant leadership behaviours for both political and organisational leaders). This violated important MANCOVA assumptions (see Appendix Five Tables 6 and 7).

Moreover, while MANCOVA was not fully applicable, the data proved suitable for the implementation of a mixed MANOVA. Normality associated with the transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant leadership frequency scores attributed to both good political and good organisational leaders was present, as all skewness and kurtosis values remained strictly below the cut-off value of +/-1. In addition, lack of heterogeneity was noted with regard to the independent measures factor, as variances associated with attributed leadership style frequency scores for good political and good organisational leaders remained similar across the two cultures (i.e. Bulgaria and the UK) (see Tables 35 and 36 in section 4.3.1).

**Table 35.** Results for homogeneity of variance tests for variances associated with transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant leadership frequency scores attributed to good political leaders across both cultures

Dependent variable	df1	df2	Levene's test F statistic
Attributed transformational leadership frequency score	1	94	.686
Attributed transactional leadership frequency score	1	94	3.183
Attributed passive/avoidant leadership frequency score	1	94	3.024

**Table 36.** Results for homogeneity of variance tests for variances associated with transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant leadership frequency scores attributed to good organisational leaders across both cultures

Dependent variable	df1	df2	Levene's test F statistic
Attributed transformational leadership frequency score	1	94	.682
Attributed transactional leadership frequency score	1	94	1.272
Attributed passive/avoidant leadership frequency score	1	94	0.002

#### 4.3.2 Results Associated with Questions 7, 8 and 9

As said earlier, a single MANOVA was, in each case, employed to explore questions 3, 6 and 9. It used follower culture (i.e. Bulgaria/British) as its independent measures factor, while the repeated measures factor was associated with transformational/transactional/passive leadership frequency scores attributed to good political leaders (level one) and good organisational leaders (level two). As noted previously, ratings associated with the repeated measures factor were obtained from the rater form of the MLQ- 5X-Short.

The results of the multivariate analysis of variance show significant multivariate effects of leader type ( $F[2, 183]=29.137, p<.001$ ) and culture ( $F[2, 183]=6.759, p<.01$ ), and the interaction between the two ( $F[2, 183]=6.759, p<.001$ ) (see Table 37 in section 4.3.2).

**Table 37.** Summary of the MANOVA results for the dependent variable attributed MLQ leadership styles by participant type (political leader/follower) and culture

Independent variable	Pillai's trace	F	df	Error df
Leader type	.242	29.137***	2	183
Culture	.068	6.691**	2	183
Participant type x Culture	.069	6.759**	2	183

Note. \*\* $p<0.01$ , \*\*\* $p<0.001$

After the univariate tests and application of the Bonferroni correction, it became evident that the interaction effect is, in fact, insignificant, when each of the leadership style variables is considered independently (see Table 38 in section 4.3.2). Due to this, it is therefore applicable to still note the results of the univariate tests that further explore

significant multivariate main effects. Results of the univariate statistical output show that the only significant difference—considering the stringent Bonferroni corrected alpha level—is associated with transactional leadership behaviours ( $F[1, 94]=41.354, p<.001$ ) (see Table 39 in section 4.3.2), wherein participants attributed more transactional leadership behaviours to organisational leaders ( $M=2.78, SD=.54$ ) than to political leaders ( $M=2.44, SD=.65$ ) (see Table 40 in section 4.3.2 for all means and standard deviations).

**Table 38.** Summary of the univariate follow-up analyses looking to further explore the significant multivariate interaction between leader type (political/organisational) and culture

Dependant variables	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Transformational leadership score	.143	1	.143	1.534
Transactional leadership score	.602	1	.602	4.308*
Passive leadership score	.069	1	.069	.374

Note. \* $p<0.05$

**Table 39.** Summary of the ANOVA within-subject effects for the dependent variable attributed transactional leadership frequency score

Independent variable	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Leader type evaluated	5.782	1	5.782	41.354***
Leader type x Culture	.602	1	.602	4.308*
Error	13.143	94	.140	

Note. \* $p<0.05$ , \*\*\* $p<0.001$

**Table 40.** Means and standard deviations for the three attributed MLQ leadership style frequency scores for good political and good organisational leaders, as judged by Bulgarian and British followers

DV	Bulgarian followers rating good political leaders		Bulgarian followers rating good organisational leaders		British followers rating good political leaders		British followers rating good organisational leader	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Attributed transformational leadership frequency score	2.79	0.60	2.94	0.55	2.88	0.66	2.93	0.63
Attributed transactional leadership frequency score	2.57	0.56	2.80	0.52	2.31	0.71	2.77	0.57
Attributed passive/avoidant leadership score	1.37	0.76	1.19	0.79	1.06	0.92	0.97	0.80

### ***4.3.3 Rationale Behind the Choice of Further Analysis Associated with Question 8***

In addition to the latter analyses/results—presented in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2—and, in order to answer question 8 further, the initial qualitative data derived from the open-ended questions were considered. As noted earlier, the qualitative data were in need of meaningful reduction, and therefore in need of statistical analysis. A decision was made to carry out factor analysis.

This analytical procedure was deemed suitable due to its ability to reduce a large number of variables into a smaller number of factors by analysing the interrelationships (correlations) amongst them. For the current purpose, exploratory, as opposed to confirmatory, factor analysis was used due to the absence of specific outcome expectations based on a pre-established theory. In addition, it was decided to use principal axis factoring (i.e. common factor analysis), as opposed to principal component analysis. This was prompted by a lack of knowledge about the amount of unique and error variances associated with the scale items (i.e. the variables). The lack of such information forced me to consider only the common variance when deriving the factors, and this was only possible through principal axis factoring. In addition, this research was more concerned with identifying latent dimensions or constructs in the original variables, rather than predicting or finding the minimum number of factors needed to account for the maximum portion of variance represented. If the research were predominantly interested in the latter, then one would have opted for principal component analysis.

Once principal axis factoring was employed to analyse the data, an unrotated factor matrix was produced. In order to achieve a simpler and theoretically more meaningful factor matrix, a rotation method was used. The rotation method was varimax orthogonal rotation, which involves turning reference axes of factors about the origin while still maintaining a 90-degree right angle between them. This rotation enables factor loadings interpretation, as it allows for variable loadings to increase or decrease where necessary, and therefore to load more explicitly onto some factors over others. The orthogonal rotation was chosen due to its simplicity and wide usage.

Two sets of factor analyses were carried out, one for each of the two cultural samples. The data satisfied factor analysis assumptions and therefore further cemented the tests' applicability for this research. Moderate correlations were evident between variables, which presented matrix factorisability on both occasions. This was further supported by the Kaiser-

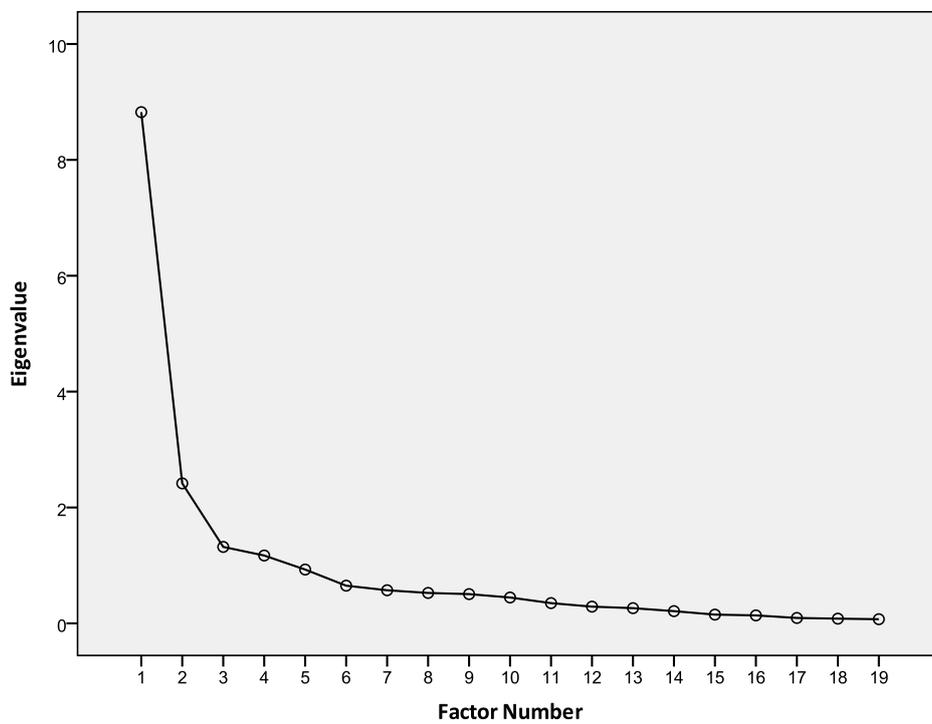
Myer-Olkin statistic, which was larger than .5 on both occasions, while both analysis outputs showed a significant Bartlett's test of sphericity (signifying a strong relationship among variables). Multivariate outliers were absent and the relationships between variables appeared acceptably linear. With regard to sample size, one must note that many would consider the analyses of these data as only indicative (but not fully convincing) of the ILTs of political leaders. Despite the retention of only the high frequency descriptors (which meant that the sample size could have been smaller), the number of participants (i.e. 60 British and 61 Bulgarian) who completed the scales and provided data fit for factor analysis was still judged as small and therefore only applicable (by some standards—e.g. Tabachnik & Fidell, 2007; Comrey & Lee, 1992) to a pilot study. Nevertheless, others might disagree, as a study carried out by Costello and Osborne (2005) noted that 63.2% of the 303 published studies the researchers reviewed had used fewer than 10 participants per item. Astonishingly, 25.8% of these studies had even used samples of fewer than five subjects per item. In addition, the percentage of studies that had utilised at least 10 participants per item stood conservatively at 15.4% of all the empirical work considered. Costello and Osborne's (2005) study also noted that strict rules about factor analysis have mostly disappeared; other studies, however (e.g. Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999), have suggested that adequate sample size is determined by the nature of the study. According to Costello and Osborne (2005), strong data with high communalities and no cross-loadings are sufficient to note a valid factor analytical outcome based on minimal samples. This therefore adds some credibility to the presented factor analytical findings.

#### ***4.3.4 Results Associated with Further Tests Relevant to Question 8***

As noted in section 3.4.2.1, the study extracted 19 good political leader descriptors from the responses of the Bulgarian follower sample, and 12 from the responses of the British follower sample. These descriptors were, as explained earlier, included as items in two cultural scales, which Bulgarian and British nationals responded to by rating how characteristic each of the presented descriptors was of good political leadership. The 10-point Likert scale was anchored with 1 (very uncharacteristic) and 10 (very characteristic of a good political leader). The sections below describe the outcomes of the factor analysis associated with the Bulgarian and UK responses

#### 4.3.4.1 Factor Analysis Results Associated with the Bulgarian Sample Responses

Following the exploratory factor analysis employing the principal axis factoring (PAF) method with varimax (orthogonal) rotation of the 19 Bulgarian-derived Likert scale items, the results revealed four factors with eigenvalues higher than 1 (see Figure 3 in section 4.3.4.1). Together, these factors explained 72.25% of the total variance. The factor structure that emerged is shown in Table 41 (section 4.3.4.1).



**Figure 3.** Scree plot presenting the factors associated with the ILTs of the Bulgarian follower sample

**Table 41.** Rotated component matrix for the factor analysis of the Bulgarian scale items

Component	1	2	3	4	
Disciplined	<b>.557</b>	.194	.398	.359	
Consistent	<b>.554</b>	.232	.400	.269	
Not corrupted	<b>.816</b>	-.008	.162	.049	
Principled	<b>.796</b>	.231	.115	-.114	
Responsible	<b>.653</b>	.209	.479	.262	
Honest	<b>.746</b>	.111	.058	.474	
Works for the people	<b>.583</b>	.392	-.083	.405	
Moral	<b>.641</b>	.026	.146	.550	
Pleasant	.023	<b>.780</b>	.259	.192	
Professional	.313	<b>.412</b>	.284	.348	
Charismatic	.215	<b>.763</b>	.277	.161	
Calm	.135	<b>.575</b>	.396	.109	
Strong	.111	<b>.675</b>	.065	-.020	
Organised	.351	.324	<b>.647</b>	.113	
Decisive	.391	.368	<b>.531</b>	-.063	
Good communicator	.044	.264	<b>.781</b>	.367	
Persuasive	.044	.444	<b>.554</b>	.367	
Able	.401	.361	.259	<b>.489</b>	
Educated	.083	.091	.173	<b>.666</b>	
<b>% Variance</b>	<b>46.44</b>	<b>12.71</b>	<b>6.94</b>	<b>6.16</b>	<b>Total: 72.25</b>

Note 1. Extraction method: Principal axis factoring

Note 2. Rotation method: varimax

Note 3. Rotation converged in seven iterations

The four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 were:

**Factor 1: Moral conduct**

- Disciplined
- Consistent
- Not corrupted
- Principled
- Responsible
- Honest
- A public servant (will work for the people)
- Moral

Factor 1 accounted for 46.44% of the variance, suggesting that Bulgarian participants expected good political leaders to be honest and principled public servants. In this research, Bulgarians considered virtue the most important aspect of good political leadership.

**Factor 2: Personal appeal**

- Pleasant
- Professional
- Charismatic
- Calm
- Strong

Factor 2 accounted for 12.71% of the variance and suggests that good political leaders have personal attractiveness that puts them in a positive light and allow them to draw the attention of others.

**Factor 3: Organised communicator**

- Organised
- Decisive
- Good at communicating
- Persuasive

Factor 3 accounted for 6.94% of the variance and suggests that good political leaders are those who display decisiveness and are articulate and organised.

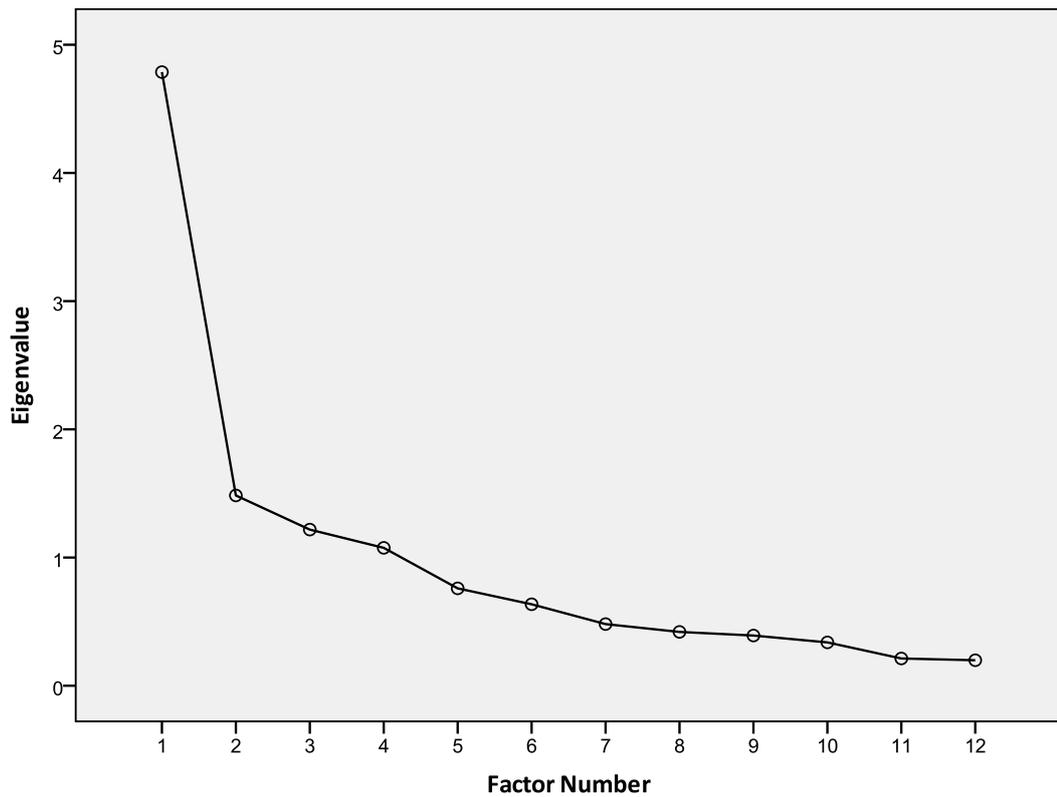
**Factor 4: Competence/Ability**

- Able
- Educated

The final factor accounted for 6.16% of the variance and suggests that good political leaders are well-educated, able and competent.

***4.3.4.2 Factor Analysis Results Associated with the British Sample Responses***

Following the second exploratory factor analysis employing the principal axis factoring (PAF) method with varimax (orthogonal) rotation of the 12 British-derived Likert scale items, results showed four factors with eigenvalues higher than 1 (see Figure 4 in section 4.3.4.2). Together, these factors explained 71.37% of the total variance. The factor structure that emerged is shown in Table 42, section 4.3.4.2.



**Figure 4.** Scree plot presenting the factors associated with the ILTs of the British follower sample

**Table 42.** Rotated component matrix for the factor analysis of the British scale items

Component	1	2	3	4	
Integrity	<b>.650</b>	.341	.025	.085	
Charismatic	<b>.523</b>	-.023	.251	.175	
Decisive	<b>.590</b>	.182	.178	.094	
Delivers results	<b>.469</b>	.131	.188	.339	
Has a vision	<b>.673</b>	.331	.188	.439	
Honest	.303	<b>.707</b>	-.002	-.050	
Can listen	.013	<b>.895</b>	.312	.167	
Works for the people	.352	<b>.566</b>	.113	.343	
Can motivate	.172	.198	<b>.727</b>	.245	
Can inspire	.271	.104	<b>.880</b>	.036	
Good communicator	.122	.151	.095	<b>.857</b>	
Intelligent	.327	-.031	.183	<b>.437</b>	
<b>% variance</b>	<b>39.89</b>	<b>12.37</b>	<b>10.15</b>	<b>8.96</b>	<b>Total:71.37</b>

Note 1. Extraction method: principal axis factoring

Note 2. Rotation method: varimax

Note 3. Rotation converged in seven iterations

The four factors were as follows:

**Factor 1: Dynamism**

- Has integrity
- Charismatic
- Decisive
- Delivers results
- Has a vision

Factor 1 accounted for 38.89% of the variance and contained traits related to leaders who are charismatic and display drive. This factor was considered the most important aspect of good political leadership in the UK.

**Factor 2: Selflessness**

- Honest
- Able to listen
- Works for the people

Factor 2 accounted for 12.37% of the variance and underlined that the British participants saw good political leaders as those who show high regard for the people and are honest and attentive.

**Factor 3: Motivation**

- Motivating
- Inspiring

Factor 3 accounted for 10.15% of the variance and shows that good political leaders were seen as stimulating.

**Factor 4: Interpersonal and intellectual competence**

- Good at communicating
- Intelligent

Factor 4 accounted for 8.96% of the variance and is associated with both interpersonal and intellectual competence, both of which might allow a person to deal with the social environment effectively.

## 4.4 Summary of Results

The results of the analyses of collected data were diverse. Some of the hypotheses were confirmed, while others were opposed; this opened a new area for debate.

To summarise this chapter, one would say that, overall, political leaders were found to be largely similar in self-reported personality traits, compared to organisational leaders. Where differences occurred, these were mostly insignificant. Political and organisational leaders differed only in terms of the Forward dimension of the SYMLOG, on which organisational leaders scored significantly lower than did political leaders. In these results, culture did not moderate any of the presented relationships, which suggests that any differences between organisational and political leaders, or the lack of such, were respectively cross-culturally present and absent (i.e. leader differences were equally present or equally absent across cultures).

In contrast, some significant differences were noted between political leaders and followers. The results show that higher scores on Up, Forward and emotional stability were associated with political leaders in both Bulgaria and the UK. In addition, the significant main effects of culture show that Bulgarians, as a whole, were more conforming to authority but less open to new experiences, compared to British citizens.

When looking at the self-reported instances of leadership style behaviours, results suggest that transformational leadership behaviours were more frequently displayed by political, as opposed to organisational, leaders. This effect was cross-cultural. Moreover, one must note that, while there were no significant differences between organisational and political leaders with regards to the frequency of transactional and passive/avoidant behaviours, Bulgarian leaders, as a whole, were significantly more transactional and passive/avoidant, compared to British leaders.

When exploring the implicit leadership theories held by followers with regard to leaders, the results (based on the MLQ data) suggest that followers attributed equal amounts of transformational behaviours to both good political and good organisational leaders. This effect was cross-cultural. Differences were, however, evident with regard to transactional leadership behaviours, which followers believed to be more applicable to organisational, than to political, leaders. This effect was also cross-cultural. Moreover, a main effect of culture was absent, which means that, when taken together, Bulgarian leaders, as a whole, were seen as equally transformational and transactional to British leaders. This notes a lack of a cultural effect on ILT construction.

The results of the factor analytical procedure also shed light on the ILTs followers held with regard to political leaders, and provide an overall view of ILTs that supplements the partial view of role ILTs discussed in the previous paragraph. While goal directed behaviours and traits were seen as important for good political leadership in both cultures, Bulgarian followers were a lot more concerned with morality in their descriptions of good political leaders. The political leader ILT constructed by the British followers lacked aspects such as corruption and discipline, while such concepts were very much present—and also frequently noted as important for the execution of good political leadership—in Bulgaria. These findings suggest culture-contingent ILT formation—which opposes the findings of the analyses of follower MLQ data.

The results of this study are schematically illustrated in Figure 3 (section 4.4) and further discussed in Chapter 5.

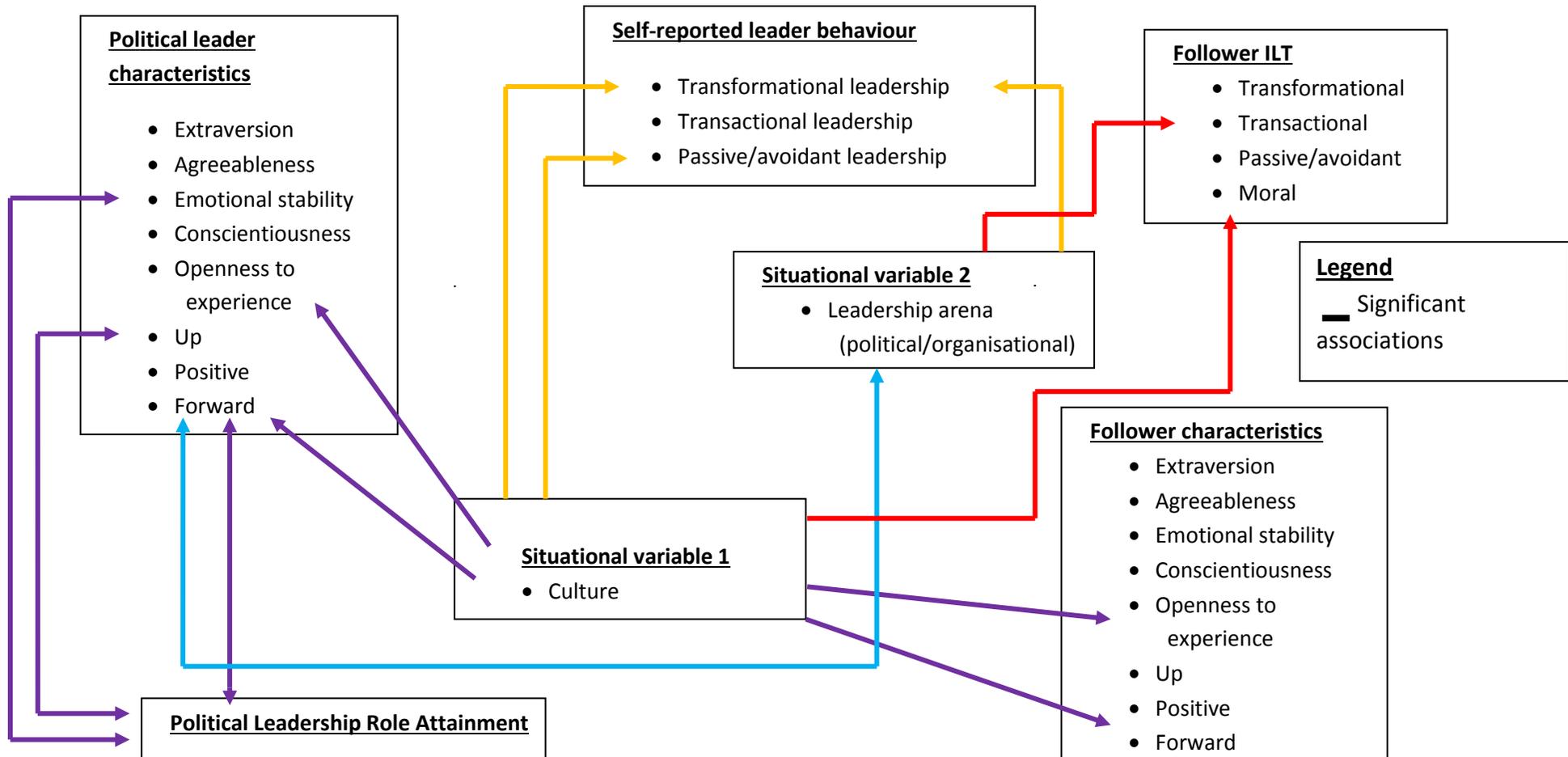


Figure 5. Schematic representation of results

## CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter reviews the research hypotheses and underlines which were accepted and which were rejected. Moreover, it compares these findings with those of previous studies. Each section provides an explanation as to why the investigation might have produced such results. Within each of the three main parts (i.e. 5.1.1, 5.1.2, 5.1.3) the sequence of discussion proceeds from group (i.e. political/organisational leader and follower) to culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British), then to the interaction between the two.

### 5.1 Discussion of the Results Associated with Each of the Research Questions

#### ***5.1.1 Discussion of the Results Related to the Variance of Personality Across Groups and Culture (i.e. Q.1, Q.2 and Q.3) (see Table 1 in Section 3.1 for a Summary of the Questions and Hypotheses)***

This part explores the findings associated with variance in personality. Section 5.1.1.1 discusses the results related to group differences (section 5.1.1.1.1: political leader/follower comparison; section 5.1.1.1.2: political/organisational leader comparison), section 5.1.1.2 discusses the results related to culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British) differences and section 5.1.1.3 discusses the results related to the interaction between group and culture.

#### ***5.1.1.1 Discussion of Personality Variance Across Groups (Leader/Follower and Political/Organisational Leader)***

##### ***5.1.1.1.1 Discussion of leader/follower personality differences (i.e. Q.1a).***

The results associated with the comparison of political leader and follower personalities suggest a significant difference between leaders and followers in terms of emotional stability, Up (dominance) and Forward (task-serious/conforming), with political leaders scoring significantly higher.

The higher Up and emotional stability scores were predicted. In relation to Up; previous studies looking at both political leaders (Costantini & Craik, 1980; Steinberg, 2008) and other leaders (Gough, 1990; Hunter & Jordan, 1939; Kureshi & Bilquees, 1984; Lord et al., 1986; Leslie & Van Velsor, 1996; Mann, 1959; Megarkgee et al., 1966; Richardson & Hanawalt, 1944; Rueb et al., 2008; Rychlack, 1963; Smith & Foti, 1998; Stogdill, 1972) have very consistently underlined the dominance–leadership relationship. Abundance of dominance

allows some individuals to assert themselves in social and group situations (arguably broader and more common for political than organisational leaders), which, in turn, initiates their emergence as leaders. Dominant individuals are business-like, aggressive, confident and persistent; these characteristics possibly can allow them to also become effective leaders.

Moreover, with regard to emotional stability, one could note that a politician's job can be described as particularly stressful and also one that benefits from sound decision making and high levels of positivity—both of which require considerable emotional stability and both of which might explain its heightened presence in the political leaders in this sample. Additionally, Kwiatkowski (2012) explained that the job of a political leader requires a great deal of emotional labour and control, with some leaders having to present enthusiasm despite knowing that their seat is unwinnable. A politician's role is also rather public, and the high level of media scrutiny and the need to please multiple stakeholders might also increase the need for lower neuroticism. Further to this, Hogan and Kaiser (2005) suggested that emotional stability is closely related to dominance, as dominance is represented by elements of emotional stability such as self-esteem and the courage to take a stand. If one accepts such a relationship as likely, then one might also possibly accept that a high score in one trait might lead to a high score in the other. Therefore, the evident high dominance score in political leaders presented here might have inflated the emotional stability score in the same participants. Finally, one can note that (like in the case of dominance) this study's emotional stability findings support the results of previous studies (e.g. Popper et al., 2004). For example, after testing UK political leaders directly, Weinberg (2010) suggested that they do score lower on the neuroticism factor of the Big Five. Similarly, Judge et al. (2002) suggested that emotional stability was more highly associated with a sample of governmental leaders than with a sample of students. On the whole, the current results increase the consistency in the literature that asserts that significant relationships between leadership and emotional stability and dominance exist. The results of this study further consolidate previous findings by showing that the political leader sample in this research scored significantly higher than did followers on the Up (dominant/submissive) and emotional stability dimensions of the Big Five and SYMLOG.

The higher political leader Forward scores in this study were, however, not predicted. Nonetheless, the job of a political leader can be described as one that might require a significant level of authority acceptance or compliance with laws; this could possibly explain the findings. In general, few published studies have researched the variation of personality traits in leaders with the SYMLOG. This caused problems with regard to the hypotheses

formulation here, as hypothesis formulation is usually based on past research. Moreover, unlike the rest of the SYMLOG dimensions, Forward shows the least clarity as to which of the Big Five traits it correlates with. In general, we have better knowledge of the relationships between Big Five traits and leadership; therefore, knowledge of an overlap between Forward and one of the Big Five traits could possibly inform how Forward stands in relation to leadership. However, because of limited knowledge of this, hypotheses with regard to the Forward dimension were not formed. No known studies have previously considered the direct measurement of SYMLOG dimensions in a sample of political leaders, so the present results can be described as novel.

Although other significant differences were not found, they were predicted. Hypothesis 1a (see Table 1 in section 3.1) stated that, in addition to differences with regard to Up and emotional stability, variations would also be found in terms of conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and Positive. The lack of evident differences between the scores of the two samples in extraversion and conscientiousness traits, in particular, is surprising, given the consistency of such differences in previous studies (Barbuto et al., 2010; Barrick & Mount, 1991; Caprara et al., 2003; Carter, 2009; Derue et al., 2011; Judge et al., 2002; McCormack & Mellor, 2002; Nana et al., 2010; Salgado, 2002; Silverthorne, 2001; Taggar et al., 1999). A reason for the lack of a match between what was hypothesised and the current results could be the fact that past findings—upon which the hypotheses were based—have derived from non-political leader samples (i.e. organisational/military/religious leaders). Moreover, these studies have also used alternative methodologies. For instance, most past research has employed the leaderless group discussion method to explore personality differences between generic leaders and followers, while the present study measured political leaders directly in the field. It is possible that the findings of older lab studies are solely generalisable to lab settings. This, in turn, could be the reason for the difference between the current results and the proposed hypotheses that were based on previous research findings.

The lack of support for some of the hypotheses could be seen as problematic; however, in this case, it may increase confidence in the validity of the found differences. As mentioned in section 6.2.2, the phenomenon of social desirability often causes bias in research results. As public figures, political leaders might be used to habitually presenting themselves in a positive light. This could have resulted in the high emotional stability, dominance and Forward scores—all of which can lead to a person's positive evaluation. Moreover, in their political leader study, Caprara et al. (2003) noted that social desirability is significantly higher in political leaders than in members of the general public; this raises doubts with regard to the

self-scored data obtained here. (Unless, of course, social desirability is ‘internalized’ and manifests itself in genuinely more dominant, stable and task-serious individuals.) Nevertheless, the insignificant differences found with regard to the remaining Big Five and SYMLOG traits—the heightened levels of which were also usually positively evaluated—allows for greater confidence in the genuine nature of the data collected. If social desirability were at play, then one might expect to witness inflated scores across all variables, and not just in regard to Up, Forward and emotional stability. Given the insignificance of some of the measured traits, one might have more confidence in saying that the self-reported emotional stability, dominance and Forward scores reflect a real personality disposition, such that the average politician was more emotionally stable, dominant and conforming to rules.

On the whole, it is difficult to assert that the distinct political leader personalities found here bear a causal relationship to political involvement; however, the research underlines differences that further studies could explore with the use of path analyses. Such analyses would more convincingly underline the personality–political leadership relationship. An array of questions with regard to this relationship is still to be addressed, and some of these questions are proposed in the Suggestions for Future Research section in Chapter 6.

#### *5.1.1.1.2 Discussion of political/organisational leader personality differences (i.e. Q.1b).*

The results associated with the comparison of political and organisational leaders reveal a significant difference with regard to the Forward dimension of the SYMLOG, with political leaders scoring higher. This result was not hypothesised (see Table 1, section 3.1 for the hypothesis). One could explain this finding by noting that higher levels of formality could be associated with the job of a political leader. This could result in the higher need for political leaders to comply with regulations and the higher need for them to accept the task-orientation of an established authority (i.e. to be more willing to conform to predefined rules). Moreover, the higher possible instances of bureaucratic characteristics in government and political settings (as noted by Judge et al., 2002) might have also led to the higher political leader Forward scores found here.

Alternatively, one could explain the results by noting that, while *political* leaders in the UK scored at the norm (similar to the results of previous studies that have used the SYMLOG to study the perception of Western political leaders—e.g. Ellis & Nadler, 1996), the Forward scores of UK *organisational* leaders were substantially lower than those identified in other

published organisational studies. In their study, Hare, Koenigs and Hare (1997) noted the self-attributed Forward score of Western organisational leaders (combined across genders) as 5.95. This value is substantially higher than the value of 2.79, which was the mean self-attributed Forward score of the organisational leaders in the current Western sample. This discrepancy in terms of the UK organisational sample reduced the mean of the overall organisational leader sample (i.e. the Forward mean for organisational leaders, irrespective of culture). If organisational leaders in the UK sample were to have scored at the norm (i.e. 5.95, as published by Hare et al., 1997), then their scores would have been similar to the scores obtained in the current UK political leader sample (i.e. with a mean self-attributed Forward score of 5.87)—a finding typical for the Bulgarian sample, wherein the difference between political and organisational leader Forward scores was smaller ( $M=7.66$  for Bulgarian political leaders and  $M=7.36$  for Bulgarian organisational leaders). Witnessing such results in the UK could have then reduced the overall difference between groups and could have possibly eliminated the presence of a main effect of group in terms of the SYMLOG dimension Forward. Consequently, further exploration of the comparison between political and organisational leader Forward scores is necessary before we can generalise the findings to situations and samples other than the ones explored here.

Interestingly, the results failed to confirm the predicted significant difference between political and organisational leaders in terms of emotional stability. In general, compared to the role of organisational leaders, the role of a political leader is seen as one that entails more resilience and emotional control; this is why hypothesis 1b (see Table 1, section 3.1) proposed a likely difference between the scores of political and organisational leaders. One possibility for the absence of support for this hypothesis could be the fact that the hypothesis was based on the findings of the single available study (Judge et al., 2002) that looked at differences in personality factors across leadership arenas. It is therefore likely that more research is needed before we can make more concrete conclusions as to the difference in emotional stability means across diverse leadership contexts.

On the whole, these minimal significant political–organisational personality differences support Judge et al.'s (2002) claims, which suggest that major personality differences are only present when comparing student and leader samples, as opposed to when comparing samples from government, military and organisational leadership settings. Nevertheless, as noted by Silvester (2008), research looking at the similarities and differences between leaders is in its infancy, so many more comparisons are needed before we can make firm claims as to how the personalities of political and organisational leaders vary.

*5.1.1.2 Discussion of personality variance across cultures (Bulgarian/British) (i.e. Q.2).*

The results of the analyses of culture differences reveal a significant difference between Bulgarian and British participants, irrespective of group, in terms of openness to experience and Forward, with Bulgarians scoring lower and higher, respectively. Both of these findings were anticipated (see hypothesis 2 in Table 1, section 3.1). Earlier (in section 3.1), the reasoning provided with regard to the expectation of a cross-cultural Forward difference noted that the presence of high power distance scores in Bulgaria (Minkov, 2011)—which is associated with cultural acceptance that power is distributed unequally—might result in the increased likelihood for Bulgarians to accept the task orientation of an established authority. Unlike the Bulgarians, and possibly due to the presence of low power distance (Minkov, 2011), the British nationals in this study were, however, generally less likely to accept the task orientation of established authority, as suggested by their low Forward scores. Such findings support Leslie and Van Velsor (1998), who noted that personality characteristics, such as the ability to accept the task orientation of established authority, differ across borders. Similarly, the recorded (Minkov, 2011) high instance of uncertainly avoidance (see section 3.2.1.3 for a description of this concept) in Bulgaria could have predisposed Bulgarian participants to rate themselves as more conforming, more cautious and less open to new experiences, compared to British nationals. These findings pose a number of practical implications, which are further noted in section 6.4.3.

Interestingly, differences with regard to extraversion and Up were absent, even though they were hypothesised (for hypotheses, see Table 1 in section 3.1). In general, it was expected that the heightened femininity in Bulgarian culture (Minkov, 2011) would reduce the extent to which extraversion and Up facets were valued (as was also proposed by Leong & Fischer, 2011). Nevertheless, the extraversion and Up scores of Bulgarian and British nationals were comparable, and, unlike other findings (Redding & Wong, 1986; Schmid & Yen, 1992), the results suggest a similarity in assertiveness across the cultures studied. It is possible that the increase in border permeability since about 1989 might have exposed Bulgarians to assertive foreign role models via the media. This could have increased acceptance of the previously less practised traits of extraversion and dominance.

*5.1.1.3 Discussion of the interaction between group and culture when personality factors/dimensions were considered as the dependent variables (i.e. Q.3).*

Hypotheses with regard to the interaction between group and culture—in terms of personality—were not made, due to the absence of previous literature on which to base them. Two multivariate analyses were carried out to test this exploratory area. An insignificant interaction was found between group (political leader/follower) and culture when the participants involved were political leaders and followers. This suggests that political leader–follower trait differences were stable across cultures (and that any differences across culture were stable across leader/follower roles). This also means that, in comparison to followers, political leaders in both Bulgaria and the UK were equally associated with higher levels of emotional stability, dominance and Forward (submissive/opposing). Nevertheless, a significant interaction between group and culture was, however, evident when the political leader personality scores were compared to those of the organisational leaders. Interestingly, when the follow-up univariate tests were explored—in the bid to note where the interactions lay—the individual ANOVA results suggested insignificance. Often, such a problem results from lacking the statistical power necessary to resolve simpler analyses—which, itself, is caused by a large number of groups within a limited sample. Moreover, it is possible that the overall significant multivariate interaction was a type I error and/or the global 'significance' was in fact distributed over a number of small individually non-significant effects for the various dependent variables. Bearing this in mind, it might be inappropriate to interpret the interaction as a true interaction until the test is carried out under conditions of greater statistical power. Because of this, one must carry on and acknowledge the main effects of culture and group that are discussed in sections 5.1.1.2 and 5.1.1.1.2.

Overall, based on the lack of multivariate and univariate interaction significance, one can conclude that the context variable culture did not moderate personality differences across groups. This finding has implications for the generalisability of selection and assessment practices discussed in section 6.4.3. Moreover, the result could challenge certain contingency theories that suggest that context variables control the relationship between traits and leadership (e.g. Zaccaro, 2007; Yulk, 1998), though the matter might simply be manifest in OTHER context variables.

### ***5.1.2 Discussion of the Results Related to the Variance of Styles Across Groups and Culture (i.e. Q.4, Q.5 and Q.6) (see Table 1 in Section 3.1 for a Summary of the Questions and Hypotheses)***

Within this part of the chapter, the results associated with the exploration of leadership styles are considered. Section 5.1.2.1 discusses the results related to group (i.e. political/organisational leader) differences, section 5.1.2.2 discusses the results related to culture differences (i.e. Bulgarian/British) and section 5.1.2.3 discusses the results related to the interaction between group and culture.

#### ***5.1.2.1 Discussion of Style Variance Across Groups (Political/Organisational Leader) (i.e. Q.4)***

The results of the analyses of group differences suggest a significant difference between political and organisational leaders in terms of the frequency with which transformational leadership behaviours were practiced. The means show that political leaders, irrespective of culture, reported the use of more transformational behaviours, compared to organisational leaders. This difference was predicted in hypothesis 4 (for hypotheses, see Table 1 in section 3.1). As noted in the literature review, the pervasiveness of transformational leadership has generally been accepted to be contingent upon setting (Bass, 1997), with Lowe et al. (1996) suggesting that transformational leadership is actually more applicable to public, rather than private, organisations. The present findings provide support for this view. It is possible that having a sound vision, being inspirational and generating a commitment amongst constituents/voters is crucial to gaining public approval. Moreover, these qualities might also initiate a process of identification between the needs of voters and the substance of established goals—a tactic that is possibly also important for securing support. Pleasing voters and showing ‘individual consideration’ (a facet of transformational leadership) in political settings might actually be more central to success than pleasing subordinates in organisational settings, because the emergence of leaders in the world of politics is determined by the number of votes collected, and not by outstanding performance in an interview or at an assessment centre. All of this might have therefore led to the higher levels of transformational behaviours in the political, as opposed to the organisational, leader sample.

Moreover, an insignificant group difference was found in terms of the transactional and passive/avoidant leadership behaviours. The findings suggest that political and

organisational leaders displayed similar frequencies of both the transactional and passive/avoidant style behaviours. Some of these results are similar to the findings presented by Lowe et al. (1996), who noted a lack of difference in terms of 'contingent reward' (i.e. an aspect of transactional leadership) between those leading in public and those leading in private settings. According to their findings, the completion of tasks and the reward/punishment distribution (i.e. the clarification of expectations and standards for compliance against which performance is judged) appeared equally applicable to both political and organisational leaders. After all, both leader types engage in task completion and both communicate and display responsibility towards subordinates. Additionally, with regard to the similarity in the frequency of passive/avoidant behaviours, one might anticipate that the lack of presence, the tendency to interfere only when things become difficult and the absence of decision making skills are equally negatively associated with leadership in any setting.

As with the comparisons between political and organisational leaders in terms of personality, one could here also suggest that the heightened political leader self-reports of explicitly positive transformational behaviours could be a product of impressions management—an aspect usually associated with public leaders. Nevertheless, even though social desirability might have affected the ratings, it must be noted that, if the effect had been large, one would have also found differences with regard to the transactional leadership scales. In relation to the social desirability effect, differences in both styles would be expected, because the test publishers (Bass & Avolio, 1990) have often insisted that both the transformational and the transactional scales of the MLQ explicitly signify aspects of positive leadership. This raises confidence in the validity of the transformational differences found here.

#### *5.1.2.2 Discussion of Style Variance Across Cultures (Bulgarian/British) (i.e. Q.5)*

The results of the analysis of culture differences in leadership styles suggest that, compared to British leaders, Bulgarian leaders (both political and organisational) scored significantly higher in terms of transactional and passive/avoidant leadership style behaviours. While the transactional style differences were predicted in hypothesis 5, the passive/avoidant behaviour differences were not expected (for hypotheses, see Table 1 in section 3.1).

In order to explain the transactional leadership difference, one could (once again) look at the cultural value differences across the cultures studied. Bulgaria, for example, has been

found to score highly in terms of power distance (Minkov, 2011), which is associated with authoritarianism, steep hierarchy, obedience towards those at the top, centralised power and reduced concern for employees in work settings. Some of these aforementioned concepts—such as authoritarianism—are associated with task-oriented behaviours, which are also related to and present in transactional leaders. In this way, one can associate power distance with the elevated levels of transactional behaviours in Bulgaria found here.

Compared to the provision of reasons for the transactional behaviour differences, the provision of explanations for the passive/avoidant style variation is more challenging. One would, in general, suppose that behaviours that are detrimental to the completion of a task are equally and universally absent in the leadership arena. Nevertheless, while passive/avoidant behaviours were still negatively associated with leadership in Bulgaria, they were (as noted) certainly more frequently enacted by Bulgarian, than by British, leaders. No studies have looked at this in Bulgaria, but studies that have explored countries with similar historical challenges—like Russia—have generated results similar to those obtained in the current study. Ardichivilli and Kuchinke (2002) presented findings that show that, even though scores on the passive/avoidant leadership style scales *laissez-faire* and *management by exception* were low in all of the tested cultures, the scores were substantially higher for leaders from Russia, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, compared to leaders from Germany and the USA. Similarly, Puffer (1996)—who studied the leadership styles of Russian leaders—suggested that these leaders display a collectivist attitude characterised by shared decision making and diffusion of responsibility (Mazar & Aggarwal, 2011), and a tendency to delegate decision making instigated by a wish to avoid the responsibility associated with unforeseen circumstances. Here, one could note that this collectivism-based diffusion of responsibility has much in common with passive/avoidant leadership, as both concepts are associated with decision making avoidance, delayed response and failure to interfere when needed. This similarity between the characteristics of collectivism and passive/avoidant leadership might suggest that a high score on one (e.g. collectivism) could lead to a high score on the other (i.e. passive/avoidant leadership). Therefore, Bulgaria's more collectivist nature (Minkov, 2011) could explain its higher experience of inadequate leadership practices. Moreover, after looking at denial and avoidance of threat-related information, Metselaar (2012) noted that governments with authoritarian experiences—such as the government of Bulgaria—are more likely to be tolerant towards both denial and avoidance, compared to stable democratic systems.

Interestingly, even though a difference in the enactment of transformational leadership behaviours in Bulgaria and the UK was expected, such a difference was absent. These findings oppose those of Bass (1997), who noted that the pervasiveness of transformational leadership could be affected by culture. Moreover, the current results oppose the research findings of others who have proposed that cultures in more critical environments (Cronger, 1999), as well as cultures with collectivist values (Jung et al., 1995) and authoritarian experiences (Eisenstadt, 1968), display higher instances of transformational leadership. In general, charisma—a crucial aspect of transformational leadership—is often treated as an anti-democratic force, so one was persuaded to predict its heightened presence in cultures with a history of totalitarian ruling. One possible answer to why leaders in Bulgaria and the UK scored similarly in terms of the practiced transformational leadership behaviours and therefore opposed hypothesis 5<sub>1</sub> can be derived from Weber's (1978) work. According to Weber, charisma can be equally developed in both dictatorial/autocratic and democratic situations, as, even though charismatic appeal is highly interactive with bureaucratic administration, it also has democratic ramifications. Similarly, according to Gerth and Mills (1946), charisma can be 'the vehicle of man's freedom in history'; these researchers also suggested that, depending on its routinisation, charisma can exist equally in both democratic and undemocratic settings. Moreover, although Bass (1997) asserted that culture leads to variance in the pervasiveness of transformational leadership, he also agreed that transformational leadership can be both autocratic and directive, and democratic and participative. Based on these propositions, one could possibly see why transformational leadership appeared equally in Bulgaria and the UK.

#### *5.1.1.3 Discussion of the Interaction Between Group and Culture when Leadership Styles were Considered as Dependent Variables (i.e. Q.6)*

The results of the multivariate analysis of the interaction between group (i.e. political/organisational leader) and culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British) in terms of leadership styles show that such an interaction was absent. This suggests that the self-reported political and organisational leadership styles varied in the same way in both Bulgaria and the UK. These results propose a lack of a cultural moderating effect on group differences (as well as a lack of a group moderating effect on culture differences). As with the findings concerning variance of personality, the findings concerning variance of leadership styles question contingency theories that suggest that personality and style differences are moderated by context variables

(e.g. Zaccaro, 2007; Yulk, 1998). Despite this, it might be extreme to disregard contingency theories completely; instead, further research should endeavour to underline which context variables are better moderators of leadership style group differences because, in this study, culture does not seem to have caused an effect.

The findings do not, of course, bear on contingency theories such as Fiedler's (1967, 1978) paradigm; leadership qualities might vary (across the Fiedler-type fit between style and situation) in ways that are altered by neither culture nor political/business settings.

### ***5.1.3 Discussion of the Results Related to the Variance of ILTs Across Groups and Culture (i.e. Q.7, Q.8 and Q.9) (see Table 1, Section 3.1 for a Summary of the Questions and Hypotheses)***

Within this part of the chapter, the results associated with the exploration of implicit leadership theories (ILTs) are considered. Parallel to the above sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2, which dealt with personality and leadership style, section 5.1.3.1 discusses the results related to group (i.e. political/organisational leader) differences, section 5.1.3.2 discusses the results related to culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British) differences and section 5.1.3.3 discusses the results related to the interaction between group and culture.

#### ***5.1.3.1 Discussion of ILT Variance Across Groups (Political/Organisational Leaders) (i.e. Q.7)***

The results of the analysis of ILT variance across groups (i.e. political/organisational leaders) suggest that the ILTs generated by the follower sample with regard to good political and good organisational leaders differed significantly in terms of the frequency of attributed transactional leadership behaviours. In this research, good organisational leaders were associated with more transactional behaviours, compared to good political leaders. This difference was hypothesised in section 3.1, hypothesis 7. According to Den Hartog et al. (1999), more transactional behaviours are usually attributed to lower level leaders, whose job is apparently less political in nature; this view is supported by the current findings. Moreover, organisational leadership is arguably related to management (Kotter, 1990), which involves transactional leadership aspects such as an increased concern for the completion of tasks and an increased necessity for the day-to-day distribution of rewards and punishments. Additionally, even though Lowe et al. (1996) did not concern themselves with ILTs, their study shows that higher level leaders (whose job might be seen as more political and diplomatic in

nature) engaged in less management by exception—active behaviours (i.e. specifying standards for compliance and punishing/rewarding followers according to their compliance with those standards)—an assertion related to the findings of this research.

Further to this, the results of the analysis show a lack of difference between the frequencies of transformational behaviours attributed to good political and good organisational leaders. This finding is not in line with hypothesis 7<sub>1</sub> (for hypotheses, see Table 1 in section 3.1), which predicted that good political leaders will be associated with more transformational leadership behaviours. According to Den Hartog et al.'s (1999) findings—upon which hypothesis 7<sub>1</sub> was constructed—implicit leadership theories associated with diplomatic/political and higher level leaders entail more transformational aspects; however, the current results suggest that both organisational and political leaders equally benefitted from instilling pride in others, talking about values and beliefs, motivating, inspiring, stimulating innovation, and creating a supportive working climate. This finding is noteworthy and it supports Bass's (1997) suggestions of the cross-situational stability of transformational aspects within ILTs. In his 1997 paper, he noted that, in any situation, when people are asked to think of leadership, their prototypes are transformational in nature. It is likely that the explicitly positive nature of the transformational scales leads one to associate transformational leadership aspects with any type of leader. More research is, however, necessary in order to confirm this universality across all leadership types.

#### *5.1.3.2 Discussion of ILT Variance Across Cultures (Bulgarian/British) (i.e. Q.8)*

The results of the multivariate analysis, which looked to explore the effects of culture on ILT construction, show insignificance (i.e. no significant differences in the frequency of attributed transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant behaviours in comparisons of the Bulgarian and British follower responses). Such a finding does not precisely match what was predicted in hypothesis 8 (for hypotheses, see Table 1 in section 3.1). Cross-cultural equality with regard to the frequency of transformational and passive/avoidant leadership behaviours was seen as likely, but such equality was unexpected in terms of transactional leadership behaviours. As suggested in hypothesis 8<sub>1</sub>, more transactional behaviours were expected to be attributed to good leaders by the Bulgarian sample, relative to the British sample. According to Den Hartog et al. (1999), Broadbeck et al. (2000) and Bass (1997), the transformational aspects of ILTs show stability across cultures, but some elements of attributed transactional behaviours vary. Unexpectedly, this study opposes these findings, as well as the findings of

researchers such as Elenkov (1998), who showed that post-communist Russian employees/followers expected their leaders to be autocratic. The finding that nationals of Bulgaria—who have been shown to present high power distance scores—did not attribute higher frequencies of transactional behaviours to good leaders was certainly unexpected. Moreover, it is unusual that the present findings question the results of major global work, which has asserted that some task-oriented aspects of ILTs are culture-contingent (Broadbeck et al., 2000; Den Hartog et al., 1999).

Nevertheless, in addition to the MLQ, a qualitative measure was also used to examine the ILTs associated with leaders across cultures. As explained earlier, this work aimed to use in-depth research methods to construct the implicit leadership theories of politicians; the qualitative measure was designed to supplement the largely quantitative MLQ, of which the data were analysed via multivariate tests.

Hypotheses with regard to the qualitative ILT analyses were not made, but the results show both similarity and distinctiveness in terms of the constructed ILTs across the two cultures. Overlap in terms of the generated descriptors is evident, and aspects signifying transformational leadership—such as charisma—were produced by both Bulgarian and British participants. Furthermore in the Bulgarian and the British item lists four of the top six entries across both lists were identical (see Table 12 in section 3.4.2). This again possibly signifies some similarity. Nevertheless, one must note that the number of transformational attributes (e.g. has a vision, charismatic, can motivate, can inspire) in the UK political leader ILT was higher, compared to that of the Bulgarian ILT. This is surprising, given the earlier MLQ results suggesting the universal and equal presence of transformational behaviours within leader ILTs. Moreover, in Bulgaria, the moral conduct factor, with a strong emphasis on morality, honesty, lack of corruption and concern for the people, explained most of the variance in all of the generated leader descriptive items. Such a factor was largely absent in the British results, wherein the ‘dynamism’ factor explained most of the variance in the generated leader descriptive items (though, due to the non-obvious coherence in the descriptors that fall under dynamism, a more suitable term for describing the content of the factor might be generated by other researchers). Here the emphasis was not on morality, but on charisma, decisiveness, vision and results delivery.

In order to explain the presence of different factors in the Bulgarian and UK political leader ILTs, it is helpful to note that the qualitative results obtained from the Bulgarian sample share some similarities with the findings of Ling et al. (2001), who studied the ILTs of leaders in China. Similar to findings for the current Bulgarian political leader ILT, personal morality was

found to account for the majority of variance in the Chinese ILTs. This similarity could be due to the correspondence in political regimes experienced by both countries, as well as to further similarities in the countries' scores on Hofstede's cultural dimensions. A communist background and exceedingly high levels of power distance are shared by the two cultures, and these also present them as considerably different from Western nations, such the United Kingdom. The lack of defence against power abuse brought on by the high power distance in both Bulgaria and China might force their members to be particularly sensitive in terms of honesty, morality, corruption and principles. The likelihood of finding an absence of these actual characteristics in Bulgaria and China is higher, which makes members of these cultures particularly aware of their importance and particularly needy of their presence. In contrast to what we have seen in Bulgaria and China, the occurrence of low power distance and the presence of more precautions (which prevent corruption and dishonesty) in the West reduce the salience of decency and make other attributes more important. This could be the reason for the absence of a 'morality' factor in Western leader ILTs. Moreover, Frolov et al. (2012) noted additional factors when they compared the political leader schemas of Ukrainian voters to those of Western voters who had participated in Miller et al.'s (1986) research. They explained that Ukrainian post-Soviet conceptions of political leadership encompass both democratic and communist elements, and concluded that the difference between Eastern European and Western leadership prototypes resides in the dissimilar history of political regimes experienced by the contrasted countries.

The current findings of cross-cultural ILT differences are rather conflicting. While no cross-cultural ILT differences were found in the MLQ data, some differences were noted in the qualitative data. This lack of parallelism in the findings could be explained by the differences in research methods used. The qualitative results might have given a more in-depth view of the ILTs, which may have ensured specificity of the particular areas where differences were found.

#### *5.1.3.3 Discussion of the Interaction Between Group and Culture when ILT Leadership Style Scores were Considered as Dependent Variables (i.e. Q.9)*

The results of the interaction analysis of group and culture in terms of ILTs yielded a significant multivariate interaction. However, once again (as found in the tests looking to explore group and culture interaction in terms of the personality of political/organisational leader samples), when the univariate tests were explored—in order to inspect where the interactions lay—the individual ANOVA results suggested insignificance. As noted earlier, in section 5.1.1.3, such a

problem could be due to a lack of statistical power, small effects distributed across the dependent variables or as a result of a type I error. It is possible that an effect is present, but, in this study, such an effect was not detected via both multivariate and univariate tests. This calls for further exploration of the interaction between groups and culture in terms of ILTs. As noted in section 3.1, the direction of this interaction was not hypothesised, because similar explorations (from which one could draw ideas) were largely absent in the literature. Nevertheless, investigation of the interaction effects was undertaken, as one of the aims of the current work was to explore the stability of group differences across cultures.

## **5.2 Summary of Result Evaluations**

Support for previous findings was found in the analyses, which show a connection between political leadership and factors of dominance and emotional stability. Surprisingly, the hypothesised differences between leaders and followers in terms of extraversion, conscientiousness, agreeableness and Positive were deficient. While this challenges previous literature, the absence of these group differences provides confidence that the results were not largely affected by social desirability, which is usually associated with political leaders and usually results in high scores across all Big Five and SYMLOG traits. To add, despite the lack of directional hypotheses associated with Forward, the results suggest that political leaders were more Forward compared to both followers and other leaders. This new finding supplements the literature, which, until now, has failed to look at self-attributed SYMLOG trait scores of political leaders. Moreover, all personality group differences appeared as stable across cultures. This might challenge the contingency theories, which propose the likely context effects on the association between traits and leadership. Additionally, while valid interaction effects were absent, the main effects of culture shows that Bulgarians were generally more likely to succumb to submissiveness and less likely to embrace new experiences. These findings have implications on cross-cultural political leader communication, which is discussed in Chapter 6.

Further to this, in support of previous studies, the results show that transformational leadership was practiced more in the political arena, with Bulgarian leaders (both political and organisational) appearing equally transformational but more transactional and passive/avoidant, compared to British leaders. Such findings could be explained in terms of cultural value differences, because the presence of both high authoritarianism and high

collectivism could have pushed Bulgarian leaders to utilise more task-oriented and passive/avoidant behaviours, compared to British leaders.

Last, with regard to implicit leadership theories, the results show that followers in both cultures saw political leaders as less transactional, compared to organisational leaders. Here, the absent main effect of culture opposes the findings of large-scale global studies that have proposed the presence of culture-contingent ILT aspects. Nevertheless, the qualitative data was more supportive of the previously suggested cross-cultural ILT variance (such as that promoted in the GLOBE study), as the factor structure of political leader ILTs in Bulgaria was found to be largely different from the factor structure of political leader ILTs in the UK. The discrepancy between the qualitative and quantitative data underlines the importance of diverse research methods, which can help provide more depth into studied concepts.

While some were unexpected, the majority of the findings had been previously found in other studies. As is evident, some explanations of group and culture differences derive from ideas of cultural value differences or the uniqueness of the collected data; such explanations could be attributed to the samples used here. On the one hand, results that support previous research could help strengthen already accepted conceptualisations of leadership. On the other hand, results that oppose preceding investigation outcomes challenge already held beliefs and instigate the need for revisiting some previous findings.

Overall, one of the contributions of this work is the combination of the study of culture, leader arena and various measured dimensions within a single framework, thus enabling a variety of main effects and interactions to be evaluated simultaneously. (For further contributions of this research see section 6.4.2.) However, there are also limitations of these findings, which are attended to in Chapter 6. Nevertheless, the current work benefits from a number of practical implications, which are further discussed in section 6.4.3.

## **CHAPTER 6: LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

Limitations of the current work derive from diverse areas—each of which is discussed independently in sections 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3. Conceptual and theoretical issues are discussed in section 6.1, while sections 6.2 and 6.3 address the problems associated with cross-cultural research, in general, and those associated with the design of this study, more specifically.

In addition to underlining shortcomings, this chapter offers explanations for some of the choices made and suggests possible future endeavours in this area of social science. Moreover, it critically evaluates the research methodology, data collection and analytical methods used, which, in turn, stresses the validity of the current results.

### **6.1 Theoretical and Conceptual Limitations**

A number of theoretical issues affect the extent to which one can judge the group and culture differences found here as convincing.

The issue of causal inference is one such issue. Some could suggest that political leaders scored higher in terms of dominance, emotional stability and Forward as a result of engaging in leadership activities. This would suggest that the rise of individuals to political posts is not necessarily associated with the abundance of particular traits. This study had no means to record pre- and post-levels of the Big Five and SYMLOG traits and transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant leadership qualities, and this could cast doubt on the implications of the found differences. For instance, some could argue (based on the found differences) that the design of the candidate selection schemes (discussed in sections 2.5 and 6.4.3) was flawed, as heightened levels of the respective traits might have nothing to do with leadership emergence. Nevertheless, one could also note that some of the concepts measured—for example, the Big Five traits—are considered stable over time (Soldz & Vaillant, 1999). This could prevent (or at least allegedly mitigate) their development as a result of training or—in this case—engagement in political activities. However, some of the measured style behaviours are considered developmental, or those that can be learned. This casts doubt on the results that associate leadership styles with leader emergence. A good way to counter this issue in subsequent studies would be to use the longitudinal method, wherein levels of the tested variables would be recorded at different intervals along a politician's term in office. This, of course, would be very labour intensive, due to the difficulty in obtaining a political leader sample that is willing to provide self-ratings on a number of occasions. Nevertheless, as

noted by Silvester (2008), it would be valuable to attempt such data collection in order to increase the causal inference derived from any of the findings.

An additional theoretical area that could raise criticisms relates to the labels applied to the groups compared in this study. Many would note that calling elected officials 'political leaders' is actually unreasonable. The achievement of rising to public office might not be sufficient for convincing others of one's leadership abilities. Thus, the use of electoral success as a proxy for leadership might be considered conceptually flawed, because, according to Burns (1978), we need to distinguish between leaders and power holders. However, we must also acknowledge that there is no formal criterion for distinguishing 'real' from 'non-real' leaders, and the discussion surrounding the relationship between leader 'position' and 'behaviour' is never-ending and exceedingly complex. Blondel (1987) noted that, often, one can have the position and the power, but not the behaviour that signifies leadership; however, while a distinction between the two must be made, he also noted that, nearly always, they affect each other. Leadership, according to Blondel (1987), is the product of holding office.

Moreover, another disagreement could also arise from the label 'leaders' being applied to the current sample, as some could claim that those situated lower in the political hierarchy are not actually leaders (mainly because their work is mandated by their political party). Previous studies have generally tended to consider mainly leaders who are at the top of the political hierarchy (i.e. party leaders, presidents and ministers). While this is certainly acceptable, one cannot in any way suggest that other politicians, such as members of parliament and councillors, do not warrant the title of 'leader'. In general, constitutional democracies benefit from a multitude of rulers who work for the common societal good. According to Blondel (1987), political leadership is all-embracing, and those in the political arena can concentrate on many areas—such as foreign affairs, defence, economy, social well-being, arts and culture. The involvement of political leaders at different levels in each of these areas varies, but a low level of involvement does not signify that leadership is absent. Both councillors and members of parliament are elected individuals with the responsibility to make decisions on behalf of their wards or constituencies. While some would not call these persons leaders, it is good to underline that their job is broadly similar to that of a party leader, president or prime minister. The major difference between party leaders/presidents/prime ministers and MPs/councillors lies in the size of the setting and the number of individuals upon which leadership is exercised. Both members of parliament and local councillors are decision makers and strategy developers. Both review, scrutinise and regulate decisions while considering the wishes of their constituents. This is somewhat similar to the responsibility of

leaders at the top of the hierarchy, who are usually more easily decorated with the title of 'political leader'. Moreover, Bennington and Hartley (2009) suggested that governance operates simultaneously across different tiers of government, as the hierarchical structure—which forces the acceptance of party leaders as sole leaders—is weak in modern democratic systems. According to Hartley (2004), politicians are civic or community leaders because they exercise influence and represent the needs and aspirations of the public and their constituency. Of course, some political roles are larger and more visible, but leadership aspects are present even in the roles that are labelled less prominent.

Moreover, the operationalisation of the concept of political leadership is difficult, as the operationalisation of leadership, alone, is still absent. This brings on a number of methodological issues that challenge researchers. One must, however, acknowledge that the terms 'politician', 'political figure' and 'political leader' are often used interchangeably, and there is no formal definition of political leadership. This makes an exploration of the concept that is free of methodological issues almost impossible. Due to this, the leader's post has often been used as a proxy for leadership in studies that have concentrated on political settings (Caprara & Zimbardo, 2004; Wolbrecht & Campbell, 2007). Future studies should, of course, seek to minimise the conceptual problems associated with the lack of a valuable political leadership proxy. If possible, one should also aim to collect leadership ability data for each of the leaders involved. Such leadership ability data could be gathered from subordinates, constituents and party leaders, using measures such as the MLQ, which provides leadership effectiveness ratings. Carrying this out would be ideal, as the data would indicate whether those in political leadership posts display leadership behaviours. In addition, such research would deter the single method/single source bias associated with the current work (which is, at least, bicultural). One must, however, note that the collection of multiple source data is very labour intensive and is still rarely undertaken by any researcher in the political leadership field.

Further conceptual issues that might result in criticisms are those associated with the labelling of the general public sample as 'followers'. The extent to which the general public are direct followers of the studied (or similar) political leaders is unclear. However, it is important to note that, while the followers of an organisational leader are easier to define (because they work beneath the leader and are referred to as subordinates), the followers of a political leader are usually difficult to identify. In politics, a number of groups of individuals could be called followers, but many researchers (Caprara et al., 2003; Costantini & Craik, 1980; Feldman, 1996; Pittinsky & Tyson, 2005; Weinberg, 2010) have utilised voters or the general public as a normative comparative groups in their studies. Voting is certainly a way of following

a political leader, and, while voters do not have any direct commitment to the leader, they do have a direct effect on his/her election as one. In this study, the word 'follower' was used to signify non-political leaders or members of the general public who were of voting age and could therefore affect power distribution in the political arena. Some might dispute the lack of label clarity, but there were no formal ways to define the corresponding group of leaders, so my use of the present comparative sample can be deemed applicable. Future research could undertake a more specific approach and formally identify those members of the public who have actually casted a vote for the leader of interest. This might secure more control, but extraneous variables such as the truthfulness associated with voting choice disclosure would still raise methodological problems, which could cause invalidities.

Other limitations that derive from conceptual uncertainties are associated with the exploratory hypotheses—the direction and magnitude of which were not stated. The reason for these hypotheses was the lack of previous studies which would have informed this area of research and supported the formation of directional hypotheses. The direct study of political leaders in the UK and Bulgaria was novel, and, while an effort was made to suggest the likely direction of results, some areas were labelled largely exploratory. Studies carried out in similar and unexplored cultural regions (e.g. Ardichvili & Kuchinke, 2002; Frolov et al., 2012) have also presented exploratory hypotheses and have noted that such were warranted due to the lack of specific findings associated with the researched regions that could serve as the basis of relational hypotheses. As the field of direct measurement of political leaders in Bulgaria and the UK has not been touched on, exploratory research was needed, here, in order to gather preliminary information and formulate likely definitions.

The final limitation that should be mentioned in this section is that of the various conceptions of leadership. While some consider leadership an occurrence limited to the leader, others see it as a concept related to the leader, the followers and the arena within which the two interact. The present study accepts the latter conceptualisation as more valid, compared to the former, and agrees with Avolio's (2007) claim that the only person who practices leadership alone is the psychotic. This research accepts that leadership is multidimensional and non-existent in the absence of followers and the situation—a statement that could give birth to criticisms from researchers who see leading as an individual phenomenon.

## **6.2 Limitations Associated with Cross-Cultural Research**

Cross-cultural research is difficult for many reasons, and this has therefore resulted in a lack of cross-cultural studies in psychological research. Psychologists still view cultural studies with scepticism, as issues of defining culture and assessing it in a methodologically correct manner are still very much alive and evident. Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 underline the shortcomings of the present research that derive from the involvement of culture as an independent variable.

### ***6.2.1 Defining Culture***

The difficulty of defining culture is pertinent to every instance of cross-cultural research. How one defines the concept is still open to debate, and this poses weaknesses and a lack of symmetry amongst studies. Triandis (1996) defined culture as ‘a shared meaning system that provides standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, communicating and acting among those who share a historic region and a geographic location’(p. 408). According to others (e.g. Chiu & Chen, 2004), culture is ‘a network of knowledge that is produced, distributed and reproduced amongst a collection of interconnected people’ (p. 173). Many more definitions exist, with a general agreement that culture reflects the shared values of its members.

The confusion over what culture is has led to diverse approaches used to understand and study it. Of these, two major approaches have emerged. The first is a culture-centred, or ‘emic’, approach, which studies the behaviours in a single culture. The second approach is a personality-centered, or ‘etic’, approach, which is culture-general and concentrates on concepts that can be considered universal. The former tends to be more qualitative in nature, while the latter tends to be more quantitative. There have been many discussions about the applicability of each, which have weakened the consensus of studies looking at culture. To remedy the issue and to ensure a more acceptable validity of results, some scholars have attempted to use both approaches, where possible.

The present study was surely affected by the lack of a certain culture definition, which led to the acceptance of the general consensus that culture is the shared values of its members. In order to ensure greater validity, both emic and etic approaches to studying cross-cultural issues were considered. For instance, the etic approach was used to underline the cross-cultural stability in leader characteristics. Moreover, on one occasion, where it was deemed possible, an attempt was made to use the emic approach and to construct cultural implicit leadership theories in each of the studied nations. The latter provided a specific and a

qualitative view of the behaviours and traits associated with political leaders, while the former generated a more objective outlook on the studied concepts. Most studies in the area have used an etic approach, which is associated with greater convenience, in that it uses the benefits of already recognised theoretical frameworks with established reliability and validity. One should, however, be aware that this convenience comes at a cost, whereby some of the situational and temporal aspects associated with the concepts of culture and leadership are not captured. This is reflected in the current results, which show a lack of cross-cultural ILT differences in leader conceptualisations with the etic approach, but the presence of such differences with the emic approach. Incorporating both approaches in studies of culture, where possible, could provide findings that accommodate the diverse conceptualisations of what culture is and how it should be studied. Moreover, the use of both approaches could make us more aware of the possibility of alternative outcomes when alternative methodologies are used. Further to this, the diverse findings from both methods of research could lead to a greater understanding of and accounting for concept variance.

### ***6.2.2 Methodological Constraints Associated with Cross-Cultural Research***

The methodological constraints associated with cross-cultural research are thought to surpass even those associated with the lack of a formal definition of culture. Problematic areas of cross-cultural research relate to culture measurement, group equivalence, translation, scale response and scale grading. These areas increase the likelihood of response bias, which might have affected the reported differences found in this study.

In terms of measurement, it is essential to note that many models attempt to provide an outlook of what different cultures entail. Hofstede (1980), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Schwartz (1992) and Trompenaars (1993) have all proposed measurable value dimensions of culture. Nevertheless, Hofstede's model has been more widely used in social science research. Shortcomings of the model are of course evident. McSweeney (2002) argues that the methodology used by Hofstede is flawed. According to him the number of questionnaires distributed in some of the tested cultures is small. Moreover he asserts that Hofstede falsely assumes the presence of national uniformity and the absence of differences between those participants who held the same job position. According to McSweeney (2002) the latter aspects are likely to have caused the presence of error which might have affected the validity of Hofstede's findings. Further to this McSweeney (2002) proposes that the outcome on questionnaires might not have been due to unconscious pre-programmed values. He also

notes that the sample used is not representative of the general population as the IBM employees within it might have an atypical character. Despite such criticisms the model benefits from empirical backing, while also presenting quantitative scores for many countries in each of the dimensions. Moreover, alternative value patterns like Trompenaars's (1993) are considered more theoretical, while Hofstede's work is more of a tested model (Mead, 1993). According to Mead (1993), the simplicity of Hofstede's model, as well as its good structure, has led it to become a major influence in cross-cultural studies. Further to this, the use of both multivariate statistics and theoretical reasoning, as well as high levels of operationalisation, have often made Hofstede's the preferred model (Mead, 1993; Todeva, 1999). Hofstede (1996), himself, criticised work such as that of Trompenaars's (1993), in terms of the lack of validity and reliability; others (Minkov, 2011) have questioned the culture biases and base assumptions of these models. Of course, in some cases, models other than Hofstede's could be deemed suitable. For instance, if one's interest lies in the resulting effects of the underlying value dimensions, then Trompenaars's (1993) model, which describes the behavioural aspects, rather than the value, might be effective. Similarly, if one were to measure cultural dimensions rather than to use already published norms, then one would be able to employ a model that does not necessarily supply norms for a large array of nationalities. This capacity for measuring values is, however, often absent, and the common practice is to use nationality as a proxy for culture and to refer back to published cultural value benchmarks such as those provided by Hofstede (1980). This is, of course, questionable, as nationality does not always equate to culture. Nevertheless, in cross-cultural studies, difficulties associated with increased expenses, overseas travel, unfamiliarity with respondents and language barriers lead many researchers to engage in such practices. Indeed, the current study used nationality as a proxy for culture. Like in other cross-cultural work, the present lack of ability to measure culture was compensated for by the availability of published value benchmarks along Hofstede's dimensions for both Bulgaria and the UK. This advantage, and the accepted robustness of Hofstede's model, has allowed for its use and acknowledgement far beyond the academic world, even in spite of its criticisms and the presence of alternative options (Magala, 2009). Williamson (2002) agrees that some flaws are evident but he also notes that a more plausible and satisfactory model is still absent so the rejection of Hofstede's work might throw away some valuable insight.

Of course, the recommendation for future cross-cultural research would be to incorporate a measure of culture such as the Values Survey Module (VSM-94; Hofstede, 1994). This could help the interpretations of results (presented in Chapter 5), which, here, often used

cultural value differences to explain the presence/absence of cross-cultural differences associated with traits, behaviours and ILTs. Moreover, the use of a formal cultural values measure could provide more confidence in the finding that group differences result from actual variations in measured cultural values.

Group equivalence is a further limitation of cross-cultural studies attempting group comparisons (such as the current research). If one's aim is to attribute differences to culture, then ensuring that the groups compared are similar is of utmost importance. Certainty about group equivalence in cross-cultural research is difficult to accomplish, due to different cultural standards (e.g. the completion of an A-level in the UK might be substantially different from the completion of the equivalent in Bulgaria – and furthermore, such differences could reflect a blend of cultural and non-cultural effects). Moreover, when a cross-cultural comparison is made, one must also bear in mind issues of sample representativeness and within-group differences, both of which are seen as biases and sources of error. Sample representativeness and within-group similarity are particularly difficult to balance, as they are accepted as opposing forces—particularly in research like the current, where one of the groups compared represented the general public. In order to satisfy sample representativeness in such situations, one should endeavour to include participants from each demographic group in the sample. Doing so ensures representativeness, but, in turn, results in large within-group variance, which, in addition to the IV in question, can account for differences in the DV. The inability to discard such sources of error can invalidate the results, but one must admit that the simultaneous presentation of conflicting concepts such as cross-group equivalence, sample population representativeness and within-group similarity (which ensures result validity) is challenging. In the current study, an attempt to secure acceptable levels of each of the described concepts was made. A more thorough discussion of how this was done is presented in section 6.3.1, where suggestions for further remedial techniques are also noted.

The issue of measure translation is also present in this and other cross-cultural studies. As expected, most of the developed and tested questionnaires originated in English speaking countries, and this resulted in the need for their translation. While translation seems straightforward, it is not always as successful as it might appear. Subtle differences in meaning are evident across cultures, and the enactment of behaviours can also vary. Simple words such as 'trust' or 'honesty' are often believed to be easy to translate, but they can easily be interpreted and enacted differently between cultures. A way to deal with this limitation is to have individuals living in the studied cultures translate the measures, and to follow this with a back translation and group discussion to remove any evident translation discrepancies. This

method is considered acceptable and scientific in cross-cultural studies, and it was also the method used here to deal with translations. One must, however, bear the limitations associated with translation in mind, as perfect translation is difficult to achieve. Given this, many would advocate for the use of the emic approach, which supports culture-specific measure construction. This is applicable, but still not so useful, in cross-cultural group comparisons. In such cases, data comparison is possible only with measure correspondence.

In addition to these issues, the use of scales also poses problems. Likert scales usually include a range of possible response options, from which participants must choose. While this sounds straightforward, Silverthorne (2005) suggested that people in some cultures are likely to vary their responses more than people in other cultures. For example, American participants tend to vary their responses more than participants from other cultures, who tend to choose the middle (i.e. neutral) point. To deal with this possible source of reduced equivalence and bias, researchers have often employed Likert scales without a neutral point (featuring an even number of response options), to force participants to choose points other than the middle, neutral option. As noted in section 3.4.2.1, this technique was utilised in this research so that, where feasible, an even number of possible response options was employed.

Moreover, scale grading might have also affected the result validity of this research. Some languages have a lot more terms to express grading (e.g. 'extremely favourable', 'very favourable', 'considerably favourable', 'favourable', 'somewhat favourable', etc.), compared to others (e.g. 'very favourable', 'not so favourable', 'unfavourable', etc.). This can affect the meaning of each grade. For example, in Spain, *muy malo* might suggest a greater level of dissatisfaction than the level of dissatisfaction expressed through the English phrase 'very bad'. The extent of this effect on the current research is unknown, and techniques to deal with this effect are difficult to propose. Because of this, noting the likely effect of scale grading when considering the results is the least that one can and should attempt when undertaking cross-cultural research.

A number of other limitations posed by the execution of this cross-cultural research are also worth mentioning. One such limitation pertains to response rates, which tend to vary in different cultures. Silverthorne (2005) noted, that, in terms of surveys, a typical response rate in the USA is 3%, while the response rate in Taiwan is substantially higher, at 30%. Taking this into consideration, one must note that a similar issue of response rate difference was present in the current research, as some of those belonging to the group of UK political leaders needed a substantial number of reminders before they completed their questionnaires. This, in turn, likely resulted in the within-group difference bias, as the UK political leader group was

made of 'instant respondents' and respondents who had completed the questionnaires as a result of reminders. To ensure that this response difference was not an issue, the questionnaire responses of the 'instant' and 'reminded' UK political leader respondents were compared with any systematic DV differences noted as absent. In addition (and in general), it is good to note that, while response rates in Bulgaria and the UK were not excessively different, Bulgarians were a little more willing to respond, which called for a greater data collection effort exerted on British soil. Future investigations should research the issue of response rate differences before comparing cultures. This will ensure that the time available for data collection can be distributed accordingly, after the complexity associated with securing participants across the studied cultures is judged.

To add to the issues noted above, the concept of social desirability springs to mind. Social desirability is diverse across cultures, as some value honesty more than do others (Silverthorne, 2005) (that is, both the extent and content of socially desirable responding can vary). This issue of impression management is not only relevant to cross-cultural research, but also to research that employs politicians. As presented already in section 5.1.1.1, Caprara et al. (2003) noted that political leaders score significantly higher in terms of social desirability. Such an effect was expected here because political leaders are generally accepted to be savvier in terms of impression management, and this could cause response bias in their self-ratings. As suggested earlier, such response bias could have accounted for the reported trait and style differences found here. Social desirability scales were not employed in this research, due to the difficulty of securing lengthy testing slots with politicians. Fortunately, the presence of group differences with regard to some, rather than all, positive qualities suggests that social desirability might not have had a large affect upon the self-ratings in this research. Nevertheless, future research should consider the use of social desirability scales; this would allow researchers to partial out biases deriving from dishonesty before reporting group differences.

Furthermore, sampling could have also affected the results, as many cultures have distinct cultural subgroups that hold different values. In the present research, the issue of subgroups bias was mainly present with regard to the UK sample, due to the diversity of London. Tackling this issue went hand in hand with the issue of representativeness, in that the primary aim was to ensure that the British sample was as representative as possible of the larger British population. Of course, this resulted in the inclusion of participants from diverse subgroups, which possibly secured representativeness, but maybe also increased within-group differences. This is certainly worth noting when considering the present findings. As suggested

earlier, a balance between representativeness and within- and between-group similarities must be achieved, with each concept considered to the extent that is possible.

### **6.3 Limitations Associated with Research Methodology and the Statistical Analyses Performed**

As in any other experiment, limitations associated with the procedures, sample and statistical analyses are present in this study. The following sections critically evaluate each of these areas.

#### ***6.3.1 Sample***

The first limitation associated with the sample used in this research is its limited size. As noted in sections 3.3.1.2 and 3.3.2.2, the total sample in phase 1 had 243 participants, and, in phase 2, the sample had 121 participants. While these sample sizes may appear to be promising, one must acknowledge that, in phase 1, the participants were distributed among the groups of Bulgarian political leaders, Bulgarian followers, British political leaders and British followers. In addition, it should be noted that those in the Bulgarian and British follower samples who worked at a managerial level were, on two occasions, also considered within the separate groups of Bulgarian and British organisational leaders. Moreover, participants in phase 2 were distributed among two groups (i.e. Bulgarian and British). Dividing the groups in such a way created comparable samples that were of limited size. Generally, guidelines about sample size in psychological experiments differ, and one must usually decide upon a suitable size based on research needs, research opportunities and the statistical tests one intends to utilise. In terms of the factor analyses performed, one could argue that the sample size was considerably low and certainly did not approach Comrey and Lee's (1992) suggested size of 300. While this is a limitation, it is good to note that, according to Costello and Osborne (2005), the presence of strong data with high communalities and no cross-loadings is sufficient for a valid factor analytical outcome based on minimal samples. This notion is better reviewed in section 4.4.3, where the applicability of factor analysis to this research is discussed. Also, with regard to the MANOVAs, it is difficult to note whether the groups of approximately 50 participants per cell were adequate. Some would suggest that a larger sample would have illustrated group differences better, but, on this occasion, it is applicable to consider the nature of the groups studied before drawing inferences about the sample size and validity of the results of trait,

behaviour and ILT measurement. As noted already, direct measurement of the group of interest (political leaders) was rather labour intensive and complex. This was mainly due to the leaders' minimal availability and lack of proximity, and sometimes to obstacles associated with confidentiality, involvement and data protection. Given these difficulties, one must note that, while seemingly small, the sample of political leaders was, in fact, sizeable; this leads me to suggest that any results associated with its measurement are worth reporting.

The two cultural follower samples were, however, low, and maybe not so representative of the general population of Bulgaria and the UK. Relative to political leaders, members of the general public were not as difficult to engage in research participation. Reasons behind the low follower sample numbers in Bulgaria and the UK include the lack of opportunity to equally address members of both cultures, as well as a lack of time and access to these persons, which was associated with their frequent overseas travel. A choice was therefore made to keep all group samples similar in terms of numbers. This aspect was beneficial for statistical tests such as MANOVA, as severely unbalanced designs are often associated with an effect (when such an effect is actually absent) and low statistical power (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). There are no rules of thumb about how disparate cell numbers must be before results are determined invalid, but the general advice from statisticians is to keep groups as equal in number as possible. Nevertheless, in order to ensure that the sample sizes in this study did not lead to skewed data, where feasible, the political leader data were compared to a more numerous normative UK follower data from other research. This was particularly possible in the case of SYMLOG data comparison, in which the outcome of the comparison between political leader and follower data collected in this research resembled the outcome of the comparison between leader data collected here and follower data collected in Blumberg's (2006) study. This increased confidence in the data collected here.

In addition, one must also look at effect sizes before considering findings weak due to low sample sizes. Where significance was reported, effect sizes (signified by eta squared [ $\eta^2$ ]) were mostly medium to large (Cohen, 1988) (see Table 43 in section 6.3.1 for  $\eta^2$ ).

**Table 43.** *Effect sizes associated with significant main and interaction effects after analysis of variance*

Variable	Eta squared ( $n^2$ )	% of variance accounted for
<b>Political leader/follower temperamental personality comparison</b>		
Emotional stability—significant main effect of participant type	0.08**	8%
Openness to experience—significant main effect of culture	0.062**	6.2%
Up—significant main effect of participant type	0.056**	5.6%
Forward—significant main effect of participant type	0.056**	5.6%
Forward—significant main effect of culture	0.125**	12.5%
<b>Political leader/organisational leader temperamental personality comparison</b>		
Forward—significant main effect of participant type	0.039*	3.9%
Forward—significant main effect of culture	0.14**	10.4%
<b>Political leader/organisational leader self-reported leadership style comparison</b>		
Transformational style—significant main effect of leader type	0.066**	6.6%
Transactional style—significant main effect of culture	0.20***	20%
Passive/avoidant style—significant main effect of culture	0.026*	2.6%
<b>Political leader/organisational leader attributed leadership style comparison</b>		
Transactional style—main effect of leader type	0.29***	29%

*Note.* \*small effect size ( $n^2 > 0.01$ ), \*\*medium effect size ( $n^2 > 0.06$ ), \*\*\*large effect size ( $n^2 > 0.14$ )

In general, eta squared indicators measure the degree to which results deviate from the null hypothesis. It is good to acknowledge that effect sizes are independent of sample size, in any research, and that their presence always signifies a true independent variable effect. Often, a sizeable eta squared that is not accompanied by a significant alpha level can still indicate group differences. As sample size is linked to significance level, on these occasions, its

increase can be applicable; however, here, its purpose would be to positively affect the p-value and better illustrate the already evident group difference, but not to increase the effect size. The current lack of scenarios defined by large effect sizes and insignificant p-values suggests possible 'genuine' insignificance, even if group sample sizes were larger. This, in turn, reduces the need for many participants.

While the large eta squared values suggest the likely result validity of this study, future research should endeavour to collect more data from a larger experimental pool. This would certainly add weight to the emerged findings, which, with a larger sample, might be considered more credible.

Furthermore, the issue of sample size is certainly not the only limitation of this study. As noted in section 6.2.2, sample representativeness and within- and between-group equivalence are particularly hard to achieve in cross-cultural research in which one of the groups studied is the general public. An attempt was made to attain, in both the leader and follower participant groups from Bulgaria and the UK, representativeness of the leader and follower populations within the respective cultures. Achieving this representativeness, together with within- and between-group equivalence, was difficult, because, as noted in section 6.2.2, these three forces are in opposition. In this research, an effort was made to provide adequate levels of each force.

Group equivalence was enabled essentially by quota sampling - by ensuring that the compared groups consisted of a similar number of male and female participants, as well as a similar number of participants of different age groups. A similar method was applied to education and party orientation. The tables in section 3.3.1.2 (Tables 3, 4 and 5) show the extent to which this was achieved. Due to the lack of perfection in this process, one might be prone to criticise this study; however, when considering the tables, it is important to note that, in addition to achieving group equivalence, achieving representativeness of the larger population was a goal for each of these groups. Further to this, opportunity sampling might have jeopardised representativeness, as those close to the researcher might have possessed qualities different to those held by the general public. As noted in section 3.3.1.1, the idea of representativeness was, however, undoubtedly taken into consideration when potential participants were approached. Moreover, many might note that the lack of hypothesised political leader-follower differences (i.e. in terms of conscientiousness, agreeableness, Positive and extraversion) could have been caused by the inclusion of 'other' leaders in the follower sample. As the normative sample against which the personality of political leaders was judged derived from the general public, some of its members were, in fact, associated with leadership

of some kind. This, according to some, might have reduced participant type differences, as leaders, in general, appear to score similarly in terms of personality (Judge et al., 2002). In order to combat such criticisms, comparisons were carried out between the political leader sample here and a follower sample that discounted those who described themselves as organisational leaders. The results of this comparison were similar to those associated with the comparison between political leaders and the sample of followers that included ‘other’ leaders. This shows that the inclusion of ‘other’ leaders in the normative follower sample did not mask any personality differences between the general public and the political leaders tested here.

Moreover, in similar studies—in order to tackle within-group demographic variation and achieve result validity—many have performed statistical analyses that have ensured that such differences could be partialled out. One such statistical analysis test is MANCOVA. Despite its viability, due to the reasons expressed in section 4.1.1, MANCOVA was not conducted here. The main reason for this was the low correlation between any previously researched and possible covariates and the dependent variables in question (i.e. SYMLOG and TIPI dimension scores associated with questions 1 and 4; self-rated leadership style frequency scores associated with questions 2 and 5; attributed leadership style frequency scores associated with questions 3 and 6) (see Appendix Five). This lack of correlation led to my decision to use MANOVAs, which, in this research, seemed more applicable. Nevertheless, Tables 44, 45 and 46 (section 6.3.1) show the results of what would have been the MANCOVA analyses; these results confirm that, even after partialling out the effects of the covariates (which could have caused an increase in within-group error), the results are comparable and the reported strengths and directions of the differences remain similar to those reported by the MANOVAs.

**Table 44.** *Summary of MANCOVA results associated with questions 1 and 4 and hypotheses 1, 2 and 5*

Dependent variable	Independent variable					
	Culture (Bulgarian/British)		Participant type (political leader/follower)		Culture x Participant type	
	Mean square	F	Mean square	F	Mean square	F
<b>Emotional stability</b>	.054	.032	10.215	6.139**	.341	.205
<b>Openness to experience</b>	4.049	2.823	.079	.055	4.963	3.460*

<b>Up</b>	26.692	1.579	144.093	8.522**	29.849	1.765
<b>Forward</b>	326.025	24.598***	70.922	5.351*	54.842	4.138*
	Culture (Bulgarian/British)		Leader type (political/organisational leader)		Culture x Leader type	
	Mean square	F	Mean square	F	Mean square	F
<b>Forward</b>	176.028	13.010***	47.063	3.478	30.417	2.248

Note. \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

**Table 45.** Summary of MANCOVA results associated with questions 2 and 5, and hypotheses 3 and 6

Dependent variable	Independent variable					
	Culture (Bulgarian/British)		Leader type (political/organisational leader)		Culture x Leader type	
	Mean square	F	Mean square	F	Mean square	F
<b>Transformational leadership frequency score</b>	.369	2.242	.749	4.558*	.421	2.561
<b>Transactional leadership frequency score</b>	8.435	32.074***	.078	.295	.531	2.018
<b>Passive/avoidant leadership frequency score</b>	4.145	12.673***	.028	.085	.003	.008

Note. \*p<0.05, \*\*\*p<0.001

**Table 46.** Repeated measures MANCOVA results associated with questions 3 and 6, and hypotheses 4 and 7

Dependent variable	Independent variable					
	Culture (Bulgarian/British)		Leader type evaluated (political/ organisational leader)		Culture x Leader type evaluated	
	Mean square	F	Mean square	F	Mean square	F
<b>Attributed transactional leadership frequency score</b>	1.604	2.863	1.177	.8.998**	.456	3.486

Note. \*\* $p < 0.01$

As MANCOVAs were, however, not undertaken as part of the main analyses, and because their likely results suggest a lack of validity, the probable effects of the possibly threatening covariates were inspected in an alternative way. With regard to questions 1 and 4, the findings of preliminary within-group gender, age, education and party orientation comparison analyses show that the effects of the suggested covariates on the dependent variables researched here (i.e. SYMLOG and TIPI dimension scores), within each sample (i.e. Bulgarian and British followers and political and organisational leaders), were almost absent; where evident, the effects were minimal. This suggests that aspects such as gender, age, party orientation and education were not particularly strong sources of bias.

Similar analyses were undertaken for questions 2, 3, 5 and 6, wherein the examined covariates were gender and age. Once again, findings of within-group gender and age comparison analyses in each of the samples show that the effects of the proposed covariates on the dependent variables in question (i.e. self-rated leadership style frequency scores and attributed leadership style frequency scores) were minimal. This allowed me to cautiously conclude that the differences were possibly and mainly associated with the independent variables researched here (i.e. leader type, leader type evaluated and culture).

Additional covariates, which might have also had an effect on group differences but had not been explored by previous research, were identified. Those were not included in the trial MANCOVA analyses, as their effects had not been previously explored. Nevertheless, within-group comparison analyses were carried out in order to ensure their absent effect. Level of political activity (indicating whether one was an MP or local councillor, for example)

and organisational activity (indicating whether one was a middle or an upper level organisational manager, for example), as well as response reminder (whether a participant completed the questionnaires with or without a reminder) were explored. Results show that these variables did not cause differences in any of the studied DVs (i.e. temperamental personality and self-rated leadership style frequency). The type or level of political and organisational leadership, and the presence/absence of immediate questionnaire response (which is also mentioned in section 6.2.2) did not appear to be sources of bias. This enabled me to position the members of parliament and local councillors under a common denominator called 'political leaders'. Similarly those holding an upper and middle level organisational leadership position were seen as members of a common group. Likewise, the lack of difference between instant and reminded respondents in terms of the studied DVs also resulted in the comparable treatment of these groups. Moreover it is at least plausible that for aspects where the later wave of respondents does not differ from an earlier wave, one could solicit further waves and still not find a difference. That is, the difference (or lack of it) between waves can be grounds for cautiously extrapolating to at least the next tranche of non-respondents.

While the simultaneous achievement of sample representativeness, sample equivalence and within-group similarity is almost impossible, future studies should attempt to provide an adequate balance of these elements. Where possible, statistical analyses that enable demographic effects to be partialled out (and also explored as being of interest in their own right) should be utilised. This would result in more plausible findings. Moreover, it would reduce problems associated with unbalanced and skewed convenience samples, which often result in findings that represent the respondents, rather than the culture or experimental group they belong to. In the present study, problems of sample size, group equivalence, sample representativeness and within-sample demographic variability are evident; however, where possible, these problems were tackled to the extent to which the research questions, setting and scope of the investigation allowed. Nevertheless, an awareness of the biases associated with these issues could be useful for drawing inferences about the group and culture differences found here.

### **6.3.2 Procedure**

Procedural limitations are also evident in this study. The research, itself, was a field study, which did not benefit from the control associated with studies carried out in the lab. As noted in the procedure section (section 3.3), all questionnaires were sent as hard copies via the post. This reduced confidence in the knowledge that the questionnaires were actually received and completed by the person for whom they were intended. A further limitation is the circumstance under which they were completed. Circumstances certainly varied from person to person, with some possibly completing their questionnaires over a long and interrupted time period. Differences in circumstance could have brought about biases caused by potential extraneous variables associated with each participant's environment.

Despite the discussed limitations, one must not forget to note the advantages associated with field research, in which ecological validity is high and the constraints and biases of the institutionalised lab are absent. While there were certainly extraneous variables associated with the environment in which the participants completed the questionnaires, aspects such as experimenter effect, time constraints and formality of testing venue were not present. This would have ensured more natural and situationally generalisable behaviour. Future research should, of course, not discount any opportunities for similar studies conducted under more controlled lab conditions. Comparing the results from a lab study to the current results (or else a study with randomised assignment to lab or other setting) would be the only way of resolving the debate over the favourability of certain research settings over others.

In addition, problems associated with fatigue and boredom are also evident, as many of the participants acknowledged the substantial length of the presented questionnaires, while others failed to complete the last of the supplied measures. Effort was made to include the shortest available version of all measures, but this was possibly not so helpful, as the number of questionnaires was still substantially high. Nevertheless, despite this limitation, useful data were collected.

In order to ensure that the questionnaires presented first, middle and last are completed with a similar frequency and adequacy, future studies should employ a counterbalancing technique in the presentation of measures. This would ensure a balance in the number of responses acquired for each of the utilised assessment tools, and a means of assessing respective (sequence) effects.

Period of data collection must also be considered. While other studies might not be affected by the year and date of data collection, this particular study was. The presence of elections in both of the cultural settings at different times in the data collection process posed

problems associated with the delay in questionnaire completion and the inability to locate and approach political leaders. Future studies should ensure that data collection is flexible and can be planned for a period outside of elections. In addition, it might also be beneficial to inform participants of a questionnaire completion deadline, as doing so could act as a catalyst for the provision of measure responses.

No other procedural limitations are noted. Some additional issues with the administered measures, apart from those associated with participant boredom and fatigue, are addressed in section 3.4. There, one can find discussions associated with aspects such as tests' applicability to the research, statistical validity and ability to provide generalisable data.

## **6.4 Conclusions and Implications/Suggestions for Future Research**

### ***6.4.1 Summary of Research Findings***

In summary, this research provides a number of findings. With regards to personality traits—as measured by both the Big Five TIPI and the SYMLOG—the results show large differences between the political leaders and followers. Following comparison of the collected data, one can clearly see that political leadership in both Bulgaria and the UK was associated with higher scores on emotional stability, dominance and Forward. Moreover, cross-cultural differences were found in terms of openness to experience and Forward, where Bulgarians on the whole scored lower and higher respectively, compared to British participants. Given this, one may conclude that, when dealing with Bulgarian political leaders, British political leaders must allow for them to display hesitance in terms of novel situations and greater conformity to established authority.

Moreover, large personality differences between political and organisational leaders were not found. Variances were only found in terms of Forward, in that political leaders appeared to be more submissive to authority in comparison to organisational leaders. The lack of substantial differences signifies the similarity of leadership traits across different leadership arenas.

Furthermore, while the results show personality similarity between political and organisational leaders, findings from the MLQ self-rating form relating to the behaviours displayed by leaders show that political leaders across cultures displayed more transformational behaviours, compared to organisational leaders. The main effects of culture also show that leaders in Bulgaria were a lot more transactional and passive/avoidant in nature, compared to those in Britain.

Finally, the MLQ data associated with leader ILTs suggest that political and organisational leaders in both Bulgaria and the UK were thought to display equal instances of transformational and passive/avoidant leadership behaviours, but unequal instances of transactional leadership behaviours, which were more prominent among organisational leaders. In relation to this, the results show that organisational leaders were cross-culturally expected to be more task-oriented in their approach, compared to political leaders. While main effects of culture were absent with regard to MLQ data (which suggest that leaders, in general, were seen as equally transformational, transactional and passive/avoidant across both cultures), the qualitative study conducted with the aim of formulating the ILTs of political leaders displayed some apparent cultural differences. The ILTs constructed by Bulgarian citizens were less transformational and appeared to include a factor that was strongly related to morality. Such an aspect was fully absent from the ILTs created by British citizens, which illustrates that honesty, concern for the country and lack of corruption were more imperative or salient to the post of a political leader in Bulgaria.

On the whole, one can underline a number of interesting overall findings. One such finding derives from the inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative research methods in the study of ILTs. As noted, while cross-cultural ILT differences were found in the qualitative data, cross-cultural ILT differences were absent in the quantitative data. This informs us of the possible differences in findings as a function of the chosen research method. It also suggests that emic or qualitative cross-cultural methods may be more sensitive in their ability to gather culture-specific knowledge.

Moreover, an additional interesting result is that different context variables—like culture (i.e. Bulgarian/British) and leadership arena (i.e. political/organisational)—had conflicting effects on the stability of self-reported leadership behaviours. According to the findings, leadership arena affected the frequency of transformational leadership display, while culture affected the frequency of transactional and passive/avoidant leadership display. Similarly, the same context variables affected the substance of ILTs differently. Leadership arena affected the frequency of attributed transactional leadership behaviours, while culture lacked an effect, entirely. Such a finding adds specificity and underlines the relationships between each of the situational factors tested (culture, leadership arena) and each of the leadership behaviours studied.

Finally, and interestingly, the results suggest that differences between self-reported political and organisational leader behaviours lay in the area of transformational leadership, while differences with regard to attributed leader type behaviours existed only in terms of

transactional leadership. This marks a discrepancy between the data of self- and attributed behavioural measures.

These results provide an outlook on the nature of political leaders, while touching on concepts such as culture, political arena, leadership style, ILTs and personality. Due to the difficulty in researching political leaders across cultures, these variables have often been unattended by scholars in this area of research.

#### **6.4.2 Contribution to Research**

Overlap between the present work and similar investigations is evident. The methodology used here is similar to what has been used in related studies (e.g. Ardichvili & Kuchinke, 2002). The one-shot survey design—as described by Howell (1992)—is reasonable and has been highly utilised for group comparisons carried out in the field. The questions asked in this study are also similar to those that have previously been asked by researchers such as Den Hartog et al. (1999), Judge and Bono (2000) and Caprara et al. (2003). Overlap in terms of conceptual beliefs is also evident. Bennis's (2007) idea that leadership is a tripod made up of a leader, follower and situation is here promoted. Similarly, the idea that transformational leadership is related to charismatic leadership is also supported, as this work utilised studies looking at charismatic leadership to inform its hypotheses formation. Moreover, support for the overlap between the criteria 'effectiveness' and 'emergence'—as has been proposed by many (e.g. Hogan & Kaiser, 2005; Lord & Gradwohl-Smith, 1999; Silvester & Dykes, 2007; Taggar et al., 1999)—is here suggested, as the two can be considered interdependent. Similarly, the results conclude that the contingent reward scale of the MLQ can be seen as part of both transformational and transactional leadership factors. Previous studies in the area have noted the same (Bass & Avolio 2004; Hetland & Sandal, 2003).

While overlap is evident, one must note that the present research contributes uniquely to this area of literature. Generally, traits, behaviours and situations tend to be researched independently even within the organisational literature, and the three concepts tend to be a source of disagreement. This study points out that traits, behaviours and situations can account for different parts of variance within leadership, both independently and in conjunction. It proposes their equal importance and the need for collaboration between scholars working in the area.

In addition, one of the large contributions of this study is its ability to present data associated with a complex sample such as that of political leaders. Few studies have attempted

investigation of this group due to a number of reasons (e.g. confidentiality, access, etc.), and even fewer have attempted direct measurement of politicians. Caprara et al. (2003; 2010), Feldman (1996), Costantini and Craik (1980) and Weinberg (2010) have presented rare results, as, over the years, they have managed to secure political leader samples and measure them directly. This study shares their success and, like them, presents data that are not concerned with the usual sample of top political leaders (e.g. heads of state), but one of lower ranking politicians such as members of parliament and local councillors. This allows for a better and more diverse view of what leadership entails in the elite sections.

The combination of cultures compared here is also unique. As noted by Silverthorne (2005), there is a lack of studies addressing post-communist European cultures, which are facing drastic challenges related to political and economic transformations. This work addresses Bulgaria and the UK, which have been largely omitted from direct investigations of political leaders. As noted by Kellerman and Webster (2001), studies of the elite have generally been carried out by Americans, who have studied Americans for the purpose of informing Americans. Moreover, Weinberg (2012) agreed that European psychologists need to address European politicians. Moving away from the tendency to compare and explore only American political figures might lead us to investigate the political leadership dynamics in Europe. The research design of the current study allowed for the comparison of European countries situated in different geographic, political and economic regions. Outside of the contributions of this study, the knowledge base relating to Bulgaria, in particular, is non-existent, and building upon it could inform us of political leadership dynamics within an EU country that can be described as formerly authoritarian and currently in a critical condition; these aspects are also shared by a number of other EU countries. Therefore, the results of this work could possibly be generalisable to areas other than the ones studied here.

Another contribution of this research to the area of leadership is the use of the MLQ and TIPI measures in political settings. The MLQ, itself, originated from Burns's (1978) conceptions of leadership, which were thoroughly based on his study of political leaders. This study brought the measure back to its origins and allowed it to measure a sample that it had not yet measured. The TIPI, on the other hand, had not been used in research looking at leadership, in general, so the provision of leadership data here gives scholars an idea of how leaders might score on this measure.

Finally, one must note that the research helps to fill the literature gap associated with political work. As noted by Silvester (2008), a limited number of organisational psychologists have looked to test or apply their theories and research in the political arena. While valid

differences between organisational and political settings might prevent comparisons from being drawn and tools from being used across these contexts, not attempting to apply them could be considered a missed opportunity. This research aims to start a process wherein organisational measures and concepts are applied to the political arena. The implications of this are discussed in the following section (i.e. section 6.4.3).

### ***6.4.3 Implications of Research***

This work has a number of implications. The overall findings could be useful in many areas, particularly those concerned with political candidate selection, election success, effective cross-cultural relations in structures such as the EU, and trait and behaviour measurement.

The first implication of this study is its ability to support the idea that leadership is a multidimensional construct accounted for by a multitude of both stable and unstable aspects. The literature in this area indicates a division amongst scholars who defend their opinions and are reluctant to admit to the complex nature of leadership. The call for integrative approaches to studying leadership is here honoured (Avolio, 2007), and this could lead to future collaboration between different disciplines.

The second implication stems from the findings associated with trait theory. Up until recently, trait theories have largely been criticised; however, similar to the research of Silvester and Dykes (2006), this study promotes the importance of individual differences and shows that traits can be related to leadership. The support for trait theory exemplified here has implications for the selection and electoral success of political candidates. The results suggest a strong link between some personality traits (i.e. emotional stability, dominance and Forward) and the political leader post. Knowing that those who have attained public office and gained votes are more dominant, emotionally stable and Forward could possibly alert party leaders to the kind of individuals that should be directed towards political candidate positions. This effect on the selection process might, in turn, secure election success. In addition, the presence of stability—with regard to the association of particular traits and leadership—across the two cultures provides grounds for the cross-cultural generalisability of political leader selection practices. Moreover, the present study adds to the results of recent investigations; together with these studies, it promotes the execution of research that utilises more prominent models of personality, such as the Big Five. Such studies can provide more valid indications of which traits predict (or are associated with) the emergence and effectiveness of leaders.

One could also state that the results have implications for cross-cultural relations. The effectiveness of structures such as the EU, within which Bulgarian and British political leaders must work together, is often facilitated by the presence of smooth collaborations. The current results show that the Bulgarian and British leaders differed in terms of traits such as openness to experience and Forward. While the British leaders showed a higher acceptance of novelty, the Bulgarian leaders proved somewhat conventional. Similarly, the British leaders accepted the task orientation of established authority much less frequently than did Bulgarian leaders. These results can therefore inform leaders of cross-cultural differences, and this knowledge could lead to a better understanding of these differences, and—to a certain level—could lead to allowances being awarded solely due to the acceptance of differences. Similarly, the results reveal that the Bulgarian and British leaders were equally transformational, but that the Bulgarian leaders were more transactional and passive/avoidant, compared to the British leaders. As noted earlier, this signifies that, in dealing with each other, British leaders must allow for Bulgarian leaders to be more task-oriented, slower to intervene and, when making decisions, more likely to be absent when they are needed.

Further to this, we often group cultures in dichotomies (i.e. East, West) or separate them according to geographic, language and religious regions. Moreover, within Europe, we sometimes presume that those countries branded 'the former Eastern Bloc' are similar to each other, but different from those west of the 'Iron Curtain'. This often leads to result generalisation, in that the findings of research carried out in some Eastern European cultures are applied to other cultures in the formerly referred to 'Communist Bloc'. This may be akin to a well-known general gestalt perceptual phenomenon of 'levelling' within categories and 'sharpening' across category boundaries—often a helpful heuristic process, but a cognitive bias all the same. Bulgaria, itself, has hardly been researched, but has always been grouped with the rest of the Eastern European subset countries. This might have resulted in the formation of faulty inferences. Recently, Ardichvili and Kuchinke (2002) showed that countries such as Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, which are both former Russian republics, are, in fact, different in terms of the values they hold. This indicates that the treatment of cultures as homogenous due to their common communist experience could be inappropriate. The independent exploration of specific cultures would be more applicable, as this would provide specificity in our knowledge, which, in turn, would reduce the likelihood of stereotype formation. In the case of Bulgaria, many citizens would, in fact, argue for a greater similarity between its people and those of neighbouring Southern European cultures such as Greece and Turkey. This notion is, however, not accepted worldwide, as Bulgaria is more commonly grouped with cultures

speaking Slavic languages and those that have also experienced communist rule. Acceptance of this general categorisation could lead to misunderstandings in dealings between diverse organisational leaders in multinational businesses and diverse political leaders in structures like the EU. On the other hand, an acceptance of the notion of uniqueness and the need for studying cultures independently could lead to the provision of precise knowledge, which could aid the development of leadership training programmes and also improve EU relations. An independent study of Bulgaria, the UK or any other EU country could have implications for effectiveness, and, while many differences across Europe have not been noted, small but sometimes meaningful discrepancies could create a conflict, reduce productivity and block 'good' leadership. Knowledge of such discrepancies would definitely aid cross-national teamwork and could certainly facilitate the smooth running of the EU (one should not of course lose sight of the potential importance of individual differences among, say, political leaders *within* a culture).

The next implication concerns measurement. As noted earlier, the results show that differences between self-reported political and organisational leader behaviours were related to transformational leadership, with political leaders appearing more change-oriented. However, one should note that differences in attributed leader type behaviours existed only in terms of transactional leadership, as good organisational leaders were conceptualised as more transactional, compared to good political leaders. This suggests that differences at the basic level of Lord et al.'s (1982, 1984) categorical leadership structure alter when one considers follower attributions and perceptions, and the direct self-reported measurement of leader behaviours. This is an important aspect for researchers to bear in mind when they consider which measurement strategy to employ in their research, as the discrepancy between data born out of self-perceptions and 'other' perceptions might be substantial enough to cause differing findings. This, therefore, has implications on study design and the likely presence of measurement limitations.

Furthermore, knowledge regarding the perception of 'good' political leaders in this study could easily guide political candidates involved in impression formation. Knowledge of followers' expectations could shift candidates' focus from behaviours that are not associated with good political leaders to behaviours that are. The enactment of behaviours that are associated with good leadership could secure leaders positive assessment by their followers. Studying voters' thinking could be useful, as it could allow parties to inform their campaign strategies – and might possibly moreover thereby actually improve the quality of the leadership itself.

Last, but not least, one must note that the use of the MLQ, TIPI and SYMLOG in this work has introduced these measures to public leadership studies. The provision of political leader scores could be of use to other researchers who are looking to employ the same measures and compare outcomes, or simply to develop hypotheses.

Overall, a number of implications are noted. The research findings are useful in informing us more thoroughly of the dynamics in political leadership. Support for the multileveled nature of leadership is promoted, and the importance of studying all cultures in the bid to reduce stereotyping and increase efficient communication is also proposed.

#### ***6.4.4 Suggestions for Future Work in the Area***

While the work described here is informative, one would be wrong to suggest that extensions of the analysis are not applicable. One could note that personality, leadership style and ILTs might also vary in terms of variables other than culture, participant type (i.e. political leader/follower) and leader type (i.e. political/organisational leader). Demographic factors such as education, gender and age, as well as other variables such as political party affiliation and political leader post (i.e. MP/councillor) were inspected, and their effects on the dependent variables studied were reported as absent or weak. Nevertheless, previous research has shown clear gender, age and political party affiliation effects on the personality, styles and ILTs of leaders (Caprara et al., 2006; Church & Ortiz, 2005; Costa et al., 2001; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly et al., 2003; Ellis & Nadler, 1996; Kobacoff & Stoffey, 2001; McCrae et al., 1999; Mehra et al., 1998; Oshagbemi, 2008). This leaves one wondering whether a bigger sample would not, in fact, highlight some differences prompted by the extra variables in question (i.e. gender, age and political party affiliation). Further exploration with a larger sample is necessary in order to confidently discard gender, age and political party effects on political leader personality, political leadership style and political ILT.

Moreover, this work could be extended further with the inclusion of leaders in non-political and non-organisational arenas, such as military and religious leaders. Differences in the basic level of Lord et al.'s (1982, 1984) categorical leadership structure were hypothesised by Lord, himself, but these differences have not been explored further. Comparing all leaders would inform us of the specific traits and behaviours associated with each of the types tested. This would further suggest whether leadership arena moderates the relationship between leadership and traits, behaviours and ILTs.

Further to this, using other organisational psychology techniques to explore concepts such as political leader selection and political leader development could be advantageous. For instance, an application of job analysis to the area of political leadership would further map the knowledge, skills and abilities required of a politician—aspects that could be crucial for the fair and valid selection of political candidates. Similarly, use of the Warwick Political Leader Questionnaire—devised by the organisational psychologists Hartley, Fletcher and Morrel (2005)—to explore the capabilities of effective political leaders could be useful, as the measure was specifically designed for political leaders.

Similarly, measurement of other variables (e.g. skills, values) would also add to the current work and lead to the explanation of further variance. This would increase the study's viability and initiate additional confidence as to whether the proposed variance is, in fact, worthy of attention.

#### ***6.4.5 Epilogue***

The present thesis offered empirical evidence associated with the investigation of political leaders in Bulgaria and the UK. The findings propose that each of the main leadership theories (i.e. trait, behavioural and categorisation theories) is capable of explaining variance within political leadership. In the study, traits such as emotional stability, dominance and Forward were found to be cross-culturally important for political leadership. In addition, while Bulgarian leaders were more transactional and passive/avoidant in nature, compared to British leaders, differences in the behaviours displayed by political and organisational leaders lay in the area of transformational leadership. Moreover, the ILTs associated with organisational leaders were more transactional in nature, as followers felt that good organisational leaders are more concerned with successful task-completion.

The implications of the findings are broad. This work informs us of cross-cultural differences in leadership that could affect the running of structures such as the EU. In addition, its results help fill literature gaps associated with leaders in the political arena. Last, but not least, it confirms that leadership is not a saturated area of research; while many concepts within leadership have been explored, there are still areas in need of attention, paths in need of enquiry and lessons in need of learning. The need for collaboration between scholars in different fields is greatly underlined, as this work respects the idea that leadership is a multidimensional, multilevel and multicultural concept, of which variance is accounted for by many disciplines.

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## **APPENDIX ONE: LETTERS**

- Letter 1: First contact letter/e-mail for leaders
- Letter 2: First contact letter/e-mail for followers

## Letter 1

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Petia Paramova and I am a psychology PhD student at the University of London. I am writing in connection with my thesis, which surrounds the idea of political leadership. I am interested in what qualities contribute to good political leadership both in Western and post-communist Eastern countries. With the inclusion of Poland, Bulgaria and Romania in the European Union it has become important to pin point similarities and differences in the concept of political leadership across Europe. Gaining such knowledge might help secure the smooth running of structures like the EU.

In connection to this research I am currently looking for elected politicians who would be willing to take part in my study. This would include filling in a number of short questionnaires. The study will take no more than 30-40 minutes to complete and I would be very grateful if you would accept to contribute and help me in the attempt to uncover and explore issues which are important to the development of our countries.

I would be thankful for your reply if you are willing to participate so that I can post you the relevant questionnaires. All information provided by you will be treated as confidential and a proof of my identity can be gained from Goldsmiths College, University of London. An additional e-mail address for contact is [p.paramova@gold.ac.uk](mailto:p.paramova@gold.ac.uk).

Thank you in advance.

Kind regards,

Petia Paramova

Tel: 07746537884

E-mail: [p.paramova@gold.ac.uk](mailto:p.paramova@gold.ac.uk)

Address: Goldsmiths College

New Cross

Lewisham way

SE14 6NW

## Letter 2

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Petia Paramova and I am a psychology PhD student at the University of London. I am writing in connection with my thesis, which surrounds the idea of political leadership. I am interested in what qualities contribute to good political leadership both in Western and post-communist Eastern countries. With the inclusion of Poland, Bulgaria and Romania in the European Union it has become important to pin point similarities and differences in the concept of political leadership across Europe. Gaining such knowledge might help secure the smooth running of structures like the EU.

In connection to this research I am currently looking for members of the general public who would be willing to take part in my study. This would include filling in a number of short questionnaires. The study will take no more than 30-40 minutes to complete and I would be very grateful if you would accept to contribute and help me in the attempt to uncover and explore issues which are important to the development of our countries.

I would be thankful for your reply if you are willing to participate so that I can post you the relevant questionnaires. All information provided by you will be treated as confidential and a proof of my identity can be gained from Goldsmiths College, University of London. An additional e-mail address for contact is [p.paramova@gold.ac.uk](mailto:p.paramova@gold.ac.uk).

Thank you in advance.

Kind regards,

Petia Paramova

Tel: 07746537884

E-mail: [p.paramova@gold.ac.uk](mailto:p.paramova@gold.ac.uk)

Address: Goldsmiths College

New Cross

Lewisham way

SE14 6NW

## **APPENDIX TWO: CONSENT FORMS**

- Consent form 1: British Participants
- Consent form 2: Bulgarian Participants

# Consent form 1

## Consent form

I agree to take part in the research carried out by Petia Paramova, which concentrates on investigating political leaders. I am informed that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the experiment at any time. I agree to participate in the research based on the condition that my responses and my participation are kept confidential.

NAME:

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

### Demographic information:

Nationality:

Gender:                      Male                                      Female

Age:

Education achieved:    secondary                      further                      higher

Do you vote?

Party orientation:

Party preference: on the scale of 0 to 4 please state to what extent you support your chosen party, taking '0' as 'not at all' and '4' as 'very much so'.

0            1            2            3            4



## **APPENDIX THREE: QUESTIONNAIRES**

- Questionnaire 1: TIPI for English participants
- Questionnaire 2: TIPI for Bulgarian participants
- Questionnaire 3: SYMLOG for English participants
- Questionnaire 4: SYMLOG for Bulgarian participants
- Questionnaire 5: MLQ rater form for English participants
- Questionnaire 6: MLQ rater form for Bulgarian participants
- Questionnaire 7: MLQ political leader form for English Participants
- Questionnaire 8: MLQ political leader form for Bulgarian Participants
- Questionnaire 9: MLQ business leader form for English Participants
- Questionnaire 10: MLQ business leader form for Bulgarian Participants

## Questionnaire 1: TIPI for English Participants

### Ten Item Personality Inventory

Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

<b>Disagree strongly</b>	<b>Disagree moderately</b>	<b>Disagree a little</b>	<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>Agree a little</b>	<b>Agree moderately</b>	<b>Agree strongly</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>

I see myself as:

1. \_\_\_\_ Extraverted, Enthusiastic.
2. \_\_\_\_ Critical, Quarrelsome.
3. \_\_\_\_ Dependable, Self-disciplined.
4. \_\_\_\_ Anxious, Easily upset.
5. \_\_\_\_ Open to new experiences, Complex.
6. \_\_\_\_ Reserved, Quiet.
7. \_\_\_\_ Sympathetic, Warm.
8. \_\_\_\_ Disorganised, Careless.
9. \_\_\_\_ Calm, Emotionally stable.
10. \_\_\_\_ Conventional, Uncreative.

## Questionnaire 2: TIPI for Bulgarian Participants

### Тест за оценка на личностните потенциали

Това са няколко личностни черти които могат да бъдат приети за приложими или неприложими към вашата личност. Моля напишете номер до всяка една от личностните черти с който да покажете до каква степен се съгласявате или противопоставяте с това твърдение. Изисква се да оцените до каква степен всяка двойка личностни черти описва вас, дори и ако една от двете характеристики е по приложителна от другата.

Противопо- ставям се силно	Противопо- ставям се умерено	Противопо- ставям се малко	Въздър- жам се	Съглася- вам се малко	Съглася- вам се умерено	Съглася- вам се силно
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Оценявам се като:

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Екстраверсивен, Ентузиазирен
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Критичен, Свадлив
3. \_\_\_\_\_ Надежден, Дисциплиниран
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Непокоеен, Лесно разстроим
5. \_\_\_\_\_ Предразположен кам нови изпитания, Комплексен
6. \_\_\_\_\_ Резервиран, Тих
7. \_\_\_\_\_ Симпатизиращ, Сърдечен
8. \_\_\_\_\_ Неорганизиран, Невнимателен
9. \_\_\_\_\_ Спокоен, Емоционално стабилен
10. \_\_\_\_\_ Конвенционен, Не оригинален

### Questionnaire 3: SYMLOG for English Participants

#### Multi-dimensional Ratings (SYMLOG) CExpress Form

In general, what kinds of values or traits do you EXPECT others will rate you as showing in your behavior? That is, would they probably rate you as showing the trait RARELY or SOMETIMES or OFTEN. FOR EACH TRAIT BELOW, CIRCLE THE NUMBER IN THE APPROPRIATE COLUMN. Be sure to circle one number on each row, even if it is just a plausible guess. Alternate lines are printed in **bold** simply to make it easier to distinguish one line from the next.

	RARELY	SOMETIMES	OFTEN
Dominant	0	6	12
<b>Persuasive</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Moralistic	0	3	6
<b>Rebellious</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Warm	0	3	6
<b>Equalitarian</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>
Task-oriented	0	6	12
<b>Selfish</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>
Unpredictable	0	6	12
<b>Responsible</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Self-sacrificing	0	3	6
<b>Withdrawn</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Contented	0	3	6
<b>Silent</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>
	RARELY	SOMETIMES	OFTEN

## Questionnaire 4: SYMLOG for Bulgarian Participants

### Многомерни оценки- SYMLOG

Кои от следващите лични черти ОЧАКВАТЕ други хора да използват, за да оценят или опишат вашият начин на поведение? Биха ли оценили, че вие показвате всяка от следващите лични черти РЯДКО, ПОНЯКОГА или ЧЕСТО. ЗА ВСЯКА ОТ ЛИЧНИТЕ ЧЕРТИ МОЛЯ ЗАКРЪГЛЕТЕ НОМЕРА ПОД ИЗБРАНАТА ОТ ВАС СЪОТВЕТНА КОЛОНКА. Като свършите, моля, проверете дали сте закръглили един номер във всяка една от редиците дори и ако изборът ви е само предположение. Всеки втори ред е **очертан**, за да може по-лесно да различавате всеки следващ ред .

	РЯДКО	ПОНЯКОГА	ЧЕСТО
Доминиращ	0	6	12
<b>Убедителен</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Нравствен	0	3	6
<b>Непокорен</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Сърдечен	0	3	6
<b>Егалитарен</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>
Ориентиран към свършване на работа	0	6	12
<b>Егоистичен</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>
Неуравновесен	0	6	12
<b>Отговорен</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Жертва себе си	0	3	6
<b>Необщителен</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Задоволен	0	3	6
<b>Тих</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>
	<b>РЯДКО</b>	<b>ПОНЯКОГА</b>	<b>ЧЕСТО</b>

## Questionnaire 5: MLQ Rater Form for English Participants

### MLQ Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire - Rater Form (5x-Short)

This questionnaire is to describe the leadership style of both a good political and a good business leader as you perceive it. Please answer all items on this answer sheet to the best of your ability even if some might deem inapplicable. Forty-five descriptive statements are listed on the following pages. Judge how frequently each statement fits both types of leaders described. **Beside every question there are two available marking scales. Please mark the one in bold when describing a business leader and mark the additional when describing a political leader.** Use the following rating scale:

Not at all	Once in a while	Sometimes	Fairly often	Frequently if not always
0	1	2	3	4

*The person I am rating as a good political/business leader...*

1. Provides me with assistance in exchange for my efforts	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Re-examines critical assumptions to question whether they are appropriate	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Fails to interfere until problems become serious	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Focuses attention on irregularities, mistakes, exceptions, and deviations from standards	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Avoids getting involved when important issues arise	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5

6. Talks about their most important values and beliefs	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Is absent when needed	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. Seeks differing perspectives when solving problems	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Talks optimistically about the future	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Instils pride in me for being associated with him/her	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
11. Discusses in specific terms who is responsible for achieving performance targets	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
12. Waits for things to go wrong before taking action	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
13. Talks enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
14. Specifies the importance of having a strong sense of purpose	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5

15. Spends time teaching and coaching	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
16. Makes clear what one can expect to receive when performance goals are achieved	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
17. Shows that he/she is a firm believer in "If it ain't broke, do not fix it."	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
18. Goes beyond self-interest for the good of the group	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
19. Treats me as an individual rather than just as a member of a group	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
20. Demonstrates that problems must become chronic before taking action	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
21. Acts in ways that builds my respect	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
22. Concentrates his/her full attention on dealing with mistakes, complaints, and failures	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
23. Considers the moral and ethical consequences of decisions	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
24. Keeps track of all mistakes	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>

	0	1	2	3	4	5
25. Displays a sense of power and confidence	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
26. Articulates a compelling vision of the future	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
27. Directs my attention toward failures to meet standards	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
28. Avoids making decisions	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
29. Considers me as having different needs, abilities, and aspirations from others	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
30. Gets me to look at problems from many different angles	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
31. Helps me to develop my strengths	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
32. Suggests new ways of looking at how to complete assignments	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5

33. Delays responding to urgent questions	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
34. Emphasizes the importance of having a collective sense of mission	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
35. Expresses satisfaction when I meet expectations	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
36. Expresses confidence that goals will be achieved	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
37. Is effective in meeting my job-related needs	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
38. Uses methods of leadership that are satisfying	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
39. Gets me to do more than I expected to do	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
40. Is effective in representing me to higher authority	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
42. Heightens my desire to succeed	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>

43. Is effective in meeting organizational requirements      0   1   2   3   4   5

0   1   2   3   4   5

44. Increases my willingness to try harder      0   1   2   3   4   5

0   1   2   3   4   5

45. Leads a group that is effective      0   1   2   3   4   5

0   1   2   3   4   5

## Questionnaire 6: MLQ Rater Form for Bulgarian Participants

### MLQ Multifactor leadership questionnaire- Rater form (5X-Short)

Този въпросник е анонимен и има за цел да разкрие какъв е според вас стилът на ръководството на политически или бизнес лидер, който вие смятате за добър. Преценете в каква степен всяко едно от представените в този въпросник 45 твърдения съвпада с вашите представи за добър лидер като използвате приложената по - долу скала. Вашите отговори представете по следния начин ако даденото твърдение изобщо или **никога** не съвпада с вашите представи за лидера оградете с кръгче нулата ('0'), ако **'много рядко'** съвпада с вашите представи, оградете с кръгче единицата ('1'), ако даденото твърдение съвпада със собственото ви мнение в средна степен , т .е. **'понякога'**-оградете с кръгче двойката ('2') и т н. **До всеки въпрос има по две полета за маркиране. Когато описвате добър бизнес лидер, маркирайте очертаното поле, а когато описвате добър политически лидер, маркирайте неочертаното поле.**

### СКАЛА

Никога	Много рядко	Понякога	Много често	Почти винаги
0	1	2	3	4

*Човекът когото оценявам като добър/ефективен политически/бизнес лидер...*

1. Помага, когато вижда, че полагам усилия за нещо	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Проверява повторно критичните предложения, за да се убеди дали са уместни	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Не съумява да се намеси в проблемите, докато нещата не станат сериозни	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Фокусира си вниманието върху нередностите ,грешките ,възраженията и отклоненията от стандартите	0	1	2	3	4	5

	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Избягва да се намесва тогава, когато възникват значими проблеми	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. Говори за своите най важни ценности и разбирания	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Отсъства когато има нужда от него	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. Търси различни варианти при разрешаване на проблемите	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Говори оптимистично за бъдещето	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Вдъхва ми гордост, че работя за него/че го поддържам	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
11. Дискусира по недвусмислен начин кой е отговорен за изпълнението на поставените задачи	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
12. Изчаква нещата да се влошат и тогава предприема действия	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
13. Говори със ентузиазъм за, това което трябва да бъде изпълнено	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5
14. Подчертава колко е важно да притежавам силен	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>

стремеж към успех	0	1	2	3	4	5
15. Отделя време да обучава и напътства	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
16. Изяснява какво човек може да очаква да получи, когато поставените цели бъдат постигнати	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
17. Показва, че е твърд привърженик на максимата 'Ако нещо не се е развалило, не се мъчи да го поправиш'	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
18. Пренебрегва личният си интерес за доброто на групата	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
19. Отнася се с мен по скоро като с, личност а не само като член на групата	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
20. Показва че проблемите трябва да станат хронични, преди да се предприемат действия	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
21. Действа по начини, които изграждат уважение към него	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
22. Съсредоточава цялото си внимание върху справянето с грешките , оплакванията и неуспехите	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
23. Взема предвид етичните и морални последици от взетите решения	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
24. Следи зорко за всяка грешка	0	1	2	3	4	5

	0	1	2	3	4	5
25. Демонстрира власт и самоувереност	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
26. Ясно представя завладяващи виждания за бъдещето	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
27. Насочва вниманието ми към отклоненията от нормите	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
28. Избягва да взема решения	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
29. Смята ме за човек, който има потребности , способности и стремежи, различни от тези на другите	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
30. Насърчава ме да разглеждам проблемите от различни гледни точки	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
31. Помага ми да развия силните си страни	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
32. Предлага нови гледни точки за начина на изпълнение на възложените задачи	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
33. Закъснява с отговарянето на спешни въпроси	0	1	2	3	4	5

	0	1	2	3	4	5
34. Подчертава колко е важно наличието на чувство на колективизъм при изпълнението на поставената задача	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
35. Изразява задоволство, когато отговаря на съществуващите спрямо мен очаквания	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
36. Изразява увереност, че целите ще бъдат постигнати	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
37. Помага ми при посрещането на нуждите свързани с работата	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
38. Използва лидерски похвати, които са удовлетворяващи	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
39. Кара ме да върша повече от това, което възнамерявам да правя	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
40. Представя ме по ефективен начин пред по високите равнища в ерархията	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
41. Начинът, по който говори с мен, е удовлетворяващ	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
42. Подсилва желанието ми да успявам	0	1	2	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5

43. Ефективен е при изпълнението на политически изисквания

**0 1 2 3 4 5**

0 1 2 3 4 5

44. Повишава готовността ми да полагам повече усилия

**0 1 2 3 4 5**

0 1 2 3 4 5

45. Ръководи една ефективна група

**0 1 2 3 4 5**

0 1 2 3 4 5

## Questionnaire 7: MLQ Political Leader Form for English Participants

### MLQ Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire- Leader Form (5x-Short)

This questionnaire is to describe your leadership style as you perceive it. Please answer all items on this answer sheet. Forty-five descriptive statements are listed on the following pages. Judge how frequently each statement fits you. The word “others” may mean your supporters, direct reports, people you manage and/or all of these individuals. Please attempt to answer all questions to the best of your ability. Use the following rating scale:

#### SCALE

	Not at all	Once in a while	Sometimes	Fairly often	Frequently, if not always
	0	1	2	3	4
1. I provide others with assistance in exchange for their efforts	0	1	2	3	4
2. I re-examine critical assumptions to question whether they are appropriate	0	1	2	3	4
3. I fail to interfere until problems become serious	0	1	2	3	4
4. I focus attention on irregularities, mistakes, exceptions, and deviations from standards	0	1	2	3	4
5. I avoid getting involved when important issues	0	1	2	3	4
6. I talk about my most important values and beliefs	0	1	2	3	4
7. I am absent when needed	0	1	2	3	4
8. I seek differing perspectives when solving problems	0	1	2	3	4
9. I talk optimistically about the future	0	1	2	3	4
10. I instil pride in others for being associated with me	0	1	2	3	4
11. I discuss in specific terms who is responsible for achieving performance targets	0	1	2	3	4

12. I wait for things to go wrong before taking action	0	1	2	3	4
13. I talk enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished	0	1	2	3	4
14. I specify the importance of having a strong sense of purpose	0	1	2	3	4
15. I spend time teaching and coaching	0	1	2	3	4
16. I make clear what one can expect to receive when performance goals are achieved	0	1	2	3	4
17. I show that I am a firm believer in "If it ain't broke, do not fix it."	0	1	2	3	4
18. I go beyond self-interest for the good of the group	0	1	2	3	4
19. I treat others as individuals rather than just as a member of a group	0	1	2	3	4
20. I demonstrate that problems must become chronic before I take action	0	1	2	3	4
21. I act in ways that build others' respect for me	0	1	2	3	4
22. I concentrate my full attention on dealing with mistakes, complaints, and failures	0	1	2	3	4
23. I consider the moral and ethical consequences of decisions	0	1	2	3	4
24. I keep track of all mistakes	0	1	2	3	4
25. I display a sense of power and confidence	0	1	2	3	4
26. I articulate a compelling vision of the future	0	1	2	3	4
27. I direct my attention toward failures to meet standards	0	1	2	3	4
28. I avoid making decisions	0	1	2	3	4
29. I consider an individual as having different needs, abilities, and aspirations from others	0	1	2	3	4
30. I get others to look at problems from many different angles	0	1	2	3	4
31. I help others to develop their strengths	0	1	2	3	4
32. I suggest new ways of looking at how to complete assignments	0	1	2	3	4
33. I delay responding to urgent questions	0	1	2	3	4
34. I emphasize the importance of having a collective sense of mission	0	1	2	3	4

35. I express satisfaction when others meet expectations	0	1	2	3	4
36. I express confidence that goals will be achieved	0	1	2	3	4
37. I am effective in meeting others' job-related needs	0	1	2	3	4
38. I use methods of leadership that are satisfying	0	1	2	3	4
39. I get others to do more than they expected to do	0	1	2	3	4
40. I am effective in representing others to higher authority	0	1	2	3	4
41. I work with others in a satisfactory way	0	1	2	3	4
42. I heighten others' desire to succeed	0	1	2	3	4
43. I am effective in meeting organizational requirements	0	1	2	3	4
44. I increase others' willingness to try harder	0	1	2	3	4
45. I lead a group that is effective	0	1	2	3	4

## Questionnaire 8: MLQ Business Leader Form for Bulgarian Participants

### MLQ Multifactor leadership questionnaire- Leader form (5X-Short)

Този въпросник е анонимен и има за цел да разкрие какъв според вас е стилът на вашето ръководство във сферата на политиката. Преценете в каква степен всяко едно от представените в този въпросник 45 твърдения съвпада с вашите представи за собственото ви ръководство, като използвате приложената по-долу скала. Вашите отговори представете по следния начин: ако даденото твърдение изобщо или **'никога'** не съвпадат с представите ви за собственото ви ръководство, оградете с кръгче нулата ('0'), ако **много рядко** съвпада с вашите представи, оградете с кръгче единицата ('1'), ако даденото твърдение съвпада със собственото ви мнение в средна степен, т.е. **'понякога'** -оградете с кръгче двойката ('2') и т.н. Моля, отговорете на всички въпроси.

### СКАЛА

Никога	Много рядко	Понякога	Много често	Почти винаги
0	1	2	3	4
			0	1 2 3 4
1. Помагам когато виждам че се полагат усилия за нещо			0	1 2 3 4
2. Проверявам повторно критичните предложения, за да се убедя дали са уместни			0	1 2 3 4
3. Не съумявам да се намеся в проблемите, докато нещата не станат сериозни			0	1 2 3 4
4. Фокусирам си вниманието върху нередностите, грешките, възраженията и отклоненията от стандартите			0	1 2 3 4
5. Избягвам да се намесвам тогава когато, възникват значими проблеми			0	1 2 3 4
6. Говоря за моите най важни ценности и разбирания			0	1 2 3 4
7. Отсъствам, като има нужда от мен			0	1 2 3 4
8. Търся различни варианти при разрешаване на проблемите			0	1 2 3 4
9. Говоря оптимистично за бъдещето			0	1 2 3 4
10. Вдъхвам гордост на тези, които работят за мен/ме поддържат			0	1 2 3 4

11. Дискусирам по недвусмислен начин кой е отговорен за изпълнението на поставените задачи	0	1	2	3	4
12. Изчаквам нещата да се влошат и тогава предприемам действия	0	1	2	3	4
13. Говоря с ентузиазъм за това, което трябва да бъде изпълнено	0	1	2	3	4
14. Подчертавам колко е важно да се притежава силен стремеж към успех	0	1	2	3	4
15. Отделям време за обучение и напътствие	0	1	2	3	4
16. Изяснявам какво човек може да очаква да получи, като поставените цели бъдат постигнати	0	1	2	3	4
17. Показвам, че сам твърд привърженик на максимата 'Ако нещо не се е развалило, не се мъчи да го поправиш'	0	1	2	3	4
18. Пренебрегвам личният си интерес за доброто на групата	0	1	2	3	4
19. Отнасям се с привърженици по скоро като с личности, а не само като с членове на групата	0	1	2	3	4
20. Показвам, че проблемите трябва да станат хронични, преди да се предприемат действия	0	1	2	3	4
21. Действам по начин по който карам поддръжниците си да изграждат уважение към мен	0	1	2	3	4
22. Съсредоточавам цялото си внимание върху справянето с грешки, оплаквания и неуспехи	0	1	2	3	4
23. Вземам предвид етичните и морални последици от взетите решения	0	1	2	3	4
24. Следя зорко за всяка грешка	0	1	2	3	4
25. Демонстрирам власт и самоувереност	0	1	2	3	4
26. Лесно представям завладяващи виждания за бъдещето	0	1	2	3	4
27. Насочвам вниманието им, когато има отклонение от нормите	0	1	2	3	4
28. Избягвам да вземам решения	0	1	2	3	4
29. Смятам поддръжниците си за хора, които имат потребности, ,способности и стремежи различни от тези на други	0	1	2	3	4

30. Насърчавам поддръжниците си да разглеждат проблемите от различни гледни точки	0	1	2	3	4
31. Помогам им да развиват силните си страни	0	1	2	3	4
32. Предлагам нови гледни точки за начина на изпълнение на възложените задачи	0	1	2	3	4
33. Закъснявам с отговарянето на спешни въпроси	0	1	2	3	4
34. Подчертавам колко е важно наличието на чувство за колективизъм при изпълнението на поставената задача	0	1	2	3	4
35. Изразявам задоволство, когато поддръжниците ми отговарят на съществуващите спрямо тях очаквания	0	1	2	3	4
36. Изразявам увереност, че целите ще бъдат постигнати	0	1	2	3	4
37. Помагам при посрещането на нуждите, свързани с работата	0	1	2	3	4
38. Използвам лидерски похвати, които са удовлетворяващи	0	1	2	3	4
39. Карам ги да вършат повече от това, което възнамеряват да правят	0	1	2	3	4
40. Представям ги по ефективен начин пред по високите равнища в ерархията	0	1	2	3	4
41. Начинът, по който говоря с тях, е удовлетворяващ	0	1	2	3	4
42. Подсилвам желанието им да успяват	0	1	2	3	4
43. Ефективен съм при изпълнението на политически изисквания	0	1	2	3	4
44. Повишавам готовността им да полагат повече усилия	0	1	2	3	4
45. Ръководя една ефективна група	0	1	2	3	4

## Questionnaire 9: MLQ Business Leader Form for English Participants

**PLEASE COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IF YOUR JOB ENTAILS LEADERSHIP OR  
MANAGEMENT OF EMPLOYEES.**

**STATE YOUR LEVEL OF MANAGEMENT/LEADERSHIP:**

**UPPER/MIDDLE**

**MIDDLE/LOWER**

### **MLQ Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire- Leader Form (5x-Short)**

This questionnaire is to describe your leadership style as you perceive it. Please answer all items on this answer sheet. Forty-five descriptive statements are listed on the following pages. Judge how frequently each statement fits you. The word “others” may mean your supporters, direct reports, people you manage and/or all of these individuals. Please attempt to answer all questions to the best of your ability. Use the following rating scale:

#### **SCALE**

<b>Not at all</b>	<b>Once in a while</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Fairly often</b>	<b>Frequently, if not always</b>	
<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	
1. I provide others with assistance in exchange for their efforts	0	1	2	3	4
2. I re-examine critical assumptions to question whether they are a	0	1	2	3	4
3. I fail to interfere until problems become serious	0	1	2	3	4
4. I focus attention on irregularities, mistakes, exceptions, and deviations from standards	0	1	2	3	4
5. I avoid getting involved when important issues	0	1	2	3	4
6. I talk about my most important values and beliefs	0	1	2	3	4
7. I am absent when needed	0	1	2	3	4

8. I seek differing perspectives when solving problems	0	1	2	3	4
9. I talk optimistically about the future	0	1	2	3	4
10. I instil pride in others for being associated with me	0	1	2	3	4
11. I discuss in specific terms who is responsible for achieving performance targets	0	1	2	3	4
12. I wait for things to go wrong before taking action	0	1	2	3	4
13. I talk enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished	0	1	2	3	4
14. I specify the importance of having a strong sense of purpose	0	1	2	3	4
15. I spend time teaching and coaching	0	1	2	3	4
16. I make clear what one can expect to receive when performance goals are achieved	0	1	2	3	4
17. I show that I am a firm believer in "If it ain't broke, do not fix it."	0	1	2	3	4
18. I go beyond self-interest for the good of the group	0	1	2	3	4
19. I treat others as individuals rather than just as a member of a group	0	1	2	3	4
20. I demonstrate that problems must become chronic before I take action	0	1	2	3	4
21. I act in ways that build others' respect for me	0	1	2	3	4
22. I concentrate my full attention on dealing with mistakes, complaints, and failures	0	1	2	3	4
23. I consider the moral and ethical consequences of decisions	0	1	2	3	4
24. I keep track of all mistakes	0	1	2	3	4
25. I display a sense of power and confidence	0	1	2	3	4
26. I articulate a compelling vision of the future	0	1	2	3	4
27. I direct my attention toward failures to meet standards	0	1	2	3	4
28. I avoid making decisions	0	1	2	3	4
29. I consider an individual as having different needs, abilities, and aspirations from others	0	1	2	3	4
30. I get others to look at problems from many different angles	0	1	2	3	4

31. I help others to develop their strengths	0	1	2	3	4
32. I suggest new ways of looking at how to complete assignments	0	1	2	3	4
33. I delay responding to urgent questions	0	1	2	3	4
34. I emphasize the importance of having a collective sense of mission	0	1	2	3	4
35. I express satisfaction when others meet expectations	0	1	2	3	4
36. I express confidence that goals will be achieved	0	1	2	3	4
37. I am effective in meeting others' job-related needs	0	1	2	3	4
38. I use methods of leadership that are satisfying	0	1	2	3	4
39. I get others to do more than they expected to do	0	1	2	3	4
40. I am effective in representing others to higher authority	0	1	2	3	4
41. I work with others in a satisfactory way	0	1	2	3	4
42. I heighten others' desire to succeed	0	1	2	3	4
43. I am effective in meeting organizational requirements	0	1	2	3	4
44. I increase others' willingness to try harder	0	1	2	3	4
45. I lead a group that is effective	0	1	2	3	4

## Questionnaire 10: MLQ Business Leader Form for Bulgarian Participants

МОЛЯ ПОПЪЛНЕТЕ ТОЗИ ВЪПРОСНИК САМО АКО ДЛЪЖНОСТТА ВИ Е СВЪРЗАНА С МЕНИДЖМЪНТ ИЛИ БИЗНЕС ЛИДЕРСТВО.

ПОСОЧЕТЕ НИВОТО НА МЕНИДЖМЪНТ УПРАЖНЯВАНО ОТ ВАС:

ВИСОКО/СРЕДНО

СРЕДНО/НИСКО

### MLQ Multifactor leadership questionnaire- Leader form (5X-Short)

Този въпросник е анонимен и има за цел да разкрие какъв според вас е стилът на вашето ръководство. Преценете в каква степен всяко едно от представените в този въпросник 45 твърдения съвпада с вашите представи за собственото ви ръководство, като използвате приложената по-долу скала. Вашите отговори представете по следния начин: ако даденото твърдение изобщо или **'никога'** не съвпадат с представите ви за собственото ви ръководство, оградете с кръгче нулата ('0'), ако **много рядко** съвпада с вашите представи, оградете с кръгче единицата ('1'), ако даденото твърдение съвпада със собственото ви мнение в средна степен, т .е. **'понякога'**- оградете с кръгче двойката ('2') и т .н. Моля, отговорете на всички въпроси.

### СКАЛА

Никога	Много рядко	Понякога	Много често	Почти винаги	
0	1	2	3	4	
					0 1 2 3 4
1. Помагам когато виждам че се полагат усилия за нещо					0 1 2 3 4
2. Проверявам повторно критичните предложения, за да се убедя дали са уместни					0 1 2 3 4
3. Не съумявам да се намеся в проблемите, докато нещата не станат сериозни					0 1 2 3 4
4. Фокусирам си вниманието върху нередностите, грешките,					0 1 2 3 4

възраженията и отклоненията от стандартите

5. Избягвам да се намесвам тогава когато, възникват значими проблеми	0	1	2	3	4
6. Говоря за моите най важни ценности и разбирания	0	1	2	3	4
7. Отсъствам, като има нужда от мен	0	1	2	3	4
8. Търся различни варианти при разрешаване на проблемите	0	1	2	3	4
9. Говоря оптимистично за бъдещето	0	1	2	3	4
10. Вдъхвам гордост на тези, които работят за мен/ме поддържат	0	1	2	3	4
11. Дискусирам по недвусмислен начин кой е отговорен за изпълнението на поставените задачи	0	1	2	3	4
12. Изчаквам нещата да се влошат и тогава предприемам действия	0	1	2	3	4
13. Говоря с ентузиазъм за това, което трябва да бъде изпълнено	0	1	2	3	4
14. Подчертавам колко е важно да се притежава силен стремеж към успех	0	1	2	3	4
15. Отделям време за обучение и напътствие	0	1	2	3	4
16. Изяснявам какво човек може да очаква да получи, като поставените цели бъдат постигнати	0	1	2	3	4
17. Показвам, че сам твърд привърженик на максимата 'Ако нещо не се е развалило, не се мъчи да го поправиш'	0	1	2	3	4
18. Пренебрегвам личният си интерес за доброто на групата	0	1	2	3	4
19. Отнасям се с привърженици по скоро като с личности, а не само като с членове на групата	0	1	2	3	4
20. Показвам, че проблемите трябва да станат хронични, преди да се предприемат действия	0	1	2	3	4
21. Действам по начин по който карам поддръжниците си да изграждат уважение към мен	0	1	2	3	4
22. Съсредоточавам цялото си внимание върху справянето с грешки, оплаквания и неуспехи	0	1	2	3	4
23. Вземам предвид етичните и морални последици от взетите	0	1	2	3	4

решения

24. Следя зорко за всяка грешка	0	1	2	3	4
25. Демонстрирам власт и самоувереност	0	1	2	3	4
26. Лесно представям завладяващи виждания за бъдещето	0	1	2	3	4
27. Насочвам вниманието им, когато има отклонение от нормите	0	1	2	3	4
28. Избягвам да вземам решения	0	1	2	3	4
29. Смятам поддръжниците си за хора, които имат потребности ,способности и стремежи различни от тези на други	0	1	2	3	4
30. Насърчавам поддръжниците си да разглеждат проблемите от различни гледни точки	0	1	2	3	4
31. Помогам им да развият силните си страни	0	1	2	3	4
32. Предлагам нови гледни точки за начина на изпълнение на възложените задачи	0	1	2	3	4
33. Закъснявам с отговарянето на спешни въпроси	0	1	2	3	4
34. Подчертавам колко е важно наличието на чувство за колективизъм при изпълнението на поставената задача	0	1	2	3	4
35. Изразявам задоволство, когато поддръжниците ми отговарят на съществуващите спрямо тях очаквания	0	1	2	3	4
36. Изразявам увереност, че целите ще бъдат постигнати	0	1	2	3	4
37. Помагам при посрещането на нуждите, свързани с работата	0	1	2	3	4
38. Използвам лидерски похвати, които са удовлетворяващи	0	1	2	3	4
39. Карам ги да вършат повече от това, което възнамеряват да правят	0	1	2	3	4
40. Представям ги по ефективен начин пред по високите равнища в ерархията	0	1	2	3	4
41. Начинът, по който говоря с тях, е удовлетворяващ	0	1	2	3	4
42. Подсилвам желанието им да успяват	0	1	2	3	4
43. Ефективен съм при изпълнението на политически изисквания	0	1	2	3	4
44. Повишавам готовността им да полагат повече усилия	0	1	2	3	4
45. Ръководя една ефективна група	0	1	2	3	4



## APPENDIX FOUR: PERSONAL OVERVIEW

As contemporary research practice often seems to hold that the background of the authors might impact the research and therefore lead to a particular kind of perspective, this section gives a personal overview, which, by some standards, might have led to partialities in the study approach.

I grew up in communist Bulgaria, in a very politically involved family. My father joined the communist party at the age of 18 and was considered one of the youngest members. He became a mayor of an industrial settlement at the age of 24 and held a number of other political roles until the breakdown of communism. Once the regime changed, so did his beliefs. He never parted with some of his socialist principles, but, after developing arguably more objective views, he became reluctant to agree with some of the plans and agendas posed by the Bulgarian Communist Party. In 1992, he became a member of parliament from the left (the Bulgarian Socialist Party), but was the first to publicly leave the Socialist Party and register as an independent and unaffiliated MP. This was followed by a 20-year political career as a famously atypical and highly vocal political personality in Bulgaria; he is still just as active today, and he currently leads the Social/Liberal Democrats.

My father's career affected my life extensively. From a young age, I participated in political rallies, elections and political activities. I was fully surrounded by politicians throughout my life and communicated with adults and children who were politically involved. The practice—during communism and shortly after—was not only to live collectively (in the same building/block) with other politically involved families, but also to spend recreational time with them in holiday settlements aimed to host solely those in political posts. By the time I was 12, my experience of politics was already substantial in comparison to that of 12-year-olds who had not been raised in politically involved families. It was then that I moved to Edinburgh where, together with other politicians' children, I enrolled at Fettes College. I clearly remember Tony Blair (a former Fettesian) winning the elections and visiting the college shortly after. There, I participated in political societies and studied history, which presented me with knowledge about politics that was somewhat different from the knowledge I had gained in Bulgaria.

I subsequently left Fettes and enrolled at Goldsmiths College to read Psychology for my undergraduate degree; I followed this with an MSc course in Occupational Psychology at the same establishment. Both degrees developed my love for social science and research and often allowed me to scientifically challenge the knowledge and experiences I had gained in my

personal life. Exploring the idea of political leadership in terms of psychological theories felt like a natural progression for me, as doing it allowed me to build bridges between my personal life, my love for scientific research and my conflicting views about political leadership, which were born out of my experiences of living in both a stable democratic state (UK) and a state that had departed from its communist customs and embarked on the assimilation of democracy (Bulgaria).

To my benefit, as I started reading the literature in the area of political leadership, it soon became apparent that major gaps were present. Cross-cultural definitions and conceptual frameworks of what a good political leader is, born out of the consensus and collaboration between psychological disciplines, appeared scarce, and the idea of respecting the multileveled nature of leadership was also minimally supported. Embracing old and new theories as well as different methodologies and approaching political leaders in their settings was bound to produce interesting and challenging research results, which, in my eyes, would be well worth reporting and which would no doubt also answer an array of personal and theoretical questions.

## **APPENDIX FIVE: CORRELATIONS/REGRESSIONS ASSESSING THE USE OF MANCOVA**

- Tables 1 and 2: Correlations between personality trait DVs, gender and age for the political leader and follower samples joint together.
- Table 3: Beta coefficients of possible dummy coded covariates (party type/education) for the personality trait DVs of the full sample (i.e. political leaders and followers).
- Table 4 and 5: Correlations between political leader style self-scored DVs, gender and age.
- Tables 6 and 7: Correlations between political leader attributed style DVs, gender and age

Tables 1: Correlations between personality trait DV's and age for the political leader and follower samples joint together.

		Age
Age	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	240
BIG 5- extraversion	Pearson Correlation	-.004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.957
	N	231
BIG 5- agreeableness	Pearson Correlation	.091
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.168
	N	231
BIG 5- conscientiousness	Pearson Correlation	.235**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	231
BIG 5- emotional stability	Pearson Correlation	.182**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006
	N	231
BIG 5- openness to experience	Pearson Correlation	-.088
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.181
	N	231
SYMLOG dimension up	Pearson Correlation	.078
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.236
	N	235
SYMLOG dimension pos	Pearson Correlation	-.029
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.653
	N	235
SYMLOG dimension fwd	Pearson Correlation	.230**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	235

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Tables 2: Correlations between personality trait DV's and gender for the political leader and follower samples joint together

		Gender
Gender	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	234
BIG 5- extraversion	Pearson Correlation	-.065
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.320
	N	234
BIG 5- agreeableness	Pearson Correlation	-.119
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.069
	N	234
BIG 5- conscientiousness	Pearson Correlation	.129*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.049
	N	234
BIG 5- emotional stability	Pearson Correlation	.030
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.651
	N	234
BIG 5- openness to experience	Pearson Correlation	.128*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.050
	N	234
SYMLOG dimension up	Pearson Correlation	.408**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	229
SYMLOG dimension pos	Pearson Correlation	.079
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.231
	N	229
SYMLOG dimension fwd	Pearson Correlation	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.726
	N	229

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 3: Beta Coefficients of possible dummy coded covariates (party type/education) for the personality trait DVs of the full sample (i.e. political leaders and followers).

Predictors	Criterion							
	<i>Extra.</i>	<i>Aggre.</i>	<i>Consc.</i>	<i>Emo.S.</i>	<i>Opp.Ex</i>	<i>Up</i>	<i>Pos</i>	<i>Fwd</i>
	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
Party- Left	.113	.042	.044	.000	-.205*	.051	-.249**	-.079
Party- Right	.166*	-.054	.142	.086	-.242	-.078	-.143	-.041
Party- Centre	.078	-.090	-.058	-.117	-.133	-.019	-.177	-.236**
Education- Secondary	-.154	-.035	.039	-.220*	.216**	-.141	.180*	-.183*
Education- Further	-.124	-.128	-.091	-.496*	.080	-.123	-.056	-.094
Education- Higher	-.098	-.112	.037	-.308*	.133	.043	-.009	-.058
R <sup>2</sup>	.037	.018	.046	.107	.077	.050	.069	-.077
F	1.447	.704	1.84	4.529**	3.173**	2.039	2.856*	3.162**

N.B. \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

Table 4: Correlations between self scored political leader style DVs and age

		Age
Age	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	108
Transformational leadership frequency self-score	Pearson Correlation	.015
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.879
	N	106
Transactional leader frequency self-form	Pearson Correlation	-.095
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.332
	N	106
Passive/Avoidant leadership frequency self score	Pearson Correlation	-.128
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.192
	N	106

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5: Correlations between self scored political leader style DVs and gender

		Gender
Gender	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	108
Transformational leadership frequency self score	Pearson Correlation	0
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.688
	N	106
Transactional leadership frequency self form	Pearson Correlation	.200*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.039
	N	106
Passive/Avoidant leadership frequency self score	Pearson Correlation	0
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.980
	N	106

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6: Correlations between attributed political leader style DVs and age

		Age
Age	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	132
Combined variable- transformational political leader	Pearson Correlation	-.097
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.339
	N	99
combined variable - transactional political leader	Pearson Correlation	-.033
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.747
	N	99
combined variable- passive political leader	Pearson Correlation	-.014
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.891
	N	99
combined variable- transformational organisational leader	Pearson Correlation	-.003
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.979
	N	99
combined variable - transactional organisational leader	Pearson Correlation	.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.815
	N	99
combined variable- passive organisational leader	Pearson Correlation	-.113
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.264
	N	99

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 7: Correlations between attributed political leader style DVs and gender

		Gender
Combined variable- transformational political leader	Pearson Correlation	-.134
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.188
	N	99
combined variable - transactional political leader	Pearson Correlation	-.108
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.285
	N	99
combined variable- passive political leader	Pearson Correlation	.086
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.395
	N	99
combined variable- transformational organisational leader	Pearson Correlation	-.122
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.227
	N	99
combined variable - transactional organisational leader	Pearson Correlation	-.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.291
	N	99
combined variable- passive organisational leader	Pearson Correlation	.157
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.120
	N	99
gender	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	135

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

## **APPENDIX SIX: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE BIG FIVE TIPI AND THE SYMLOG TRAITS**

- Table 1: Correlations between the Big Five TIPI factor and SYMLOG dimension scores for the full sample.
- Table 2: Shared variance between the Big Five TIPI factor and SYMLOG dimension scores for the full sample.

Table 1: Correlations between the Big Five TIPI factor and SYMLOG dimension scores for the full sample

<b>Dependent Variable</b>	<i>Up</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Forward</i>	<i>Extraversion</i>	<i>Agreeableness</i>	<i>Conscientiousness</i>	<i>Emotional stability</i>	<i>Openness to experience</i>
<i>Up</i>	1.00							
<i>Positive</i>	-.051	1.00						
<i>Forward</i>	.117	.223***	1.00					
<i>Extraversion</i>	.408***	.079	.023	1.00				
<i>Agreeableness</i>	-.097	.291***	.175**	-.119	1.00			
<i>Conscientiousness</i>	.036	.080	.282***	.129	.033	1.00		
<i>Emotional Stability</i>	.118	.195**	.103	.030	.202**	.202**	1.00	
<i>Openness to experience</i>	.216***	.100	-.047	.138*	-.047	.038	.122	1.00

Note. \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

Table 47: Shared variance between the Big Five TIPI factor and SYMLOG dimension scores for the full sample

<b>Dependent Variable</b>	<i>Up</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Forward</i>	<i>Extraversion</i>	<i>Agreeableness</i>	<i>Conscientiousness</i>	<i>Emotional stability</i>	<i>Openness to experience</i>
<i>Up</i>	1.00							
<i>Positive</i>	.003	1.00						
<i>Forward</i>	.014	.049	1.00					
<i>Extraversion</i>	.166	.006	.000	1.00				
<i>Agreeableness</i>	.009	.085	.030	.014	1.00			
<i>Conscientiousness</i>	.001	.006	.079	.017	.001	1.00		
<i>Emotional Stability</i>	.014	.038	.010	.000	.041	.041	1.00	
<i>Openness to experience</i>	.047	.010	.002	.019	.002	.001	.015	1.00

Note. \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001