

Leader Power Bases and Organizational Outcomes: The Role of Perceived Organizational Politics^{1*}

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Followers' perceptions of organizational politics have the potential to impact the way they react to the influence of their leaders. The present study of 380 white collars investigated how followers' perceptions of organizational politics moderated the relationships found between the leaders' use of social power, and the followers' contextual performance and job satisfaction. According to the findings, personal power more positively correlates with job satisfaction and contextual performance than positional power. The leaders' use of positional power is associated with lower levels of job satisfaction among followers when they perceive higher levels of organizational politics. Moreover, leaders' use of both positional and personal power is associated with lower levels of contextual performance when followers' perceptions of organizational politics are high.

Keywords: Leader Power Bases, Positional Power, Personal Power, Perceived Organizational Politics, Job Satisfaction, Contextual Performance

JEL Codes: D23, J24, J29, L00, L20

Introduction

Power is a pivotal part of human relations and management (Russell, 1938). Power is closely related with most organizational processes such as management, leadership, decision making, conflict, change, transformation, motivation, knowledge sharing, and satisfaction, and it facilitates a better understanding of them (Cartwright 1959; Hollander 1985). Power in the organizational context is an integral part of leadership which is defined as a bundle of hierarchical relations of power, authority and influence between the trichotomy of boss, employee and job (Faeth, 2004). According to Zaleznik (1998), "Leadership inevitably requires using power to influence the thoughts and actions of others." Management researchers are interested in the managerial exercise of power as it is associated with various important outcomes within the organization (Rahim/Afza 1993). In light of the debates on the individual and organizational consequences of the use of power, organizational behaviour researchers started conducting

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studies on social power strategies. There have been various categorizations of power strategies such as direct/indirect (Offerman/Kearney 1988), strong/weak (Tepper/Brown/Hunt 1993), masculine/feminine (Gruber/White 1986), positional/personal (Yukl/Falbe 1991; Rahim 1988), harsh/soft (Koslowsky/Schwarzwald 2001). Kipnis (1984) identified eight different means of influence in the workplace: assertiveness, ingratiation, rationality, sanctions, exchange, upward appeals, blocking, and coalitions. Some other power strategies include expertise, evasion, threats, persuasion, compromising, helplessness among others (Kipnis/Schmidt/Wilkinson 1980; Keshet/Kark/Pomerantz-Zorin/Koslowsky/Schwarzwald 2006). The most often cited taxonomy of power, that of French and Raven's (1959) comprises of five-components including coercive power, legitimate power, reward power, expert power, and referent power, as well as information power appended later on.

Effective leadership and management require possession and exercise of power and influence to transform personal interests into coordinated efforts to achieve overall organizational goals (Zaleznik/Kets de Vries 1975). The exercise of power leads to different emotions and employee attitudes. Leaders' use of different power bases has been associated with different outcomes (Elias 2008; Randolph/Kemery 2011). Given the same leader and similar circumstances, it is highly likely that different people will perceive different leadership styles and hence nurture different attitudes and emotions based on, inter alia, latent mental structures and cognitive schemas, psychosocial factors and various other criteria (Eden/Leviatan 1975; Chemers 1997; Werth/Markel/Förster 2006). Researchers note that there is a gap in the power literature on how followers' perceptions of their leaders' power lead to particular outcomes and which interaction effects may better explain important outcomes (Podsakoff/Schriesheim 1985; Farmer/Aguinis 2005). Podsakoff and Schriesheim (1985) suggested that the individual contributions of different bases of power to employee outcome variables should be examined. According to Padilla (2013), leadership is affected by followers' perceptions and other contextual variables that help shape their perceptions. Reiley and Jacobs (2016) argue that positive or negative outcomes of a leader's use of power is influenced by the preference and perspectives of people involved in the influence process. According to Mossholder, Bennis, Kemery and Wesolowski (1998:534) "subordinates will form evaluative perceptions regarding the behavior exhibited by a power holder. These perceptions likely then become a critical factor in determining subordinates' subsequent reactions". From this perspective, leadership researchers have pointed to the need for a more thorough investigation of how followers' perceptions of their environment interact with their leaders' social power to influence outcomes (Barbuto 2000; Avolio 2007; Padilla 2013). In this context, the purpose of this study is to investigate the differential effects of leader power bases on organizational outcomes of contextual performance and satisfaction with the job. This study also problematizes

the role of organizational politics in this process. Organizational politics have been found to negatively correlate with positive organizational outcomes (Meisler/Vigoda-Gadot 2014), and employees' attitudes are contended to be adversely affected when they perceive above-average politicking in their environment. In line with the previous research (Ferris/Kacmar 1992; Vigoda 1999; Vigoda 2000; Parry 2003), we expect perceptions of organizational politics to interact with followers' perceptions of their leaders' use of power in a way to reduce the level of positive correlations between leader power bases and job satisfaction, as well as between leader power bases and contextual performance. The buffering effect of organizational politics in the positive relations between leaders' power bases and contextual performance as well as between leaders' power bases and job satisfaction is empirically tested on a sample of white collars.

Theoretical Framework and Relationships between Research Variables

Organizational power research is dominated by a conceptual framework called social power theory, the foundations of which were laid by French and Raven (1959) and further developed by Raven and colleagues (Raven 1992; Raven 1993; Raven/Schwarzswald/Koslowsky 1998; Raven 1999; Koslowsky/Schwarzswald/Ashuri 2001; Raven 2001; Pierro/Cicero/Raven 2008; Pierro/Kruglanski/Raven 2012). Power has different origins. According to Raven (1965), there are six bases of power that could be used to persuade a target to comply: coercive power, reward power, legitimate power, expert power, referent power, and informational power. Reward power is associated with the use or offering of various resources in compensation for compliance with the superior's request. Coercive power occurs when there is a threat of punishment for non-compliance. Legitimate power stems from the position that comes with rights and privileges to demand compliance. Expert power results from superior knowledge in one's field of expertise that evokes both respect and compliance. Referent power is about the magical word "charisma" that leads to higher levels of identification with the superior and an accompanying compliance. Finally, information power refers to the power of rational explanation as to why compliance is required (Raven 1992). In view of the criticisms directed towards this preliminary social power model and calls for further development, subsequent scholars advanced the research on leader power bases by integrating yet other bases of power (Raven 1965; Kipnis et al. 1980; Bass 1981; Kipnis 1984; Yukl/Tracey, 1992; Raven et al. 1998; Koslowsky et al. 2001; Schwarzswald/Koslowsky 2001; Elias 2008; Pierro et al. 2008; Pierro et al. 2012). Raven's (1992; 1993; 2001; 2008) interpersonal power interaction model (IPIM) or interpersonal power inventory distinguished the previously described six bases of power into fourteen different bases of power. Specifically, reward and coercive

power were differentiated into personal and impersonal reward and coercive power bases. Legitimate power was differentiated into four categories: legitimacy of position, legitimacy of reciprocity, legitimacy of equity, and legitimacy of dependence. Expert power, referent power and information power were differentiated as positive and negative expertise, positive and negative reference, and direct and indirect information power (Table 1). The initial conceptualization of reward and coercive power was based on the idea that a supervisor has access to and could manipulate resources and situations such as pay rises or layoffs. The missing link here is the contention that a supervisor's sanctions could actually be perceived as forms of reward by the subordinate. Conversely, supervisory disapproval could act as a form of coercive power. Legitimate power has initially been conceptualized as the power of the position that gives the position-holder the right to ask for compliance. Yet, there are subtle differences between the positional right to ask for compliance (position), asking for compliance in exchange for something previously offered to the target (reciprocity), the quality or the weight of the current request in comparison to the previous favour (equity), and the social norm that makes us feel obliged to help those who depend on us, i.e. by letting subordinates know that the work could not be properly completed without their valuable contributions (dependence). Further, having expert or referent power does not, per se, guarantee subordinate compliance as superiors might manipulate them (i.e. negative expert or negative referent power) to drive personal benefits. Finally, Raven (1992) concluded upon his examination of the gender differences regarding the use of informational power that it could be in the form of direct confrontation (direct informational power) or indirect implications and hinting (indirect informational power). This finer differentiation of power bases enabled a more precise investigation of power. However, subsequent research demonstrates that interpersonal power interaction model can be characterized as harsh and soft as well as personal and positional categories (Pierro et al. 2008; Pierro et al. 2012). Elias (2007) and Mittal and Elias (2016) noted that almost all studies into social power bases utilized an underlying structure that could be categorized as castigatory (harsh, positional) or constructive (soft, personal). Researchers classified legitimate, reward, and coercive powers as positional powers whereas referent and expert powers were categorized as personal powers (Etzioni 1975; Bass 1981). This categorization has further been supported by Rahim's (1988) and Yukl and Falbe's (1991) studies. Different types of power can be grouped into positional-personal power categories based on the degree to which these types of power derive from the status of the agent in an organization, and the degree to which they derive from the attributes of the agent himself/herself.

Table 1. Leader power bases

6 Power Bases	11 Power Bases	Harsh/Soft	Positional/Personal
Reward power	Personal reward Impersonal reward	Soft Harsh	Positional
Coercive power	Personal coercive Impersonal coercive	Harsh Harsh	
Legitimate power	Legitimacy of position Legitimacy of reciprocity Legitimacy of equity Legitimacy of dependence	Soft Harsh Harsh Soft	
Expertise power	Expertise power	Soft	Personal
Reference power	Referent	Soft	
Information power	Information power	Soft	

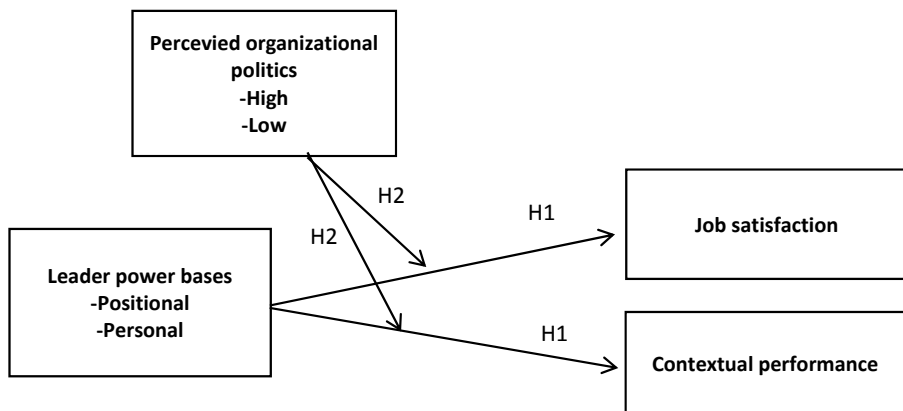
A survey of the literature on leader power bases reveals that effective use of power is a key competence for practitioners and a critical subject for theorists given that different power bases are associated with various organizational outcomes (Zigarmi/Roberts/Randolph 2015). Personal power bases have generally been found to positively correlate with organizational commitment, job satisfaction, empowerment, organizational citizenship, intention to stay with the organization, productivity, performance and higher levels of self-confidence whereas positional power bases have been associated with relatively higher levels of burnout, absenteeism, and diminished performance, productivity and self-confidence (Podsakoff/Schriesheim 1985; Elias 2008; Randolph/Kemery 2011). Research on leader power bases within the framework of social role theory (Eagly 1987) and characteristics of societal culture (Mittal/Elias 2016) suggests that personal power bases incorporate traditionally feminine attitudes such as kindness, helping, sensitivity, and politeness, and the use of personal power bases are expected to be more common in feminine cultures and it is compatible with transformational leadership style. Positional power bases incorporate traditionally masculine attitudes such as independence, competition, control and ambition, and these latter are more prevalent in masculine cultures and highly compatible with transformational leadership style (Eagly/Karau 2002; Schwarzwald/Koslowsky/Bernstein 2013). Mittal and Elias (2016) pointed to the absence of culture in the power interaction model by noting that the mere availability of a base of power at a leader's disposal does not necessarily justify its activation as there should be a "shared normative reality" between the influencing actor and the influenced target to guarantee acceptability and compliance. Culture and various dimensions of it determine the degree of effectiveness of leaders and leadership processes because leadership has different connotations, and expectations from and portrayals of leaders vary across different cultural contexts (Mittal/

Elias 2016). To exemplify, power distance dimension of culture, which is about the extent to which the members of a society accede to inequalities among people, is an important factor for the choice of power bases. Researchers proposed that leaders' use of positional power bases is more likely and acceptable in a high power distance culture as not only leaders are in greater need for power but also followers find this category of power to be appropriate:

Harsh power bases are expected to be chosen for influencing subordinates in cultures that are tight, short-term oriented and high in power distance and uncertainty avoidance. For example, Turkey and South Korea are very tight cultures, and high in power distance and uncertainty avoidance. We would therefore expect that use of harsh power bases would be more prevalent and effective in these societies. (Mittal/Elias 2016:69)

Assuming that societal culture will be influential on leaders' choice and activation of various power bases and given that Turkey is a relatively high power distance (positional power) and high uncertainty avoidance (positional power), collectivistic (personal power) and feminine (personal power) country, it offers a favourable platform for the concurrent emergence and acceptance of both personal and positional power bases (Hofstede 1980; Mittal/Elias 2016; <https://geert-hofstede.com/turkey.html>). In this context, this study attempts to capture the most frequently used power bases as perceived by employees and the subsequent effects on various organizational outcomes.

Figure 1. Research model



Job satisfaction is defined as an emotional state of contentment and having positive feelings towards one's job, an evaluative judgement based on a comparison between individuals' expectations and job-related outcomes, and a concept denoting psychological health and well-being (Akşit Aşık 2010). According to commonly accepted view, job satisfaction is about how contented an individual is regarding internal factors such as individual need for achievement, access to resources for personal development, meaningfulness for the individual, identifi-

cation, and autonomy as well as regarding external factors such as physical facilities, promotion opportunities, interactions with supervisors and peers, and company policies (Hackman/Oldham 1975). Positive feelings towards one's job where individuals spend most of their times are associated with positive organizational outcomes such as higher levels of commitment, productivity, attendance, and performance (George/Bettenhausen 1990; Cropanzano/James/Konovsky, 1993). According to Vince (2014), power is an integral part of organizations and interpersonal relationships, and as such power relations and emotions are highly connected. This connectedness renders research on the relationship between employees' perceptions of power and their affective responses such as job satisfaction highly crucial. Studies on the relationship between leader power and job satisfaction indicated that expert and referent power bases have been found to positively correlate with job satisfaction whereas coercive power has negatively or less positively correlated with employee satisfaction (Bachman 1968; Burke/Wilcox 1971; Etzioni 1975; Elangoven/Xie 1999; Afza 2005). These studies resulted in inconsistent findings between legitimate and reward power, and job satisfaction. Rahim (1989) found personal power bases to be positively associated with satisfaction with supervision. In a study on a sample of Korean managers, Kim, Rahim and Kim (1991) found subordinate compliance and satisfaction to be significantly associated with the exercise of legitimate, referent and reward powers. In a later study, Rahim and Afza (1993) found referent power to be positively correlated with satisfaction with supervision while referent and expert power bases were found to be positively associated with organizational commitment and attitudinal compliance. Hinkin and Schriesheim (1989; 1990) reported a negative correlation between coercive power and satisfaction, and positive correlations with all the other four power bases. Mossholder et al. (1998) found expert and referent power to be positively correlated with job satisfaction. Koh and Low's (1997) study found significantly positive correlations between expert power and legitimate power and compliance behaviour. They also found expert and referent power to be positively and legitimate power to be negatively associated with subordinate satisfaction. Zigarmi and colleagues' (2015) study indicated that expert, referent and reward power (albeit only a small effect for reward power) tended to lead to positive affect whereas legitimate power was negatively associated with positive affect. Higher feelings of positive affect in turn led to more positive intentions toward the organization. Carson, Carson and Roe's (1993) meta-analytical study found strongly positive correlations between expert and referent power and satisfaction with supervision, and weakly positive correlations between legitimate and reward power and satisfaction with supervision. Coercive power had strongly negative correlations with satisfaction with supervision. Accordingly, both personal power bases and positional power bases are expected to be positively correlated with job satisfac-

tion, although more positive correlations are expected to emerge with personal power bases than positional power bases.

Contextual performance refers to individuals' discretionary behaviours and voluntary contributions to the well-being of their organization beyond the technical role requirements written in job descriptions and which enhances the psychological core of the organization for more effective goal attainment (Borman/Motowidlo 1993; Motowidlo/Borman/Schmit 1997). Individuals with high contextual performance assume extra responsibilities in addition to their formal tasks, take initiative, work in cooperation with others, engage in helping behaviour and work for extra hours, safeguard others' interests in the organization and thus positively contribute to the overall organizational effectiveness (Borman/Motowidlo 1997). Leadership and performance relationship has received considerable scholarly attention. Researchers found consistently more positive associations between transformational leadership (a correlate of personal power) and organizational performance than between transactional leadership (a correlate of positional power) and organizational performance (Vigoda-Gadot 2007). Previous research indicated positive correlations between personal power bases (i.e. expert and referent) and employee discretionary effort, higher levels of performance, endorsement of the organization, higher levels of organizational citizenship behaviour and lower intentions to turnover, and negative correlations between positional power bases (i.e. coercive) and intent to endorse the organization, and intent to stay with the organization (Zigarmi et al. 2015). However, there are non-significant relationships between coercive and legitimate power and intention to use discretionary effort and organizational citizenship behaviour. Vigoda-Gadot (2007) investigated the relationship between leadership style, conceptualized as transformational and transactional leadership styles and organizational performance (both in-role and extra-role), and found positive correlations between transformational leadership style and both types of performance. However, a negative relationship was found between transactional leadership style and both in-role performance and organizational citizenship behaviour. Pillai, Schriesheim and Williams (1999) found organizational citizenship behaviour to be significantly associated with transformational leadership style. In this context, we expect contextual performance to be positively associated with both personal and positional power bases, although more positive correlations are expected with personal power than positional power bases:

Hypothesis 1: There are positive correlations between leaders' personal and positional power bases and job satisfaction, as well as between leaders' personal and positional power bases and contextual performance.

Organizational politics is conceptualized as a set of attitudes and influence tactics undertaken to protect personal interests within the organization (Vigoda-Gadot/Talmud 2010). According to Ferris and Kacmar (1992), politics is strategically designed behaviour to maximize self-interests in the short-run or long-run at the expense of others in the organization or contrary to the benefits of the entire organization itself. Pfeffer (1981:5) conceptualizes organizational politics as “those activities carried out by people to acquire, enhance, and use power and other resources to obtain their preferred outcomes in a situation where there is uncertainty or disagreement”. Organizational politics usually refers to a dysfunctional and non-legal action, manipulation and coercion, which endangers the configuration and functionality of organizational ecosystems (Ferris/Frink/Galang/Zhou/Kacmar/Howard 1996; Kacmar/Baron 1999; Vigoda-Gadot 2003). According to the widely used model of perceived organizational politics, political perceptions are based on individuals' subjective evaluations and judgments on the extent to which an organization is perceived as fair, equitable and egalitarian (Vigoda/Cohen 2002). According to the perceived organizational politics model developed by Ferris, Russ and Fandt (1989) job environment and personal variables are reported as antecedents of political perceptions, and organizational outcomes such as job commitment, job satisfaction, anxiety, turnover and absenteeism are among the consequences/outcomes of political perceptions. Moreover, previous research indicated that organizational politics is a significant antecedent of employees' formal and informal performance (Vigoda-Gadot 2007). Strong organizational politics may damage organizational performance by promoting negative employee attitudes such as lower levels of satisfaction or trust (Ferris/Kacmar 1992); by triggering negative employee behaviours such as absenteeism and tardiness (Vigoda-Gadot 2003), and by undermining the psychosocial core of the organization and increasing self-interested pursuits. Employees in organizations with high levels of perceived organizational politics score low on ratings of organizational commitment, perceived organizational justice and performance (Witt/Kacmar/Carlson/Zivnusk 2002; Ayhan/Gürbüz, 2013) and perceptions of organizational politics have been found to negatively correlate with job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and positively correlate with burnout, intention to leave the organization and negligent behaviour (Ferris et al. 1996; Cropanzano/Howes/Grandey/Toth 1997; Vigoda 2000; Miller/Rutherford/Kolodinsky 2008; Chang/ Rosen/Levy 2009; Meisler/Vigoda-Gadot 2014).

Leader's perceived power bases, the affective state caused by leader's activation of various power bases and the reflections on employee attitudes do not exist and occur independently of individual and holistic effects of political perceptions that shape and characterize an organization's climate, culture and informal structures. There are studies in the literature on the relationships between leadership styles and organizational outcomes with a view to the effects of contextual circumstances. Ferris and Rowland (1981) argued that leader behaviour affects employee perceptions about the job and those perceptions shape attitudes towards job and performance. In a similar vein, Avolio and Bass (1991) suggested that a transformational leadership style helps diminish perceptions of organizational politics by creating a specific vision, decreasing uncertainties, and promoting a positive organizational climate. A transactional leadership style consisting of reward-penalty systems, interest-based relationships and advanced negotiation skills is, on the other hand, purported to facilitate the development of perceptions of organizational politics (Vigoda-Gadot 2007). Empirical evidence suggests that perceptions of organizational politics negatively affect employees' attitudes towards their organization and job such as lower levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Başar/Basım 2015); sets the stage for deviant and organizationally undesirable behaviour such as knowledge hiding, tardiness, absenteeism and intention to leave (Vigoda-Gadot 2007); minimizes social cohesion, and decreases in-role and extra-role performance (Witt et al. 2002; Parry 2003). Reiley and Jacobs (2016) noted that their review of the power literature resulted in a limited number of studies investigating the moderating variables that affected the outcomes associated with French and Raven's (1959) power taxonomy. Their study investigated the moderating role of leaders' ethics in the relationship between power bases and organizational citizenship behaviour whereas another study by Elangoven and Xie (1999) investigated the role of subordinates' self-esteem and perceived locus of control in the relationship between leaders' use of power and subordinates' levels of stress and motivation. As they remarked, little attention has been paid to the factors that moderate the relationships between leaders' use of power and followers' contextual performance as well as job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 2: Perceived organizational politics moderate the relationships between leader power bases and JS and CP such that the degree of correlation between leader power bases and job attitudes is reduced when perceived organizational politics is high.

Method

Participants and Procedure

The study group is comprised of white collar workers of various companies operating in manufacturing sector (automobile, electrical home appliances, white

goods, packaging, and construction materials) within Manisa Province Organized Industrial Zone. By 2017, a total of 45,730 employees including blue collars, white collars, top executives, managers, temporary employees, and interns among others work in Manisa Industrial Organized Zone. The data collection process started by contacting the human resources manager of a company operating in automobile supply industry and continued by snowball sampling. Snowball or chain referral sampling is a purposive technique used when it is difficult to identify useful informants where they are not easily accessible or where informant anonymity and confidentiality are desirable (Daymon/Holloway 2011: 215). Employees in private sector organizations are a difficult sample to reach considering time and performance pressures in a highly competitive environment. The sample population in this study was only accessible through a reference person that provided positive feedback about our study to the next company. Upon the confirmation by the responsible person in the next company, an appointment was set to meet more informants. This way, a total of 500 forms were handed out, and 420 forms were collected, as some employees refused or forgot to fill in the questionnaires. The elimination of the forms with missing data and removal of case-wise outliers based on a computation of the squared Mahalanobis distance resulted in a total of 380 complete forms, yielding a 76% response rate. 180 participants are women, and 200 are men. The average age is 35,2 ($SD = 2,90$) and average experience is 8,1 years ($SD = 1,90$). 25 participants have a post-graduate degree (M.A. or PhD), 201 participants have a graduate degree, 96 participants have a college degree and 58 participants have a high school degree. According to the responses to “your immediate supervisor’s level of management”, 286 participants work with a medium-level manager, 57 participants work with a top-level manager, and 37 participants work with a line manager. 291 participants work with a man-manager, and 89 participants work with a woman-manager. Within the context of previous literature that points to a potential masculinity of leadership and the subsequent effects on leader power bases in terms of choice and perception, we asked respondents if they would state a particular preference for a male or female supervisor, and 153 respondents stated they would like to work with a man, 98 stated they would like to work with a woman, and 129 participants stated being indifferent.

Traditional paper and pencil self-administration questionnaires were delivered to a responsible person (usually an authority from the human resources management department of each company) in each company. They were informed that the survey was part of a scientific research conducted by a team of academic researchers, and that the participants were not required to provide any personal information, and their responses would be kept absolutely confidential and not be shared with any third parties.

Analyses

The proposed theoretical models were evaluated through the most commonly used relative and absolute fit indices based on maximum likelihood robust estimation. Kline (2010) recommends the use of chi-squared test, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), the comparative fit index (CFI), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) in evaluating the fitness of measures. In line with this approach, χ^2/df (chi square divided by degrees of freedom), RMSEA, CFI, SRMR, GFI (Goodness of fit index), and TLI (Tucker-Lewis index) values have been calculated to confirm the model fit. A value equal to or greater than 0,90 is considered adequate for CFI, GFI and TLI (Byrne 2010) and values ranging from 0,90 to 0,95 are considered as acceptable whereas a value above 0,95 is indicative of a superior fit. For RMSEA, a value less than and equal to 0,05 indicates good fit, values up to 0,08 indicate reasonable fit, and those greater than 0,10 represent poor fit. Finally, the recommended a cut-off value for SRMR is 0,08 (Hu/Bentler 1998). A chi-square value less than 2 indicates perfect fit whereas a value up to 5 indicates acceptable fit (Klein 2010).

For preliminary analyses, descriptive statistics (percentages, mean scores, standard deviations) were considered. To conduct comparative analyses on quantitative data, independent sample *t*-test, and one way Anova with Tukey's post-hoc tests were conducted. The correlations were tested through Pearson correlation coefficients, and the moderation analysis was performed through moderated hierarchical regression analysis following Aiken and West (1991).

Measures

Leader power bases. Participants' perceptions of their leaders' power bases were measured by 33-item Interpersonal Power Inventory developed by Raven et al. (1998). The adaptation of the scale into Turkish was conducted by Meydan (2010) within a two-factorial structure ($\chi^2/sd=2,09$, RMSEA=0,07, CFI=0,88, IFI=0,85, GFI=0,88).

Perceived organizational politics. Perceptions of Organizational Politics Scale (POPS) was developed by Kacmar and Ferris (1991) as a 40-item tool and a short version of it was created by Kacmar and Carlson (1994). The more parsimonious set of 12 items were used in this study.

Contextual performance. 8-item and one-factor contextual performance scale developed by Jawahar and Carr (2007) was utilized.

Job satisfaction. Job satisfaction was operationalized by the 3-item subscale of Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire developed by Cammann, Fichman, Jenkis and Klesh (1979, as cited in Bowling/Hammond 2008). All re-

sponses were provided on a 5-point Likert scale (1-Totally agree, 5-Totally disagree).

Results

There were no variables more than three standard deviations from the mean (Byrne 2010), and the leader power bases (skewness= 0,90, and kurtosis=1,20), job satisfaction (skewness= 1,50, and kurtosis= 0,70), contextual performance (skewness= 1,00, kurtosis= 1,05) and perceived organizational politics (skewness= 1,85, and kurtosis= 0,90) scales conformed relatively well to the normal distribution. According to Nunnally (1978), a threshold Cronbach's alpha value of 0,70 implies modest reliability, and a value greater than and equal to 0,90 implies excellent reliability whereas a value between 0,80 and 0,90 implies a good internal consistency. Specifically, the estimated internal consistency reliabilities are 0,85 and 0,89 for personal and positional power sub-scales, and 0,90 for the overall Interpersonal Power Inventory. The estimated internal consistency reliabilities for Contextual Performance and Job Satisfaction scales are 0,90 and 0,94 respectively. The estimated internal reliability for Perceived Organizational Scales is 0,90. Confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to test whether the data of the present study fit predicted factorial structures. The criterion adopted for identifying the factorial structures involved loadings equal to and greater than 0,30 with no cross-loadings. Five items were removed from the Interpersonal Power Inventory due to low factor loadings. The goodness of fit statistics for the 28-item Interpersonal Power Inventory model (RMSEA=0,05; $\chi^2/df=1,89$; CFI=0,93; AGFI=0,89) were within acceptable ranges with standardized regression weights ranging from 0,55 to 0,87 ($p < 0,001$). The goodness of fit statistics for the Perceived Organizational Politics are as follows; $\chi^2/df=1,89$, RMSEA=0,05, CFI=0,98, AGFI=0,94. Current data showed good fit to the theoretical model with standardized regression weights ranging from 0,77 to 0,91 ($p < 0,001$). The fit indices for the factorial structure of the Contextual Performance scale are $\chi^2/df=1,73$, RMSEA=0,06, CFI=0,95, AGFI=0,95 with standardized regression weights ranging from 0,50 to 0,89 ($p < 0,001$).

Means, standard deviations and correlations between the variables in this study are reported in Table 2. According to the scale mean scores, participants perceive relatively high levels of positional power ($M = 3,52$, $SD = 0,54$), personal power ($M = 3,65$, $SD = 0,64$), experience relatively high job satisfaction ($M = 3,60$, $SD = 0,56$) and contextual performance ($M = 3,77$, $SD = 0,70$), and they perceive their organization to be moderately political ($M = 2,60$, $SD = 0,84$). Leaders' positional power and personal power are found to be positively correlated with job satisfaction. Leaders' positional power and personal power are also found to be positively correlated with contextual performance. There is a significantly positive correlation between positional power and perceived organizational politics, and a significantly negative correlation between personal

power and perceived organizational politics. Perceived organizational politics negatively correlates with job satisfaction and contextual performance as well.

Table 2. Correlations between research variables

Variables (N=380)	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Positional power	3,52	,545				
2. Personal power	3,65	,641	,346**			
3. Job satisfaction (JS)	3,60	,560	,230**	,335**		
4. Contextual performance (CP)	3,77	,700	,321**	,440**	,554***	
5. Perceived organizational politics	2,60	,840	,312**	-,212**	-,380**	-,250**

* $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$, *** $p < 0,001$

To determine if followers' perceived organizational politics, power use, and contextual performance and job satisfaction varied as a function of age, gender, education, experience and leader gender, simple t tests and Anova with Tukey post-hoc tests were performed. Results revealed no significant differences based on age, education, experience and leader gender. However, female followers reported significantly higher perceptions of leaders' positional power than male followers.

Table 3. Moderated hierarchical regression analysis

Predictors	Job Satisfaction			Contextual performance		
	Step1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Age	0,012	-0,008	0,013	0,348	0,312	0,325
Gender	0,061	0,086	0,071*	-0,045	-0,019	-0,030*
Education	0,052	0,128	0,169	-0,041	0,018	0,048
Managerial position	-0,135	-0,134	-0,104	-0,087	-0,104	-0,083
Leader gender	-0,015	-0,083	-0,082	0,022	-0,042	-0,041
Preference for leader gender	0,015	0,044	0,061	-0,020	0,051	0,063
Experience	0,104	0,152	0,114	-0,365	-0,276	-0,301
Personal power		0,092*	0,216*		0,075*	0,340*
Positional power		0,358**	0,417**		0,387**	0,550**
POPS		-0,402**	-0,451**		-0,265*	-0,297**
Per*POPS			0,121			0,118*
Pos*POPS			0,294*			0,340**
Adj. R ²	0,002	0,260	0,303	0,032	0,223	0,236
ΔR^2	0,040	0,264**	0,049*	0,071	0,197**	0,021*

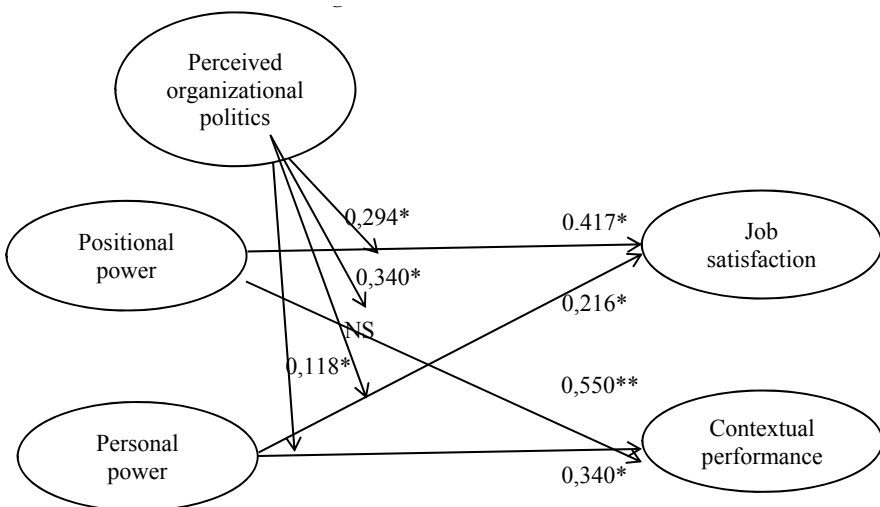
*N=380. Tabled values represent standardized beta coefficients. POPS: perceived organizational politics. Per*POPS: interaction term created by multiplying personal power bases by perceived*

organizational politics. Pos*POPS: interaction term created by multiplying positional power bases by perceived organizational politics. Adj. R^2 : Adjusted r-square.

* $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$

In order to test the second hypothesis of the study on the moderating role of perceived organizational politics, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with job satisfaction and contextual performance as dependent variables and leader's positional and personal power bases as independent variables. Interaction terms were created by multiplying standardized mean scores for leader's personal and positional power bases with perceived organizational politics. In the first step of the analysis, control variables were entered. In the second step, leader's power bases were regressed on job satisfaction and contextual performance. In the third step, interaction terms were entered into the regression models, and significance levels and variations in adjusted R-square values were analysed. Following Aiken and West (1991), all independent variables were centred around zero by subtracting their mean from the value of the original variable so that it has a mean of zero. According to Dawson (2014:12), "*Mean-centering the variables will ensure that the (unstandardized) regression coefficients of the main effects can be interpreted directly in terms of the original variables*". Centering impacts the estimation and significance of the other terms in the model and hedges against the effects of extreme collinearity. Predictor and moderator variables were thus multiplied to create interaction terms.

Figure 2. Moderation effects



NS: Not significant, * $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$

The first regression model where job satisfaction is the dependent, and leader's personal power and perceived organizational politics are the independent variables along with the control variables has a 26% explanatory power, and the introduction of the interaction term Per*POPs reduces the effect size, albeit insignificantly. Despite the negative correlation between job satisfaction and perceived organizational politics, the power and the direction of the relationship between leader's personal power and job satisfaction is not significantly reduced by the introduction of the interaction term. The second regression model where job satisfaction is the dependent, and the leader's positional power and perceived organizational politics are the independent variables has a 31% explanatory power, and the introduction of the interaction term Pos*POPs significantly reduces the effect size. The explanatory power of the model increases to a 36%. The third regression model where contextual performance is the dependent, and the leader's personal power and perceived organizational politics are the independent variables has a 16% explanatory power, and the introduction of the interaction term Per*POPs significantly reduces the effect size. The explanatory power of the model increases to a 19%. Finally, in the fourth regression model where contextual performance is the dependent, and the leader's positional power and perceived organizational politics are the independent variables has a 33% explanatory power, and the introduction of the interaction term Pos*POPs significantly reduces the effect size. Figure 2 illustrates the results of these hypotheses tests.

General Discussion

Power is a core component of the vertical, horizontal, and diagonal relationships within organizations. Leaders inevitably exercise power to direct organizational members towards goal accomplishments. Organizations are highly political settings and managerial power leads to various outcomes depending on the contextual circumstances, personalities of the people, culture, climate, and other factors in an organization. In this context, this study attempted to reveal the leader power bases available in the toolbox of a sample of managers as perceived by employees; to determine the relationships between those power bases and outcomes of job satisfaction and contextual performance; and to determine the extent to which the level of these relationship could be affected by perceived organizational politics.

The participants reported higher perceptions of personal power than positional power from their leaders. They also reported experiencing relatively high levels of job satisfaction and contextual performance. Participants perceive moderate levels of organizational politics. Both bases of power -personal and positional- are perceived relatively high. The data thus reveal that in the repertoire of the private sector managers, various bases of power exist simultaneously (coercive, legitimate, reward, referent, information, expert and in-betweens). According to

the findings of the correlation analysis, there is a simultaneous increase in job satisfaction and contextual performance levels along with perceptions of leaders' positional and personal power bases. Based on this finding, our first hypothesis which proposed that there are positive correlations between leaders' positional power and job satisfaction and contextual performance as well as between leaders' personal power and job satisfaction and contextual performance is confirmed. Moreover, leaders' personal power bases are found to be more positively correlated with job satisfaction and contextual performance than leaders' positional power bases. Leaders' positional power bases usually correlate with relatively less positive or negative outcomes than leaders' personal power bases, and these former are associated with transactional leadership style, an allegedly outdated style of leading that is considered to be less effective in achieving desired ends (Vigoda-Gadot 2007; Elias 2008; Mittal/Elias 2016). In studies utilizing Multifactor Leadership Scale, consistently more positive relationships between transformational leadership style and organizational performance are reported than between transactional leadership style and performance (Bass/Avolio 1993). Research on effective leadership styles supports the comparatively more positive effects of transformational leadership style on employees' attitudes towards their job and environment as well as their job performance (Avolio/Bass 1991). Avolio and Bass (1991) claimed that effective leaders should be able to practice a combination of low levels of laissez faire leadership, moderate levels of transactional leadership, and high levels of transformational leadership, and thus they might be able to influence their followers for not only goal accomplishments but also for engaging in discretionary extra-role behaviours. It is also commonly accepted in the literature that transformational leadership style promotes extra role behaviours beyond creating a compliant workforce by making employees identify with the leader (Wang/Law/Hackett/Wang/Chen 2005). Additionally, transformational leadership style contributes to employees' formal and informal performance through its effects on various organizational variables such as leader-member exchange, and perceptions of justice. Overall, previous research found expert and referent power bases (personal power) to be consistently positively correlated with performance (Rahim/Afza 1993) whereas coercive power has been associated with less intention to comply with supervisory wishes. Similarly, the use of soft (personal) power bases is associated with a more democratic, innovative and flexible culture and effective leadership (Pierro et al. 2012). Pierro, Raven, Amato and Bélanger's (2013) study on the relationship between leadership style and organizational commitment shows that transformational leadership style increases organizational commitment through its effect on the willingness to comply with soft power bases.

The findings of our study are somehow contrary to the common literature such that positional power bases are found to be positively correlated with job satisfaction and contextual performance, albeit less so than personal power bases. At

this point, we argue that the participants of the current study are better able to accept and approve of positional power bases due to the characteristics of the societal culture, particularly the high power distance dimension of the national culture. Based on our findings, we suggest that legitimate, coercive and reward power bases continue to be well-admitted and effective tools of management and performance evaluation in Turkish-type business organizations (Sargut 2015). In their study on leader power bases in a cultural context, Meydan and Polat (2011) identified the Turkish proverbs that emphasized the use of power by leaders and categorized them in terms of the corresponding leader power bases, as conceptualized by French and Raven (1959). According to the findings of their analyses, Turkish proverbs imply the use of legitimate power (42,71%) more than all the other bases of leader power. The researchers attributed their findings to the high power-distance facet of the Turkish culture (Hofstede 1980; Sargut 2015).

According to contemporary leadership literature, leadership is defined as a set of behaviours that provide people with a goal, meaning and guidance by creating a collective vision that addresses the ideological values, motives and self-perceptions of the followers (House/ Aditya 1997). This definition prioritizes the free will over the use of coercive power. Yet, cross-cultural differences in definitions of leadership and expectations from leaders still exist and are undeniably powerful. Our study shows that positional power bases are perceived at relatively high levels and these perceptions are positively correlated with job satisfaction and contextual performance. The use of positional power bases effectively contributes to some employee outcomes without generating negative reactions.

Female followers reported significantly higher perceptions of leaders' positional power than male followers. Positional or harsh power is traditionally male sex-typed and associated with a masculine leadership style (Eagly/Karau/Makhijani 1995). Whereas almost half of the respondents are women, only one fourth of them work with a female superior. This gender composition imbalance might create a gender effect on female subordinates such that their perceptions of more positional power (which is associated with male gender) gets heightened and because of the role congruity between male gender roles and leadership roles, they might perceive higher levels of male-typed leadership (Eagly/Johnson 1990).

Vigoda (2000) and Vigoda-Gadot (2003) found in their studies perceived organizational politics to be more common in public sector than in private sector, which is compatible with the findings of our study. Perceived organizational politics negatively correlated with job satisfaction, consistently with the previous literature (Chang et al. 2009; Miller et al. 2008; Valle/Witt 2001; Cropanzano et al. 1997). There are many studies in the relevant literature on the negatively robust relationships between perceived organizational politics and particularly job satisfaction and commitment, as well as on the positive relationships between perceived organizational politics and job stress, and intention to leave (Ferris et

al. 1996; Randall/Cropanzano/Borman/Birjulin 1999; Kacmar/Bozeman/Carlson/Anthony 1999; Vigoda 2000; Valle/Perrewé 2000; Miller et al. 2008). There is an abundant literature on the direct effects of perceived organizational politics on various organizational outcomes, and there is a lack of literature on the indirect consequences where perceived organizational politics mediate or moderate the hypothesized relationships. Our study addresses this gap particularly in the leader power literature where there are no studies, to our knowledge, investigating the moderating role of perceptions of organizational outcomes in the context of leaders' bases of power and subsequent effects on contextual performance and job satisfaction. The studies that treat organizational politics and leadership as antecedents of employee performance point to a need for theoretical frameworks where leadership, politics and performance are integrated in a holistic model (Valle/Perrewé 2000; Vigoda-Gadot 2007). Vigoda-Gadot's (2007) study on the role of perceived organizational politics in the relationship between leadership style and performance (both formal and informal) found transformational leadership to have a mediating effect on perceptions of organizational politics, which in turn contributed to higher levels of in-role behaviours and enhanced organizational citizenship behaviour. Miller et al.'s (2008) meta-analytical study on antecedents of perceived organizational politics found the relationships between organizational politics and in-role performance to be nonsignificant. According to our study, however, contextual performance is negatively correlated with perceived organizational politics. Similar to the findings in previous literature, perceptions of organizational politics seem to pose a threat to psychological well-being of the participants.

Our study also shows that the positive effects of leaders' positional power bases on job satisfaction are influenced by employees' perceptions of organizational politics and a significant decline is observed in the power of the relationship. In other words, the positive relationship between employees' perceptions of positional power and job satisfaction decreases in settings with higher perceptions of organizational politics. That is, employees are less satisfied with their leader's use of positional power bases when the organization is perceived to be political. Moreover, the relationship between leader power bases (both personal and positional) and contextual performance deteriorate when perceptions of organizational politics are high. In other words, employees intend to engage in less contextual performance behaviour whether their leader use personal or positional power bases when they perceive their organization to be political. As Ammeter, Douglas, Gardner, Hochwarter and Ferris (2002) suggested, political goals, self-interested pursuits and organizational performance are competing ends. Similarly, Vigoda Gadot's (2007) study found perceptions of organizational politics to be harmful for employees' formal and informal performance behaviours. In this line of thinking, the second hypothesis of our study on the moderating role of perceived organizational politics in the relationship between leaders' power

bases and job satisfaction, and between leaders' power bases and contextual performance is partly confirmed. The findings of our study confirm that the positive relationships between leader power bases and job attitudes mostly deteriorate when perceived organizational politics is high. It is not entirely possible to protect the organizations from the damaging effects of organizational politics, yet political climate and attitudes could be kept under control so as to manage employees' satisfaction and performance levels heedless of the source of managerial power.

Limitations

The main limitation of our study lies in the sampling method which is snowball sampling, a non-probability sampling technique. The findings of our study are thus not generalizable to other settings and samples as well as the following discussions and consequences due to low external validity. Rahim and Afza (1993) argued that the literature on supervisory power bases is deficient in several respects, one of which is the limited generalizability resulting from convenience sample studies. Moreover, our study is not exempt from the social desirability, central tendency, nonresponse, under-coverage and other survey method-related biases that result from the propensity of positive sciences for quantification. However, our study offers a novel empirical model for the study of leader power bases and organizational outcomes with a view to the effects of perceptions of organizational politics.

Future Directions

Researchers have pointed to a need for exploring the contextual variables that somehow designate the relationship between leaders' power and follower outcomes. Our study is a modest attempt to fill this gap. Future researchers are recommended to study other contextual variables that mediate and moderate the relationships between leader power bases and job-related outcome variables. The effects of leader-member exchange, perceived leader support, perceptions of justice, positive and negative affect, personality, political skill and positive organizational climate are among the potential contextual variables that could engineer leader's influence attempts. Researchers are also recommended to adopt an emic approach to the study of organizational power given that power and perceptions/expectations of power have deep cultural roots.

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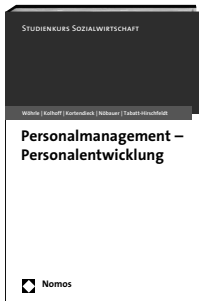
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