Exploring Tourism Advocates' Relationship with Tourism Industry Members through a Political Model of Leadership

Whitney Grace Knollenberg

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Hospitality and Tourism Management

Nancy G. McGehee, Chair
Richard R. Perdue
Max O. Stephenson
Kathleen L. Andereck

September 21, 2015

Blacksburg, VA

Keywords: tourism advocates, leadership, political model of leadership, tourism industry

Exploring Tourism Advocates' Relationship with Tourism Industry Members through a Political Model of Leadership

Whitney Grace Knollenberg

Abstract

Political environments shape the tourism industry. Political support for the industry can result in the creation of competitive and sustainable destinations through which tourism may contribute positive social, environmental, and economic impacts to residents and business owners alike. However, policymakers do not always recognize the potential for these positive impacts. Some tourism representatives argue that policymakers only see their businesses as an engine for tax generation and that the industry as a whole does not receive the respect it deserves from policymakers. The fragmented nature of tourism poses a challenge for advocates desiring to develop a collective voice and legislative agenda for the industry. Such initiatives would appear to demand strong leaders from within the tourism industry itself who can organize a unified approach to gaining political influence. However, few scholars have explored these individuals, who serve as a conduit between the tourism industry and policymakers. Even less attention has been given to their relationship with members of the tourism industry.

Therefore, this study utilized a partnership with the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association to examine how political leaders within the tourism industry, or tourism advocates, establish relationships with members of the tourism industry in order to facilitate political influence. A political model of leadership was employed to conceptualize the contextual elements, antecedents, and behaviors that result in outcomes that influence the relationship between the advocates and tourism industry members. Data was collected through interviews with 26 tourism advocates which were conducted to gain an understanding of the contextual elements and antecedents that influence tourism advocates' political behavior, in regards to building a relationship with members of the tourism industry. Their followers, members of VHTA who represent the lodging, restaurant, and attractions segments of the
 Virginia tourism industry, were surveyed to evaluate their perceived outcomes of tourism advocates' leadership efforts.

This study determined that contextual elements such as organizational culture and advocates' prior episodes play an important role in determining advocates' participation in political leadership. In turn, advocates' antecedents, particularly their sector-specific knowledge, social capital, and interpersonal style influence the behaviors they use to create relationships with tourism industry members. It was determined that overall, advocates' are far more critical of the outcomes of their behaviors than tourism industry members. The findings of this study can help prepare future tourism advocates to pursue political influence for the tourism industry by suggesting strategies that result in a productive relationship between political leaders and members of the tourism industry.

Dedication

To Hunter Janes, with your love all things are possible.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Nancy McGehee for your constant support and encouragement throughout the course of this project and my four years at Virginia Tech. I will always look to you for the perfect example of how to be a strong leader, an outstanding academic, and a generous soul. Thank you for being the best possible role model I could ever hope for.

I also need to give a resounding thank you to my committee members Dr. Rick Perdue, Dr. Kathleen Andereck, and Dr. Max Stephenson. I greatly appreciate your commitment to helping me grow as a researcher and I consider myself extremely fortunate to be able to learn from all of you. Thank you for your patience, kindness, and enthusiasm for my work.

My family deserves so much gratitude for their persistent love throughout this process. Dad, you showed me how important leaders are, since they build bridges and create signs to help people down their path. Without you I would not be on the path I am today. Mom, you have given me the strength to stay on this path. We may be far apart but I can always feel your love and support. Lauren, I can't thank you enough for lighting up my life and always being there for me. Terry and Lisa, thank you for bringing so much joy into my life. And Hunter, your love sustains me. Thank you for always believing in me, even when I could not.

I would be remiss if I did not thank all of the mentors I've had who got me to where I am today. Dr. Chris Vogt, Dr. Joe Fridgen, Dr. Pat Long, and Dr. Carol Kline. You have all shaped me into the person I am today and I would not have been able to do this without you. Lastly, a tremendous thank you to all of the friends who have given me the gifts of happiness and laughter. You all have made this path wonderful.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

In the United States, political influence and tourism leadership have been strange bedfellows for decades. The tourism industry has frequently discussed this issue via the popular press and industry-specific media as well as through special conferences and meetings. Numerous initiatives have been designed and implemented to connect industry stakeholders with political leaders in a unified and cohesive manner. These various approaches have been met with mixed success. As a result, there is a great deal of ongoing discussion surrounding the lack of political respect and recognition for the tourism industry. In spite of the significant employment opportunities and tax revenues generated, some states have closed tourism offices, and federal support for tourism has remained minimal. Tax revenues gained from tourism are often allocated for general fund use rather than being reinvested in the tourism industry. The subject of tourism leadership and political influence is often at the center of these debates.

While the topic has received a great deal of attention among individuals in the industry, relatively little research has explored the political influence of tourism. Hall (1994) suggested several factors have limited such research, including resistance to recognizing the political nature of tourism and consequently a lack of funding for such inquiry. There are also many challenges in collecting accurate data, as respondents may feel the need to provide socially desirable responses or may be uncomfortable associating themselves with political issues. Despite these challenges, some researchers have examined various aspects of the tourism industry's political influence, and a majority of them have reached the conclusion that there are both general and

specific actions that could result in improved political standing for the industry. General actions

to facilitate political influence include the development of a unified voice (McGehee, 1992;

McGehee & Meng, 2006) as well as the full utilization of both formal and informal methods of

communication (Stevenson, Airey, & Miller, 2008) and the cultivation of collaboration and

negotiation (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007) among members of the tourism industry, advocates, and

policymakers. More specifically, Swanson and Brothers (2012) have argued that understanding

what politicians want, reflecting on the strengths of tourism organizations, and collecting input

from organization members are key to the creation of an effective legislative agenda. All of these

findings suggest that a strong relationship between tourism leaders and members of the tourism

industry is necessary to support efforts to gain political influence for the tourism industry.

However, there has been little focus on tourism advocates, those considered the tourism

industry's political leaders, and what influences their behaviors or how their followers (members

of the tourism industry) evaluate their behaviors.

1.1.1. Gaps in the Literature

This study provided a richer understanding of the context and antecedents that influence tourism

advocates and their behaviors in developing a relationship with members of the tourism industry.

Such an examination built upon previous studies that have examined the political activities of a

variety of tourism stakeholders (Ruhanen & Reid, 2014), including policymakers (McGehee,

1992; McGehee & Meng, 2006; McGehee, Meng, & Tepanon, 2006; Stevenson, Airey, & Miller,

2008) and political interest groups (Anastasiadou, 2008; Swanson & Brothers, 2012). What is

currently needed to improve the understanding of how tourism may gain political influence is a

focus on tourism advocates, which compliments Beritelli and Laesser's recent call for greater

examination of the individuals who play roles in tourism development (Beritelli & Laesser,

2011). Therefore, the purpose of this exploratory sequential mixed methods study was to establish an understanding of how tourism advocates develop relationships with members of the tourism industry, in an effort to gain political influence for tourism at the state level. The first phase of the study was a qualitative exploration of the contextual environments and antecedents that influence tourism advocates' leadership behaviors and the perceived outcomes of those behaviors. The qualitative exploration utilized semi-structured surveys with tourism advocates associated with the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association. The researcher then used findings from that qualitative phase to develop a quantitative measure of tourism industry members' perceptions of tourism advocates' leadership effectiveness. It was necessary for the researcher to conduct the qualitative phase first in order to improve and modify the current measures of the outcomes of tourism advocate behaviors, which are limited and have not been previously applied in this context.

This study attempted to gain a greater understanding of tourism advocates and the behaviors they engage in to develop relationships with members of the tourism industry. Such an investigation expanded the examination of advocacy groups beyond the previous research located at the supranational (Anastasiadou, 2008) and national levels (Greenwood, 1993; Swanson & Brothers, 2012). This study focused on tourism advocates operating at the state level, as policymaking efforts at this level are faced many leadership challenges, including unifying the voices of multiple segments of the industry. Tourism advocates associated with the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association (VHTA) participated in this study. VHTA "is the only unified voice for the restaurant, lodging, travel and hospitality suppliers associations" in the Commonwealth of Virginia is a membership organization which "creates value for members by promoting the

legislative interests of the industry, networking, educational opportunities, and protecting free

enterprise" (VHTA Bylaws, 2009). Several VHTA staff members focus on engagement with

state level policymakers in an effort to obtain political influence for Virginia's tourism industry.

Examples of their efforts include presenting bill sponsors with the tourism industry's position on

proposed policies, providing testimony in committee hearings, and organizing lobbying events

such as Virginia's Tourism Day on the Hill. These formally appointed political leaders also

work with tourism industry members who rise as informal political leaders. These informal

political leaders are frequently upper-level managers or owners of hotels, restaurants, attractions,

and tourism marketing and development offices. As informal leaders some of the roles they

assume include voicing the industry's position on policy and providing testimony in committee

hearings. Together, these tourism advocates work with policymakers, who include members of

the Virginia House of Delegates and Senate, to ensure that legislation is passed that supports the

tourism industry or that possible laws that could harm the industry are blocked. Essentially these

tourism advocates, represent a communication and information conduit between the industry and

state-level policymakers (Figure 1). It is the responsibility of tourism advocates to ensure that the

industry has a place at the table among other interests, such as additional advocacy groups and

constituents, and that policymakers consider in their decisions on legislation that could affect the

tourism industry.

Figure 1 shows the relationship between members of the tourism industry and tourism

advocates. As political leaders, tourism advocates must establish a relationship with members of

the tourism industry in order to develop a unified voice and legislative agenda.
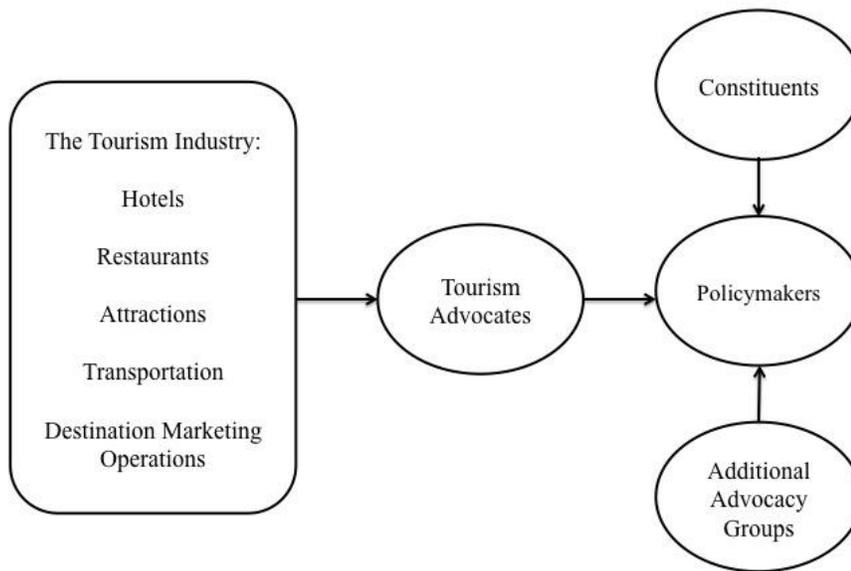
Figure 1. Tourism related Interests within the political arena

As McGehee and Meng (2006) suggest this collective voice should then be used to communicate with policymakers to achieve the political influence desired by the industry. To date the relationship between the tourism industry and tourism advocates has not received adequate attention in the tourism literature, despite the fact that it is a necessary precedent to any relationship between advocates and policymakers.

In addition to exploring these unique populations, this study also provided a deeper understanding of tourism advocates' behaviors and the influential forces behind them. Doing so expanded beyond the identification of the valuable leadership behaviors identified in previous studies (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; McGehee, et al., 2006; Stevenson, et al., 2008; Swanson & Brothers, 2012). While these studies have greatly contributed to our understanding of what is necessary for the tourism industry to gain political influence, greater exploration of tourism advocates' leadership efforts is needed to assess how they interact with members of the tourism

industry. Such an exploration may reveal a pattern of behaviors that is effective in developing strong relationships with tourism industry members, which may result in legislative agendas that accurately reflect the industry's political aspirations and a unified voice for political action. Other advocates could thereafter adopt these behaviors to ensure the creation of strong relationships with tourism industry members in future efforts. As with many studies, defining a successful relationship between tourism advocates and tourism industry members posed a challenge for this attempt to fill a gap in the literature. To address this issue, two voices were used to define success: the tourism advocates and the VHTA membership. As such, this study also contributed to the exploration of the relationship between tourism and politics by including multiple perspectives in the analysis of advocates' behavior on behalf of the industry.

While research focusing on tourism advocates and politics is limited, fortunately that is not the case for politics overall. The rich leadership and political advocacy literature offered theoretical frameworks and methodologies that have been developed to explore topics related to political influence. This work utilized the Political Model of Leadership (Figure 2), a framework proposed by Ammeter, Douglas, Gardner, Hochwater, and Ferris (2002), which delineates the contextual elements and leadership antecedents that influence leader behavior, and provides the opportunity for leaders (tourism advocates) and their target audience (tourism industry members) to evaluate the success of leadership behavior. The Political Model of Leadership has not yet been applied to tourism. By using it to explore tourism advocates, this study advanced the use and viability of the model.

Episode *n +1*

Episode *n*

Context
- Organizational Structure
- Organizational Culture
- Accountability
- Leader Position
- Prior episodes

Leader Antecedents
- Industry Knowledge
- Personality Attributes
- Political Will
- Cognitions
- Social Capital
- Interpersonal style

Target Antecedents
- Target status/power
- Personality attributes

Leader Political Behaviors
- Action at individual, coalition, network levels
- Proactive Behaviors
- Reactive Behaviors
- Symbolic Influence
- Combination of tactics
- Interpersonal style as a moderator

Leader Outcomes
- Performance Evaluation
- Promotion and Mobility
- Compensation
- Power
- Reputation

Target Outcomes
- Affective Reactions
- Cognitive Reactions
- Attitude
- Performance

Figure 2. Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Political Model of Leadership. Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. The Leadership Quarterly, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1   Used under fair use, 2015.

Furthermore Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model provided several contextual elements and leader antecedents that may influence tourism advocates' political behaviors. An exploration of these contextual elements and leader antecedents provided a much richer understanding of how tourism advocates develop and build relationships with tourism industry members. Such an understanding may allow for the identification and grooming of future tourism advocates, which may ultimately lead to an increased sustained level of political influence for the industry.

1.1.2 Anticipated Outcomes

The driving force behind this study was the need to understand who advocates for the tourism industry in the Commonwealth of Virginia, what behaviors they engage in to gain the support of tourism industry members, the influential forces behind those behaviors, and how both advocates and industry members assess the outcomes of those behaviors. Such an investigation may reveal discrepancies between advocates' perceptions of outcomes and their followers' perceptions of outcomes. Evidence of such discrepancies could explain why some tourism industry members feel that there is not enough being done to gain political support for the industry. Perhaps most importantly, this study can reveal which advocate behaviors are mutually perceived as effective. This, in combination with a greater understanding of who tourism advocates are, could help secure greater political influence for the industry in the future.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to achieve the purposes of this study, four research questions were examined. These research questions were designed to elicit tourism advocates' perceptions of the influential forces behind their behaviors, and evaluate the outcomes of those behaviors, from the perspective of both the advocate and tourism industry members. Ammeter et al. (2002) includes context in their political model of leadership as it shapes performance standards and determines the process by which leaders acquire their roles and authority (Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2002). In organizations such as the VHTA in which both formal (appointed VHTA staff) and informal advocates (members who emerge as leaders) represent the tourism industry, the context from which they operate could affect their political behaviors and result in a variety of motivations for advocacy. Ammeter et al. (2002) specify a variety of contextual elements that "explain the motivation for leaders to engage in political behavior and the source of their ability (or lack of ability) to

successfully engage in such behavior" (p. 755). These contextual elements include: organizational structure, organizational culture, accountability, leader position, and prior leadership episodes. These factors may provide a more in-depth understanding of who tourism advocates are and what situational variables facilitate their assumption of leadership roles. Research Question 1 explores these contextual elements and their influence on Virginia's tourism advocates.

RQ1: How do contextual elements influence tourism advocates' participation in political leadership?

Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political model of leadership suggests that leader antecedents influence the political behavior that they utilize and the outcomes of their actions. They identify leader antecedents such as: general mental ability, personality attributes, political will (the desire and interest to engage in politics), leader cognitions (leader identity, power mental models (PMM), and political scripts/strategies), leader social capital, and leader interpersonal style (social effectiveness and political skill). Ammeter et al. (2002) suggest that these antecedents shape how leaders strategically engage in leadership behavior across three levels (individual, coalition, and network) and three descriptive categories (proactive, reactive, and symbolic). Within VHTA advocates may engage in these behaviors to influence the industry (represented in VHTA membership) in an effort to create a collective voice for the industry or identify an agenda for political action. Presently there is little understanding of what influences a tourism advocates' leadership behavior, particularly as it relates to building relationships with their followers. An exploration of behavior antecedents may reveal important leadership attributes that can be identified or cultivated in future leaders.

RQ2: What antecedents determine tourism advocates' selection of political behaviors used to influence members of the tourism industry?

9

While the exploration of context, antecedents, and political behaviors will improve the understanding of tourism advocates' leadership strategies, it was also necessary to examine the outcomes of their efforts. Ammeter et al. (2002) suggested that outcomes of political behavior (as influenced by antecedents and the context in which leadership occurs) should be assessed from both the perspective of the leader and their target audience, in this case VHTA members, who depend upon advocates to represent their political interests. By using a self-evaluation (RQ3) and evaluation by the target audiences (RQ4) this study revealed each group's perceptions of the political behaviors employed by advocates to develop a relationship with tourism industry members. Ammeter et al. (2002) provided several potential outcome measures for a leaders' self-evaluation, including achievement of goals (performance evaluation), promotion and mobility, compensation, power, and reputation. This study asked advocates to discuss their perceptions of their leadership performance based upon these outcomes (RQ3).

> *RQ3: What are VHTA tourism advocates' perceptions of the outcomes of their political behaviors directed to members of the tourism industry?*

This study also utilized Ammeter et al.'s (2002) target audience outcomes as a means of assessing the results of tourism advocates' political behaviors. In this study the target audience is comprised of VHTA members, and according to Ammeter et al. (2002) their outcomes of tourism advocates' political behaviors may include affective reactions, cognitive reactions, attitudes, and performance. This study utilized Research Question 4 as a means to gain insight into tourism industry members' perceptions of these outcomes which may be compared to tourism advocates' reported behaviors and outcomes.

> *RQ4: What are tourism industry members' perceptions of the outcomes of tourism advocates' political behavior?*

1.3 METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

This study utilized a mixed methodological approach to explore these research questions. Two populations are included in the study, tourism advocates (including both formal and informal leaders) and members of the tourism industry. VHTA employees, specifically the Association's President and Governmental Affairs staff and board of directors' members served as the initial population of tourism advocate informants. These individuals may be seen as formally appointed tourism advocates due to their direct connection to VHTA. They were asked to identify additional tourism advocates they have worked with within the industry, but who may not be directly connected to VHTA aside from general membership. This snowball sampling technique allowed for the identification of informal advocate informants, who may be VHTA members without a specified role with VHTA but are still perceived as political leaders in the industry. Semi-structured personal interviews were used to explore the contextual elements (RQ1) and antecedents (RQ2) which influence the leadership behaviors of tourism advocates. The interviews allowed tourism advocate informants to discuss the leadership behaviors they engage in and evaluate the perceived effects of their behaviors (RQ3). In order to explore the tourism industry members' perceptions of advocates' political behaviors (RQ4) this study utilized an online survey of all VHTA members. This survey allowed respondents to identify the political leadership behaviors they perceive to be successful in gaining influence for the tourism industry and those they feel are not successful. This mixed method approach allowed for both a deep and broad understanding of the political behaviors used by advocates. Furthermore it provided the opportunity for two different voices to contribute to a greater understanding of how tourism advocates' behavior is perceived by the tourism industry, which may reveal opportunities for improvement and potentially greater future political influence

1.4 Definitions of Key Term

Advocacy Groups: An organization that represents a specific industry or interest and may play a role in the formation of public policy (Potters & Sloof, 1996). This study examined the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association as an advocacy group for Virginia's tourism industry.

Leadership: According to Robbins (2000, p. 37) leadership is "the ability to influence a group toward the achievement of goals." This study used this broad definition to explore tourism advocates' influence in creating relationships with tourism industry members which are necessary to achieve the goals of the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association.

Policymakers: Those who devise policies and regulations and oversee their implementation. This study recognized the state level policymakers in the Virginia House of Delegates and Senate.

Political Model of Leadership: A framework proposed by Ammeter et al. (2002), which outlined the contextual elements and leadership attributes that influence leader behavior and provide the opportunity for leaders and followers to evaluate the outcomes of leadership behavior.

Politics: Ammeter et al. (2002) have defined politics as a function that facilitates the creation of shared meanings among organizational members. In the context of this study the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association is the organization in which politics occurs. Tourism advocates engage in politics to create shared meaning among the organization's members (e.g. establishing a unified voice or setting a legislative agenda) that they use to advance the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Associations' goals.

Tourism Advocates: Leaders who act as a conduit between the tourism industry and policymakers. They are the individuals who attempt to create shared meaning among members of

the tourism industry to facilitate political support for the industry. Tourism advocates may include formal leaders (those specifically tasked or employed to engage in advocacy on behalf of the industry, i.e. VHTA staff and board members) and informal leaders (those within the industry who take on an advocacy role without formal appointment, i.e. managers and owners of Virginia tourism businesses)

Tourism Industry: The tourism industry represents a collection of components which support the movement and experiences of travelers, including hotels, restaurants, transportation facilities, attractions, and destination marketing operations.

1.5 Outline of Dissertation

The following literature review contextualizes this study within leadership, politics, and tourism scholarship. The literature review also offers a detailed discussion of each component of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Political Model of Leadership. As a whole the literature review illustrates how this study augments existing knowledge of political leadership's roles in tourism. A discussion of the methodological approach to addressing the research questions for this study follows the literature review. Subsequently the findings of the mixed-method study are presented, followed by a discussion of the research question results, theoretical and managerial implications of the findings, opportunities for future research, limitations of this study, and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review outlines the connections between tourism, politics, and leadership and provides an introduction to the political leadership model that is utilized as a framework for this study. The first section provides an overview of the relationships between leadership and political influence. It begins by providing this study's definition of leadership and outlining a brief review of the evolution of the research related to politics and leadership. This provides the foundation for a broad discussion of the role of leadership in political influence and the value of advocacy groups in serving as a medium for political leadership. The second section offers an introduction to the connection between tourism and politics. It highlights the complexity of the tourism industry, the political challenges associated with that complexity, and the players that engage in addressing those concerns. It also identifies the specific need for leadership in galvanizing and organizing the political interests of the tourism industry. The necessity of political leadership in the tourism industry is then examined within the broader context of tourism leadership and the contributions of previous work in this area are explored in the third section. Finally, the literature review introduces the political model of leadership developed by Ammeter et al. (2002) as a framework for exploring the influences on political leaders' behavior and the outcomes of their behaviors. The literature review then examines each component of the model, contextual elements, leader antecedents, target antecedents, leader behaviors, leader outcomes, and target outcomes, and the variables within them to provide context for their inclusion in the model and rationale for their connection to political leadership. Overall, the literature review reveals the necessity of exploring political leadership in the tourism industry. It

also illustrates how Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political model of leadership provides a potentially useful means of understanding the influential factors guiding tourism advocates' behaviors and how those behaviors may be evaluated.

2.2 THE CONNECTION BETWEEN LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Society has long placed value on quality leadership and subsequently researchers have dedicated significant resources to exploring the traits, styles, and behaviors of leaders in an effort to identify what factors and characteristics might yield that result. This work has produced a multitude of definitions for the phenomenon, but scholars have not agreed upon any single definition of leadership. In the context of this study leadership was considered "the ability to influence a group toward the achievement of goals" (Robbins, 2000, p. 347). As Pechlaner, Kozak, and Volgger (2014, p. 2) have suggested, this definition, "implies that leadership is a perspective that links psychological dimensions with group dynamics and social aspects of human agency." While broad, this perspective introduces three valuable concepts to address for this study. First, that a leader must have a group of followers, and the dynamics and context in which that group operates are vital for leaders to be aware of and address. In the context of this study the group is the tourism industry in the Commonwealth of Virginia, as represented by members of the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association (VHTA). Secondly, Robbins (2000) definition implies that the group and their leaders must be united around a common goal. In the case of this study that aim would be political influence for the tourism industry which may be used to help maintain an environment that allow Virginia's tourism industry to grow and continue to account for over $22.4 billion in domestic visitor spending (Virginia Tourism Corporation, 2015). It is the third element of the Robbins' (2000) definition that this study explored in depth, leaders' ability to influence a group. By focusing on how leaders gain

15

influence among their followers and use that influence to achieve a common goal, this study advanced the general understanding of tourism leaders and revealed strategies that may help develop future influential tourism leaders.

There have been countless previous efforts to quantify and understand leaders' abilities to influence their followers. Scholars have identified multiple traits, or distinct and constant personal characteristics, that influential leaders share (Zaccaro et al., 2004) including communication skills (Stogdill, 1974), honesty (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991), or self-regulation (Pitts, 2008). This work suggests that the presence of such traits may indicate that an individual could be an influential leader. However, the traits-based approach to understanding leaders has been critiqued as overly-simplistic and inconsistent (Zaccaro et al., 2004).

A more sophisticated exploration of leaders has developed around the identification of the styles they use to engage with followers. Like the traits-based approaches, work concerning this aspect of leadership has yielded a wide variety of styles that leaders may employ. Early work focused on the use of Transactional Leadership, which is based upon the exchange of something of value between leaders and followers (Burns, 1978). For example, an employee may work hard and demonstrate commitment to a company and their manager, a leader, rewards them with a promotion. The shortcomings of Transactional Leadership, namely that it is a rewards-based system that may incur mediocre performance and reduced productivity among followers (Bass, 1991), led to a more nuanced examination of the relationship between leaders and followers as manifest in Transformational Leadership. Leaders using this style emphasize an engagement process with their followers and attempt to establish an emotional connection with them (Bass,

1991; Northouse, 2012). When shortcomings were identified with this approach to leadership a search began for leadership styles that emphasized empowerment of followers or shared power among followers and leaders, such as Community Based Leadership (Avolio, et al., 2009, Bass, 1985; Kirk & Shutte, 2004). Other styles, such as Servant Leadership, developed when it was found that leaders who focus on creating trust among followers and see themselves as stewards of a group, rather than leaders, were successful in gaining influence (Greenleaf, 2002; Stone, et al., 2003). Yet other leadership styles, such as Authentic Leadership, have also been found to be successful as they incorporate a greater emphasis on ethical and moral authenticity of leaders and their ability to integrate that into every action they take (Northouse, 2012).

While this is just a cursory overview of the many leadership styles that have been identified, it suggests that there is no single answer to successful leadership. Leaders may exhibit different traits and may utilize different styles with varying degrees of success. It may be safe to assume that a great deal of what influences successful leaders is the context in which they operate. It is also clear that leadership is necessary to gain influence and accomplish goals. Therefore it can be examined in a vast array of settings. Associational leadership and efforts to gain political influence may be one setting where leadership is particularly valuable, and is therefore the focus of this study.

Leadership plays an important role in gaining political influence whether it is within a single firm or organization or for an entire industry, as leaders may be those who can identify important policy issues and galvanize support among their followers to advocate for change related to those policy issues (Baggott, 1995). Leaders who focus on gaining political influence for the groups

17

they represent may recognize the need to shape the regulatory environment in which they and their followers operate, so that their firm, organization, or industry has the best possible opportunity for success (Holburn & Vanden Bergh, 2008; Mahon & Murray, 1981; Marsh, 1998; Mitnick, 1981). More specifically, Hall (2011) suggests that dissatisfaction with policy performance and outcomes may also motivate efforts to gain political influence so that policies may be put in place to create an environment for the tourism industry's growth.

While leaders within a firm or organization may monitor policymaking activity, their ability to influence policymaking on their own may be somewhat limited. Therefore, many firms and organizations rely upon their membership in advocacy groups as a means of voicing their concerns about the regulations and policies that influence their success. These groups play an important role in the formation and implementation of public policy (Potters & Sloof, 1996) and may utilize lobbying, coalition building, and financial support of policymakers to enhance the success of their members (Baumgartner, Berry, Hojnacki, Leech, & Kimball, 2009; Lowery, 2007; Potters & Sloof, 1996; Shaffer, 1995).

Several authors have explored how advocacy groups influence policymakers in an attempt to gain or maintain favorable policies for their members (Baumgartner et al., 2009; Gilens & Page, 2014). Less work has focused on the relationship they build with their members. This relationship may be important to understand, as it must be established prior to any engagement with policymakers. If Robbins' (1995) definition of leadership is applied in this context, it is evident that advocacy group leaders must first establish common goals among their followers and develop an influential relationship with them. Without these foundational elements advocacy

group leaders would not be able to present their members' demands to policymakers and could not ensure the success of their members. Therefore this study includes a focus on how advocacy leaders influence their followers and aid them in achieving the goal of greater political influence for the tourism industry.

2.3 TOURISM AND POLITICS

The tourism industry represents the collective sectors which support the movement and experiences of travelers, including hotels, restaurants, transportation facilities, attractions, and destination marketing operations. At an international scale, tourism accounts for 9 percent of the Global Domestic Product and provides one in every eleven jobs across the globe (UNWTO, 2014). In 2014 for the Commonwealth of Virginia tourism directly supported 216,900 jobs and contributed $1.5 billion in state and local taxes (Virginia Tourism Corporation, 2015). A portion of these tourism-generated tax dollars is used to fund public services. Frequently, state and local governments recognize the value of the tourism industry and reinvest a portion of tax dollars in the development and marketing of the tourism product by supporting destination marketing organizations (DMOs) (Litvin, Smith, & Blackwell, 2012). In Virginia's case, the Virginia Tourism Corporation (VTC), a state level office managed as a public-private partnership, promotes tourism in the Commonwealth and is supported by an allocation from the general fund. Such political and financial support for the tourism industry can be observed in many states and municipalities across the U.S. However, there has been persistent concern among members of the tourism industry that such support is in jeopardy due to a lack of political recognition for its contributions (Mcgehee, Meng, & Tepanon, 2006; Potrikus, 2010; Reichenberger, 2011). These fears are not unfounded as there has been some history of reduced support for the tourism industry at both the national and state level in the U.S. For example in 1993 the closure of the

Colorado Tourism Office served as a reminder that political and financial support for the tourism industry was not guaranteed, despite the economic contributions of the industry. Colorado later re-opened its state tourism office, but the negative impacts of this action were already apparent, including a 30 percent decrease in that state's share of the domestic leisure travel market (Siegel, 2009). Later a lack of political and financial support for the tourism industry was manifested at the national level when the United States Travel and Tourism Administration, the country's national tourism office, was shuttered in 1996 due to budget cuts (Swanson & Brothers, 2012). The tourism industry was reminded afresh about the importance of sustaining political and financial support due the closure of the state of Washington Tourism Office in 2011 (Yardley, 2011). Nonetheless, while the shutdown of tourism offices due to lack of political support is a continuing concern among industry members, it remains a relatively rare phenomenon. Tourism industry members are also concerned about other ongoing indicators of weak legislative influence including policymakers' propensity to tax their enterprises, a cost they must then pass on to consumers, and a continuing difficulty advancing items on the industry's political agenda (Isler, 2008; McGehee & Meng, 2006). For example, in the state of Virginia the tourism industry has continued to fight for greater regulation for Online Travel Companies (OTCs) in order to ensure they remit all state and local taxes that they collect. This fight has not yet been won in Virginia and remains an important part of tourism advocates' legislative agenda.

While the tourism industry serves as both a generator and recipient of tax dollars, its relationship with state and local governments has many additional facets. Hall (1994), for example, has identified five roles of government vital for the success of the tourism industry: coordination, planning, legislation and regulation, entrepreneurship, and stimulation. As Ruhanen and Reid

(2014, p. 195) have suggested, "governments have a responsibility to support the needs of tourism planning and development through the preparation and administration of appropriate tourism-related legislation and regulation." Indeed the tourism industry is influenced by the political decisions of policymakers and the legislation they create to regulate or support the tourism industry directly or indirectly (McKercher, du Cros, & McKercher, 2002). As Reid, Ruhanen, and Johnston (2012) and Gunn (2004) have noted, there are multiple areas of legislative focus that affect the tourism industry including: land use and development, use of natural resources, organizations and governance, finance, health, human resources, education, transportation and customs and immigration. While legislative efforts in these areas may not directly influence tourism, they certainly indirectly affect the industry's ability to operate. Several authors have noted that this variety of potential legislative impacts on the tourism industry can result in a confusing and complicated approach to its regulation (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007; Ruhanen & Reid, 2014). The complex nature of tourism's relationship with politics suggests that gaining political influence for the industry is both challenging and extremely important.

There are many areas of political activity that tourism industry representatives would like to influence, particularly funding for state and local offices and any legislation related to the topics that Reid et al. (2012) and Gunn (2004) have outlined. For the tourism industry political influence may be manifested as securing policymakers' support in promoting issues and legislation that benefit related activities and businesses or defeating legislation that could harm these firms and efforts. While this political influence is desirable, it is not necessarily easy to obtain. As Burns and Sancho (2003) have observed, policymakers and other members of the

government may not fully understand the tourism industry. This dearth of knowledge concerning tourism among policymakers makes it difficult for them to recognize the potential impacts of legislation for the industry (Edgell, DelMastro, Smith, & Swanson, 2008). Indeed, many analysts have suggested that tourism is often simply overlooked by policymakers (Dredge & Moore, 1992; Ruhanen & Reid, 2014).

2.3.1 Participants in the Politics of Tourism

The tourism industry has established advocacy groups in many states to raise awareness of its value among policymakers (McGehee, et al., 2006). These entities are tasked with representing the political interests of the industry, which would be difficult for individuals or lone tourism businesses to accomplish on their own (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). This mission requires the staffs of these offices to be aware of and involved with policy making in all potential areas that could affect the tourism industry (Anastasiadou, 2008). In order for tourism advocacy groups to fulfill their missions they must function as an effective go-between for the industry members they represent and policymakers (Figure 2). In mediating this relationship advocacy groups must recognize and respect the integral role that policymakers play in the success of the tourism industry (McGehee & Meng, 2006) while also seeking the political influence their members demand.
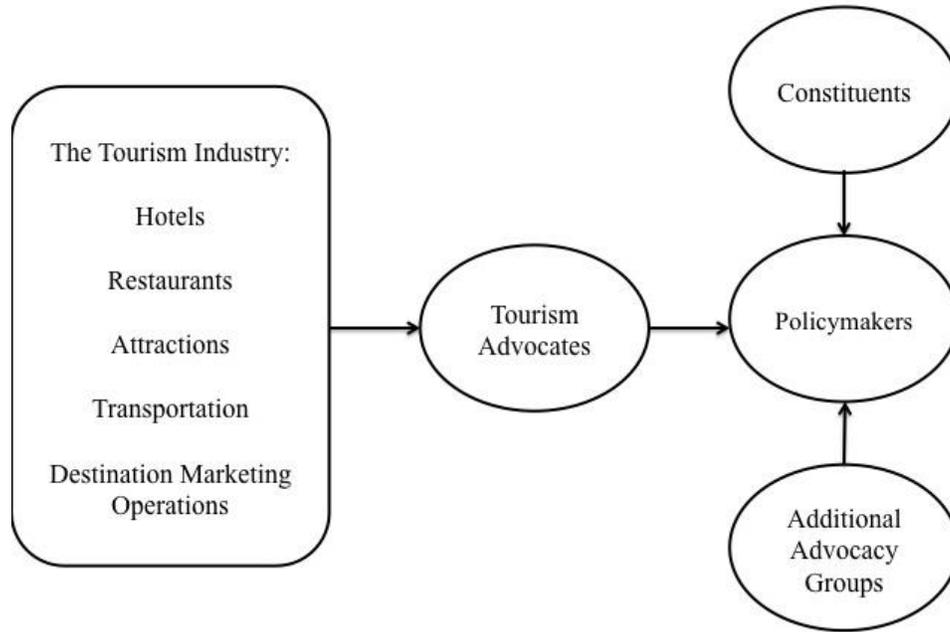
Figure 3. The participants in tourism's political arena and their relationships

The present literature had yielded a limited examination of the role of advocacy groups in the context of tourism. Greenwood (1993) offered an early case analysis of the role of tourism interest groups in the UK, most of which represented single sectors of the tourism industry, e.g. attractions or lodging. He concluded that, "individual tourism sectors are unlikely to enjoy the attention in public policy which larger, more concentrated and unified industrial sectors command" (Greenwood, 1993, p. 348). However, he also contended that political influence could be achieved if the industry possessed vital resources such as "expertise, implementation control, and economic muscle" (Greenwood, 1993, p. 348). Such resources could be amassed if the tourism enterprise as a whole, rather than its individual sectors, came together to pursue political influence. Such efforts can be observed in the creation of organizations such as the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association, which represents the collective interests of tourism in the Commonwealth.

Later researchers addressed the challenge of identifying the roles that tourism interest groups should undertake in the policy-making process (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). Hall (1999) offered a critique of interest group influence in the policy-making process, suggesting that their efforts to gain influence for the industry they represent detracts from policy makers' commitment to the public good. Tyler and Dinan (2001a) continued exploring the influence of the UK's tourism interest groups and concluded that those that had been "playing the game" longest developed strong relationships with policy makers and thereby achieved the greatest influence. These researchers also explored the objectives, legitimacy, and tactics of tourism interest groups in the UK (Tyler & Dinan, 2001b). From this work they surmised that different types of interest groups represent various aspects of Great Britain's tourism industry including: intermediaries, trade groups, umbrella groups, and professional groups (Tyler & Dinan, 2001b). The authors conclude, "It is clear that each type of organization has different primary objectives, which reflect the way in which they perceive their member's involvement with the tourism product" (Tyler & Dinan, 2001b, p. 472). Using Guerrier's (1998) definition of trade groups Tyler and Dinan (2001b) specify their roles to include: informing members of new legislation, providing collective bargaining power, lobbying on legislation, and offering education on matters related to politics and legislation. Based upon VHTA's mission it is evident they would be considered a trade group under this definition (VHTA Bylaws, 2009). While there are observed differences in the objectives of these groups many of them utilize the same tactics to influence policy makers including direct lobbying and the hosting of industry-related events (Tyler & Dinan, 2001b).

These examinations of tourism interest groups offer a detailed understanding of their roles in influencing policy making. Later, Anastasiadou (2008) contributed to the literature by exploring

24

tourism interest group activities at the supranational level, specifically in the European Union. She observed that the challenges faced by national level interest groups, such as dealing with industry fragmentation and forming coalitions, are multiplied at the supranational level. Using in-depth interviews with interest group members Anastasiadou (2008) found these entities are relatively small organizations that may have mutual issues of concern and are thus cannibalizing each other's membership bases. While sharing foci their efforts are often varied and fragmented, making it difficult for them as a whole to present a cohesive agenda to policy makers (Anastasiadou, 2008). Swanson and Brothers (2012) have explored the challenge of setting a legislative agenda for the tourism industry, a task set before many tourism interest groups in the United States. They also utilized in-depth interviews to examine how agendas are set and like Hall (1999) found that the political objectives included on the agendas of tourism interest groups are not always in line with broader public interests. Swanson and Brothers (2012, p. 219) concluded that in order for the agendas of tourism interest groups to be strengthened "tourism advocates should directly confront political realities, understand the policy preferences of tourism professionals in the field, conduct public policy analysis on tourism issues and programs and proactively anticipate emerging public policy needs."

The majority of authors who have studied the role of tourism interest groups have highlighted the challenge these organizations face in representing a highly fragmented industry. Multiple sectors (e.g. hotels, restaurants, attractions, transportation, etc…) cooperate to support advocacy for the tourism industry at the local, state, or national level. While these sectors rely upon each other to some degree they may hold conflicting views concerning political priorities or positions on specific issues. McGehee and Meng (2006, p. 374) have offered an example; "the tourism

marketing sector (convention and visitors' bureaus, and chambers of commerce) may be in favor

of a lodging tax that helps to support cooperative marketing, but a small inn or B&B may not be

excited about the addition of a tax to their product." Anastasiadou (2008) suggested that

competition within sectors of the tourism industry may fuel conflicts as well; this can be seen in

the transportation sector where mainstream and low cost air carriers fight for airport space and

subsidies. Fragmentation among and within the sectors that comprise the tourism industry results

in a multitude of constituents with varied opinions that tourism interest groups must represent.

While representing the multiple and diverse interests of the tourism industry is a particularly

challenging mission for interest groups, they have the potential to develop a unified voice that

may help gain the political influence that their members seek. This aspiration may be particularly

important for the small and medium sized enterprises that comprise a significant portion of the

tourism industry and who can do little to influence policymakers on their own (McGehee &

Meng, 2006). While many researchers have identified the crucial role that tourism interest

groups play in gaining political influence for the industry (Anastasiadou, 2008; Swanson &

Brothers, 2012; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a, 2001b), to date there has been scant evaluation of interest

groups' success in gaining political influence.

It would be valuable to begin to understand tourism industry's perception of interest groups

effectiveness, given that the industry relies upon these organizations to serve as their conduit to

policy makers (Figure 2). More attention has been given to understanding policy makers'

perspectives of the tourism industry across multiple levels of governance (Farsari, Butler, &

Szivas, 2011; McGehee & Meng, 2006; McGehee, et al., 2006; Stevenson, et al., 2008). Farsari

et al. (2011) have explored the complexity policymakers face in developing tourism policy

across federal, state, and local governance structures while McGehee and Meng (2006) and

McGehee et al. (2006) studied policymakers at the state level and Stevenson et al. (2008)

focused solely on tourism policy makers at the local level. Taken as a whole, this work provides

crucial insight into policy maker expectations of the tourism industry.

Farsari et al. (2011) utilized a cognitive mapping approach to examine the complexities of

developing tourism policy across multiple levels of governance in Greece. They defined

policymakers as "key persons in the formulation of policies, elected representatives, appointed

advisors, executives and the public officials for tourism" (Farsari, et al., 2011, p. 1117). These

authors defined sustainable tourism policy as focused on the development of "quality" tourism,

meaning attracting tourists that spend more and stay longer. It was evident among these Greek

policymakers, however, that there was no consensus on the best means of achieving the goal of

attracting tourists with a higher economic impact. Furthermore, policy makers tended to

oversimplify the process of creating tourism policy, which may be of particular concern in a

complex environment such as the tourism industry. In their study of state level legislative policy

makers McGehee and Meng (2006) and McGehee et al. (2006) found that as a group these

leaders held a positive image of the tourism industry in terms of professionalism and legitimacy

and that this image had improved over time. An examination of state legislators did reveal that

the industry needed to improve its efforts to educate policymakers on accurate tourism statistics

and to provide a clear message of what the industry needed in terms of political support

(McGehee & Meng, 2006). As McGehee and Meng (2006, p. 375) note, "There were, however,

some perceived weaknesses expressed by legislators, which included the fractionalized nature of

tourism and a lack of coordination among the various segments." Following their examination of

challenges faced by tourism policymakers at the local level in the UK city of Leeds, Stevenson et al. (2008, p. 746) concluded, "tourism policy spans a range of areas and organizations, lacks clarity and status and occurs in a dynamic environment." This conclusion supports other studies of policymakers and suggests that the complex nature of tourism policy-making is inherent at all levels of governance. Stevenson et al. (2008) also point to the importance of understanding the informal interactions and relationships among policymakers and members of the tourism industry where influence may be developed and exerted. They suggest that the character of such relationships strongly affects the outcomes of tourism policy-making decisions. Ultimately Stevenson et al. (2008, p. 747) concluded that, "research is required to provide ideas and concepts to help tourism policy makers be more influential in a dynamic environment."

The current body of literature that examines the interactions between political players in the context of tourism emphasizes that there is a great deal of complexity in policy-making processes and in gaining political influence. It is evident that there is a wide variety of stakeholders involved including multiple sectors of the tourism industry, the interest groups that work on their behalf to gain political influence, and the policy-makers across several levels of governance who are charged with developing and implementing the policies that influence the tourism industry as a whole. While these groups have been examined at a collective level there is a scarcity of work that focuses on the individuals who engage in political activity on behalf of the industry. It is these individuals, tourism advocates, who must build a relationship with the tourism industry and establish a unified voice and legislative agenda to present to policy-makers, which may result in political influence (Anastasiadou, 2008; McGehee & Meng, 2006; McGehee, et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 2008; Swanson & Brothers, 2012). Indeed Tyler and Dinan (2001a) have

specifically highlighted the importance of individual leaders in creating agreement on industry-wide issues and establishing clear communication between the tourism industry and policy-makers. This study proposed that tourism advocates are the formal (VHTA staff) and informal (individuals from within the industry) leaders who are expected to take on the task of serving as a conduit of connectivity between the industry and policy-makers. This role aligns with Tyler and Dinan's (2001a) recognition of leaders' value in the policy making process. However, there are several other leadership roles that individuals in interest groups may exercise in efforts to gain political influence for the industry. These include the establishment of a unified voice for the industry, fostering collaboration within the industry as well as setting and advancing the industry's political agenda by communicating the political demands of the industry to those in power.

2.3.2 Identification of Leadership Roles in Tourism Politics

The fragmented nature of the industry inevitably poses a challenge for studies of tourism politics (Anastasiadou, 2008; Hall, 1999; McGehee & Meng, 2006; McGehee, et al., 2006; Ruhanen & Reid, 2014; Stevenson, et al., 2008; Swanson & Brothers, 2012; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a). Time and again authors call for a unified voice for tourism and suggest that its creation will help elicit the political influence that the industry desires. These scholars also recognize that the creation of such a unified voice requires a tremendous effort to persuade members of the tourism industry to agree upon a shared position for the political issues they wish to influence. While the creation of a unified voice is vital, a more pressing challenge may be that of assigning priority levels to the actions on a legislative agenda once those aims have been identified. By most definitions of leadership of such an effort, the establishment of common objectives and mobilization of followers to achieve those goals represents a central responsibility of leaders. However the role

of formal leadership, through advocacy groups and selected industry members, in developing a unified voice for the tourism industry and prioritizing legislative agenda items has not yet been deeply explored, despite the fact that it is commonly identified as a crucial step in gaining political influence for the industry. Tourism advocates, those formal and informal leaders involved in representing the industry's political interests, could be looked upon as the tourism leaders to take on this role. However, to date few studies have examined how leaders, particularly tourism advocates, actually address their role of creating a unified voice for the industry.

Tourism advocates who attempt to create a common political agenda for the industry and set legislative action priorities may cultivate collaboration across the various sectors of the tourism industry to identify common political concerns and challenges (Anastasiadou, 2008). Stevenson et al. (2008) support Bramwell and Sharman's (1999) conclusion that stakeholder collaboration plays a vital role in the policy making process and suggest that it plays a significant role in identifying, shaping, and promoting policies the industry supports. In their work with tourism industry members involved in the policy-making process Ruhanen and Reid (2014, p. 199) report that, "due to the marginalized position of tourism in the development of legislation, a number of respondents spoke of the importance of trying to influence or collaborate through partnerships with those divisions of government that do have power." They concluded that industry members supported collaboration efforts that could result in the industry gaining political influence (Ruhanen & Reid, 2014). Bramwell and Sharman (1999) determined that collaboration efforts among tourism stakeholders involved in policy making can be an inclusive process that fosters open dialogue and reduces tension and distrust among stakeholders. They did find evidence,

however, that collaboration may do little to reduce power imbalances among stakeholders (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999), which is an issue that tourism advocates should address as leaders. Bramwell and Sharman (1999) and Hall (1999) acknowledge that in the policy-making process it is often those who hold political power who have the resources to determine the success of tourism policy. Building upon the recognition that relationships with those in political power are necessary Cheong and Miller (2000) identify another leadership role that tourism advocates should assume, that of power brokers that may devise creative means of establishing relationships with policy-makers. Stevenson et al. (2008) found evidence that tourism leaders must serve as power brokers in the political arena and are responsible for negotiating with those in political power to ensure that tourism issues are incorporated into mainstream political agendas.

The creation of political agendas is another role that tourism advocates assume. Swanson and Brothers (2012, p. 208) have defined agenda setting as "the creation of a list of problems or issues to which an interested party pays close attention." This process may begin with what Stevenson et al. (2008, p. 215) refer to as reading the political landscape, which involves, "developing an understanding of the wider policy and political context of policy-making, about the scope, nature and purpose of tourism policy-making, and about its intersections and relationships with other policy areas." Setting a legislative agenda would also benefit from tourism advocates' previous experiences in establishing a unified voice through collaboration in the industry, as this may help them to be aware of where political influence is needed (Swanson & Brothers, 2012). It would also be valuable for tourism advocates to develop a close relationship with policy-makers to help gain the necessary in-depth understanding of the political

context in which they will represent the tourism industry. This would require the development of a working relationship with policy-makers, who may help educate tourism advocates on the most effective methods of presenting the industry's political concerns (Ruhanen & Reid, 2014; Swanson & Brothers, 2012).

This review suggests that tourism advocates may play several important leadership roles in the pursuit of gaining political influence for their industry. Therefore, this study proposed that tourism advocates serve as the conduit between the tourism industry and policymakers and thus, the expectation to establish a unified voice for the tourism industry falls upon their shoulders. The creation of a unified voice will require that these individuals foster collaboration across the multiple sectors of the industry, a challenge that demands leadership skill and expertise. Cooperative efforts may also be used to develop a political agenda, which must be both acceptable to the tourism industry writ large and palatable to policymakers. Again, advocates will be expected to assume a leadership role to mediate between these two stakeholders. There is evidence from the literature that all of these roles must be filled for the tourism industry to gain political influence. However, there is nascent research to show how tourism advocates fill these roles and or report on industry members' perception of whether advocates are successful in their attempts. Therefore, an exploration of tourism advocates, would not only help to advance the understanding of how the industry can gain greater political influence but may also strengthen the understanding of the broader issue of leadership in tourism.

2.4 LEADERSHIP IN TOURISM

The exploration of leadership in the context of tourism has occupied a small, but growing, niche in the literature. A majority of the work concerning tourism leadership has focused specifically

on the hospitality sector and tended to emphasize how different leadership traits and styles influence working environments (Brownell, 2005; Tracey & Hinkin, 1994), managerial ethics (Upchurch & Ruhland, 1995), and employee satisfaction and performance (Brown & Arendt, 2011; Gill, Flaschner, & Shachar, 2006; Rothfelder, Ottenbacher, & Harrington, 2013). These studies and others have explored the application of a variety of leadership styles in the hospitality industry including transformational leadership (Brown & Arendt, 2011; Gill, et al., 2006; Rothfelder, et al., 2013; Shafer, Vieregge, & Youngsoo, 2005), servant leadership (Brownell, 2010; Chung, Chan Su, Kyle, & Petrick, 2010) and distributed leadership (Benson & Blackman, 2011). While these studies have helped illustrate the effectiveness of various leadership styles and traits, a deep understanding of how leaders emerge and what factors influence their behavior has not yet been developed.

Pechlaner, Kozak, and Volgger (2014) have suggested that such knowledge about leaders is necessary as, "understanding who is able and willing to lead destinations may help to explain differences between more and less competitive destinations, especially in times of economic turbulence." Recently there have been responses to this call for a greater understanding of tourism leaders with work that focuses on the connection between leadership and power (Blichfeldt, Hird, & Kvistgaard, 2014; Slocum and Everett, 2014); partnerships (Zehrer, Raich, Siller, & Tschiderer, 2014); and governance systems (Beritelli & Bieger, 2014; Valente, Dredge, & Lohmann, 2014). Beritelli's (2011) work emphasizes the importance of influential individuals in fostering cooperation among stakeholders in tourism planning and policy-making efforts. Specifically Beritelli (2011, p. 623) concluded, "tourism destination communities distinguish themselves less by formal rules and norms of cooperation and more by autonomous key actors."

These key actors carry their past experiences in policy-making with them, and Beritelli (2011) suggests that this institutional memory influences the trust and understanding that these leaders use to facilitate cooperation among stakeholders. While this recent work, which focuses on the role of tourism leaders, provides a much richer understanding of leadership's vital role in accomplishing many of the industry's goals at the destination, regional, and national level, more work is needed to examine the role of leaders in gaining the political influence that the industry desires.

Another element that is missing in current discussions of tourism leadership is the voice of the follower. Tourism advocates, particularly those who may be members of industry-specific interest groups, represent followers. It is among these followers that tourism advocates foster collaboration to create a unified voice and set a legislative agenda. Furthermore, members of the industry may look to these advocates as those who will establish the political influence that they feel they deserve. Thus it would be valuable to hear the industry's voice and allow the followers to evaluate tourism advocates' success in the leadership roles they have assumed. By examining both the leadership behaviors of tourism advocates and their followers' reaction to those efforts, this work provides a more holistic examination of tourism leaders in context.

To provide a more holistic examination of political leaders in tourism, specifically tourism advocates, this study utilized a framework that has not yet been applied in the tourism literature, the Political Model of Leadership. Developed by Ammeter et al. (2002). This model may be used to identify the contextual elements and antecedents that influence tourism advocates' behaviors and provides the opportunity to introduce the followers' assessment of tourism advocates' behavior. It has been specifically developed to evaluate the political behaviors of leaders and

34

thus its use will shed light on the leadership behaviors tourism advocates use to gain political influence successfully.

2.5 THE POLITICAL MODEL OF LEADERSHIP

Ammeter et al. (2002) provide a theory of political leadership that specifies contextual elements, antecedents, behaviors, and outcomes of leaders operating in political arenas. This comprehensive model (Figure 2) provides a useful framework to explore the leadership roles of tourism advocates. In their development of this model Ammeter et al. (2002, p. 754) adopt a broad conceptualization of politics, describing it as "a neutral, and inherently necessary, component of organizational functioning." Influenced by Sederberg's (1984) definition of politics, Ammeter et al. (2002) consider a political action as any effort to create shared meaning among a constituency or target. This conceptualization of politics does not focus specifically on advocacy or gaining political influence, but the broad definition of politics could feasibly include these actions. For this study, Ammeter et al.'s (2002) broad conceptualization of politics is applied in the context of VHTA's political leadership efforts, which focus on creating shared meaning among members of the tourism industry. In this context the shared meaning is directly related to political, i.e. legislative, actions.

2.5.1 Political Model of Leadership Contextual Elements

The contextual elements of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model illustrate the interrelated conditions in which leadership occurs. The model identifies organizational structure, organizational culture, accountability, leader position, and prior episodes as contextual elements that determine the process by which leaders acquire their roles and authority (Zacarro & Klimoski, 2002). These components are vital to understanding what motivates a tourism advocate's participation in

35

political leadership activities (Ammeter et al., 2002). Through this study an exploration of these contextual elements may provide an understanding of what influences a leader's participation in political leadership and subsequent political behaviors.

Organizational Structure

Ammeter et al. (2002) suggest that organizational structure plays a role in shaping leadership behavior and is, therefore, an important contextual element to consider when exploring the strategies that leaders utilize in the political arena. Organizational structure arises from the need to achieve complex goals, which requires the coordination of multiple actors. Thus, "The structure of an organization can be defined simply as the sum total of the ways in which it divides its labor into distinct tasks and then achieves coordination among them" (Mintzberg, 1979, p. 2). Thompson (1967) has suggested that this division and coordination creates an internal pattern of relationships, authority, and communication that results in a variety of power dynamics that influence the behavior of those involved in an organization (Brass & Burkhardt, 1993).

Burns and Stalker (1961) offer a simple approach to identifying patterns of organizational structure, "mechanistic" and "organic" types. Mechanistic structures, which often occur in stable environments, are highly formalized, rely on policies and procedures, and establish a clear hierarchy of authority whereas organic structures, which tend to emerge in rapidly changing environments, are characterized by low levels of formality, decentralized decision making processes, and free-flowing communication. House (1991) has expanded Burns and Stalker's (1961) conceptualization by identifying major attributes and processes of both structures.

Many authors have expanded on Burns and Stalkers' (1961) original efforts to identify a typology of structures (Chandler, 1962; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1986; Pugh, Hickson, Hinings, & Turner, 1968). However, Fredrickson (1986) suggests that there are three consistent dimensions of structure that have emerged throughout the various investigations of the construct: centralization, formalization, and complexity. Centralization can be thought of as the degree to which decision-making activities are concentrated (Fry & Slocum, 1984; Hall, 1977). Formalization is based upon an organization's reliance on rules and procedures to shape members' behaviors (Hage & Aiken, 1969; Hall, 1977). Complexity refers to an organization's reliance on a variety of interrelated components that may have many levels, various spans of control, and even different geographic locations (Hall, 1977). While not applied specifically in the context of tourism, Hall's (1977) conceptualization of complex organizational structures demonstrates many similarities to the complexity of the tourism industry. Fredrickson (1986) examines Mintzberg's (1979) three traditional forms of organizational structure, the Simple Structure, Machine Bureaucracy, and Professional Bureaucracy (Figure 4), using the dimensions of centralization, formalization, and complexity.

As depicted in Figure 4 each of Mintzberg's forms is distinguished by its degree of centrality, formality, and complexity. Simple Structures are centralized, with low formality, and low complexity. This minimalist approach to structure has a flexible division of labor, limited managerial hierarchy and tends to centralize decision-making responsibility with a dominant executive (Fredrickson, 1986). A Machine Bureaucracy is also defined by its reliance on a central decision-maker, but relies on rigid rules, regulations, and communication channels to operate, thus making it highly formalized. Such structures most frequently operate with a

complex hierarchy of command and administrative support (Fredrickson, 1986). A Professional

Bureaucracy is an organizational structure that is primarily defined by its ability to operate in

complex environments, "These organizations rely on highly trained professionals who control

their own work, so the structure can accurately be described as very decentralized. Similarly,

because the work requires detailed knowledge of specialized topic areas, the resulting structure is

horizontally complex and differentiated; vertical differentiation is limited" (Fredrickson, 1986).

In this decentralized structure each participant is expected to contribute their knowledge and

skills to decision-making processes.
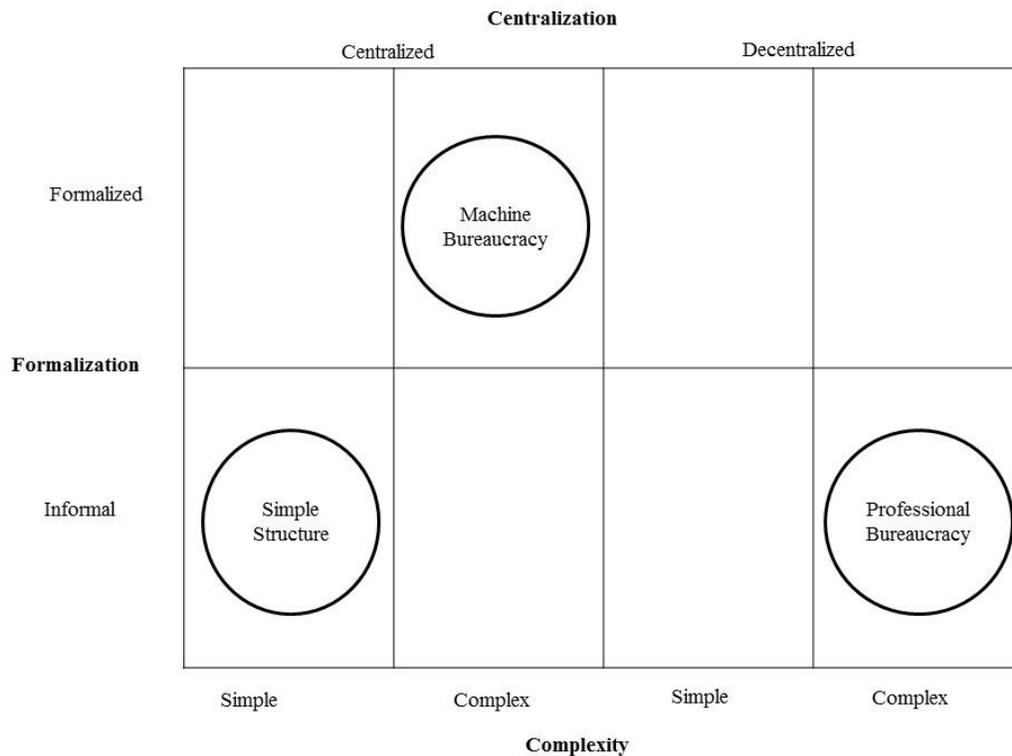
Figure 4. Mintzberg's (1979) three structural types, defined by Fredrickson's (1986) dimensions. Fredrickson, J. W. (1986). The strategic decision process and organizational structure. *The Academy of Management Review*, 11(2), 280-297. doi: 10.2307/258460. Used under fair use, 2015.

Organizational Culture

As noted by Ammeter et al. (2002) organizational culture plays an important role in leadership behavior. Culture, defined by Schein (1989) as the shared assumptions, values, and norms of an organization, helps define organization member's expectations for a leader's behavior. Some authors have debated whether leaders define an organization's culture or are defined by it (Jaskyte, 2004; Ogbonna & Harris, 2000), but Bass and Avolio (1993, p.113) offered what may be a more pragmatic explanation in their conclusion that "culture affects leadership as much as leadership affects culture." This reciprocal relationship complicates the examination of organizational culture's impact on many dependent variables such as competitive advantage (Barney, 1991) organizational effectiveness (Deal & Kennedy, 2000; Denison, 1990; Zheng, Yang, & McLean, 2010), and change (Chin, Pun, Ho, & Lau, 2002; Cunha & Cooper, 2002; Jones, Jimmieson, & Griffiths, 2005; Rashid, Sambasivan, & Johari, 2003), but its value in understanding organizational behavior cannot be denied.

The extensive examination of organizational culture has resulted in a multitude of definitions and conceptualizations of the construct. Denison and Mishra (1995) note that the lack of a unified definition and continued skepticism regarding the value of comparing organizational cultures are challenges that have plagued the research stream. Part of the challenge in developing a unified definition of organizational culture may stem from the divergence of conceptual approaches to the construct. Tsui et al. (2006) suggest that some researchers subscribe to the phenomenological approach and focus on fully comprehending and defining the meaning of organizational culture (e.g. Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984; Hatch, 1993; Martin, 1992; Meek, 1988; Pettigrew, 1979; Smircich, 1983) while others utilize a functionalist approach and focus on identifying the outcomes of organizational culture (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Parsons, 1951). The disparate

nature of organizational culture research is evident in the multitude of conceptualizations and

measurement tools that have been used to address it over time. In their review of the

organizational culture literature, Jung, Scott, Davies, Bower, Whalley, McNally, and Mannion

(2007) identified upwards of 100 dimensions and 48 different instruments used to measure the

construct. The authors note that this complexity may be reduced by organizing dimensions into

distinct categories which can be considered different levels of organizational structure, such as

those outlined by Schein (1989) (Figure 5).
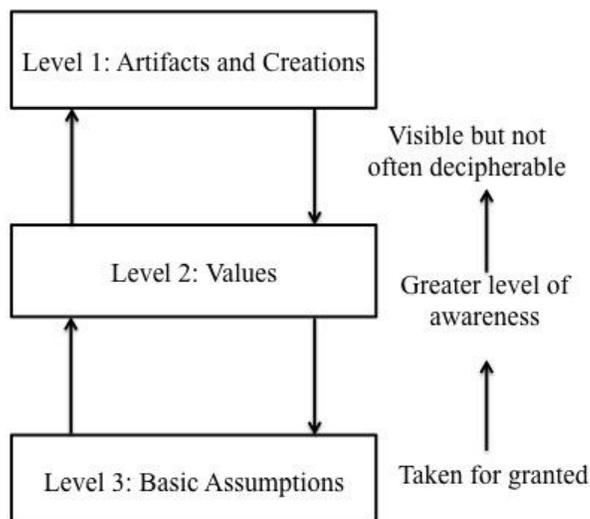
Figure 5. Schein's (1989) levels of organizational culture. Schein, E.H. (1989). *Organizational culture and leadership: A dynamic view.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. Used under fair use, 2015.

Seen as one of the seminal works in the organizational culture corpus, Schein (1989) outlined

three levels of culture that help to operationalize the construct (Figure 5). Artifacts, at the top

level, are the most visible component of an organization's culture and include the physical

environment, technology used, patterns of behavior, and language (Jung, et al., 2007). Schein

(1989) describes the second level of organizational culture as values, which incorporate the

moral and ethical codes, ideologies, and philosophies of the organization (Jung et al., 2007).

Assumptions, or the beliefs subconsciously held by organization members constitute the final

level.

Accountability

During the past four decades, researchers have explored accountability within a variety of

contexts, as it is perceived as a powerful influence on the behavior of an organization's members

(Ammeter, Douglas, Ferris, & Goka, 2004) and a force for ensuring positive outcomes for an

organization and its members (Pfeffer, 1997). Indeed, researchers have found evidence that

perceptions of accountability can lead to more careful decision-making (Ford & Weldon, 1981),

thorough information processing (Siegel-Jacobs & Yates, 1996), and more complex decision

strategies (Ashton, 1992). Early on, agency theory's emphasis on the contractual relationships

between principals and agents sparked an interest in accountability (Jensen & Meckling, 1979;

Ross, 1973). Tetlock (1985) later expanded the conceptualization of accountability using a model

which depicted individuals as politicians who strive to maximize their standing in a social system

by assessing the desired outcomes of the audiences that hold them accountable. Tetlock (1985)

proposed that if an individual can identify an audience's preferred outcome, they will adjust their

behavior to achieve that outcome, thus reducing the need to justify their actions.

Accountability research became increasingly complex as researchers explored the informal (e.g.

organizational norms and values) and formal systems (e.g. annual evaluations) of accountability

(Mitchell, Hopper, Daniels, Falvy, & Ferris, 1998; Simonson & Staw, 1992) that may result in

different behaviors to address accountability expectations (Ammeter, et al., 2004). This work

helped contribute to a macro-level understanding of accountability within organizations (Hall,

Blass, Ferris, & Massengale, 2004). However, more recent work has focused on a micro-level

approach that emphasizes the underlying socio–psychological processes of accountability,

particularly from the perspective of organization leaders (Hall, et al., 2004). Recent studies have

focused on how accountability helps to rein in leaders' self-serving behavior (Rus, van

Knippenberg, & Wisse, 2012) and how leaders' perceptions of accountability differ across

institutions and cultures (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2010). Commonly defined as the need to justify

beliefs, feelings, and decisions to an audience (Tetlock, 1992), accountability may motivate

leaders to consider fully the potential outcomes of their behaviors for the organizations they

represent (Ammeter, et al., 2002; Rus, et al., 2012).

Examination of accountability at the organizational level has yielded multiple conceptualizations

of the construct. Ferris, Mitchell, Canavan, Frink, and Hopper (1995) offered a dichotomy that

distinguishes external and internal accountability, "External accountability refers to the

objective, contextual factors in place within an organization" (Hall, et al., 2004), which may

include monitoring or employee surveillance. Internal accountability, however, relates to an

individual's acceptance of accountability (Hall, et al., 2004). Frink and Klimoski (1998) offer a

useful distinction concerning the mechanisms used to establish accountability, formal versus

informal accountability. Formal accountability processes might include performance evaluation

procedures or accounting frameworks, whereas informal accountability stems from

organizational norms, beliefs, values and cultures (Hall, Bowen, Ferris, Royle, & Fitzgibbons,

2007).

Ammeter et al. (2002) suggest that a leader's perception of accountability may influence the behaviors in which they engage. Tetlock's (1992) definition of accountability suggests that, first, a leader must be aware that an audience is holding them responsible for their actions and, secondly, that they will have to justify their actions to the audience. Lerner and Tetlock (1999) also suggest that not only is awareness of the audience vital, but leaders also base their opinions, beliefs, and behaviors on their knowledge of the audience's opinions. Specifically Lerner and Tetlock (1999) note that when one is aware that they are accountable to an audience and are aware of the audience's opinion, they may conform to that opinion in order to reduce the effort they must make to justify their opinions. However, things may become more complicated if one is not aware of an audience's opinion or there are multiple parties with conflicting decisions. In this scenario it may be more difficult for a leader to determine how they can justify their actions and, therefore, they may utilize more self-critical and complex thinking in anticipation of defending their position (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2010).

Leader Position

Ammeter, et al., (2002) note that leaders do not operate in a social vacuum. Rather, they function within networks that contain superiors, subordinates, and peers. A leader's connections provide him or her with access to resources and information (Burt, 1992; Mehra, Dixon, Brass, & Robertson, 2006) and offer an opportunity to influence others within a network (Mintzberg, 1983). These benefits of social connections may be used to enhance the performance of a leader's organization (Mehra, et al., 2006). It is evident that a leader's position within a network contributes to the power they hold among followers and fellow leaders and as Ammeter, et al.

(2002) suggest, their position and subsequent power many also influence the behaviors they engage in with members of their network.

Ammeter et al. (2002) contend that the position of a leader is a combination of their rank within an organization and centrality within a network. This implies that there are two avenues through which leaders can establish their position. First, through organizational rank, which offers a formal designation of power and influence (Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2002). Second, leader position may be determined via network centrality that is based upon the informal connections built between leaders and networks members both within and outside their organization. Both components of leader position have the potential to influence leaders' behaviors. The hierarchy associated with rank may dictate the individuals and issues that a leader can address within their organization; for example there may be a protocol that upper level managers must follow when addressing complaints or concerns of lower level employees (Ammeter, et al., 2002). Previous findings suggest that a leader's centrality within a social network has important implications for their participation in behaviors such as successful coalition building, mentoring, and brokering (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2006; Janicik & Larrick, 2005).

Both rank and centrality have been explored as a part of ongoing efforts to understand leadership development and leader effectiveness. Rank has traditionally been observed as a form of legitimated power that imbues a leader with authority within their organization (Astley & Sachdeva, 1984; Wrong, 1968). However, the power that followers acknowledge and accept with a leader's rank is associated with a position (e.g. President or Director), not the individuals themselves (Madison, Allen, Porter, Renwick, & Mayes, 1980). Thus, as a leader's rank changes,

they may obtain more or less influence over those in their organization. Centrality has received

relatively greater attention in the literature, especially as it applies to social network analysis.

Early examinations of centrality revealed that it facilitates group effectiveness, leader

emergence, and recognition of leadership by followers (Leavitt, 1951). Later, more formal

theories were adopted in the examination of leader centrality, namely leader-member exchange

(LMX), which was used to examine leader's vertical dyadic relationships in the workplace

(Dansereau Jr, Graen, & Haga, 1975; Graen & Cashman, 1975; Sherony & Green, 2002;

Sparrowe & Liden, 1997; Uhl-Bien, Graen, & Scandura, 2000). Sparrowe and Liden (1997)

employed social network analysis as a means of exploring the horizontal relationships within a

leader's network. Mehra et al. (2006) have recently expanded on the use of LMX and social

network analysis to explore leaders' horizontal and discretionary connections such as those that

include peers, superiors, and subordinates within an organization. As an analytical tool social

network analysis can be used to identify a leader's position within a social network and can

pinpoint their proximity to other leaders and followers (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2006; Hoppe &

Reinelt, 2010). This approach has proven useful in quantifying a leader's centrality so that it may

be examined in relation to trust (Zagenczyk, Purvis, Shoss, Scott, & Cruz, 2013), individual and

group performance (Sparrowe & Liden, 2005), and the quality of LMX relationships (Goodwin,

Bowler, & Whittington, 2009).

Rank provides the hierarchical context of leadership and provides leaders with an obvious source

of power and influence (Ammeter, et al., 2002; Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2002). Formalized

hierarchy defines the nature of rank and has resulted in the creation of systems within

organizations where positions with higher rank, e.g. President, hold greater power and influence

over those with lesser rank, e.g. Vice President. There are multiple permutations of rank systems

that define the degree to which those with higher rank can wield power and influence. A

common typology of rank, as seen in the Virginia Hospitality and Tourism Association, includes

the creation of a Board of Directors, a group of individuals who serve as an outside source of

resources and information for the organization's formal leaders and establish and oversee the

strategic direction of the organization. Within VHTA, formal leadership includes the position of

President, who oversees the work of several departments including Membership, Governmental

Affairs, Education, Marketing, and Human Resources. Within this system it is evident that

members of the Board of Directors hold rank that gives them formal authority, which they

bestow upon the President of VHTA.

At its core, centrality is a measure of an individual's connection to others within a network.

There are multiple ways of conceptualizing and measuring an individual's centrality. Prior to

analyzing centrality however, the network in which they operate must be defined. There are two

approaches to defining a network; the ideal approach is the use of a whole network, which

requires all members of the network to report their connections (Scott, Baggio, & Cooper, 2008).

The use of an egocentric network, in which respondents provide only the names of those that

they recall as a part of their network, requires fewer resources to collect data and is more

efficient for vast networks with undefined boundaries (Li, 2013). While the egocentric approach

to defining networks introduces issues with recall bias (Mehra et al., 2006), it is most appropriate

for this study as it will allow participants to self-identify the network members which may

provide a more comprehensive network than if the researcher attempted to create network

boundaries.

Once the network has been defined there are multiple means of analyzing the centrality of

individual network members including degree centrality, betweenness, and closeness (Freeman,

1979). Each characteristic offers different information about the individuals and their

relationships within the network. This study will utilize degree centrality as it simply refers to the

number of ties an individual has to others. Degree centrality is composed of two directional ties,

in-degree centrality and out-degree centrality (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). A network member's

in-degree centrality is measured by the number of connections other members draw to them,

whereas a network member's out-degree centrality is measure of the number of connections they

draw to others (Wasserman & Faust, 1994) (Figure 6).
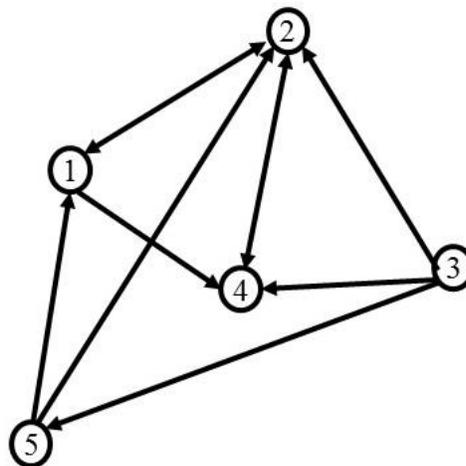
Figure 6. Illustration of in-degree centrality and out-degree centrality

In Figure 6 the individual represented by node 2 is relatively central and will be used to illustrate

the calculations of in-degree and out-degree centrality. Four individuals (represented by nodes 1,

3, 4, and 5) identified connections with Node 2, resulting in an in-degree centrality measure of

four for Node 2. Node 2 has an out-degree centrality of two indicating that this individual recognized connections with two other individuals (represented by nodes 1 and 4). These measures can help quantify the centrality of tourism advocates within an egocentric network created by all participants in this study. A quantitative representation of an advocates' centrality will provide valuable information on their position within a network as well as their relation to other network members.

Prior Episodes

It is valuable to consider the temporal context in which leadership activity occurs. Tourism advocates may have engaged in prior leadership actions related to gaining political influence for the industry, and these actions influence their reputation as a leader. Previous findings indicate that these prior episodes can influence the political behaviors in which leaders engage (Boyd & Taylor, 1998; Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Schriesheim, Castro, & Cogliser, 1999) and thus Ammeter et al. (2002) include them as antecedents in their political model of leadership. For example, an advocate may have worked with the VHTA to gain industry support for a legislative agenda item. If a positive outcome was achieved for that legislative item, a leader may perceive their actions were effective and repeat them in the future. Conversely, if a leader fails to achieve the desired political outcome they may choose different actions in the future.

The value of considering prior leadership experiences is also seen in the leader-member exchange (LMX) literature. Following the LMX approach to leadership, leaders gain influence over followers in an incremental pattern that relies upon quality previous encounters between the leaders and followers (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Essentially as a leader initiates and facilitates a series of positive interactions with potential followers over time, the relationship between leader

48

and follower grows stronger. Ammeter et al. (2002) adopt a similar notion that past encounters between leaders and followers builds their relationship, and thus it is crucial to recognize the historical context in which present encounters occur.

The central concept of LMX theory is the development of leader/follower relationships over time, which is based upon the leader's actions and the follower's response to those actions (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Ammeter et al.'s (2002) recognition of the parallels to such longitudinal relationship development in the context of political leadership necessitates the examination of leaders' perceptions of their past actions impacts on followers. Inquiry into their perceptions of past actions may elicit leaders' opinions on how those actions influenced their relationships with followers. As Ammeter et al. (2002) and other LMX scholars have suggested, past actions and followers' reactions to them may influence leaders' future political behavior.

2.5.2 Political Model of Leadership Leader Antecedents

According to Ammeter et al. (2002) leader antecedents include the variables that directly shape tourism advocates' political behaviors such as general mental ability, personality, political will, leader cognitions, leader social capital, and leader interpersonal style. These attributes are unique to each leader and thus to gain a complete understanding of a tourism advocate it was necessary to explore each of them and their influence on advocates' political behavior.

GMA and Personality Attributes

Ammeter et al. (2002) identify general mental ability (GMA) and personality attributes as two important leader characteristics that may influence a leader's political behaviors. GMA, or intelligence, has been identified as a valid predictor of job performance (Schmidt & Hunter,

1998) but it may be influenced by other variables such as personality and social skills (Guion, 1983; Schmidt & Hunter, 1998; Wagner, 1997). While it is undeniable that intelligence would be a valuable trait for tourism advocates, and one that would certainly improve their leadership ability, it may be more valuable for those individuals to possess a strong knowledge of the tourism business. As Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991) have proposed, knowledge of the business in which a leader operates plays a vital role in their effectiveness and ability to think strategically. They stress that effective leaders are proficient in gathering and applying both conceptual and technical information that affects the industry (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991). This may be of particular importance for tourism whose leaders must be able to recognize and synthesize important issues across a variety of sectors. Therefore, this study acknowledged the importance of general mental ability, but focuses on tourism advocates' level of industry-specific knowledge and how it may influence their behaviors with tourism industry members.

In the case of engaging in political behavior, especially among groups with various goals such as those in the tourism industry, it may be more valuable for leaders to demonstrate strong social skills and personality traits that facilitate the ability to engage in political activities. Ammeter et al. (2002) and others (Biberman, 1985; Ferris, Russ, & Fandt, 1989; House, 1988) identify personality traits including self-esteem, self-verification, Machiavellianism, need for power, and locus of control as potentially valuable personality traits for political leaders. While Ammeter et al.'s (2002) identification of potentially valuable personality attributes is useful, a wide variety of other personality traits have also been explored in the context of successful leadership (Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002; Spangler, House, & Palrecha, 2004). These may include communication skills (Stogdill, 1974), honesty (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991), or self-regulation

(Pitts, 2008). As described in the previous sections focused on the development of leadership research there has been a thorough examination of leadership traits. However, with very little consensus among these studies, it may be more valuable to recognize and acknowledge that useful leader personality traits can be highly contextual. Because there has been very little examination of personality traits specific to tourism advocates it may be limiting to focus only on a small subset of personality traits such as those identified by Ammeter et al. (2002). Therefore, this study relied not only upon a pre-defined set of personality traits, but also allowed traits to emerge from tourism advocate's discussions of their approaches to leadership.

Political Will

As defined by Treadway, Hochwarter, Kacmar, and Ferris (2005, p. 231) "Political will represents an actor's willingness to expend energy in pursuit of political goals, and it is viewed as an essential precursor to engaging in political behavior." It is therefore logical for Ammeter et al. (2002) to include political will as a leader antecedent to political behaviors as it represents a leader's motivation for political activity (Doldor, Anderson, & Vinnicombe, 2013). Mintzberg (1983) initially recognized that political leaders must first and foremost have a desire to engage in political behavior. This desire frequently arises from leaders' recognizing the opportunity to gain resources for the groups they represent. In order to reach desired outcomes, such as greater resources, leaders must have power and personal resources to leverage their political activities (Mintzberg, 1983).

Despite the early recognition that political will was a vital contributor to political behavior by leaders, there has been little examination of the concept (Doldor, et al., 2013; Treadway, et al., 2005). Treadway et al. (2005) attempt a conceptualization of political will that utilizes two

personality traits, the need for achievement and intrinsic motivation, and determined that a need

for achievement has a greater influence on political will than intrinsic motivation. Treadway et

al. (2005) proposed that a leader may recognize that successful political behavior may help them

attain a high regard among others, thus contributing to their need for achievement. This was

found to be a more powerful form of motivation than intrinsic motivation which may be defined

as goal-directed behavior that is inherently rewarding (Treadway, et al., 2005). Doldor et al.

(2013) utilized a critical realism perspective to explore variations in political will across male

and female managers. This qualitative work revealed three dimensions of political will,

functional, ethical, and emotional. Doldor et al.'s (2013) dimensions move away from the

reliance on personality traits as seen in Treadway et al.'s (2005) work and offer a more complex

conceptualization of political will that suggests that leaders may have more nuanced motivations

for engaging in political behavior. According to Doldor et al. (2013) leaders may consider

political behavior a useful function of their job, an ethical prerogative, or an interesting task.

With limited measurement tools or consistent results related to political will, this study offers the

opportunity to expand the application of this concept to the tourism context. Therefore, this study

employed a qualitative approach such as that used by Dolder et al. (2013) which allowed tourism

advocates to describe their motivations for engaging in political behavior without the confines of

preconceived indicators of political will.

Leader cognitions

When considering the potential influences on leader behavior it is easy to overlook an important

component, a leader's recognition that they are recognized as a leader by followers. Ammeter et

al. (2002) described this situational awareness as leader cognitions. They integrate the cognitive

underpinnings of psychology to propose that leaders must possess a self-identity as a leader in

order for them to engage in leadership behaviors. Leader identity, along with power mental models (PMM) and political scripts, are all examples of knowledge structures that Ammeter et al. (2002) suggest leaders may use in determining the behaviors they engage in with followers. While Ammeter et al.'s (2002) sub-components provide a rich conceptualization of leader cognitions, a simplified approach to assessing leaders' identity may be prudent.

Leader identity may serve as the most valuable component of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) conceptualization of leader cognitions. Gardner and Avolio (1998) recognized that leader identification results from both self-identification by the leader and identification of the leader by their followers. They suggested that this results in a situated identity for the leader, which is constructed in a specific social context (Schlenker, 1985). For this study that context is the collective efforts by VHTA and tourism advocates to work with the tourism industry to gain political influence. It stands to reason that in order for a tourism advocate to engage in leadership behavior they must first recognize themselves as a political leader for the tourism industry, and must also be recognized as a leader by their followers. Therefore it is important to evaluate leader identity from both the perspective of the leaders and the followers.

Power Mental Models are the "organized mental representations of one's own and others' power that tend to lead to relatively predictable behaviors within a particular context" (Fiol, O'Connor, & Aguinis, 2001, p. 225). Essentially a leader may access their PMM to create a mental map of power dynamics within their network. They may utilize this information, specifically the differences in power levels, to gauge the appropriate leadership behavior with which to engage. For the study of tourism advocates it was useful to explore how advocates' perceive the power of

others within the tourism industry, including both fellow leaders and followers. The evaluation of PMMs may provide a richer understanding of the networks that should be examined as a part of understanding leader position.

Political scripts and strategies are the final knowledge structure that Ammeter et al. (2002) attribute to the behavior antecedents of leader cognition. They suggest that leaders aggregate their past experiences with political interactions to collect information on roles and event sequences that can be replicated for future interactions (Ammeter et al., 2002). Gardner and Avolio (1998) and Wofford and Goodwin (1994) suggest that leaders use scripts and strategies to determine which behaviors should be used with the specific followers they are trying to influence. This component of the leader cognition antecedent may be closely related to the contextual element; prior leadership episodes as these are the past interactions that can help inform the development of a leader's political strategies and scripts.

Leader social capital

The connections between social capital and leadership have been well established, and a leader's social capital is often attributed to her/his ability to build networked relationships, enhance cooperation among diverse individuals and groups, and facilitate resource exchanges (Bouty, 2000; Day, 2001; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). All of these outcomes of social capital may help tourism advocates organize and mobilize the tourism industry in pursuit of their desired political influence. Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998, p. 243) offer this definition of social capital, "the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit." Furthermore, they outline three interrelated dimensions that may be useful in conceptualizing social capital in the context

54

of tourism leadership. These include the structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions of social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), which are connected to the social networks in which leaders operate. This conceptualization of social capital emphasizes the importance of leader position in a network, a contextual element of political leadership identified by Ammeter et al. (2002). While conceptualizations of social capital have been applied in the context of tourism (McGehee, Lee, O'Bannon, & Perdue, 2010), namely Woolcock and Narayan's (2000) distinction between bridging and bonding social capital, the use of Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) work in this setting may provide a broader understanding of the concept's value in tourism.

Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) draw on Burt's (1992) work in defining the structural dimension of social capital that included the overall pattern of connections between network members. This neatly coincides with the examination of leader position, their location within a social network, which Ammeter et al. (2002) identify as an important contextual element to political behavior. While leader position identifies where an individual is in terms of a network, the structural dimension of social capital illustrates their potential for creating connections among other network members. The relational dimension of social capital describes the relationships that leaders develop with network members that may facilitate trust and respect (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). This dimension reflects the ability of leaders to develop high quality relationships with members of their network, which may ultimately help them influence followers to pursue common goals. In this case tourism advocates may rely upon their relational social capital to encourage tourism industry members to cooperate, agree to a unified message, and common legislative agenda. The final characteristic of social capital according to Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) is the cognitive dimension, which refers to the shared meanings

55

and narratives within a network. Tsai and Ghoshal (1998) suggest that the presence of the cognitive dimension of social capital can help encourage actions among network members that could benefit the group as a whole. In the context of the tourism industry the presence of the cognitive dimension, such as shared meanings regarding political outcomes, may be revealed within individual sectors of the industry, such as hotels or restaurants. It was crucial to understand whether tourism advocates are able to develop the cognitive dimension as its presence may help facilitate the creation of an industry wide voice and common legislative agenda.

Leader interpersonal style

Leader interpersonal style may be considered "the manner in which leaders express particular behaviors, which likely contributes to the target's interpretation of and subsequent effectiveness of such behaviors" (Ammeter et al., 2002, p. 763). Based upon this definition it is clear that leadership style can influence the behaviors that tourism advocates use to influence followers. For example, a leader that utilizes Transformational Leadership may be more apt to find ways to empower followers to participate in political activity, as opposed to a Transactional Leader who may motivate followers with the promise of greater resource in exchange for their support of political activities on behalf of the industry

 In their conceptualization of this leader antecedent, Ammeter et al. (2002) identify two constructs to encapsulate leader interpersonal style: social effectiveness and political skill. While these are important elements of developing and defining leadership style this may be an overly simplistic approach to exploring the concept. Leadership style represents a significant portion of the existing leadership research and there is a vast array of leadership styles that have been

observed and measured. In the context of political influence authors have focused on three styles, including inspirational, strong, and group, which have been examined for effectiveness in promoting political reform (Wallis & Dollery, 2005). Other authors have focused on the application of Transformational Leadership in advocacy efforts on behalf of people with disabilities (Hill, 2012).

As previously discussed examples of these styles include Transactional, Transformational, Servant, Community-Based, and Authentic Leadership. This is just a small sample of the leadership styles that have been studied and developed over time. However, they do represent a relatively well-established segment of potential leadership styles which have been shown to be effective in a variety of contexts. Perhaps most importantly they are relatively easy to identify as leaders who utilize them display observable and distinct characteristics. Furthermore, these styles have been explored in the context of tourism and therefore may offer an opportunity to more narrowly define the potential styles displayed by tourism advocates. In focusing on the presence of these styles among tourism advocates consistency in the stream of tourism leadership research may be gained.

2.5.3 Political Model of Leadership Target Antecedents

In their comprehensive model illustrating a variety of antecedents to leadership behavior Ammeter et al. (2002) include an important factor, the target group, or the followers that a leader is attempting to influence. For tourism advocates this group includes members of the tourism industry, specifically those who are members of an advocacy association such as the VHTA. Ammeter et al. (2002, p. 765) suggest that, "Attributes of the target audience play a key role in shaping the political behavior of the leader, as well as the target's reactions." As Gardner and

Avolio (1998) have contended, it is important to examine the attributes of the context, leader, and target group members holistically.

Target status, power and personality attributes

Two specific target attributes that Ammeter et al. (2002) suggest are worthy of examination include target power and target personality. Yukl and Tracey (1992) have demonstrated that a leader's selection of influence tactics may vary based upon the power difference between the target and the leader. For example, a leader who perceives that they have higher power than the target group may utilize influence tactics such as pressure, exchange, ingratiation, and legitimation (Yukl & Tracey, 1992). If the leader felt that they were subordinate to the target group they might utilize rationalization, or if power levels were equal they could utilize personal appeals of coalition tactics (Yukl & Tracey, 1992). Target personality is the other attribute identified by Ammeter et al. (2002), which they suggest should include a measure of target group member's propensity to trust their leaders. Multiple authors (Currall & Judge, 1995; Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995) suggest that followers with a higher propensity to trust their leaders are more likely to respond favorably to political behaviors that leaders engage in to influence them.

While target attributes are valuable variables to consider in the examination of influences on leader political behavior, the inclusion of target status, power, and personalities in Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political leader model may be somewhat redundant. The perceived power differentials between leaders and followers may be evaluated through the power mental models examined as a part of leader cognitions. Power between leaders and followers may be illustrated through the creation of social network maps, where higher centrality of a member may be

58

associated with higher levels of power. Therefore, this study proposes that there is not a need to include the additional variable of target power or status in the model. This study will also attempt to streamline Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political model of leadership by exploring the creation of trust between leaders and their target audience in the measurement of relational social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), rather than as a part of the original variable of target personality attributes. In the analysis of advocates' responses to questions regarding the creation of relational social capital particular attention was paid to their discussion of creating trust among followers, as this may help expose the environment for trust between leaders and followers that Ammeter et al. (2002) adopt as an antecedent from Yukl and Tracey (1992).

2.5.4 Political Model of Leadership Behaviors

Ammeter et al. (2002) identify a variety of political leadership behaviors within their model, including those that are proactive, reactive, and symbolic. Furthermore, they recognize that leaders may utilize these behaviors across three different levels: the individual, coalition, and network levels. A political leader's use of a behavior is dictated by the context, her / his personal attributes, and the attributes of the target audience (Ammeter et al., 2002). Tourism advocates may utilize these behaviors in order to accomplish a common goal, such as foster collaboration among industry members, creating a common voice on political issues, or developing a legislative agenda.

Action at individual, coalition, network levels

Political leaders may engage with their followers on an individual level to form dyadic relationships that allow them to develop close, personal connections with members of their target group. This can help them gain an understanding of individuals' needs (Liden & Mitchell, 1988,

1989) which may allow them to recognize areas of agreement or conflict within their networks.

The relationship construction between leaders and individual followers has been examined in depth in the Leader Member Exchange (LMX) literature. The LMX approach to leadership emphasizes the development of trust between leaders and followers, particularly as leaders incorporate individual followers into their inner circles of influence (Sparrowe & Liden, 1997). The strength and number of a leaders' relationships at the individual level may contribute to their power within a network (Kotter, 1985) as they have the opportunity to influence a greater number of individuals and therefore may be more effective in accomplishing their goals as a leader.

Political leaders may utilize the individual relationships they develop to create coalitions or, "an interacting group of individuals, deliberately constructed, independent of the formal structure, lacking its own internal formal structure, consisting of mutually perceived membership, issue oriented, focused on a goal or goals external to the coalition, and requiring concerted member action" (Stevenson, Pearce, & Porter, 1985, p. 261). Behaviors at this level may focus on organizing and mobilizing a group consisting of peers, subordinates, superiors, and outsider network members around a common interest (Bolman & Deal, 1991; DeLuca, 1999). For tourism advocates, coalitions may form around common interests held by a specific sector of the industry, such as hotels or restaurants.

Due to the potential conflicts across these coalitions it will also be important to observe tourism advocates' behaviors at the network level. This, the broadest level at which political leaders may operate, represents "the association of individuals and groups tied together into an interconnected

system. The ties can be characterized as linkages (e.g., affiliation bonds, authority, and task relationships) and/or 'channels' through which resources flow (e.g., information through the 'grapevine')" (Cobb, 1986, p. 490). For this study the network is the totality of the tourism industry in Virginia. Therefore when tourism advocates attempt to take on industry-wide activities, such as educating industry members about upcoming political issues, they may be considered to be operating at the network level, which in this case may consist of many interconnected networks. For example, there are networks within the lodging, restaurant, and attractions segments in addition to those networks which may exist to further economic development within Virginia or for other industries in the state that may be affected by tourism. However for this study the focus was on the networks within the tourism industry

Proactive political behaviors

Valle and Perrewe (2000) offer a distinction between proactive and reactive political behaviors. Proactive political behaviors may be considered "those actions the leader assertively undertakes in response to a perceived opportunity to influence a target and secure desired outcomes for one or more collective bodies he/she represents" (Ammeter et al., 2002, p. 771). While there are a multitude of proactive leadership behaviors that have been explored from various perspectives, including, impression management, influence tactics, and organizational politics, Ammeter et al., (2002) identify several that they contend are particularly useful in the context of political behavior. These are outlined in Table 1. In the context of tourism advocates, leaders may use these actions to foster collaboration, create a unified voice within the industry, or develop a legislative agenda.

Exemplification is an impression management technique that leaders employ to appeal to their

target audience. This entails utilizing a "lead by example" approach and projecting their

attributes of integrity, honesty, and moral worthiness. Exemplification may be used by leaders to

demonstrate what they consider dedication, commitment, and self-sacrificing behavior to the

cause to be. They demonstrate these characteristics themselves in an attempt to influence their

followers to do so as well, and thus this behavior is often associated with Transformational

Leadership (Gardner & Cleavenger, 1998).

Table 1. Potential Political Leadership Behaviors

Proactive Behaviors	Reactive Behaviors	Symbolic Influence
Impression Management • Exemplification • Ingratiation • Intimidation • Self-promotion • Vision promotion • Organizational promotion	Avoiding actions • Overconforming • Passing the buck • Playing dumb • Depersonalizing • Smoothing and stretching • Stalling	Rhetoric Spending time
Influence Tactics • Rational persuasion, • Inspirational appeals • Consultation • Exchange • Legitimating tactics • Coalition tactics	Avoiding blame • Buffing • Playing it safe • Justifying • Scapegoating • Misrepresenting • Escalating commitment	
Organizational Politics Tactics • Networking • Coalition-building • Use of expertise	Avoiding change • Resisting change • Protecting turf	

Ingratiation is another proactive behavior that leaders may use to encourage their followers to

like them and recognize desirable qualities such as warmth, attractiveness, charm, and humor

(Schlenker, 1980). Ammeter et al. (2002) and Liden and Mitchell (1989) recognize that leaders

may utilize ingratiation to initiate relationships with target audiences that they perceive to have higher levels of power than themselves. It is also possible that in situations where leaders recognize the need for committed follower support, they may also utilize ingratiation tactics (Ammeter et al., 2002).

In some ways intimidation tactics are the opposite of ingratiation tactics, as they are utilized by leaders to demonstrate the challenges followers would face if they do not support the leader Liden & Mitchell, 1989). Associated with coercion and manipulation, this technique is typically only used on followers over whom the leader perceives they have power and often results in a negative effect on building leader-follower relationships (Thacker & Wayne, 1995; Yukl, Kim, & Chavez, 1999).

In an effort to gain the respect and support of followers, regardless of their power differentials, leaders may engage in self-promotion to illustrate their competency (Jones & Pittman, 1982). In engaging in this behavior leaders must both emphasize and demonstrate their general ability or a possession of a specific skill to avoid appearing conceited among their followers (Turnley & Bolino, 2001). Some leaders may shift the focus away from themselves and attempt to use their vision or the organization they represent as a means of influencing followers. Specifically, leaders may employ vision promotion to differentiate their vision from an undesirable alternative (Ammeter et al., 2002). For example, a tourism advocate may emphasize the economic costs of a potential policy change and illustrate how their efforts to fight the change in policy will maintain or improve tourism business success. Organizational promotion is another tool that leaders may use to influence followers. Leaders may emphasize positive attributes of the organization such as

past successes. For example, tourism advocates may point to the VHTA and note the political victories they have won in past legislative sessions, such as maintaining the policy that requires a post-Labor Day public school start date.

Ammeter et al. (2002) also drew from the extensive work on influence tactics, initiated by Kipnis, Schmidt, and and Wilkinson (1980) and built upon by Yukl and Falbe (1990) and Yukl and Tracey (1992). From this work Ammeter et al. (2002) developed a taxonomy of influence tactics that highlighted some of the impression management behaviors previously discussed, but also added new and potentially useful political leadership behaviors. These included rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, consultation, exchange, legitimating tactics, and coalition tactics. More recently, Yukl (2002) examined the situations in which these behaviors were applied and determined that leaders use behaviors such as consultation, exchange, and legitimating tactics when attempting to influence those with lesser or equal power. Yukl (2002) found that inspirational appeals are mostly used by leaders to persuade those with less power than themselves, whereas rational persuasion is used across all levels of power.

The third category of proactive political behaviors includes those drawn from the organizational politics literature, which emphasizes the distinction between sanctioned and non-sanctioned political behaviors within organizations (Zanzi & O'Neill, 2001). Ammeter et al. (2002) synthesize the existing literature on political behaviors to identify several which add to the list of proactive political behaviors examined in this study. These include networking, coalition-building, and use of expertise. Networking, as defined by Zanzi and O'Neill (2001, p. 251) includes "Taking advantage of one's access to a network of organizational and/or occupational

incumbents, specialists or power holders (special ties with professional, social, or family group."

This may be influenced by an advocate's social capital and position within a network. Coalition-

building is also a tactic that may rely on a leaders' connectivity, as it is the creation of

"temporary or permanent alliance with other individuals or groups to increase the support of

one's position or to achieve a particular objective" (Zanzi & O'Neill, 2001, p. 251). The use of

expertise represents a distinct addition to the list of proactive political behaviors. As defined by

Zanzi and O'Neill (2001, p. 251) this includes "Providing particular skills, unique knowledge, or

solutions to enhance one's position." Ammeter et al. (2002) propose that this tactic may often be

utilized when leaders rely on the input of consultants or area experts outside of their field of

knowledge.

Reactive political behaviors

While leaders utilize proactive political behaviors to pursue desired outcomes for the groups they

represent, they may use reactive political behaviors to avoid unwanted demands or protect their

group's interests. Ammeter et al. (2002, p. 771) have defined reactive political behaviors as those

that are "initiated in response to a perceived threat to the collective(s) in order to minimize or

forestall the adverse consequences." Ashforth and Lee (1990) developed a typology to

conceptualize reactive political behaviors that includes behaviors used to avoid action, blame, or

change. Ashforth and Lee (1990) and Valle and Perrewe (2000) defined and measured specific

actions within each of these categories. They considered the following examples of behaviors

that leaders could employ to avoid action: over-conforming, passing the buck, playing dumb,

depersonalizing, smoothing and stretching, and stalling. Ashforth and Lee (1990) specifically

identify evidence of these reactive behaviors in statements that leaders make such as "It's always

been done this way" or "The rules clearly say." According to Ashforth and Lee (1990) and Valle

and Perrewe (2000) reactive behaviors are intended to help leaders avoid or forestall blame including playing it safe, justifying, scapegoating, misrepresenting, and escalating commitment. Lastly, behaviors used to avoid change may include withholding support or protecting turf (Ashforth & Lee, 1990; Valle & Perrewe, 2000).

Symbolic influence

Evidence suggests that effective leaders utilize both verbal and nonverbal, or symbolic behaviors, to influence their followers (Emrich, Brower, Feldman, & Garland, 2001; House, 1977). Forms of symbolic influence may range from expressive behaviors such as eye contact, facial expression, or gestures (DePaulo, 1992). While these nonverbal behaviors have been shown to be influential for leaders in their efforts to gain support from followers, it is challenging to measure them and their impacts without observation of their use. As this study relies upon tourism advocates' self-reported leadership behavior it will be prudent to examine symbolic behaviors such as the rhetoric used in conversation with followers and the amount of time leaders spend with followers. Ammeter et al. (2002) highlight rhetoric and spending time as two important symbolic influences. They highlight the work of Emrich et al. (2001) who utilized rhetorical analysis of presidential speeches to demonstrate how the use of image-based rhetoric as opposed to concept-based rhetoric was associated with more effective leaders. In discussion of interactions with their followers, tourism advocates may be asked to discuss or demonstrate some of the wording or phrases they use to communicate with followers to determine which rhetoric they employ. Based on Peters (1978) work, Ammeter et al. (2002) recognize that the amount of time a leader spends discussing a topic with potential followers helps emphasize the importance of that subject. The more time spent, the greater the importance of the subject. Asking tourism

advocates to report the amount of time they spent during a specific period on specific issues helped determine if they employed this influence tactic.

Combination of tactics

In their political model of leadership Ammeter et al. (2002) acknowledge that no leader is going to rely solely on one type of behavior or even group of behaviors (e.g. impression management) when attempting to influence followers. In fact there is evidence that leaders are more effective when they combine similar types of behaviors in efforts to influence followers (Falbe & Yukl, 1992; Farmer & Maslyn, 1999; Yukl, 2002). Based on this previous evidence of leaders' reliance on a combination of tactics, this study assumed that such complex approaches would also be used by tourism advocates and sought to determine whether that is so.

2.5.5 Political Model of Leadership Leader Outcomes

A significant challenge posed by the exploration of influential variables, within any context, is the measurement of their effectiveness. Determining how to define successful political behaviors is no exception, particularly since the goals that leaders strive to achieve may not always be entirely accomplished. In the context of tourism advocates, a leader should not be considered a failure if they do not create a unified voice for the industry. It is known that this is a significant challenge, and the efforts made to achieve that goal are valuable in their own right.

Ammeter et al. (2002) have offered a useful approach to examining the outcomes of political behavior, however, by exploring the outcomes as perceived by both the leader and the followers. This dual voice approach allows for cross examination of the perceived success of political behaviors, and while there inevitably will be a variety of perspectives on success, the opportunity

will be available to identify areas of consensus and disagreement on effective leadership for both populations. Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model differentiates between outcomes for leaders and followers (members of the leader's target audience), with some similarities, such as increased levels of trust. For leaders, potential outcomes of political behaviors include: performance evaluation, power, reputation, promotion, and compensation.

Performance Evaluation

Performance evaluation provides the opportunity for leaders to be assessed based on their accomplishment of specific goals, or at minimum, the efforts made to achieve those goals, which is often more realistic (Pfeffer, 1981). Ammeter et al. (2002) suggests that for political leaders these goals are often self-set, and that the achievement of personal goals is an appropriate substitute for performance. Therefore for this study, the self-evaluation of personal goals by tourism advocates offered the opportunity to examine the performance outcome suggested by Ammeter et al. (2002).

Power and Reputation

Power and reputation are both challenging to evaluate in an unbiased manner from the perspective of the leader, but they are undeniably a desired outcome of political behavior for many leaders. As Pfeffer (1992) suggests, leaders attempt to demonstrate they are effective in order to be seen as powerful among their followers. Therefore it may be valuable to allow leaders to self-evaluate whether they believe specific political behaviors resulted in higher levels of power within their networks. Matthews (1988) reminds us that power and reputation are closely linked. Thus, asking tourism advocates to assess their reputation as leaders may provide the opportunity to illustrate this key outcome of political behaviors. Ammeter et al. (2002, p.

786) suggest that as an outcome reputation is particularly important as it, "is the culmination of the political behaviors and substantive contributions made by leaders that contributes to an overall indication of reputational effectiveness, which feeds back to contextual factors like accountability, and also the selection, use, and target interpretation of political behaviors in future episodes."

Promotion and Compensation

Promotion is frequently viewed as an outcome of effectiveness at defined tasks (Ammeter et al., 2002) and provides a measurable example of whether outside parties consider a leader successful. However, for tourism advocates a promotion is not as simple as moving up a corporate ladder. Instead, it may be represented in the form of being asked to serve on the VHTA advisory board or being officially tasked with political leadership responsibilities in their own business or sector. Ammeter et al. (2002) also identify compensation as a leader outcome, however this study proposes that tourism advocates, who for the most part volunteer their time as political leaders, would not be motivated by increased compensation as an outcome of political behavior. Thus, in an effort to simplify the model, compensation will not be evaluated as a leader outcome.

2.5.6 Political Model of Leadership Target Outcomes

To provide a second voice in the evaluation of leader effectiveness this study assessed tourism industry members' perceptions of outcomes resulting from tourism advocates' political leadership behavior. Specifically, tourism industry members were asked to consider how tourism advocates' political behavior effected their affective reactions, cognitive reactions and attitudes towards tourism advocates as well as their personal performance in political activities (Ammeter

et al., 2002). By allowing members of the tourism industry to report on their perceptions of these outcomes another perspective can be referenced to assess the impact of tourism advocates' political leadership efforts.

Affective reactions

Ammeter et al. (2002) propose that followers may experience changes in their emotional connection to a leader as a result of that individual's political leadership behaviors. They emphasize trust as an affective reaction as this plays an important role in potential interactions between leaders and followers in the political context. Ammeter et al. (2002) suggest that trust is built upon the development of mutual understanding and recognition of shared values between leaders and followers. As such, trust can be strengthened if followers perceive a leader's political behaviors to be appropriate to the power differentials between them. This conceptualization of trust neatly aligns with the definition used by Mistzal (1996, p. 9 - 10) which states that trust is the belief that the "results of somebody's intended action will be appropriate from our point of view." Ammeter et al. (2002) also suggest that when there are high levels of trust between leaders and followers, there is potential for cooperative interaction. Due to the importance of trust in facilitating cooperative behaviors and other vital interactions between leaders and followers there has been a significant amount of attention given to measuring trust from the followers' perspective. McAllister (1995) developed a scale to allow for the measurement of trust between individuals, which can be adapted for use in the context of political leadership. The use of this quantitative measure of trust from the followers' perspective can be compared to the qualitative evidence of leaders' efforts to build and utilize trust which may arise as a part of their discussions of social capital or interpersonal style.

Cognitive reactions

In addition to the affective reactions that followers' might recognize as an outcome from tourism advocates' political behavior, Ammeter et al. (2002) also recognize the potential for cognitive reactions. These reactions may be expressed through followers' use of implicit leadership theories, which inform followers' perceptions of what defines an effective leader including the traits, skills, and behaviors they may utilize (Eden & Leviatan, 1975; Lord, 1985; Yukl, 2002). By measuring followers' assessments of an effective leader much can be learned about what they perceive to be useful political leadership behavior. Evidence suggests that followers' evaluations of a leaders' political skill, that being a leader's ability to read the context of a situation and select the appropriate behaviors, serves as a useful proxy for the followers' perception of leader effectiveness (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2006; Douglas & Ammeter, 2004). The measurement of political skill has traditionally come from the leaders' perspective (Ferris, Witt, & Hochwarter, 2001). Douglas and Ammeter (2004) adapted these early scales to allow for followers to assess their leaders' political skill as a proxy for their effectiveness as a leader. The use of this approach to assessing followers' cognitive reactions to political leaders provided an assessment of specific actions and strategies that followers' may perceive as effective or ineffective.

Attitudes

The evaluation of tourism industry members' affective and cognitive reactions to tourism advocates' political leadership behavior are useful for recognizing what is or is not working in the leader/follower relationship. Ammeter et al. (2002) also suggest that political leadership behaviors may lead to outcomes related to followers' attitudes, providing another source of information related to tourism industry members' perceptions of tourism advocates' political behaviors. Most commonly these are associated with job satisfaction as the work environment is

frequently the setting for political leadership studies (Ferris & Kacmar, 1992; Harrell-Cook, Ferris, & Dulebohn, 1999). In the context of this study job satisfaction is not applicable, but it would be valuable to know if political leadership behaviors influenced followers' satisfaction with their membership in an advocacy association such as the VHTA. An understanding of this target outcome could provide insight into what political leadership behaviors contribute to followers' satisfaction with their membership in an advocacy association. However, this may be challenging to achieve as there has been little development of scales measuring satisfaction with advocacy group membership.

Performance

The final target outcome that Ammeter et al. (2002) identify is performance, which like the attitude, is often conceptualized within a workplace environment. In that context, performance may be reported by leaders or self-reported by followers (Kacmar, Bozeman, Carlson, & Anthony, 1999) and may be related to activities such as sales, innovativeness, or goal achievement. In the context of advocacy groups, which had little or no examination from the perspective of political leadership effectiveness, follower performance may be conceptualized as participation in advocacy group supported activities, which may help in the achievement of the group's common goal. It would be valuable to understand which political leadership behaviors may result in follower participation in these activities, to ensure that increased performance is an outcome that is achieved through future political leadership efforts.

2.6. PROPOSED MODEL AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This literature review has highlighted the connections between politics, leadership, and tourism, demonstrating the need for a deeper exploration of their intersection. As outlined above, the

study of leadership has yielded many approaches to understanding how leaders influence their followers. Leadership has also been examined in a variety of settings, including the political arena. In the political context, leadership may be manifest through advocacy groups who work on behalf of a collective interest, such as the tourism industry. The summary of the previous examinations of tourism advocacy groups presented in this literature review revealed a number of gaps in the general understanding of the individuals who serve as tourism advocates, what behaviors they engage in to gain the support of tourism industry members, the influential forces behind those behaviors, and how both advocates and industry members assess their success.

The literature review also highlighted a model that can be used to address these gaps in the literature. Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political model of leadership provides a holistic approach to exploring what influences tourism advocates and their behaviors. It also allows for an examination of these behaviors' outcomes from the perspective of both follower and leader. Therefore, a modified version of this model (Figure 7) was used to address this study's four research questions.

Context		Leader Antecedents	Leader Political Behaviors	Leader Outcomes

Figure 7. A proposed tourism-specific political model of leadership

Context
- Organizational Structure
- Organizational Culture
- Accountability
- Leader Position
- Prior episodes

Participation in Political Leadership

Leader Antecedents
- Industry Knowledge
- Personality Attributes
- Political Will
- Cognitions
- Social Capital
- Interpersonal style

Leader Political Behaviors
- Action at individual, coalition, network levels
- Proactive Behaviors
- Reactive Behaviors
- Symbolic Influence

Leader Outcomes
- Performance Evaluation
- Promotion and Mobility
- Power
- Reputation

Target Outcomes
- Affective Reactions
- Cognitive Reactions
- Attitude
- Performance

Figure 7. A proposed tourism-specific political model of leadership

The first research question pertains to developing an understanding of the context in which

tourism advocates operate. As Zaccaro and Klimoski (2002) note, the environment in which

leaders operate determines how they obtain the role and authority to act as leaders. However,

Ammeter et al. (2002) do not include a direct relationship between context and the actions of

leaders, therefore the model utilized in this study includes a direction relationship between the

contextual elements in which a tourism advocate operates and their participation in political

leadership. An understanding of the contextual elements (including organizational structure,

organizational culture, accountability measures, leader position, and prior episodes) which

influence tourism advocates may reveal commonalities among successful leaders which can be

replicated to produce additional successful tourism advocates. This research question aimed to address the lack of focus on the tourism advocates themselves, a population noticeably absent in existing studies of political leadership in tourism (Anastasiadou, 2008; Greenwood, 1993; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a; Tyler & Dinan, 2001b; Swanson & Brothers, 2012).

RQ1: How do contextual elements influence tourism advocates' participation in political leadership?

The literature review also reveals a dearth of knowledge related to the political behaviors that tourism advocates engage in as part of their efforts to influence members of the tourism industry. Ammeter et al. (2002) suggest that in addition to the context in which all political leaders operate they each have their own attributes that influence their political behaviors. For tourism advocates these antecedents include: industry knowledge, personality attributes, cognitions, social capital, and interpersonal style (Ammeter et al., 2002). The second research question for this study was designed to explore tourism advocates' political behavior antecedents. A deeper understanding of these characteristics will illuminate the process which guides tourism advocates' ability to fulfill political leadership roles, such as creating a unified voice for the industry (McGehee & Meng, 2006), fostering collaboration (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007), and creating a legislative agenda (Swanson & Brothers, 2012). This understanding will build upon previous investigations of tourism advocacy groups (Anastasiadou, 2008; Greenwood, 1993; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a; Tyler & Dinan, 2001b; Swanson & Brothers, 2012), which have identified the value and goals of these entities, but do not provide evidence of the behaviors leaders have used to accomplish those goals. The following research question required an examination of both leader antecedents and the political behaviors they utilize.

RQ2: What antecedents determine tourism advocates' selection of political behaviors used to influence members of the tourism industry?

While a deeper understanding of tourism advocates and the behaviors in which they engage will help create a richer profile of political leaders in the tourism industry, it is also valuable to explore what is considered successful political behavior. The majority of the existing literature on tourism advocates simply identifies the roles of political leaders in tourism. This study attempted to uncover the motivations and influential factors behind tourism advocates' fulfillment of those roles, and will also provide an exploration of the perceived effectiveness of their actions. The third research question addressed this evaluation from the perspective of the tourism advocates themselves. As outlined in the literature review, Ammeter et al. (2002) identify several potential leader outcomes that result from political behavior. They suggest these outcomes can be used to measure the effectiveness of political behavior in terms of gains or losses for the leaders themselves.

RQ3: What are VHTA tourism advocates' perceptions of the outcomes of their political behaviors directed to members of the tourism industry?

The fourth research question in this study addressed tourism industry members' perceptions of tourism advocates' political behaviors. Ammeter et al. (2002) provide several follower outcomes that can be used as proxy measures for effectiveness of political behavior, in terms of followers' affective and cognitive reactions, attitudes, and performance.

RQ4: What are tourism industry members' perceptions of the outcomes of tourism advocates' political behavior?

This study, guided by these four research questions, expands the broader tourism leadership literature by including a multi-perspective approach to examining successful leadership. Furthermore it advances the growing interest in tourism advocacy groups by creating a profile of

the individuals who assume leadership roles and serve as the conduit between the tourism industry and policymakers. Lastly, it builds upon the established record of leadership roles, such as creating a unified voice for the industry, initiating collaboration within the industry, and developing a legislative agenda to present to policymakers, to explore the behaviors tourism advocates use to fulfill these leadership roles.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the methodology designed to address the four research questions developed from the literature review. It first outlines those concerns in the context of the political model of leadership (Ammeter et al., 2002) that was modified for use in this study. Subsequently, it details the mixed method approach that will be applied to consider each of the research questions. This includes the use of in-depth interviews with the tourism advocacy population and the survey targeting the tourism industry member, or follower, population. This discussion includes the preliminary identification of scales that were used to measure the variables related to the follower outcomes component of the model.

3.2. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

This study addressed the following research questions developed to advance the understanding of advocacy and political leadership in the tourism industry:

RQ1: How do contextual elements influence tourism advocates' participation in political leadership?

RQ2: What antecedents determine tourism advocates' selection of political behaviors used to influence members of the tourism industry?

RQ3: What are VHTA tourism advocates' perceptions of the outcomes of their political behaviors directed to members of the tourism industry?

RQ4: What are tourism industry members' perceptions of the outcomes of tourism advocates' political behavior?

As depicted in Figure 7, RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3 were addressed using qualitative data from in-depth interviews with tourism advocates. These interviews were designed to be exploratory and utilized a variety of theories from the organizational behavior and leadership literature to

examine the presence and relevance of the contextual elements, leader antecedents, political behaviors, and leader outcomes identified in Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political model of leadership.
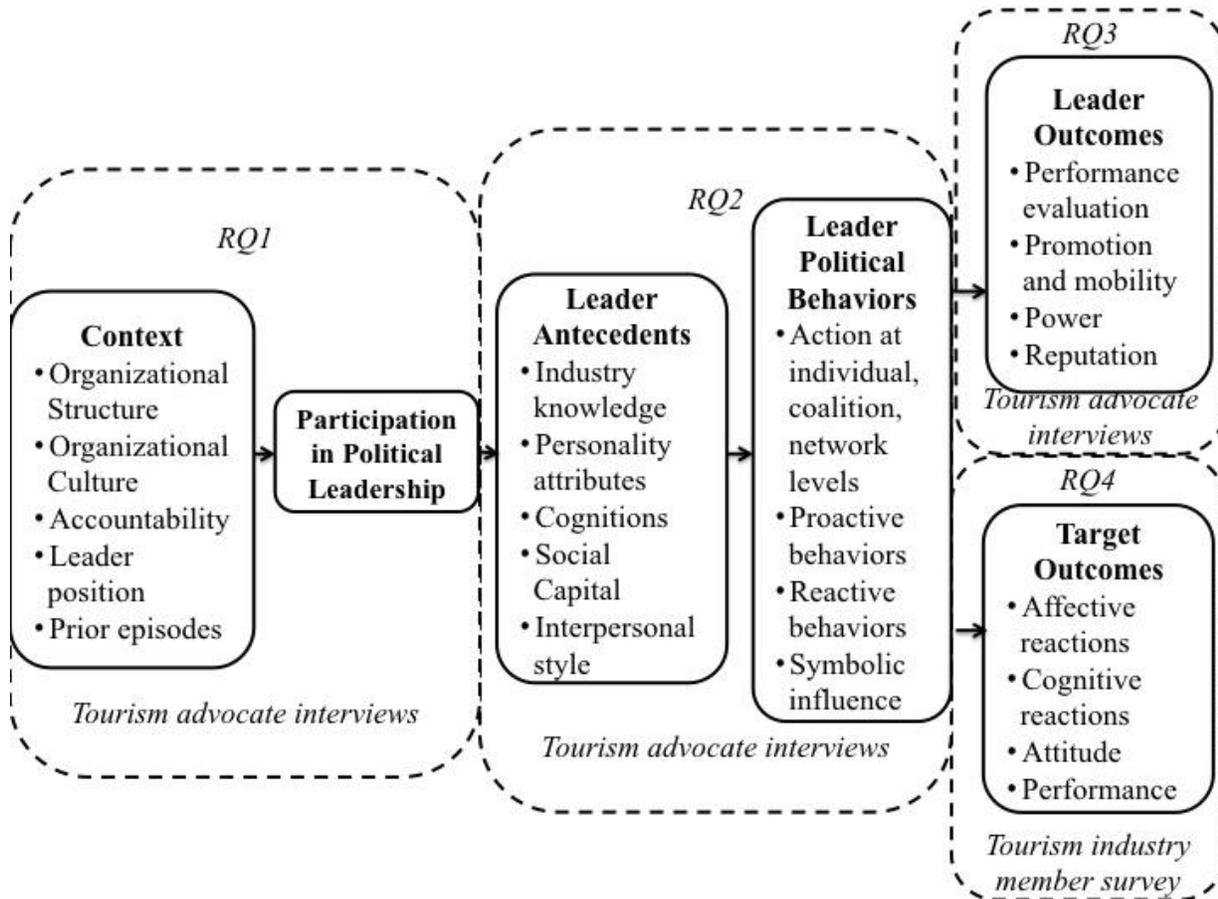
Figure 8. The research framework utilizing a tourism-specific political model of leadership

RQ4 utilized quantitative data collected from an online survey of VHTA members who represent the target audience, or followers, for tourism advocates. The scales used to measure the target outcomes defined in Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model represent a mix of established and exploratory measures designed to expand the understanding of advocacy groups in tourism. The subsequent description will follow the format of the literature review and outline each component of the model, its associated measures, and analytical technique(s).

3.3. MIXED METHODS APPROACH

The use of an interpretivist paradigm for this study supported the exploratory nature of the research questions outlined above. Throughout the study the researcher was guided by an ontological perspective that accepts that reality is shaped by contextual elements, such as an individual's past experiences and education, and thus multiple realities can exist (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). Furthermore, the researcher subscribed to an epistemology that accepts the study participants and the researcher are equal partners in knowledge creation (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). The intepretivist paradigm allowed for utilization of a mixed methodological approach to addressing the above research questions, and it will facilitate a richer understanding of political leadership in the context of tourism (DeCrop, 2004). The use of a mixed methods approach allowed for the expression of diverse views, the exploration of different research questions, and a triangulation of data sources (Bryman, 2006).

The modification of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model to suit the context of tourism required that both tourism advocates' and their followers' voices contribute to the exploration of political leadership. For this study in-depth interviews were utilized to permit tourism advocates to discuss the contextual elements and antecedents that each perceives influence their political behavior and its outcomes. Interviews were the most appropriate data collection method for this population as Research Questions 1, 2, and 3 required an exploratory examination of variables that have not yet been examined in the context of tourism. Furthermore, the use of interviews provided tourism advocate informants with an opportunity to explore and explain the concepts in Ammeter et al.'s (2002) modified model (Figure 8) in their own voice. This provides a richer profile of tourism advocates as a whole which will extend the understanding of their

development and behaviors and ultimately may help further modify Ammeter et al.'s (2002)

model for use for analysis of tourism. The inclusion of the followers' voice in the study required

the use of quantitative methods, namely an online survey. Therefore, Research Question 4 was

explored using a survey of tourism industry members, which contains scales designed to measure

followers' perceived outcomes of leadership behavior.

An exploratory sequential design is employed for this mixed method study which combines the

strengths of both quantitative (large sample size, generalization) and qualitative methods analytic

approaches (small sample size, in-depth details). As described by Creswell and Plano Clark

(2011) an exploratory sequential design begins with qualitative data collection and analysis. The

findings from the qualitative stage can then be used to shape the tools used in quantitative data

collection (Figure 9).
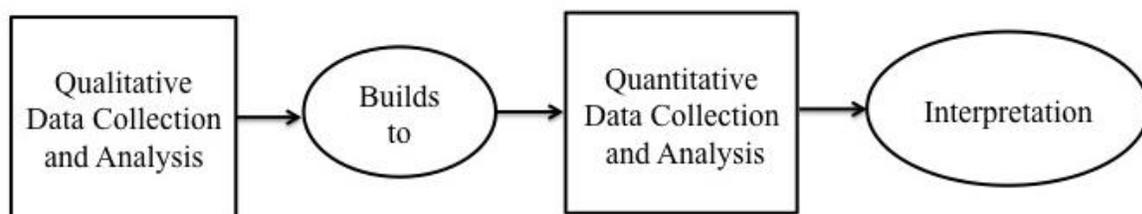
Figure 9. Cresswell and Plano Clark's (2011) Exploratory Sequential Mixed Methods Design.
Creswell, J., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*
(2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Used under fair use, 2015.

An exploratory sequential design is valuable in studies where the relationships between study

variables are unknown and quantitative measurement instruments must be created or modified to

a new context (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Harrison & Reilly, 2011). Such a research design was well suited for this study as the interviews with tourism advocates revealed concepts related to followers' outcomes (e.g. their affective and cognitive reactions, attitudes, and behaviors) that were incorporated in the quantitative stage of the study. In this study, data saturation within the qualitative findings indicated the opportunity to incorporate those findings into the quantitative data collection tool. These emergent findings were used in concert with the scales identified in the above literature review, and together they were used to measure followers' outcomes. Ultimately the qualitative and quantitative data were connected and related to understand more comprehensively who serves as tourism industry advocates in the Commonwealth of Virginia, what behaviors they engage in to gain the support of tourism industry members, the influential forces behind those behaviors, and how both advocates and industry members assess the relative success of those behaviors. As Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) have argued, merging of the two independent datasets may present some challenges, particularly in integrating data collected for two different purposes (generalization and in-depth understanding) and addressing contradictions in the data. Specifically, contradictions in the data may provide an opportunity to identify shortcomings in leadership behavior, or followers' limited understanding of leadership action. This required the researcher to be aware of the potential for these contradictions and to be prepared to discuss why they occur.

However, the exploratory sequential design offers benefits, such as facilitating data, methods, and participant triangulation. Triangulation of data, methods, and participants improves the trustworthiness of the study's findings (DeCrop, 2004) by providing multiple perspectives across various sources of information (Henderson, 1991). Data triangulation was achieved in this study

through the use of qualitative data, quantitative data, and the review of secondary data sources such as VHTA documents and records as well as tourism advocates' resumes. The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods provided the opportunity for method triangulation. Finally participants' triangulation was accommodated through the use of multiple study populations, the two main categories being tourism advocates and their followers. Within these populations, efforts were made to ensure various sectors of the tourism industry are represented in the responses. Further efforts to ensure trustworthiness of the qualitative findings and the reliability and validity of quantitative findings will be addressed in the subsequent sections.

3.4 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH TOURISM ADVOCATES

The population of tourism advocates included both formal (VHTA employees and board members) and informal (general industry members) leaders who play a role in gaining political influence for the tourism industry. The VHTA President and staff assisted in the identification of a sample of tourism advocates who were invited to participate in this. Efforts were made to include participants from all sectors of the industry, including lodging, restaurants, attractions, promotion, and transportation. This snowball sampling technique was used to develop the sample of tourism advocates, both within and outside of VHTA. Members of the snowball sample (those identified by VHTA staff and interviewed tourism advocates) were given an introduction to the study and invited to participate in an interview.

Data collection continued until data saturation was achieved, with 26 interviews completed (Stevenson, et al., 2008; Swanson & Brothers, 2012; Ruhanen & Reid, 2014). These interviews lasted approximately one hour, were digitally recorded, and transcribed using Casting Words transcription services. During the interview, the interviewer also noted data related to participant

body language and nonverbal cues (e.g. hesitation or excited tone) as a part of data collection. The qualitative data was uploaded into nVivo to assist in the coding and organization of the data analysis. Coding of the data followed the open coding and subsequent axial coding processes, and constant comparison was utilized throughout to help ensure consistency in the analysis.

Efforts to achieve trustworthiness of the qualitative data captured in the tourism advocate interviews help ensure that the data are credible, transferable, dependable, and confirmable (DeCrop, 2004). Credibility was achieved through prolonged engagement with the research setting, namely the political arena in which tourism advocates operate. The researcher fostered prolonged engagement by attending regular VHTA governmental affairs committee meetings (hosted via conference call every Friday at 2:00 P.M.) and participating in VHTA political advocacy events such as the Virginia Travel and Hospitality Day on the Hill (January 28th and 29th, 2015). Credibility was also addressed through the use of member checks, which allowed participants an opportunity to review the transcripts of their interviews and make any changes to the factual discrepancies that may have been accidently transcribed from the interview (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Transferability of the findings was achieved by ensuring purposive sampling of tourism advocates (DeCrop, 2004), which allowed for multiple perspectives to be included in the qualitative data. The creation of a detailed, but flexible, research plan that was updated with any changes to the data collection and analysis procedures supported the dependability and confirmability of the qualitative findings (DeCrop, 2004; Kline, McGehee, & Knollenberg, 2014). Confirmability was also addressed for this study through the use of an audit trail, which allowed external auditors (e.g. dissertation committee members) to review a reflexive journal maintained by the researcher. The following discussion outlines the interview questions and their

relationship to Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model. A pilot test of these interview questions was conducted with members of the tourism industry to ensure that they were clearly stated and accurately addressed the concepts included in the model.

3.4.1 Contextual Elements

The following outlines a series of questions and analysis tools that were developed from the literature to assess the contextual elements that may influence advocates' participation in political leadership (RQ1). These contextual factors include: organizational structure, organizational culture, accountability, leader position, and prior episodes.

For this study Mintzberg's (1979) three types of organizational structures were utilized. To assess how VHTA may be classified into this typology, a review of existing information, such as VHTA bylaws, was used to examine the organizational structure. Information regarding organizational structure was also sought through conversations with the Association's staff. These questions included

Organizational Structure Question 1: Is VHTA an organization that relies on a single individual to make decisions or do major decisions involve multiple individuals?

Organizational Structure Question 2: Is the VHTA decision-making process guided by procedures and policies that seek to ensure multiple opportunities for input? For example, do members vote on issues, or does the VHTA board of directors determine the Association agenda?

Organizational Structure Question 3: How would you characterize VHTA's relative reliance on the industry knowledge of its members in advance the Association's political agenda?

The responses to these questions and the information found in secondary data sources were examined for the presence of centralization, formalization, and reliance on professional skills. Evidence of high centralization would be characterized by evidence that suggests only one

person is making decisions, whereas low centralization would be characterized by multiple individuals making a decision (Fredrickson, 1986). Evidence of well-developed and routinized formal rules and procedures as integral to the VHTA decision-making process would indicate that formalization is vital to the Association's structure. Conversely, if there is limited evidence of those procedures, this may indicate less reliance on formality (Fredrickson, 1986). Finally, the degree to which VHTA relies on tourism advocates' knowledge of their sector of the industry (e.g. attractions, lodging, restaurants) to help guide the decision-making process related to the legislative agenda was examined. Secondary data and staff member responses could indicate a high level of reliance, i.e. VHTA expects its advocates to have a strong working knowledge of the political needs of their sector niche within the industry, or they could indicate a low level of reliance, i.e. VHTA holds little expectations for the advocates to incorporate their sector-specific knowledge into decision-making processes. As Fredrickson (1986) has observed, in complex environments organizational structure often relies not on formal authority, but on the professional knowledge of individuals within the structure, who can use that understanding to identify needs and challenges for their component of the structure. Interview participant's responses were used to classify VHTA's organizational structure. Responses that suggest VHTA is characterized by high levels centralization, low levels of formalization, and little reliance on the input of individual's professional knowledge will be indicative of a Simple structure. Responses that reveal high formalization, high centralization, and a high degree of reliance on the input of individual's professional knowledge provide evidence of a Machine Bureaucracy. Lastly, responses that contain evidence of little formalization and centralization, but a high reliance on the input of individual's professional knowledge indicate that VHTA's organizational structure is a Professional Bureaucracy.

As noted above, Schein's approach to organizational culture was used in this study. It provided a simple means of recognizing valuable components of an organizational culture, but did not require the VHTA culture to be initially confined to pre-specified dimensions. Baumgartner (2009) utilized Schein's (1989) levels to frame interview questions that explored organizational structures designed to facilitate corporate sustainability. This study employed a similar approach, which will allow VHTA staff members to discuss the organization's culture. While limiting these questions to responses from VHTA staff members will introduce some bias, it is proposed that they will be the most familiar with efforts to create the organization's culture.

> *Organizational Culture Questions: What are VHTA's values? Where did those values come from? How do you see those values manifested in VHTA's actions and strategies?*

Responses to these questions were coded based upon themes that emerged in the participants' responses. These questions were designed to reveal all three of Schein's levels of culture. It was valuable to note whether interviews with advocates who are not VHTA staff members mention or emphasize the assumptions, values, and artifacts that are introduced in the responses to these questions. In doing so connections among tourism advocates' perceptions of organizational culture and behavior were revealed.

Mero, Guidice, and Werner (2014) developed a scale to assess perceived accountability that evaluates an individual's awareness that their performance is observed by others and requires justification. This formulation aligns with Tetlock's (1992) definition of accountability, used in this study. To assess accountability concerns at VHTA, the following questions were designed with Mero et al.'s (2014) scale and Tetlock's (1992) conceptualization of accountability in mind:

> *Q5. Of those individuals and/or groups (those that the interview participant has identified as fellow leaders, and the followers they serve), who do you feel most closely monitors your*

actions and or behavior in this area? How do you justify your political leadership actions to those that monitor them?

Tourism advocates' responses to the above question helped determine to whom they believe themselves accountable. Coding for these responses relied upon themes that emerged related to the organizations or individuals that the tourism advocates feel accountable to, e.g. the VHTA Board of Directors or VHTA members. In addition to identifying the audiences that tourism advocates feel accountable to, this question allowed them to expand on how they account for their actions. Tourism advocates' perceptions of their actions for achieving accountability were coded according to emergent themes.

Measures of leadership position included rank and centrality. Brass and Burkhard (1993) developed this quantified measurement of rank by assigning a value to each level of an agency's formal organizational chart, i.e. 1 = non-supervisor, 2 = first-level supervisor, 3 = branch supervisor, 4 = division supervisor, 5 = agency director. A similar technique may be used to assess the rank of tourism advocates who may be VHTA general members (1), employees (2), and those who serve of the board of directors (3). While simplistic, this approach allows for the ability to compare rank and examine its impact on leader behaviors. This information can be gathered from secondary data sources including VHTA membership lists.

Advocate centrality was measured using an egocentric network created by inquiring about network contacts in both personal interviews with the advocates and online surveys with general VHTA members. By measuring the networks of both populations a more comprehensive network was created and a more reliable measure of centrality was gained. As the emphasis of this study was on political leadership in the tourism industry advocate informants will be asked to identify network members who they connect with in the context of political actions:

Q4. Now I'd like to ask you about where you see yourself as "fitting in" to the tourism industry in Virginia. For example, who are some of the individuals that you recognize as other key leaders (peers) in promoting the political agenda of the hospitality and tourism industry? Are there other organizations that you work with in your advocacy efforts? Conversely, who are some of the individuals or groups in the tourism industry who you represent as an advocate?

Participant's responses to these questions were recorded in the freeware program Gephi, a tool

for social network analysis. This freeware allows the user to enter data on network members and

their directional connections within the network, which allows for calculations of in-degree and

out-degree centrality and the production of social network maps like that offered as Figure 6.

The literature on leaders' political actions yields no evidence of tested measures for prior

episodes. However, assessing leaders' perceptions of their prior episodes was achieved through

the use of the following questions in a personal interview with tourism advocates:

Q3. I'd like you hear your story, tell me how you got to this position as a tourism industry leader:

Prompt 3: As a tourism advocate could you describe one or two of the early political activities you were actively involved in (possibly as a member of VHTA)? For example, educating fellow industry members on the importance of a legislative agenda item, meeting with policymakers. What was your approach to these activities?

Prompt 4: How did these activities impact your involvement in VHTA since then?

The responses to this question were coded based upon themes that emerge from the participants'

responses. It was important to record the type of political activities in which the advocates

engage (e.g. educating fellow industry members on the importance of a legislative agenda item,

meeting with policy-makers) and if there were any specific individuals mentioned. The

advocates' perception of the outcome of these activities was crucial to record as well (e.g. a

89

positive or negative outcome), as this data could be compared to the advocates' reported political behaviors (assessed in interview questions Q6, 7, and 8).

3.4.2 Leader Antecedents

The following outlines a series of questions and analysis tools that were developed from the literature to assess the leadership antecedents that may influence the political behaviors employed by tourism advocates as addressed in RQ2. These include: industry knowledge, personality attributes, political will, leader cognitions, leader social capital, and leader interpersonal style.

In order to modify two of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) important leader antecedents to the context of political actions in tourism, this study employed an exploratory approach to identifying industry knowledge and personality attributes that are relevant to tourism advocates.

> *Q3. I'd like you hear your story, tell me how you got to this position as a tourism industry leader:*
>
> *Prompt 1: Does your industry or sector-specific knowledge help you as a tourism advocate?*
>
> *Prompt 5: How do you think that your personality has influenced your leadership behavior?*

Responses to these queries were analyzed with emergent themes revealed through the axial and open coding processes. The coding of responses to Prompt 5 was supported by previous efforts to identify leadership personality traits such as the work of Judge et al. (2002), Pitts (2008), and Spangler, House, and Palrecha (2004). It was valuable to compare the findings to the traits previously identified in the literature to identify similarities and differences between tourism advocates and other leaders.

90

The concept of political will has not been well defined in the literature and thus, an exploratory

process similar to that used by Doldor et al.'s (2013) that yielded evidence of multiple

underlying dimensions of the concept, was appropriate for data analysis. Therefore, in the

context of tourism advocates it was useful to allow advocate informants to explore the concept

using their own terms.

> *Q3. I'd like you hear your story, tell me how you got to this position as a tourism industry leader:*

> *Prompt 2: What motived your participation in political action on behalf of the tourism industry?*

Participants' responses to this question were coded based upon themes that emerged from the

open and axial coding processes.

The measurement of leader cognitions was built upon several questions that have already been

developed to measure context or leadership antecedents. For example Power Mental Models

were evaluated based on the distinctions made between followers and leaders in Question 4. The

responses from these questions and data related to the identification of leaders in the follower

survey were used to build a social network containing leaders and followers, a simple but

effective illustration of each advocate informants' power distinctions. This helped identify when

power may play a role in the actions they engage in with network members. Similarly, the

creation of political scripts and strategies were measured as a part Question 3, Prompt 3, where

tourism advocates were asked to describe past interactions they had in the context of gaining

political influence for the industry. To assess political scripts and strategies it was important to

note if there were behaviors that advocates reported using consistently with specific groups or in

specific situations. Leader identity was assessed using a new question that helped assess advocate informants' self-identity as leaders.

> *Q2. I believe that individuals who engage in efforts to gain political influence for the industry could be considered tourism industry leaders, I call them tourism advocates. Do you think of yourself as a tourism advocate?*

While this question is pointed and can be answered with a simple yes or no, it was vital to determine first and foremost whether an advocate informant saw himself/herself as a leader. Therefore, it was valuable to begin the interview with this as one of the introductory questions. Analysis of this question simply required the denotation of whether an advocate informant possessed self-identity as a leader. This response was then cross referenced with VHTA members' responses to survey Questions 1 and 6 that quantified follower identification of leaders. An indicator of strong leader identity was recognition of leadership by both tourism advocates and followers. Moderate leader identity was present if leaders only self-identify and followers do not reciprocate, or if followers recognize a leader but the advocate does not reciprocate. Weak leader identity was present if neither advocates nor followers identify a leader. Each level of leader identity could yield differences in leadership behavior.

An examination of social capital, conceptualized through Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions, was integrated into the discussion of network connections as a part of the evaluation of leader position. The structural dimension was observed through data collected from interview Question 4 and the survey Question 1, designed to allow respondents to identify three tourism advocates, which helped develop the network structure of the tourism advocates. The resultant structure from social network analysis using the Gephi

software revealed the degree to which each advocate informant was connected with other network members, offering an understanding of the degree to which they possess structural social capital. Question 6 was designed to address the advocate informants' relational social capital and cognitive social capital.

> *Q6. When you think about your relationships within the tourism industry that you have described previously, how were those built?*
>
> *Prompt 1: Were they built through organized formal meetings, or more informal connections? Industry meetings and trade shows, national, statewide or regional events, local meetings? Tourism related meetings? Non-tourism related meetings?*
>
> *(Be listening for shared language clues, specific style or approach to leadership activities)*

Tsai and Ghoshal (1998) utilized quantitative measures of social interaction between network members and development of trust between members to evaluate levels of relational social capital. In this study themes of social interaction and an emphasis on building trust also emerged in the responses to Question 6. Other, more context specific, examples of efforts to build relational social capital also emerged however, which was expected, considering this approach to measuring social capital has not been used in the tourism setting before. Emergent themes were used for evaluating the responses to Question 6, in which advocates may refer to various levels of utilizing a shared voice with their network connections. It was particularly important to note whether this differs depending on the industry sector in which the advocate operates.

Leadership style is the final leadership antecedent that Ammeter et al. (2002) identify as a potential influence of political behavior. A multitude of leadership styles have been recognized in the literature, and thus there may be many potential ways to classify a tourism advocates'

93

personal leadership style. This study employed several interview questions designed to allow tourism advocates to describe elements of their leadership style, including Question 3 and 6.

Q3. I'd like you hear your story, tell me how you got to this position as a tourism industry leader.

Q6. When you think about your relationships within the tourism industry that you have described previously, how were those built?

These open-ended, self-reported discussions of leadership style are limited by the personal bias of the respondent, but they yielded valuable introspection by the advocate informants and provided an opportunity for them to identify specific actions that they have engaged in as a tourism advocate. These questions combined with Question 3 Prompts 1 and 5 were used to create a rich profile of the knowledge, traits, and styles employed by tourism advocates. The coding of responses to this question was guided by indicators for Transactional, Transformational, Servant, Community-Based, and Authentic Leadership styles. However, the coding process also allowed for other styles to emerge. By allowing for a flexible coding framework there may be opportunities to expand the understanding of tourism leadership and identify the presence of additional styles.

3.4.3 Leader Political Behaviors

The following outlines a series of questions and analysis tools that have been developed from the literature to identify the political behaviors that tourism advocates use, these behaviors serve as the dependent variable outlined in RQ1 and RQ2, and as such they may be influenced by the contextual elements and leader antecedents probed in the questions above. Political behaviors include proactive and reactive behaviors as well as the use of symbolic influence.

Q7. I asked you earlier about some of your early political efforts as a tourism industry leader. Now I'd like to talk about more recent efforts. First, talk to me about a recent example of your work that was supported by folks in the tourism industry. Why do you think it was so well-received?

(Be listening for communication methods and strategies, rhetoric)

This interview question was left fairly open-ended to allow participants to identify the political behaviors they use as tourism advocates. The detailed typology that Ammeter et al. (2002) have developed provided a valuable codebook for identifying the proactive, reactive, and symbolic influence behaviors that the advocates may use. Responses were analyzed for evidence that advocates utilize the various behaviors Ammeter et al. identified (2002). There were additional behaviors not identified by Ammeter et al. (2002) that apply to tourism advocates. These were coded separately and thoroughly distinguished from the previously recognized behaviors. This question also elicited details regarding the advocates' symbolic influence tactics; specifically the rhetoric that they use. Therefore, it was important for the interviewer to listen for and record the tourism advocate's discussion of these symbolic influence factors. As Ammeter et al. (2002) do not provide thorough details for this aspect of political behavior it was necessary to rely upon open and axial coding that will allow for themes to emerge from the participants' responses.

It was anticipated that participants would tend to focus on the proactive behaviors they engaged in as tourism advocates, since these are more socially desirable or obvious tactics to discuss. Thus this follow up question was utilized to elicit more discussion of reactive behaviors.

Q8. Conversely, I'd like to hear about an example of a time when your leadership efforts were not supported by folks in the industry. Why do you think it was not well-received? Did you feel you had to defend your actions? How did that go? How do you handle occasions when you do not achieve consensus within the tourism industry?

Responses to Question 8 can also be coded using Ammeter et al.'s (2002) identification of reactive political behaviors such as avoiding blame, avoiding action, or avoiding change. The detailed definitions of reactive behaviors provided by Ashforth and Lee (1990) and Valle and Perrewe (2000) contributed to the development of a codebook for these responses.

3.4.4 Leader Outcomes

The following outlines a series of questions and analysis tools developed from the literature to allow tourism advocates to evaluate the outcomes of their political behaviors including performance evaluation, promotion, power, and reputation. Responses to these questions were used to answer RQ3 and provided an opportunity to compare tourism advocate informants' perception of political behaviors outcomes against followers' evaluation of the outcomes of advocates' behaviors.

> *Q9. What do you personally hope to achieve as a tourism leader? To what degree have you accomplished this?*

Question 9 provided respondents an opportunity to discuss their personal goals, which as Ammeter et al. (2002) have suggested, represent a proxy for performance evaluation. In coding responses to this question it was important to note the scope of the goals each tourism advocate sets and the audiences they target to influence as a part of those goals. The degree to which they perceive they accomplished their goals was also coded.

Promotion was another potential leader outcome identified by Ammeter et al. (2002) that emphasized the upward mobility of leaders based on goal accomplishment. Promotion can often lead to greater power, which subsequently can improve reputation. These questions were

designed to have tourism advocates' assess those outcomes related to their political behaviors on behalf of the tourism industry.

> *Q10. Aside from achieving your personal goals have you recognized any additional or unexpected outcomes from your political leadership behaviors? Perhaps in terms of advancement in your role with the VHTA or within the tourism organizations for whom you work?*

> *Q11. Based upon your actions as a tourism advocate how has your personal influence on or reputation among members of the tourism industry changed?*

Responses to Questions 10 and 11 were coded based on the type of promotion received, i.e. whether it was in VHTA or other tourism organizations. Responses were also coded based upon respondents' perceptions of whether they increased, maintained, or decreased their influence and reputation among tourism industry members. Secondary data, such as the respondents' resume was also used to identify promotion or advancement during the time of their involvement with VHTA.

3.5 ONLINE SURVEY WITH VHTA MEMBERS

As dictated by the use of an exploratory sequential design the quantitative methods utilized in this study were administered after qualitative data saturation was achieved. This process allowed the qualitative findings to inform the content of the quantitative data collection instrument. The exploratory sequential design also allowed for the examination of separate populations, and as dictated by the research questions the quantitative component focused on tourism advocate followers. Therefore the population studied to explore Research Question 4 was comprised of VHTA members. These members represented the different sectors of the tourism industry including lodging, restaurants, travel, and industry suppliers. VHTA maintains a membership base of approximately 500 individual members and collects contact information for each member

including their email address. To maximize the potential response rate the entirety of the membership base was surveyed. Each VHTA member received an email invitation to participate in the survey. Based upon a modified Dillman (2000) technique, they received subsequent reminders (via phone and email) to complete the survey after one week and again after three weeks of the original invitation. The online survey that VHTA members were invited to complete was hosted through Qualtrics from which data was downloaded into SPSS 22 for analysis purposes.

Research Question 4 focused on the exploration of followers' perceptions of the outcomes of tourism advocates' political behaviors which necessitates an individual-level analysis, rather than a group-level analysis. Therefore, survey participants were asked to separately evaluate tourism advocates using the scales outlined below. Asking participants to select three individuals from a list of the 26 interviewed tourism advocates represents a delimitation for this study, which was guided by Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political model of leadership. It is designed to ensure that followers evaluated the outcomes of the tourism advocate informants who have provided information on their context, antecedents, political behavior, and resultant personal outcomes. Furthermore, by limiting the tourism advocates that the followers can evaluate, a critical mass of responses for each advocate may be gained, allowing for more reliable data analysis. Utilizing individual-level analysis for all four research questions also helped avoid the common leadership research pitfall of mixing levels of analysis (Gooty, Serban, Thomas, Gavin, & Yammarino, 2012). However, there several potential drawbacks to the individual-level analysis could exist including: 1) followers may not be able to accurately respond to each scale item outlined below for three tourism advocates; 2) followers may be concerned about the survey's confidentiality

98

and thus provide only socially acceptable responses in their evaluation of tourism advocates; and 3) the tourism advocates themselves may be wary of participating in the interview process if they were aware that they would be singled out for evaluation by their followers. These concerns were addressed by: 1) allowing participants to indicate a response of "Unsure" to each scale item; 2) limiting the collection of identifying demographic data; and 3) describing the value of individual-level data to tourism advocates as a part of the interview process. The following outlines the questionnaire items designed for followers' identification and evaluation of tourism advocates. A pilot test was conducted prior the distribution of the survey which will allow members of the population to examine the scale items and offer suggestions for improvement and clarification.

3.5.1 Leader Position

As described in the section above, it was useful to understand how followers perceive an advocate's leadership position. A measure of network centrality was used to evaluate advocates' positions, and thus industry members were asked to identify the advocates they connect with in the context of political actions. A list of those advocate informants who were interviewed was supplied for survey respondents to select from:

> *Please select three individuals that you recognize as leaders who advocate for political support for the tourism industry at the state level. These leaders may be formal (i.e. those who have a job or title which dictates their involvement in politics on behalf of the industry) or informal (i.e. those who take it upon themselves to be involved in politics on behalf of the industry).*

> *Please note that the findings of this study will be reported in aggregate and the individual leaders will not be identified by name in the presentation of the results.*

> *The following individual is someone I recognize as a leader who advocates for political support for Virginia's tourism industry:*

However, it was also valuable to assess whether any additional tourism advocates were recognized by VHTA members and thus an additional question was included at the end of the questionnaire asking participants to identify other leaders.

Please list any additional individuals that you recognize as leaders in VHTA's efforts to gain political influence for the tourism industry (open ended response)

Participants' responses to these questions were recorded in the freeware program Gephi, a tool for social network analysis. This freeware allows the user to enter data on network members and their directional connections within the network which allows for calculations of in-degree and out-degree centrality and the production of social network maps like that seen in Figure 6. This question was used to measure the follower recognition of tourism advocates that is necessary to assess leader identity. It was important to assess the frequency of followers that identify tourism advocates, and it was necessary to note if both the advocates and the followers recognize an individual as a leader.

3.5.2 Target Outcomes

The questionnaire developed to explore Research Question 4 included four scales, which are outlined below, and include a short demographic component that collected information on the respondents' tourism sector membership (lodging, restaurants, travel, or supplier) and length of VHTA membership. The scales utilized in the survey underwent pilot and pre-testing to ensure that they are reliable and valid. The items in the scales outlined below were pilot tested by multiple tourism scholars and VHTA employees to ensure their face and content validity (the finalized scales are presented in Appendix 2). The scales, with any modifications made in the pilot test, were then included in a pre-test of the online survey. The pre-test required a small

sample of VHTA members to be selected to complete the online survey. Seventeen tourism industry members participated in the pre-test and the data collected was used to test the reliability of the scales using Exploratory Factor Analysis and Cronbach's alpha, which indicated the internal consistency of the items making up the scale. The pre-test data can also be used to run simple correlations on the scale items to test for discriminant validity. If the scale items have low correlation levels, they may be assumed to be unique measures of different constructs. Finally, the convergent validity of the scale items was tested using factor analysis to ensure that internal consistency is achieved. Upon ensuring that the scales used in the online questionnaire were valid and reliable data collection commenced. The following discussion outlines the scales that were utilized in the quantitative component of this study.

Affective reactions

Ammeter et al. (2002) emphasize that the level of trust between leaders and followers could be influenced by a leaders' political behaviors. Therefore it is measured as a target outcome, which was evaluated by tourism advocate followers. McAllister's (1995) scale for evaluating trust has been modified for use in the context of tourism advocates using the items listed in Table 2, which was measured on a seven point scale, (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree. Survey participants were prompted with the following message before accessing the scale items in table 2: "Please consider your past experiences with [LEADER] and their efforts to gain political influence for Virginia's tourism industry when responding to the following statements"

Table 2. McAllister's Interpersonal Trust Measures

We have a sharing relationship
We can both freely share our ideas, feelings, and hopes
I can talk freely to this individual about difficulties I am having and know that they will want to listen
We would both feel a sense of loss if we could no longer work together
If I shared my problems with this person, I know they would respond constructively
I would say that we have both made considerable emotional investments in our working relationship
This person approaches their job with professionalism and dedication
Given this person's track record, I see no reason to doubt their competence and preparation for the job
I can rely on this person not to make my job more difficult by careless work
Most people, even those who aren't close friends of this individual, respect them as a fellow member of the Virginia tourism industry
Other industry associates of mine who interact with this individual consider them to be trustworthy

McAllister, D. J. (1995). Affect-and cognition-based trust as foundations for interpersonal cooperation in organizations. Academy of Management Journal, 38(1), 24-59. Used under fair use, 2015.

Cognitive reactions

Political skill was used as a proxy measure for evaluating leader effectiveness as a cognitive reaction to political behavior. Survey participants were again asked to respond to the items included on Douglas and Ammeter's (2004) Political Skill scale (Table 3), where each item was measured on a seven point scale, (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree. Survey participants were prompted with the following message before accessing the scale items in table 3: "Please consider your past experiences with [LEADER] and their efforts to gain political influence for Virginia's tourism industry when responding to the following statements"

Table 3. Douglas and Ammeter's (2004) Political Skill Scale

As an advocate for the tourism industry [LEADER]…

Spends a lot of time and effort making connections, working relationships, and networking with others

Is good at building relationships with influential people

Has developed a large network of colleagues and associates at work who can be called on for support when things really need to get done

Knows many important people and is well connected at work

Spends a large percentage of time at work developing connections and networking with others

Is good at using connections and networks to make things happen at work

Is able to make most people comfortable and at ease

Is able to communicate easily and effectively with others

Easily develops good rapport with most people

Is good at getting people to like him/her

Understands people very well

Tries to show a genuine interest in people

Douglas, C., & Ammeter, A. P. (2004). An examination of leader political skill and its effect on ratings of leader effectiveness. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 15(4), 537-550. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2004.05.006. Used under fair use, 2015.

Attitudes

Job satisfaction has been traditionally used as a proxy measure of followers' attitudes that may

be influenced by political behavior (Ammeter et al., 2002; Harrell-Cook, Ferris, & Dulebohn,

1999). In the context of tourism advocacy however, satisfaction with membership in an advocacy

group like VHTA is more appropriate. Membership satisfaction may be derived from members'

attitudes towards the advancement of a group's goals that for VHTA include the creation of a

unified voice for the industry and promoting its legislative interests. Tourism advocates'

activities aid in the advancement of these goals, and therefore contribute to followers'

membership satisfaction. Interviews with tourism advocates revealed that they also engage in

activities designed to benefits VHTA members, including fostering collaboration and delivering

the industry's message to policymakers. Furthermore the results of the interviews suggested

there are certain strategies that advocate informants utilized in the political leadership activities

as well, such considering multiple viewpoints and employing the use of facts and data to create a

position on political issues. In order to maintain the individual-level analysis followers were

asked to evaluate their satisfaction with the activities of the tourism advocates they identify.

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction on a seven-point scale, 1

(extremely unsatisfied) to 7 (extremely satisfied), for each item in Table 4. Survey respondents

were prompted with the following message before accessing the scale items in table 4: "Please

consider your satisfaction with [LEADER's] efforts to in advancing VHTA's goals"

Table 4. Satisfaction with Advocate Activities Scale

How satisfied are you with [LEADER's]…
Work on behalf of your political needs
Efforts to foster collaboration among members of the tourism industry
Ability to put the needs of Virginia's tourism industry above those of their own organization
Efforts to create a legislative agenda that suits your political needs
Ability to deliver the tourism industry's message to members of the State Legislature
Ability to consider multiple viewpoints on political issues impacting the tourism industry
Efforts to create a unified voice for the tourism industry
Utilization of research-based facts and figures in the development of their position on political issues impacting the tourism industry

Performance

Followers' performance as members of an advocacy group like VHTA may be influenced by

political leadership behaviors as well. Generally, these measures are associated with job

performance. However, it is more valuable to evaluate the followers' self-reported behaviors specific to advocacy group activities to assess whether tourism advocates' political behaviors influences participation in these activities. A complete list of VHTA activities designed to gain political influence for the industry was compiled (known examples are included in Table 5), and respondents were asked to indicate whether they participated in each one in the past year. The total number of the activities they participated in was summed and represented their performance score. Respondents were prompted with the following statement before responding to the items in Table 5, "Please indicate whether you participated in any of the following VHTA activities in 2014 (select all that apply)."

Table 5. VHTA activities designed to gain political influence for the industry

Participated in a meeting with members of the State Legislature's Tourism Caucus
Participated in a meeting with members of the State Legislature's Tourism Caucus
Attended the VHTA Fall 2014 Meeting in Virginia Beach
Attended the VHTA Spring 2015 Meeting at Massanutten
Attended VA-1 in 2014 in Reston
Attended a VHTA regional tourism summit
Participated in a VHTA Governmental Affairs Committee meeting or phone call
Communicated your organization's political needs directly to your Virginia State Delegate
Communicated your organization's political needs directly to your Virginia State Senator
Communicated your organization's political needs directly to your Federal Representative
Communicated your organization's political needs directly to your Federal Senator

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

The four research questions included in this study were explored using both qualitative and quantitative analysis techniques. Research Questions 1, 2, and 3 required the identification of emergent themes within the qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews. The themes

were identified using an open and axial coding approach outlined in the previous discussion. Leader position is another contextual element that influences tourism advocate participation in political leadership, its analysis required a calculation of network centrality using social network analysis based upon data collected in both the interviews and the online survey. A profile was created for each tourism advocate that participated in an interview. This profile (Table 6) summarized the themes that emerged in the participants' responses and contained the centrality measures required for analysis of the contextual component, leadership position. These profiles were used to address Research Questions 1, 2, and 3 as they provided a medium across which responses could be compared.

The exploration of Research Question 4 offered an opportunity to introduce the followers' voice into the evaluation of tourism advocates' political leadership behavior. To answer this research question the political leadership behaviors themes explored in Research Questions 2 and 3 were analyzed in conjunction with outcomes of a frequency analysis for the scale items outlined above. The following sections provide a more in-depth discussion of the analysis procedures used to explore the research questions for this study.

3.6.1 Research Question 1

As Research Question 1 focused on the contextual elements which influence tourism advocates' participation in political leadership it requires analysis of the interview questions related to organizational structure organizational culture, accountability, leader position, and prior episodes. Using the Tourism Advocates Profiles (Table 6) commonalities and differences across the contextual elements reported by each tourism advocate was examined. The observation of

106

Table 6. Tourism Advocate Profile

Model Component	Interview Question	Participant's Response
Contextual Elements		
Organizational Structure	Secondary Data Questions for VHTA staff	Emergent themes guided by Mintzberg's three types of organizational structure
Organizational Culture	Questions for VHTA staff	Emergent themes guided by Schein's conceptualization of organizational culture
Accountability	Q5	Emergent themes
Leadership position Rank	Secondary Data	Rank assessed as general members (1), employees (2), and those who serve of the board of directors (3)
Centrality	Q4	Centrality measure based on social network analysis
Prior Episodes	Q3 Prompts 3 & 4	Emergent themes
Leader Antecedents		
Industry Knowledge	Q3 Prompt 1	Emergent themes
Personality Attributes	Q3 Prompt 5	Emergent themes guided by Judge et al. (2002), Pitts (2008), and Spangler et al. (2004).
Political Will	Q3 Prompt 2	Emergent themes guided by Treadway et al. (2005) and Doldor et al. (2013)
Leader Cognitions Identity PMM Political Scripts	Q2 Q4 Q3 Prompt 3	Emergent themes
Social Capital Structural Cognitive Relational	Q4 Q6 Q6 Prompt 1	Emergent themes guided by Tsai and Ghoshal (1998)
Leadership Style	Q3, Q6	Emergent themes which may include Transactional, Transformational, Servant, Community-Based, and Authentic Leadership styles
Leader Political Behaviors		
Proactive	Q7	Emergent themes guided by Ammeter et al. (2002)
Reactive	Q8	Emergent themes guided by Ammeter et al. (2002)
Symbolic	Q7 & Q8	Emergent themes guided by Ammeter et al. (2002)
Leader Outcomes		
Performance Evaluation	Q9	Emergent themes
Promotion	Secondary Data Q10	Evidence of promotion during time period of involvement with VHTA Emergent themes
Power & Reputation	Q11	Emergent themes

commonalities allowed for conclusions to be drawn on what contextual elements generally contribute to tourism advocates' participation in political leadership. Any notable differences in the tourism advocates' discussion of contextual elements was reported to provide a richer illustration of the influences on tourism advocates' participation in political leadership.

3.6.2 Research Question 2

Research Question 2 first required an analysis of reported leader antecedents including: industry knowledge, personality attributes, political will, leader cognitions, social capital, and leadership style. The themes that emerged from each tourism advocates' discussion of leadership antecedents were recorded in the Tourism Advocate Profile (Table 6). Themes that emerged from tourism advocates' responses to interview questions related to their political behaviors were also recorded in the Tourism Advocate Profile (Table 6). To explore Research Question 2 commonalities and differences within the leader antecedent data and political behavior data were analyzed. The observation of common leader antecedents among tourism advocates was recorded and compared to commonalities among their reported political behaviors. This analysis provided the opportunity to identify the relationship between common leadership antecedents and commonly used political leadership behaviors. Additionally, thorough analysis of data related to leadership antecedents and leadership behaviors may reveal idiosyncrasies within the tourism advocate population, such as those that possess unique antecedents that may lead them to engage in specific political leadership behaviors.

3.6.3 Research Question 3

Additional data was included in the Tourism Advocate Profile to explore Research Question 3, specifically the themes that emerge from tourism advocates' discussion of the outcomes of their

political leadership behaviors. Commonalities and differences within the responses were observed and conclusions related to how tourism advocates perceive the outcomes of their political behaviors were drawn.

3.6.4 Research Question 4

A combination of qualitative and basic quantitative analysis was needed in order to explore Research Question 4. First, the analysis of qualitative data related to tourism advocates' political leadership behavior was conducted using the responses recorded in the Tourism Advocate Profile (Table 6). This analysis requires the identification of the common political leadership behaviors reported by tourism advocates. As Ammeter et al. (2002) indicated these political leadership behaviors yielded outcomes for followers such as affective and cognitive reactions, attitude, and performance which were measured using the scales outlined in the preceding discussion. A descriptive analysis of these scale items, including frequency and mean values, provided an exploratory examination of followers' affective and cognitive reactions to tourism advocates' political leadership behaviors, the attitudes they hold towards tourism advocates' activities, and their own participation in VHTA's activities. While straightforward, this analysis provided a basic understanding of the followers' perceived outcomes that can then be related to advocates' political leadership behaviors. For example, if tourism advocates collectively report that they engage in proactive leadership behaviors to foster trust among industry members the success of these efforts would be supported by a high mean score among followers' affective reactions.

3.7 METHODOLOGY CONCLUSIONS

The discussion above outlined a mixed method approach guided by an exploratory sequential design that examines political leadership in the context of tourism advocates as political leaders.

Using Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political model of leadership as a guide this study may offer an exploratory look at how political leadership is applied in tourism and how it might be improved in the future. The use of mixed methods also allowed for multiple voices to be heard, that of both the tourism advocate and the follower, and allows for the cross-reference of multiple types of data. Specifically, in-depth interviews were presented as the appropriate method for exploring the contextual elements and leadership antecedents that shape political leadership behavior and leadership outcomes for tourism advocates. The use of an online survey allowed for the followers' voice to be incorporated into the evaluation of tourism advocates and their political behaviors. Ideally the model will be refined and continually tested in future tourism settings to improve its ability to evaluate the application of political leadership in tourism.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data analysis and results of this mixed-method study. It begins with a review of the efforts to develop an interview protocol for qualitative data collection, followed by discussion of the pilot test and pretest of the survey used for quantitative data collection. A presentation of the revised model based upon the findings of the study is included to illustrate the theoretical contributions of the study. Lastly, the findings from both the semi-structured interviews with tourism advocate informants as well as the survey findings will be presented.

4.2 Development of interview protocol

As described in Chapter 3, a thorough literature review was employed in the development of the questions used in the interview protocol. These questions were then organized into a logical flow that allowed the interviewer flexibility in their presentation if necessary. Once a draft of the protocol was completed it was shared with five tourism advocates who were asked to provide feedback on their ability to answer the questions. Several of the participants offered recommendations on how the questions could be simplified and streamlined. The majority of these suggestions were incorporated into the protocol in an effort to ensure that interview participants would fully understand the questions and be able to answer them in a confident manner.

4.3 Survey Pilot Test and Pretest

A pilot test of the questionnaire was conducted with six tourism industry members who were able to offer insight on how the survey items could simplified. Pilot testers were also asked to provide their opinion of tourism industry members' ability to identify specific leaders then evaluate the outcomes related to affective reactions, cognitive reactions, attitudes, and behaviors they associated with those leaders. The participants felt confident that tourism industry members could identify leaders and evaluate these outcomes. However, some suggested that more instruction should be provided in the introduction of the questionnaire to help participants understand that three leaders would be evaluated on the same scales three separate times. They also recommended providing greater detail for the events included in the evaluation of industry members participation in political activities and including a "don't know" option for all of the scale items. Most of the pretesters noted that the questionnaire was lengthy but were hesitant to suggest that it should be shortened as they recognized the depth of information that could be gleaned from it.

These recommendations were incorporated into the questionnaire that was then distributed to 60 tourism industry members. Seventeen completed questionnaires were returned for a 28% response rate. Each respondent was asked to evaluate three leaders, resulting in a total of 51 cases to use in the pretest analyses for the reliability and validity of the scales designed to assess tourism industry members' affective reactions, cognitive reactions, and attitudes associated with tourism advocates' political leadership efforts. Behavioral outcomes were not measured with a scale, but rather an indication of participation in various political activities.

McAllister's (1995) scale for interpersonal trust measures was utilized to measure tourism industry member's affective reactions to advocates' leadership efforts. A Cronbach's Alpha of .828 for this 11-item scale indicated that it was acceptably reliable. A principle components factor analysis revealed that all 11 items loaded onto one factor with some instances of cross loading (Table 7).

Table 7. Pilot Test EFA and Reliability Analysis of McAllister's Interpersonal Trust Scale

	Factor Loading			Variance	Cron. Alpha (If Deleted)
McAllister's Interpersonal Trust Scale	1	2	3	47, 59, 70	.828
I feel we can both freely share our ideas, feelings, and hopes for the industry	.837				(.797)
I can talk freely to this individual about difficulties I am having and know that they will want to listen	.817				(.792)
I feel I can trust this person with my ideas about the industry	.767				(.805)
Given this person's track record, I see no reason to doubt their competence and preparation for the job	.728				(.818)
Other industry associates of mine who interact with this individual consider them to be trustworthy	.689	.514			(.819)
If I shared my problems with this person, I know they would respond constructively	.680	-.500			(.803)
Most people, even those who aren't close friends of this individual, respect them as a fellow member of the Virginia tourism industry	.645	.555			(.820)
This person approaches their job with professionalism and dedication	.635		-.581		(.823)
I can rely on this person not to make my job more difficult by careless work	.613		.456		(.818)
We would both feel a sense of loss if we could no longer work together	.608		.677		(.821)
I would say that we have both made considerable emotional investments in our working relationship	.481				(.843)

Note: KMO = .695; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = .000

McAllister, D. J. (1995). Affect-and cognition-based trust as foundations for interpersonal cooperation in organizations. Academy of Management Journal, 38(1), 24-59. Used under fair use, 2015.

While the cross loading minimized the scale unidimensionality all of the items, the decision was made to keep all of the items in order to fully assess tourism industry members' perceived affective reactions to advocates' leadership actions.

Douglas and Ammeter's (2004) Political Skill scale was applied to this study for the first time in the context of tourism. The reliability of this scale was quite high, with a Cronbach's Alpha of .903. A principle components analysis revealed that all 11 items loaded onto one factor, but cross loading was present (Table 8). Again, the decision was made to maintain all of the items in order to ensure that tourism industry members could fully assess their cognitive reactions to advocates' political leadership actions.

Table 8. Pilot Test EFA and Reliability Analysis of Douglas and Ammeter's (2004) Political Skill Scale

Douglas and Ammeter's (2004) Political Skill Scale	Factor Loading		Variance	Cron. Alpha (If Deleted)
As an advocate for the tourism industry [LEADER]…	1	2	53.1, 66	.903
is good at getting people to like him/her	.895			(.882)
is able to communicate effectively with others	.854			(.887)
is able to make most people comfortable	.821			(.888)
easily develops good rapport with most people	.808			(.891)
is good at building relationships with influential people	.762			(.891)
spends a lot of time developing connections with others	.735	.422		(.893)
knows many important people and is well connected	.644	.462		(.897)
tries to show a genuine interest in people	.609	-.492		(.903)
understands people very well	.604	-.515		(.900)
is good at using networks to make things happen	.603	.499		(.900)
has developed a large network of colleagues and associates who can be called on for support when things really need to get done	.589	.405		(.900)

Note: KMO = .694; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = .000

Douglas, C., & Ammeter, A. P. (2004). An examination of leader political skill and its effect on ratings of leader effectiveness. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 15(4), 537-550. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2004.05.006. Used under fair use, 2015.

An eight-item scale was developed to measure tourism industry members' satisfaction with how advocates contribute to VHTA's goals such as gaining political influence for the industry. The scale allowed tourism industry members to express their attitudes towards various advocate leadership activities. The reliability of this scale was found to be acceptable, with a Cronbach's Alpha of .793. A principle components analysis revealed that the eight items did load onto a single factor, but cross loading was a concern for this scale (Table 9). In this scenario all of the items were kept, but some were reworded in an effort to streamline the concepts being measured.

Table 9. EFA and Reliability Analysis of the Satisfaction with Advocacy Group Membership

Satisfaction with Advocacy Group Membership Scale	Factor Loading		Variance	Cron. Alpha (If Deleted)
How satisfied are you with [LEADER's] ...	1	2	42.5, 59.8	.903
Work on behalf of your political needs	.871			(.716)
Efforts to foster collaboration among members of the tourism industry	.722	.495		(.767)
Ability to put the needs of Virginia's tourism industry above those of their own organization	.673			(.768)
Efforts to create a legislative agenda that suits your political needs	.670	-.554		(.766)
Ability to deliver the tourism industry's message to members of the State Legislature	.612			(.777)
Ability to consider multiple viewpoints on political issues impacting the tourism industry	.494			(.790)
Efforts to create a unified voice for the tourism industry	.561	.646		(.786)
Utilization of research-based facts and figures in the development of their position on political issues impacting the tourism industry	.532	-.618		(.782)

Note: KMO = .745; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = .000

In summary, the results of the pretest suggested that the scales utilized in this study had high reliability. Some concerns were raised about the unidimensionality of the scales, but ultimately no items were removed. It was determined that the study would benefit from the most inclusive measures of tourism industry members' perceived affective reactions, cognitive reactions, and attitudes towards advocates' leadership behaviors. Additional measures of reliability and validity will be applied in the analysis of the final survey results.

4.4 Findings Derived from Tourism Advocate Interviews

The following sections outline the qualitative findings of this study. These findings were developed based upon semi-structured interviews conducted with 26 tourism advocate informants. Informants were identified based upon their involvement in VHTA activities and through a snowball sampling technique as outlined in Chapter 3. In total, 29 advocates were asked to participate in interviews, with only three declining due to time conflicts. Efforts were made to ensure representation from different sectors of the tourism industry including lodging, attractions, restaurants, DMOs, and suppliers (Table 10).

Table 10. Break down of participants by sector

Sector	Number of Participants
Lodging	7
Attractions	4
Restaurants	3
Destination Marketing Organizations	8
Suppliers	1
VHTA Staff	3

Each of the components in Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political model of leadership will be reviewed and evidence of the themes in the data will be provided via the presentation of direct quotes from the interview. While this study found support for the majority of Ammeter et al.'s

(2002) model components, several new components emerged from the data and provide a more

detailed understanding of tourism advocates. These findings are expressed in the modified

version of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model for use in the context of tourism advocates (Figure 10).
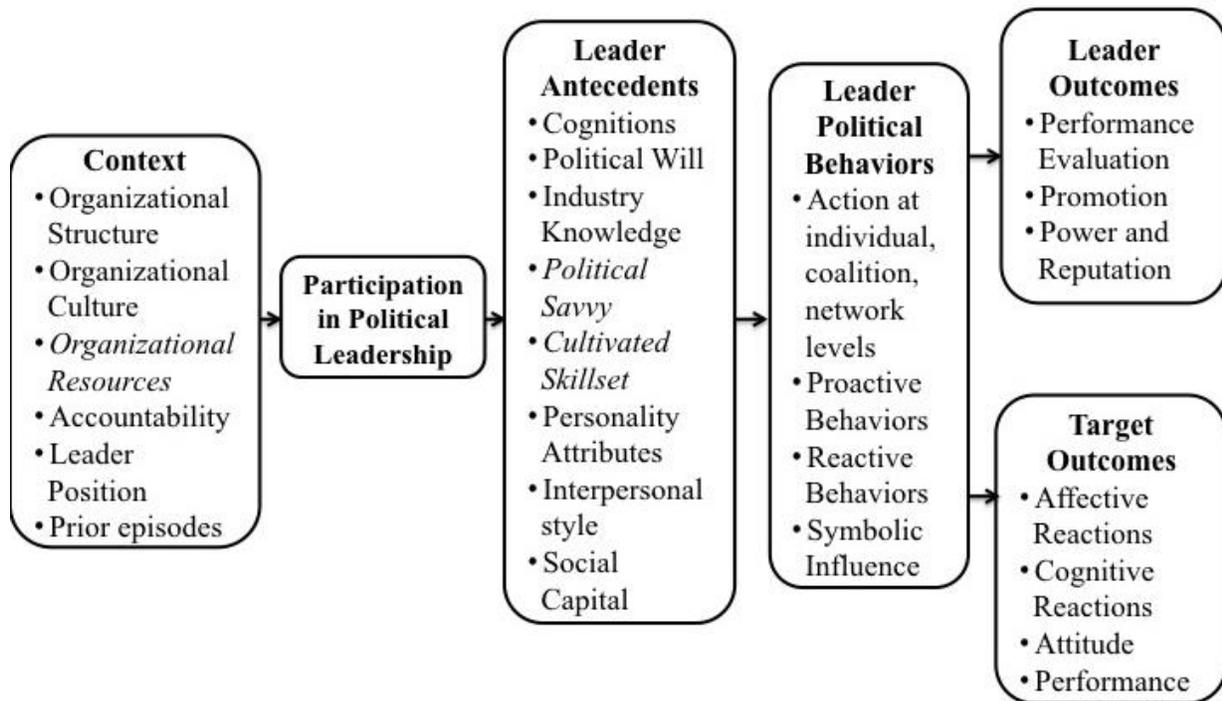
Figure 10. Modified Political Model of Leadership for Use in the Context of Tourism Advocates (modifications of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) original Political Model of Leadership as a result of the study are italicized). Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1   Used under fair use, 2015.

4.4.1 Contextual Elements

Ammeter et al. (2002) identified a number of elements that contribute to the context in which

advocates operate. The findings of this study offer evidence of each of the contextual elements

outlined in the political model of leadership and also revealed how an additional element,

organizational resources, may play a role in advocates' participation in political leadership

(Figure 11). Additionally, multiple subthemes emerged within several of the contextual elements.

The presence of these subthemes suggests that each contextual element is a nuanced concept, particularly for tourism advocates. The following outlines the findings related to contextual elements.

Context

- Organizational Structure
- Organizational Culture
- *Organizational Resources*
  - *Supporting*
  - *Limiting*
- Accountability
  - *Formal*
  - *Informal*
- Leader Position
- Prior episodes
  - *Tenure*
  - *General Political Involvement*
  - *Industry Fights*
  - *Watershed Moment*

Figure 11. Contextual Elements and Their Subthemes (modifications of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) original Political Model of Leadership as a result of the study are italicized). Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1   Used under fair use, 2015.

Organizational Structure

Ammeter et al. (2002) stress the valuable role that organizational structure plays in shaping leadership behavior, as it defines how individuals divide and coordinate tasks for the accomplishment of organizational goals (Mintzberg, 1979). For this study the organizational structure of VHTA was given specific attention, as all of the participants were connected to the

association in matters of political leadership. Results of the advocate informant interviews indicated that VHTA operates as a Professional Bureaucracy, an organizational structure described by Fredrickson (1986) as a decentralized structure, dependent upon highly trained professionals and their expertise in a specific industry. Evidence of the Professional Bureaucracy structure was seen in advocate informants' responses, which highlighted the decentralized nature of decision-making in the organization:

Definitely a group process with individual insight, if that makes sense. We have an executive committee, we have a board of directors. They ultimately are the voting, official decision-makers. When it comes to government affairs I'm a specialized voice saying 'These are the things I think we should focus on.' [Our President], in terms of the broader organization, says 'These are the things strategically we need to focus on.' The board has to ultimately make that decision to adopt those proposals, or not. (VHTA staff member 2)

The governance structure of VHTA's board also provided evidence of how the association utilizes individuals' industry knowledge. The board of directors is comprised of traditional roles such as Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary but also includes Directors at Large who represent the components that comprise VHTA, the Virginia Hospitality Suppliers Association (VSA), Virginia Hotel and Lodging Association (VH&LA), the Virginia Restaurant Association (VRA), and the Virginia Travel Association (VTA) (VHTA Bylaws, 2009). Each component elects three representatives as voting members of the board, ensuring that each element of the tourism industry has a voice in the VHTA decision-making process. Since VHTA's governance structure establishes distinct positions for each segment of the tourism industry it can be inferred that they rely upon the sector-specific knowledge of the individuals who hold those positions.

Organizational Culture

Like organizational structure, organizational culture plays an important role in influencing leader

behavior (Bass & Avolio, 1993) and this study utilized Schein's (1989) levels of organizational

culture, basic assumptions, values, and artifacts and creations, to identify key aspects of VHTA's

culture. Evidence from the interviews clearly identified a culture based upon gaining benefits for

the Association's members. VHTA's bylaws illustrated the organizational culture by stating:

To qualify for membership an applicant must meet the requirements for the classification under which he/she seeks admission and meets the following qualifications: A. Must subscribe to high ethical standards and honest business practices. B. Must demonstrate willingness and ability to cooperate and participate with other members for the advancement of the Corporation's Purpose. (VHTA Bylaws, 2009 p. 2)

The emphasis on members' cooperation and participation in the advancement of the

Corporation's Purpose which reads, "The Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association is the

unified voice for the restaurant, lodging, travel and hospitality suppliers associations" (VHTA

Bylaws, 2009, p.1), suggests that the involvement of all members in the creation of benefits such

a unified industry voice is a basic assumption of this organization's culture. This is further

manifested as a value of the organization:

I think the value, the strongest value that organization has always had is that we're member driven. We're a member driven organization. That we are a trade association. We are here to support the members of the organization, so I think the overriding focus and value has been that we only do things that are beneficial to our members. That we don't try to get involved in things that aren't necessarily either beneficial to the tourism industry or to our membership. I think that that's really the guiding principles behind what we're doing. (VHTA Staff Member 1)

Ultimately these basic assumptions and values result in the development of artifacts and

creations of the organization's culture, which include VHTA's Tourism Day on the Hill

activities, Regional Tourism Summits, co-organization of the statewide VA-1 conference, which

all serve as opportunities for members to participate in the advancement of the organization's purpose.

Organizational Resources

In accordance with Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model, VHTA's organizational culture and structure played an important role in determining tourism advocates' participation in political activity. However, this study found evidence that another concept, the organizational resources of each participant's employer, is an important source of influence as well. Some tourism advocate informants discussed how their organization of employment provided either limiting or supporting resources for their political leadership efforts. For example, some interviewees were employed by DMOs and as such are funded through lodging or general tax funds and therefore limited in their ability to actively participate in efforts to gain political influence for the tourism industry:

As a public entity, we're prohibited from being an outward advocate. However, being a member of organizations such as Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association, or in my capacity as a board member on the Virginia Association of Convention and Visitors Bureaus, I can go and ask others to support my organization's agenda, but I can't go out and specifically ask legislators to support initiatives that this particular office may have. (DMO 1)

While advocate informants who were restricted in terms of lobbying commented on how organizational resources limited their political activities, they emphasized that they were still advocates for the tourism industry, but in a different capacity:

I would use the word advocate. I would never use the word lobbyist because we in these roles cannot ever be seen to lobby or fight for certain policy changes in one's favor. But, you can advocate and educate and help facilitate an outcome. (DMO 6)

Some DMOs noted that their advocacy efforts were supported by their advisory boards, but the majority of advocate informants that reported being supported in their leadership activities worked for hoteliers, restaurateurs, suppliers, and attractions. Several advocate informants noted that financial resources were allotted to them for their advocate activities:

Social events, I buy a lot of dinners and a lot of cocktails. The president of this company knows that it comes back to you… (Attraction 2)

We don't spend a lot of money on these candidates, but what we do is we try to coordinate any spending that we do involving candidates just before session starts. If they're having a spaghetti dinner or pancake breakfast, or something like that, we'll go in and be a 250 or 500-dollar major sponsor for that event. (Lodging 3)

Supporting resources were not always financial. Multiple advocate informants recognized that their employer supported their efforts by simply providing the time for them to participate in relationship building activities. Non-financial supporting resources were particularly important for organizations in Richmond who were often called upon to serve as a voice for the industry in Congressional subcommittee hearings or other events for policymakers due to their geographic proximity to the Capitol. As DMO 3 put it, "In a pickle, we can get over there quickly." Some of these organizations specifically include government relations as part of job descriptions and have made time available for their employees to participate in political events.

Accountability

While some authors suggest that perceptions of accountability strongly influence leaders' behaviors (Ammeter et al., 2004; Pfeffer, 1997) this study found limited evidence that tourism advocates felt formally accountable for their leadership behaviors. Many advocate informants noted that while they may be seen as having a role in advocacy, their stakeholders only had informal means of holding them accountable. The lack of formal accountability was present even

for advocate informants who held positions of power in VHTA. Here, an advocate informant who held a prominent VHTA board position describes the limited accountability he/she felt for their political leadership actions:

I don't know that the members of VHTA even know who I am necessarily. They might know that there's this name out there, but I'm sure you would go see a CVB, they might be a member, but they might not know who I am. I don't know how much they hold me for accountability. They probably would hold staff more accountable than me… (Attraction 1)

This is worth noting since by the nature of their roles outlined in the Association's bylaws (VHTA Bylaws, 2009) individuals such as the one quoted here hold great responsibility for decision-making in the Association. The fact that they do not feel as though the membership is holding them accountable for their actions could indicate that members are not aware of the decisions VHTA board members make or are not engaged enough with the Association to communicate their concerns about decisions made on their behalf. This could lead to challenges down the road if decisions are made which the membership does not generally support. Such a scenario could result in a violation of the Association's culture and potentially a loss of membership. VHTA has attempted to address this challenge by hosting a monthly Government Affairs Committee conference call. All members are welcome to join in on the conference call to listen to the Committee report on their actions. This is an opportunity for VHTA members to address their concerns about advocacy decisions made by the board and enacted by the Committee. However, as observed by the researcher, these conference calls are not well attended by the general membership. It is interesting that in spite of the lack of formal accountability, and receiving both limited recognition of their efforts or critique of their failures, most of the informants actively participated in advocacy efforts. It appears that most of the advocate

informants may have been participating in actions on behalf of the industry due to intrinsic

motivations or a personal commitment to the success of the industry.

Those few advocate informants that did perceive accountability tended to hold highly specified

jobs related to advocacy for the industry, such as VHTA staff members or directors of a regional

hotel/motel association:

I definitely feel accountable to our entire membership. I'll get them all throughout session, I get them now, and throughout the year, 'What happened with this bill?' Or, 'Why did we do this with that bill?' Or, 'Why didn't this one?' Or, 'What did we do for that?' I'll get that. (VHTA Staff Member 2)

This example suggests that this VHTA staff member welcomes an open line of communication

with his/her followers that allows them to hold him/her accountable for his/her political

leadership behaviors. These advocate informants also described formal mechanisms for

accountability, such as hosting monthly meetings in which they would update their followers on

their advocacy activities. Other advocates may find the opportunity to discuss their successes,

report challenges, and gain insight from other industry members if they were to implement such

formalized means of accountability with their followers.

Leader Position

This study utilized both rank and centrality within the VHTA network to examine advocates'

leader position. An understanding of leader position provides insight into their power and ability

to make connections within a network (Ammeter et al., 2002). Rank was assessed using VHTA

documentation of the 2014 board membership (VHTA Officers and Directors, 2014). The

majority of participants were members of VHTA's Board that is comprised of Officers, an

Executive Committee, Elected Directors, Directors at Large, and Ex-Officio Members. Several

of VHTA's staff also participated (Table 11). Additionally, the researcher conducted an

interview with a non-member (formerly a VHTA member) based on the recommendations of

multiple advocate informants. These findings suggest that leader position is not solely

determined by an advocates' rank, rather tourism advocates can come from all positions within

and outside of VHTA.

Two sources of data were used to generate the egocentric network this study used to assess

advocate centrality. As a part of the interviews, the researcher asked advocate informants to

identify those individuals that they recognized as peer leaders, mentors, partners, or followers.

As a part of the survey, VHTA members were asked to identify and evaluate three advocates and

then list any additional advocates they recognized. Combined, these data allowed the researcher

to calculate each advocates' centrality within the egocentric VHTA network. Centrality is the

combination of an advocates' out-degree centrality (connections an individual makes to others)

and in-degree centrality (connections others make to an individual) (Table 11).

This process revealed that there are advocate informants with high levels of centrality who hold

leadership positions that are well-connected with the VHTA network, and advocate informants

with low levels of centrality who do not appear particularly well-connected. This range is very

interesting to note, as it would seem that high network centrality is not a requirement for tourism

advocates. Rather, this may suggest that some advocates represent a small cluster of the network,

perhaps a specific sector or geographic region, rather than being recognized by everyone within

the VHTA network. These specialized advocates may serve as important connections to their

followers that other advocates may utilize to help advance advocacy goals such as creating a

unified voice for the industry.

Table 11. Tourism Advocates' Position Components

Advocate	Rank	Centrality	Out-Degree Centrality	In-Degree Centrality
Attraction 1	Officer	16	10	6
Attraction 2	Executive Committee	29	11	18
Attraction 3	Member	11	6	5
Attraction 4	Director at Large	13	9	4
DMO 1	Member	15	13	2
DMO 2	Member	27	6	21
DMO 3	Member	11	6	5
DMO 4	Director at Large	16	13	3
DMO 5	Member	11	7	4
DMO 6	Member	22	8	14
DMO 7	Member	13	7	6
DMO 8	Non-Member	17	8	9
Lodging 1	Ex-Officio Director	11	8	3
Lodging 2	Director at Large	25	18	3
Lodging 3	Member	6	6	0
Lodging 4	Elected Director	13	4	9
Lodging 5	Executive Committee	13	5	9
Lodging 6	Executive Committee	15	9	6
Lodging 7	Member	8	3	5
Restaurant 1	Executive Committee	18	8	10
Restaurant 2	Officer	17	11	6
Restaurant 3	Executive Committee	9	7	2
Suppliers 1	Director at Large	10	3	7
VHTA Staff 1	Staff	41	5	36
VHTA Staff 2	Staff	32	14	18
VHTA Staff 3	Staff	13	8	5

Prior Episodes

Ammeter et al. (2002) suggest that a leader's prior experience in political activity is an important

influence on their participation in political leadership. Evidence from this study revealed that

tourism advocate informants' prior episodes indeed influenced their participation and resulted

from a variety of sources. These include tenure in the industry, engagement in general political

activity, experience in specific fights for the industry's political influence, or what the findings suggest as most important, the experience of a watershed moment in which the advocate successfully gained political influence for the industry.

Tenure in the industry appeared to be a factor in advocate informants' participation as political leaders, particularly in regards their application of a holistic understanding of the tourism industry. Multiple informants with more than fifteen years of industry experience described how they started as front-line employees and worked their way up to higher-level management positions where they had the ability to serve as advocates:

Out of college I got a job as a desk clerk. I worked my way up through the ranks. I spent time in both operations and sales. I have years of general manager experience in limited- service and full-service hotels. I was an area manager with InterContinental Hotels Group for six and half years years prior to my current role...Only when I joined IHG then was I able to step out of the hotel and be in a more corporate role where I'm not responsible for the operation. Then I was able to have the time to develop the interest in what my contribution can be in terms of furthering the, I guess selfishly, furthering the interest of my hotels. Which, in turn, can be helpful to the overall industry. (Lodging 1)

While this illustrated the value of a long tenure in the tourism industry there were multiple advocate informants with fewer than fifteen years of experience who actively participated in advocacy activities. One participant noted the value of having a mix of tenure in leadership activities:

There are pros and cons to both sides. Someone with longevity who knows where all the bodies are hidden, it's extremely valuable. Just today, twice, I've had to use my magnificent huge head here to recall things back that happened twenty and thirty years ago to relate to folks who are newer to the scene. By the same token, I need that nudge from those folks who have more savviness with technology, or know how to manipulate the numbers differently to keep my edge going. (DMO 8)

This suggests that advocate informants come from multiple levels of tenure in the industry, which supports the previously described sentiment that a mix of experience is valuable in leadership activities.

The findings of this study also suggest that involvement in general political activity or experience in specific fights for the industry's political influence were important factors in determining many advocate informants' participation in political leadership. Several informants attributed working on political campaigns or connecting with specific political issues outside of the tourism industry to their current participation in political leadership for the tourism industry. Here an informant describes how he/she got involved in Kirk Cox's campaign for a position in the Virginia House of Delegates:

That was my very first thing. Kirk Cox not the favorite. He was a young guy, against an established person. I was the phone bank guy, I worked with Kirk, but primarily, I worked for his political campaign manager. Did that. Thought it was neat and he won. (Attraction 1)

The participant described this as an entre into political engagement which he/she later translated into advocacy efforts for the tourism industry.

For many informants, their first experience in the political arena came through action related to a specific political issue for the tourism industry. Advocate informants frequently identified the Restaurant Smoking Ban as a political issue where they had prior experience as a political leader. The Smoking Ban, which required the majority of restaurants to prohibit smoking on their premises, was an issue of great contention for VHTA and Virginia's tourism industry in general between 2007 and 2009. For the restaurant sector, the Smoking Ban was a chief legislative priority, although there was contention among restaurateurs regarding the Ban's costs and

benefits. Other sectors were hesitant to take on such a volatile issue. VHTA was forced to decide whether they would create a position on the policy and risked alienating members regardless of the action they took. Ultimately, through the work of several of the advocate informants, much of the membership joined in support of a position that protected free enterprise, a position which is articulated in VHTA's purpose (VHTA Bylaws, 2009). Despite the efforts of VHTA and others, the Smoking Ban was enacted in 2009, which represented a significant loss for industry in the minds of many advocates.

Advocate informants also identified other prior episodes related to specific political issues such as gaining funding for infrastructure construction, raising support for funding the state tourism office, defeating local meals or lodging taxes, or requesting changes to current Alcoholic Beverage Commission (ABC) regulations:

I also spoke a lot on some ABC issues, but I think to get in front of the Senate sub‑committee, and speak with a big room of people and have them firing back at you or what not. That was, I guess, a defining moment of me stepping out of the box into someone that says 'Hey, that's wrong, let's just actually get up and do something. (Restaurant 1)

This description provides an illustration of a political leadership activity that many advocate informants engaged in: a watershed moment in which an advocate recognizes their ability to gain influence for the industry. The provision of testimony at Congressional sub-committee hearings was often mentioned by advocate informants as just such a moment. This activity requires the advocate informant to have built relationships with other industry members who may help them develop a compelling argument to deliver to policymakers. It also describes what emerged as a vital influence for participation in political leadership, Multiple informants, particularly those with longer tenure, have described how powerful it was to witness their efforts making a tangible

difference in gaining political influence for the tourism industry. Here a hotelier describes how his/her conversation with a policymaker during a VHTA Tourism Day on the Hill event resulted in a watershed moment in his/her leadership participation:

I sat there and I talked to him. He told me 'I am pretty sure I am going to go against this.' I said 'Why?' He explained it was about this referendum. I am like 'You are going to let the whole bill die because you have a problem with one little portion? What about the greater good?' and I had to talk to him. We finished our talk and he was going to vote on it. He switched his vote.
(Lodging 6)

The informant went on to describe that ultimately the bill described here did not pass, despite his/her success in getting a policymaker to change their vote in support of the industry. This loss did not deter his/her sustained participation in political leadership, rather it inspired him/her to continue to try and create influence for the tourism industry. These findings suggest that a watershed moment can serve as a vital catalyst to initiating or sustaining political leadership activity. Combined with tenure, involvement in general political activity, and experience in specific fights for the industry's political influence, it is clear that prior episodes as a whole can contribute greatly to an advocate's participation in political leadership activity.

4.4.2 Leader Antecedents

There are a variety of antecedents that may influence advocates' political leadership behaviors (Ammeter et al.2002). Not surprisingly, this study found evidence of each of these antecedents. However, two additional antecedents emerged as well: political savvy and cultivated skillsets (Figure 12). As a result of the depth of data found through interviews, multiple subthemes were found within many of the antecedent categories (Figure 12). The following outlines the findings related to leader antecedents.

Leader Antecedents

- Cognitions
  - Leader Identity
  - Power Mental Models
  - Political Scripts
- Political Will
  - Interesting task
  - *Passion*
  - Job Function
  - Ethical prerogative
  - *Mentorship*
- Industry knowledge
  - *Larger Picture*
  - *Sector-Specific*
- *Political Savvy*
- *Cultivated Skillset*
- Personality attributes
- Interpersonal style
- Social Capital
  - Structural
  - Relational
  - Cognitive

Figure 12. Leader Antecedents and Their Subthemes (modifications of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) original Political Model of Leadership italicized). Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1 Used under fair use, 2015.

Leader Cognitions

According to Ammeter et al. (2002) leader cognitions are comprised of three components: leader identity, power mental models, and political scripts. Combined, these cognitions may serve as an important antecedent to leadership behaviors as they help facilitate a leaders' information processing in the development of relationships. Leader identity, which is an advocate's recognition of their leadership role, is a necessary antecedent to engaging in leadership behavior.

131

All 26 advocate informants self-identified as leaders, although to varying degrees. Some

demonstrated a strong association to their leadership role:

Interviewer: Do you consider yourself a tourism advocate?

Participant (Attraction 2): Absolutely, that's a very important part. You get the benefit of tourism advocacy even if you don't participate. In order to be a leader, I think, you need to do your part and participate.

Others were more hesitant or qualified their answer, suggesting that while it was important to

them, it was not their primary role:

Interviewer: Do you think you would consider yourself a tourism advocate?

Participant 35 (Restaurant 3): I suppose I would. I don't think of myself as one but I guess I would fit the mold. I consider myself a restaurateur more than anything else.

Self-awareness as a leader, as described above, is only part of the equation. Gardner and Avolio

(1998) contend that in addition to self-awareness, identification of a leader by others is also

important. A measure of in-degree centrality was created for each advocate informant as a result

of identification of peer leaders in the interviews and VHTA members' identification of leaders

through the survey (Table 11). This measure represents the number of connections network

members draw to an individual (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). While all of the advocate

informants self-identified as leaders, there was a wide range of recognition from network

members. Several demonstrated relatively low in-degree centrality, with one unrecognized by all

participating advocate informants and VHTA members, and others being frequently recognized

by the vast majority. This joint construction of leader identity, from the perspective of the leader

and their followers, resulted in a spectrum of leader identity, ranging from high (strong self-

identification and high in-degree centrality) to low (weak self-identification and low in-degree

centrality). While variance in leader identity existed, every advocate informant engaged in political leadership behaviors. Thus it may be concluded that high leader identity is not a crucial antecedent to leader activity. Instead these findings suggest that diversity in advocates' leader identity could be beneficial as it could allow those with higher leader identity to take on certain roles, such as those that require wider recognition among the industry. Advocates who possess lower leader identity may be more comfortable working "behind the scenes" or with smaller networks where they hold influence.

Power mental models are another tool used to process information when creating relationships (Ammeter et al. 2002; Fiol et al. 2001). In this study, advocate informants' were asked to identify both peer leaders and followers, as these groups would populate each informant's power mental model. As expected, many advocate informants recognized peer leaders within VHTA and the state tourism organization. Interestingly, when doing so many identified peer leaders from outside their own sector (e.g. hoteliers noted leaders from DMOs or restaurants). This suggests that advocate informants do not limit their perception of leadership to their own sector, which is necessary for coalition and partnership building.

The identification of followers was more challenging for advocate informants. It was easier for advocate informants who were involved with member-based organizations such as VHTA to identify those that they represented than it was for those who were not tied directly to a specific advocacy organization. This challenge may be connected to advocate informants' limited perceptions of structured accountability. With no organizational chart directly connecting the

advocate informants to specific groups or individuals, and no structured review process, identification of followers becomes much more subjective and informal.

It is important to note that while advocate informants could make a distinction between peer leaders and followers, they did not overtly identify how power differentials influenced their interaction with these groups. This is in contrast to Ammeter et al. (2002) and Fiol et al.'s (2001) work which suggested that leaders utilize perceptions of power differentials to determine which behaviors they should use to influence a group. Evidence of this phenomenon was not present in this study, as advocate informants did not discuss any differentiation of behaviors with peer leaders versus followers. Advocate informants' who did not strongly self-identify as leaders may not have discussed these power differentials because they do not perceive themselves as being any different from their followers. Those advocate informants who possess a stronger self-identity as leaders may not have discussed power differentials because they have worked to help industry members feel empowered to be engaged in advocacy efforts, these actions will be described in depth in the political behaviors section. It is important to recall that the findings from the interviews only provide the perspective of the leaders, if the followers were asked to discuss the latent power differentials in these relations the findings might have been quite different.

Political scripts are another form of leader cognitions. Advocate informants detailed several forms of political scripts that influence their political leadership behaviors. Some advocate informants utilized a script based on formal procedures when developing relationships and

making decisions. For example, one VHTA staff member described his/her strategy for making decisions with the organization's members:

Structure and organization are something that I work very hard at because they're not easy to get. I'm always preaching the system. How do we put this in place? What's our procedural motion here? I know it can drive folks crazy, but it's so important to us especially when we're in Session. (VHTA Staff Member 2)

Persistent reliance on procedure is a form of political script that may provide advocate informants with a clearly defined mechanism for communication and relationship development, but may also limit their access to those not formally incorporated into the utilized structure. The utilization of a political script dictated by procedure may be particularly useful in the tourism industry since it can help to organize and equitably involve all of the sectors that make up the industry. It is telling that VHTA staff members relied upon this form of a political script since they are required to bring together all of the sectors in each decision that they make (VHTA Bylaws, 2009).

Advocate informants also described how the act of repeatedly educating industry members or policymakers about political issues could serve as a script for engaging in political leadership behaviors. Here, an advocate informant illustrated how constant and consistent education is at the core of his/her strategy for relationship building:"…reminding them [small hoteliers]that this is what's before the General Assembly and this is how it could possibly impact them, I try to constantly remind them" (DMO 4).

The findings also revealed that advocate informants from all sectors consistently employ data and facts in their political scripts for relationship building. This form of political script was often

used in conjunction with efforts to educate industry members or policymakers about the

industry's needs:

That goes back to data…When you can show them, On average in the state of Virginia, hotels average 55 percent on occupancy. Are you getting that? No? Maybe we should be working together instead of doing our own silo. That helps a lot. Data, good facts, goes a long way. (Lodging 3)

The advocate informants that employed a data or fact-centered political script also noted the

importance of information delivery. This finding supports Ammeter et al.'s (2002) suggestion

that political leaders must read their audience and select the appropriate script accordingly. Here

an advocate informant described the use of a fact and data based script in developing

relationships with policymakers as different than a script used with industry partners:

And then, really, truly understanding that the language which you use with them, is totally different than the language which you use with your stakeholders at hotels. I don't sit in front of the politicians and talked about RevPAR because they'll look at me and go, 'RevPAR , is that important to me?' (DMO 6)

Another example of a political script that emerged was one based upon advocate informants

seeking assistance from their fellow leaders or followers. Here an advocate informant illustrated

why he/she uses a political script based on obtaining knowledge and advice from colleagues:

The primary strategy there, beyond the listening session, was to say a couple of key things which I continue to say, 'I'm not from here.' Right away what that's signaling to people is that I don't have a particular axe to grind. I'm coming from the outside. I need your help because I don't know who everyone is. (DMO 5)

This type of script approach was frequently employed by those advocate informants who were

new to their position or developing relationships with new constituents. Of course this approach

is limited and may lose its effectiveness once an advocate becomes an established member of the

network.

Political Will

The understanding of advocate informants' leader cognitions described above provided a glimpse into some of the foundational antecedents to their political leadership behavior. Political will is another important antecedent that could influence advocates' behaviors (Treadway et al., 2005). This study identified a variety of forms of political will, including the perception of political leadership as an interesting task, a necessary and required job function, or an ethical prerogative (Doldor et al., 2013). Interestingly, new forms of political will also emerged, including motivation to engage in political leadership as a result of being mentored and a personal passion for the industry. Examples of each follow.

Those advocate informants who considered political leadership an interesting task were employed in the private sectors or with VHTA. These informants expressed that they were free to pursue an interest in political leadership as they were not constrained by limited organizational resources. They also identified general political activities as prior episodes that influenced their participation in political leadership on behalf of the tourism industry, suggesting these individuals had a keen interest in politics as a whole.

Another form of political will is a passion for the tourism industry. One advocate informant expressed a specific passion for the commitment to advancing the tourism industry and its stakeholders:

A passion, an absolute passion, for the industry and who we represent. A passion for the contributions that it makes to a community, in the sense of helping the residents with at least maintaining a certain tax rate, by bringing in new money, by contributing to a quality of life in the way of jobs, in the way of advocating for and facilitating attractions coming into the area, and events whether it be concerts or sports events or whatever the case may be. So a real

137

passion, not only for the industry we represent, but from the communities which we are representing. (DMO 6)

Passion as a motivator for political leadership did not appear to be directly connected to advocate informants' sector of employment or tenure in the tourism industry. And like the motivation of political leadership as an interesting task, it was never the singular form of political will identified by advocate informants. Instead, these forms of political will appeared in conjunction with motivators such as perception of leadership as a job function and an ethical prerogative.

It is interesting to note that job function as a form of political will was displayed across sectors and even by those who did not identify formal accountability for their leadership efforts. This suggested that some advocate informants' took it upon themselves to incorporate political leadership into their job function as a means of self-preservation:

I'm trying to make a living, trying to make money at this. Anytime someone throws a hurdle at me or stands in my way from growing, developing, or maintaining my business, I want to fight for that, fight to protect myself. I would say a lot of it comes out of self-preservation (Restaurant 1)

Job function was a more obvious form of political will for those advocate informants' whose job description and specific directive from their superiors outlined their role as political leader:

The Board of Directors said, 'This is the most important priority. You're going to Richmond because we haven't been there in a while.' And we had not had the kind of representation that they wanted. The board here knew that that was the focus they wanted to go. (Lodging 2)

These findings related to job function as political will suggested that tourism advocates often do not need to be formally tasked with leadership roles to engage in political activities. Many are already aware of how advocacy activities can affect their job and take action to ensure political outcomes that protect their industry and livelihood.

While many advocate informants were motivated to participate in political leadership activities

as part of their job, it was also evident that some informants felt an ethical imperative to engage

in advocacy beyond position responsibilities. They expressed that advocacy on behalf of the

industry was simply the right thing to do:

*I'm not a great public speaker, but I know right from wrong. And if I feel like I need to get
involved in something, I do. It doesn't come natural to me at all, but I know it needs to be done,
so I got out there and did it.* (Restaurant 3)

It should be stressed that an ethical imperative prerogative was never an informants' sole

motivation for engaging in political leadership. What this form of political will may represent is

an underlying value held by these advocate informants, which was then augmented by additional

motivators such as passion.

Advocate informants also reported that mentorship served as an additional source of political

will. Multiple informants identified a mentor who they believed set a good example of political

leadership. In an effort to emulate this example advocate informants were motivated to

participate in the political leadership behaviors used by their mentor. These mentoring

relationships were also vital to creating a sense of belonging for many of the advocate

informants.

Industry Knowledge

While advocates may have an awareness of their leadership identity and motivation to participate

in political leadership, they also require an understanding of the industry they represent. For this

study, industry knowledge was used in lieu of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) use of general mental

ability. The findings of this study supported this modification and offered evidence of an even

more nuanced use of industry knowledge among advocate informants: the use of both a holistic understanding of the industry and more sector-specific knowledge.

A holistic understanding of the tourism industry was a universal antecedent for the advocate informants. Here a VHTA staff member described the advocates he/she works with and their possession of an understanding of a larger picture for the industry: "They've got the big picture and I think those are the people that really help our industry, the ones who are not just looking for their next opportunity but, 'How do I help the industry?' " (VHTA Staff Member 1). It would seem that this form of industry knowledge could contribute greatly to the advancement of VHTA's purpose, serving as a unified voice for a very diverse industry (VHTA Bylaws, 2009) and seemed to help advocate informants develop a vision for the future of the industry.

Many advocate informants also discussed how they had cultivated a working knowledge of a specific sector of the industry, often gained by working their way up through the ranks:

In terms of when you see the people as far as the hotel industry itself, and you're going from a small mom-and-pop to a full-service Holiday Inn, I can relate to pretty much everybody out there. Whether it be the ownership level of those hotels, to the general manager level to sales and marketing, to whatever's out there, you see everyone that's involved in the industry. From every angle I think I've touched it and felt it and worked with it. (Lodging 5)

Many advocate informants recognized that this sector-specific knowledge helped them connect to others in that sector and without it they would not be as effective as leaders. Here an advocate informant from a DMO described how his/her cultivation of industry knowledge through experience helps him/her as a leader, "Because it goes to this word, 'leader.' That is you should never be in a position to ask anything of anybody that you wouldn't do or haven't done yourself" (DMO 6). The advocate informants' emphasis on their use of sector-specific knowledge may

partially result from VHTA's Professional Bureaucracy structure and from the fact that VHTA represents the unification of previous advocacy associations for each tourism sector, lodging, restaurants, travel, and suppliers (VHTA Bylaws, 2009). VHTA's reliance upon advocates' sector-specific knowledge and its emergence as an important antecedent for advocate informants could indicate the potential for a silo-like approach to advancing VHTA's goals, i.e. the restaurant sector will only engage in issues that affect restaurants. However, this may be tempered to some degree by advocates' possession of a holistic understanding of the industry. Overall, the findings of this study suggest that both general and sector-specific industry knowledge are valuable antecedents for tourism advocates. Sector-specific knowledge helps build connections and rapport within a sector while a holistic understanding of the industry helps unite the industry overall

Political Savvy

An understanding of the intricacies of the political landscape emerged as a distinct and vital form of knowledge that advocate informants' possessed. This concept is referred to as political savvy because advocate informants described it as more than just knowledge of the political landscape and its players. They felt it was important for them to be able to read the landscape and then anticipate what action to take or which message to present when engaging in advocacy efforts. Here an advocate informant described how he/she employ his/her political savvy when meeting with policymakers:

I have found that when your representative, or your elected official is one of the key players then you can then show an example and that you're a constituent of that elected official. He's the chairman of the committee, let's say. When you can show specifically how that affects your life, or your business, it goes a long way. (Attraction 2)

Other advocate informants described how vital it was for them to have an understanding of the

strategic political process. This helped them determine the actions needed to ensure their

advocacy efforts were successful. Here an advocate describes why he/she values political savvy:

Knowing more now about the government process, a lot of times, and the bill that they enter is a stepping stone to the one that they really want. You look at the one that they enter, and go 'Well, that's no big deal.' But if you talk to the right people, they will educate you on 'Well, once they have that, then they're going to go for this.' That's where it can really become a catch where it's like 'Oh, this is a chess game, and you missed.' You're thinking that you're fine with that one pawn, when it's actually the queen hiding behind somebody, and that's the checkmate.
(Restaurant 2)

It is valuable to note that multiple advocate informants gave credit to specific VHTA staff

members for helping them develop political savvy. Below is an illustration of how a VHTA staff

member shared his/her political savvy related to the regulation of Online Travel Companies

(OTC) in Virginia:

That was one where on the front-end our folks knew that that was a multi-year effort. We let them know early on, we don't anticipate being successful this session, but we think it's important to carry this banner so that we're on the record supporting this thing. That wasn't our legislation, that was something that the Governor's administration puts forward, but we did have a policy position on it. So it was important to be transparent with our members and saying, 'Hey, this wasn't our bill. Had it been, we would have probably done it a little differently. We would have had bipartisan sponsorship' (VHTA Staff Member 2)

Multiple advocate informants described the OTC scenario when discussing advocacy efforts they

participated in, so it was evident that this staff member had shared his/her political savvy and

helped others develop theirs through this type of dialogue.

Cultivated Skillset

The utilization of specific skillsets also emerged as an important antecedent to political

leadership behaviors. Advocate informants often emphasized how their formal, higher education

in fields related to marketing or finance were valuable. Additionally, general business skills were valued among many advocate informants, regardless of whether they were gained through higher education:

What's interesting is that, I think that in this position, no matter how you get to it, you have certain professional skills and talents that come to bear. I think first and foremost, it's more than just a basic understanding of business. We're all about jobs. We're about being an economic driver. (DMO 1)

Some advocate informants described how they valued specific skills related to communication. Here an advocate informant explained how he/she had honed communication skills prior to becoming an advocate, "I had a skill set. I could talk to people. I could understand from my college days of debate that there's two sides to every coin" (Attraction 1). Many advocate informants emphasized that they sought to develop their communication skills in order to become better leaders.

Personality

Some advocate informants attributed their engagement in political leadership behaviors not only to knowledge of the industry or specific skills, but as a result of their personality. Several advocate informants described how they felt drawn to advocacy as a result of their extroverted nature. In the words of one lodging industry representative: "I didn't have all the knowledge of the tourism industry, because of my very diverse background. Totally 100 percent, it was the connections and the personality, because I love people" (Lodging 2). Another advocate informant specifically identified his/her tenacity as a personality attribute that served him/her well in the role of a tourism advocate "I also think that sort of the third aspect is just my

personality. I'm a very hard-charging type of person. I see myself as a change agent in every position and in every organization I've been in" (DMO 5).

Others recognized that their personalities did not aid in their advocacy efforts and instead relied upon other antecedents such as political savvy or industry knowledge: "For me in this town, it's all about my knowledge of lodging industry and tourism. If it were just personality driven I would have zero influence because most people don't like me because we're kind of in the face" (Lodging 3). These findings suggested that while some antecedents can be learned, such as industry knowledge or political savvy, there are attributes that these advocates innately possess which may influence the leadership behaviors in which they engage.

Leadership Style

While the literature identifies a multitude of leadership styles, data from this study revealed four distinct styles: transactional, authentic, servant, and shared/community-based. Transactional Leadership focuses on the exchange of something of value between leaders and followers (Burns, 1978). Here an advocate exemplified the expectation for exchange with members of his/her organization: "For a new member who says 'Why should I be a member of your organization?' 'Well, we work together to try to make this place better for everyone.'" (Lodging 3).

The other three styles present in this study include Authentic, Servant, and Shared/Community-Based. These are all derivatives of Transformational Leadership, which emphasizes an engagement process between leaders and followers in an attempt to establish an emotional connection. Advocate informants who may be considered Authentic Leaders repeatedly

discussed the ethical and moral foundation of their leadership activities and used terms like

"credibility" (DMO 2) and "consistent" (Attraction 3). This was distinct from advocates who

identified as Servant Leaders, who focused their discussions on the idea of giving back to the

industry and serving as stewards of the industry's political needs. Here a participant described

his/her commitment to serving the entirety of the tourism industry: "I think that's the big thing,

you've got to approach it, not about your own special needs, but what's best for the industry as a

whole" (Restaurant 1).

A commitment to the creation and use of a collective vision is what distinguishes a

Shared/Community-Based leadership style. Several advocate informants discussed their efforts

to act as a catalyst to empower a diverse range of individuals through their leadership behaviors.

Here one such advocate informant describes his/her idea of a tourism leader:

I really think that looking broader is someone that can really craft an agenda that benefits all of the different groups in the hospitality industry… It really is someone who can speak fluently, not know everything, but speak fluently and be relatable and help carry the cause of the different segments within the industry. (Attraction 4)

These advocate informants also emphasized how it was important to create space and

opportunities for individual empowerment. Many described how they would host various types

of networking events (i.e. a coffee connection, luncheon, meet and greet, mixer, etc…) in order

to interact with members of the industry:

We have networking. We have mixers we invite people to. It's more informal, just to meet folks. We host a quarterly meeting of our attractions. We bring them all together and talk about what's coming up for the quarter and partner together. We do something similar with the hotels….I've really seen how you need to be out in the community. (DMO 3)

There was evidence that the Shared/Community-Based style was utilized by advocate informants from all different sectors within the industry and often helped to facilitate positive outcomes for the leader and their followers.

It is important to recognize that many advocate informants did not exhibit an exclusive leadership style. They may have expressed a dominant style but conversations revealed specific situations in which they employed elements of a variety of styles. This suggests that leadership style may not be a consistent antecedent that determines leadership behavior, but rather is a fluid tool that advocate informants may use when they recognize its appropriate application.

Social Capital

Social Capital represents the final antecedent that Ammeter et al. (2002) identify in their political model of leadership. The utilization of Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) conceptualization of social capital requires the identification of three dimensions: structural, relational, and cognitive social capital.

In this study, structural social capital, which refers to the pattern of connections that a leader makes within their network, was evaluated via their out-degree centrality (Table 11). Out-degree centrality is the number of connections an individual draws to other network members, which was assessed through the advocates' recognition of peer leaders, mentors, followers, and industry partners in the interviews. All of the advocate informants discussed their reliance on these network members, but to varying degrees. Advocate informants reported a range of three to 18 network connections. These findings suggest that some advocate informants have developed greater structural social capital than others. It is interesting to note that advocate informants'

structural social capital did not appear to be related to their tenure in the industry or sector, two characteristics that might influence the number of established network connections. However, most of those informant advocates' who demonstrated relatively high out-degree centrality also utilized the shared/community-based leadership style. This may suggest that building network connections resulted from their preferred approach to leadership.

The relational dimension of social capital reflects advocates' ability to develop high quality relationships with members of their network (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Many advocate informants recognized the establishment of trust as an important foundation to quality relationships: "I don't think when everything's said and done people will follow leaders that they don't trust. I don't think that ever happens. It might happen for a short period of time, but it doesn't work long-term" (VHTA Staff 1). Advocate informants described a variety of methods used for developing trust and relationships such as making a connection, or empathizing, with others. Here a hotelier describes how his/her tenure in the industry and industry knowledge help him/her make connections:

One of the things that I do that's helped me personally, is the ability to look at something from their viewpoint. When I look at people, when I talk to whether it be industry leaders, or even people involved in the tourism industry, looking at it through their viewpoint makes them more comfortable so they'll feel like, 'This guy understands where I'm coming from.' Going back to my experience as far as where I'm at today, and one of the biggest things that helps me out in terms of gaining people to follow what I'm thinking about, is the fact that I've cleaned toilets before, I've made beds before, I've vacuumed. I can assimilate to those people. (Lodging 5)

Other advocate informants described how opening lines of communication resulted in their ability to gain trust and establish relationships. This method was particularly common among advocate informants who had recently started engaging in political leadership behaviors. Here an

advocate informant describes how his/her policy of engagement with the community helped

create new relationships:

It really did make a big impression right away. People kept saying, 'Wow, your predecessor was always in the office. Yes, we could come in and we could ask for an appointment or call, but we always had to go to him. You're actually coming out and going into the market place saying, Hey, I want to see your business. How is business? Talk to me about what's working, what's not. What are you hearing?' (DMO 5)

Another method advocate informants used to establish the trust of relational social capital

focused on following through with their commitments to network members. Advocates often

used language similar to that seen here when describing their relational social capital:

I think the trust thing is huge and the thing is if you say you're going to do something and you asked to be a part of something and you say yes, then for me I put 110 percent into it. I would say over the years that has been what people have come back to me and said, 'You are a person of your word.' (Attraction 4)

While a majority of advocate informants described relational capital as an important antecedent

to their leadership behavior, some identified challenges in establishing it: "Everybody thinks

they know what they are doing is the only way to go. We're always right. We're leaders in our

own little world, so it's tough for us to fall in line behind somebody." (Restaurant 1) It is worth

noting that several advocate informants recognized these challenges. However, there was limited

discussion of strategies to address them.

These challenges may also manifest themselves in terms of cognitive social capital, defined as

the creation of shared meanings and narratives within a network in order to avoid

misunderstandings and allow network members to recognize the potential value of resource

sharing and cooperation (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Advocate informants reported mixed

success with this dimension. For example, the same advocate informant (Restaurant 1) who

recognized shortcomings in relational social capital also identified challenges in creating

cognitive social capital: "Conversely, mom and pop working the counter, they can't come to the

meeting. The decision is made, and then they say, 'What are you doing?' … That's a challenge to

keep the one voice" (Restaurant 1). Other advocate informants were more optimistic and

discussed ideas of "one voice" and "same message" (DMO6) This concept, included in VHTA's

mission statement, was recognized as valuable among many advocate informants both in terms

of developing relationships internally, among members of the tourism industry, and externally,

between the industry and policy makers. An internal example is described here by a participant

who illustrates some of his/her first actions as an advocate:

Our region was very divided, we share a lot of the same natural resources, but people are trying to differentiate themselves. A week into it I sat down and requested a meeting with the County and with city officials, and said 'How can we all work together?' One voice is OK, if everyone has a shared, common interest, you can move your agenda forward much quicker, and much more effectively, and that is just the same for the legislative issues. (Attraction 4)

The findings of this study revealed that tourism advocate informants utilized all three of

Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) dimensions of social capital in their efforts to develop

relationships with both policymakers and members of the tourism industry.

4.4.3 Leader Political Behaviors

Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political leadership behaviors were examined in the context of

advocates' efforts to influence members of the tourism industry. The findings described below

reveal that advocate informants used a myriad of tactics to lead members of the tourism industry

toward goals such as creating a unified voice or setting a legislative agenda. Support was found

for many of the behaviors outlined in Ammeter et al.'s (2002) original model, yet additional

behaviors, specific to the political efforts of tourism advocates, also emerged (Figure 13).

Proactive Behaviors

Proactive behaviors include those actions that advocates utilize when they actively attempt to

influence a member of the tourism industry. Ammeter et al. (2002) identified fourteen potential

proactive behaviors. This study found evidence of several of these proactive behaviors with

advocates describing their application in a variety of contexts (Figure 13), but not all. An

additional behavior, catalyzing empowerment, also emerged as a useful proactive behavior. The

most frequently reported proactive behaviors are described below.

Leader Political Behaviors

- Action at individual, coalition, network levels
- Proactive Behaviors
  - Coalition-building
  - Networking
  - Consultation
  - *Empowerment*
  - Ingratiation
  - Exemplification
  - Rational persuasion
  - Inspirational Appeals
  - Vision Promotion
  - Organizational Promotion
  - Use of Expertise
- Reactive Behaviors
  - Scapegoating
  - Playing it Safe
  - Passing the Buck
- Symbolic Influence
  - Shared Language
 - Spending the Time
  - *Listening*

Figure 13. Leader Political Behaviors and Their Subthemes (modifications of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) original Political Model of Leadership italicized)

Many of the advocate informants indicated that they engaged in coalition-building tactics in

order to influence a member of the tourism industry. Zanzi and O'Neill (2001) define these

coalition-building behaviors as "a temporary or permanent alliance with other individuals or

groups to increase the support of one's position or to achieve a particular objective." One

advocate informant described the application of this tactic during his/her efforts to enact new

legislation:

We took the lead on creating a 'Winter Sports Safety Act' in the state of Virginia. We were one of the only states that did not have one and it's all about knowing the safety code and it's about the responsibility of the skier or snowboarder. Basically, you can't just fall when you're skiing and sue these businesses, it's the inherent risk of the sport. This was a year-long process and we actually came together with Bryce, Winter Green, and Homestead, and made a really strong coalition and did a lot of research. We hired a lobbying firm in Richmond and I would say for four to five months straight about 80 hours of my work week was spent from six in the morning to almost midnight, working with Lane Niebler, he's a really amazing industry advocate, working with him to advance this Winter Sports Safety Act. And in 2010 at the end of session it ended up being signed by the Governor. (Attraction 4)

This creation of a coalition, even among competitors, helped influence the collective

participation of industry members to achieve a common goal. Another example comes from a

VHTA staff member who described how he/she developed coalitions to create unity in the

industry's efforts:

If we're dealing with VHTA as a whole, we will reach out to the Chambers. Whether it be the Reston Chamber, the Fairfax Chamber whatever it is. We've been accustomed to presenting these letters, whether it be on the state level or a local level, and reaching out to people saying, 'Would you like to sign on to this letter? Here's our talking points.' We've been successful in doing so. (VHTA Staff Member 3)

Advocate informants' use of coalition-building tactics served as a method of bringing together

multiple sectors. Some advocate informants mentioned how they were creative in identifying

who should be included in the coalitions that could champion changes in ABC regulation:

If you can tap into another industry, like the craft brewers or the distillers, or whatever, then you've got more money, you've got more input, you've got more bodies in the door talking to the delegates. It's all in strategy, which is very interesting that we never would of thought years and years ago. (Restaurant 2)

These examples illustrate how a coalition can be built through a leaders' promotion of a common

interest. This requires a leader to identify that common interest and then be creative in their

identification of potential coalition-members and their valuable resources, even if it means going

outside of their usual network.

Taking advantage of access to a network was a common proactive behavior among tourism

advocate informants. Many advocate informants noted the relationship-building opportunities

associated with networking:

I think one of the main ways to advocate that is just get to know them. Networking spaces such as the VHTA events, or AHLA events, or whatever's out there, is the way I at least get to know what's going on there, so it's just getting to know them. That's the best way to build that relationship that we have. (Lodging 5)

An example of the VHTA events referenced above included the regional tourism summits hosted

in 2014. These events were hosted as a means to cultivate VHTA's network connections. The

regional tourism summits offered just one example of how advocate informants attempted to

create networking space for industry members so that they could access and connect with those

they wanted to influence. Sometimes advocate informants created networking space by hosting

special events where tourism industry members could interact with their Delegates or Senators,

such as a luncheon with Delegate Bill DeSteph and Senator Frank Wagner:

Our goal is to have at least two to four individuals from each hotel. It could be the GM, the front office manager, I don't care who you bring. Pay for their meal ticket, please. Bring them so that they can sit there and get engaged in the process. This is as an educational piece and for

152

building relationships. They'll be sitting next to Bill, they'll be sitting next to Frank. They will be at the table with the legislator and that intimidation factor goes away. (Lodging 2)

In this example an advocate informant utilized a networking space to influence industry members by directly connecting them to the policymakers. Advocate informants felt that such interactions helped to increase industry members' participation in future political activities on behalf of the industry.

In addition to creating and accessing networks, many tourism advocate informants described how consultation with industry members was a useful proactive behavior. Through consultation, an advocate would gain industry members' input in planning a strategy or activity (Yukl and Tracey, 1992) as described here, "There has got to be good debate. It's got to be open and free and a lot of people being able to talk" (Restaurant 1). Other advocate informants illustrated how their consultation efforts required a skilled and strategic approach to eliciting input from industry members:

Obviously you want to be inclusive of those people who don't automatically participate. You want to have a guided discussion as best as you can, so that we don't get to a roadblock. If we need to table something because it's getting too heated and look at another aspect that we could return to, it's your job to be that gatekeeper. If it bogs down then everybody is joining forces and they're planting their feet. So, when we have the discussion, we feel it's at that critical point say, 'Let's table that for a second, let's look at this from a different avenue.' (Lodging 4)

Often consultation efforts resulted in tourism industry members supporting the advocates' position, which suggests that this was an effective method of influencing tourism industry members. Advocate informants reported that in order to employ consultation, they needed to have a network they could access and the rapport to engage industry members in these consultation efforts.

While consultation of industry members proved to be an effective proactive behavior, many advocate informants described how they acted as a catalyst to empower other tourism industry members. Examples of catalyzing empowerment included inviting tourism industry members to participate in specific advocacy activities such as a testifying in Congressional sub-committees:

I reached out to owners that I worked with in my prior role, asking them to testify on behalf of the industry on [a specific issue] because State legislators in Virginia want to hear from Virginians as to how this issue impacts their business. So, I worked to get a couple of folks to commitment to testify for the community. (Lodging 1)

Other advocate informants described how they let tourism industry members take the lead on some issues, allowing them to make decisions on political issues, reviewing bills and legislation, and crafting position papers. Many advocate informants' recognized that empowerment influenced tourism industry members to engage in many activities including events such as VHTA's Tourism Day on the Hill:

Each year is a little bit stronger and it grows. It's so nice to see that. Getting that engagement and getting to see their excitement and their support. That they're willing to drive into Richmond and be here for that day and those activities. (VHTA Staff Member 2)

These findings suggest that behaviors through which advocate informants actively sought input and participation from tourism industry members allowed them to achieve the influence they needed to accomplish their advocacy goals.

Several advocate informants demonstrated the use of ingratiation as a proactive behavior which helped them influence tourism industry members. Through the use of this behavior, leaders attempted develop the image of someone who is warm, charming, or humorous (Schlenker, 1980):

I think the one thing that has been surprising to me is how hospitable I could be. I'm not serving anybody breakfast, and I'm sure not ironing your bed sheets, but you're just at least being friendly. You're offering them a cup of coffee and just creating that relationship. (Lodging 7)

The use of ingratiation seemed to help advocate informants gain rapport with those they hoped to influence which allowed them to utilize additional proactive behaviors. For most advocate informants the use of ingratiation was not an overt tactic but rather was a behavior utilized in all of their interactions with industry members.

Exemplification was another form of a proactive behavior that advocate informants did not explicitly identify as a strategy for influencing tourism industry members. However, based upon their self-reported advocate activities there was evidence that informants subconsciously utilize this proactive behavior. While several advocate informants demonstrated the use of this technique, which is a behavior that presents the advocate as someone worthy of imitation by others (Tedeschi and Norman, 1985), Attraction 2 Advocate's exemplification efforts stand out, namely his commitment to being professional and respectful. Other advocate informants frequently commented on his behaviors and success as a leader, "He's a quiet gentleman, but he commands respect. When he walks into the delegate's office with us, there is instant recognition. It's very positive" (Restaurant 2). This recognition of Attraction 2 Advocate's behaviors suggested that his exemplification efforts have influenced not only other advocates, but possibly tourism industry members as they frequently identified him as an industry leader. Other advocate informants also described exemplification efforts related to their participation in activities such as emailing or calling their Delegates and Senators and participating in VHTA advocacy activities such as Day on the Hill or the monthly Governmental Affairs conference calls.

Advocate informants noted that they desired for all tourism industry members to participate in these activities, so it was necessary for them to set an example and participate in them as well.

Rational persuasion and inspirational appeals were commonly reported proactive behaviors used by advocate informants. While both seemed to be effective in gaining influence among tourism industry members they represent distinct behaviors. Advocate informants using rational persuasion relied on logical arguments and facts to influence industry members, whereas those using inspirational appeals attempted to connect to industry members' values, ideals, and aspirations (Yukl & Tracey, 1992). Here, an advocate informant offered an example of how his/her rational persuasion efforts influenced an individual to recognize the value of tourism and take on an active leadership role as a DMO board member, "…we took him to a conference last year, and after that it was like the switch came on. I said, 'What's different?' He said, 'You got me drinking the Kool-aid, you shared enough data. You showed me what the results are'" (DMO 8). Other advocate informants also emphasized the value of having good data to use in efforts designed to influence members of the tourism industry and policymakers, "I think you have to provide them with data. Look at this Labor Day study we did. I did that for the express purpose of providing additional data and resources for people to make a decision of support" (VHTA Staff Member 1). The data and resources that VHTA developed for specific political issues such as post-Labor Day School Start Dates were utilized by other advocate informants who also engaged in rational persuasion:

We specifically wanted to learn more and get some more data points around the Labor Day law. A number of us, the board chair and many members of the board, met with the VHTA and decided that we did want to financially support a study that was being commissioned. Again, I went to the board to have that ratified, and then we helped contribute some funds so that the statistics could really be looked at really deeply around the effect of the Labor Day law on

education, specifically on test scores and efficacy and performance of students at different points in their educational careers. (DMO 5)

While it was clear that many advocate informants found success in influencing industry members

through rational persuasion, others utilized the emotional connections of inspirational appeals.

Advocate informants influenced industry members through this behavior by connecting with

their ideals or inspiring confidence in them (Yukl & Tracey, 1992). This example illustrated how

an advocate informant connected with industry members through a mutual desire to fight recent

local policy changes which hoteliers felt reduced their competitive advantage:

Participant (Lodging 6): *I had two of the owners I'd never talked to, who had little ma and pa hotels, they were calling me up, telling me how much they agreed with me and all this. I was like 'Well, show up.' [They said] 'Oh, I'm just a little guy, I can't go to the city council, and no one cares about me.' I got them to come down and talk. I convinced them and now they come to everything.*

Interviewer: *So how did you convince them?*

Participant (Lodging 6): *The same type of thing, 'your voice does matter.' I'm just giving them a little pep talk. 'It does matter, they will listen,'*

Placing an emphasis on the value of each industry members' voice was a common inspiration

appeal used by advocates. This often resulted in their utilization of other behaviors, such as

catalyzing empowerment or consultation, as a next step (as illustrated above) in building a

relationship with tourism industry members. VHTA staff members also employed efforts to

inspire industry members to participate in advocacy efforts, and utilized networking space such

as their Tourism Summits (referred to as the grass-root rallies below) as an opportunity to inspire

tourism industry members to participate in advocacy activities such as Tourism Day on the Hill:

Having those grass-root rallies, trying to have people identify with being a part of this industry and getting them to step into their natural place of authority within it was something I really had as a top priority last year. Every rally was 'Meet us in Richmond. Come to the Capitol with us.

Let's do this together!' I'd like to think that those were really a contributing factor for having more folks show up and attend. (VHTA Staff Member 2)

What these findings may indicate is that both rational persuasion and inspirational appeals can be effective, but advocates must be able to assess situation to be able to determine which behavior is appropriate.

In some scenarios, advocate informants employed the use of proactive behaviors such as vision promotion or organizational promotion. When using vision promotion advocate informants attempted to convince industry members that their vision for the industry was attainable and the best course of action. This was closely related to advocate informants' ability to see the larger picture, a previously discussed antecedent:

You also have to establish, over the time, a real belief in who we are. As a hotel community, that's tough in destination organizations like ours, because [hotels] think in terms of tomorrow, we think in terms of a year from now, two years from now…You have to make sure [hoteliers] understand, that you know exactly what it is that they want, and they need to have faith in that. But, if you can stretch your mind a little and see where we can be in a year, two years. (DMO 6)

The use of vision promotion was employed frequently by DMOs and VHTA staff members, which may be a result of the fact that these organizations are expected to serve as the visionaries for the tourism industry. Organizational promotion was utilized by advocate informants who touted the favorable features and achievements of their organizations as a means to influence tourism industry members (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). This was frequently related to the advocacy efforts of VHTA:

This was a few years ago, I had a leadership role with VHTA. I remember going to a VACVB meeting in Abingdon and we were having a round table and they were just kind of bashing what VHTA was doing. I was the one that had to stand up to them and say 'They're doing good. You think you want to get your money back from the [Online Travel Companies], and this is the way to do it.' (DMO 7)

While the promotion of VHTA's efforts was a common thread in the interviews, other advocate informants discussed how they promoted their own organizations (such as regional hotel and lodging associations) and the success they had gained in the political arena. Generally, organizational promotion was not used as frequently as other proactive behaviors, perhaps due to the fact that there more individuals, rather than organizations, that were involved in tourism advocacy efforts.

The use of expertise was a proactive behavior that was used by advocate informants across multiple sectors and particularly among VHTA staff members. Informed by the antecedents of sector-specific knowledge and political savvy, this behavior was a powerful tool for building relationships with tourism industry members. In using this behavior advocate informants' established themselves among tourism industry members as the "go to" individuals for those who wanted to get involved in gaining political influence for the industry. This proactive behavior was employed frequently by VHTA staff members who often possessed expertise as a result of their frequent interactions with policymakers:

Then when we go into the closed session Government Affairs Committee call, I'd say, 'OK. You've heard the landscape on this call. Here's some additional information I've gotten from emails, phone calls, meetings with legislators. This is some behind-the-scenes scoop. What do you want to do about X, Y, and Z?' (VHTA Staff Member 2)

While this example describes a VHTA staff member's interaction with specific members of the tourism industry (those on the VHTA Governmental Affairs Committee), their expertise has become recognized by the wider industry, even those who are not members. By frequently employing the use of their expertise in Virginia's politics these VHTA staff members are now recognized as the individuals who can help the tourism industry fight for political influence.

Another VHTA staff member described how the Association was sought out by non-members in Charlottesville and by members in Prince William County for assistance related to tax issues:

I think again Charlottesville's a good example, they came to us. They sought us out and said, 'Hey, we're doing this thing.' Two weeks ago we weren't really involved. Today we're heavily involved. I think that's the ideal situation. Prince William County was the same way. It wasn't on my radar. Last week we had a conference call with the head of the tourism up there on another issue, and she said, 'Hey, can you stick on?' We talked about it and I said, 'Great, then we'll get involved.' I think they are coming to us for some of those solutions, and hopefully we're providing them enough support to solve the problem." (VHTA Staff Member 1)

This example illustrated how the use of expertise is a proactive behavior that advocates can utilize in conjunction with their political savvy and sector-specific knowledge to help establish and maintain relationships with tourism industry members. Ultimately, such relationships are necessary in order for advocates to accomplish goals such as creating a unified voice and legislative agenda for the tourism industry.

These findings illustrated the fact that advocate informants employed the use of a wide variety of proactive behaviors. Conversely, other proactive behaviors indicated in the literature were seldom utilized, including exchange, legitimating, intimidation, and self-promotion. Each advocate informant in this study demonstrated the use of multiple proactive behaviors in their efforts to develop relationships with tourism industry members. This suggested that advocates create a "toolbox" of behaviors that they utilize in various situations depending upon the context of the potential relationship they are building or maintaining. Other behaviors may be included in their "toolboxes" including reactive behaviors and symbolic influence.

Reactive Behaviors

Advocate informants were far less likely to report the use of reactive political behaviors than proactive behaviors. While Ammeter et al. (2002) identified fourteen potential reactive political behaviors, evidence of only six (scapegoating, playing it safe, passing the buck, stalling, protecting turf, and depersonalizing) were found in this study with only three (scapegoating, playing it safe, and passing the buck) being consistently utilized by multiple advocate informants. These behaviors are those that advocates employ to protect their interests and avoid unwanted demands (Valle & Perrewe, 2000), and ultimately they impact the way they develop relationships with tourism industry members. The three reactive behaviors most commonly utilized are outlined below.

Scapegoating was the most frequently identified reactive behavior. When employing this behavior, advocate informants assigned unwanted outcomes to external factors (Lee & Ashforth, 1990) in an effort to convince industry members they were not at fault. Frequently the advocate informants suggested a lack of participation as the external factor to blame for unwanted outcomes:

A lot of times, I would say that when there are failures, the big message from that would be, 'Hey, we need to get more folks on our side to be vocal, to reach out to their legislators, to become engaged in order to try to sway the tide in our direction.' (Lodging 1)

Other advocate informants suggested that the actions of previous advocates were the source of failures in the political arena, "I think this organization had gotten very far away from being locally involved that way. They really were trying to be Richmond-centric and not visible and not out there. I think that was a huge mistake*"* (VHTA Staff Member 1).

Advocate informants also reported examples of playing it safe, in which they avoided blame and situations that might have reflected poorly on them (Lee & Ashforth, 1990). When thinking about avoiding situations which might reflect poorly on them, advocate informants discussed the need to think of their long term relationship with industry members when taking sides on specific issues. One issue of particular importance was the Smoking Ban in Restaurants (discussed previously), which was very divisive among the VHTA membership and the industry as a whole. Advocate informants recognized its potential to divide the industry and often tried to find a way to appease both sides, knowing that one would ultimately lose. Advocate informants did not want to damage their relationships with members of the industry by picking sides in this issue and so would attempt to play it safe by not taking a side at all:

I will have my opinion on it but sometimes, I have to be careful about that. I will go back to the non-smoking rules. There were some groups that did not want the non-smoking rules in the restaurants. Some did, some didn't, depending on the locality. I didn't really voice my opinion on that. I had my opinion but it wasn't a sword I wanted to fall on one way or another. (Supplier 1)

While useful for maintaining relationships long term this type of behavior may create challenges for advocates in the short term. It is possible that they could be seen as weak leaders or indecisive on important issues if they refuse to take a side.

Another fairly common behavior employed by tourism advocate informants can be described as passing the buck, where an advocate suggests that they are not responsible for certain actions or tasks. Here an advocate informant indicated that the creation of other associations that may be beneficial to the tourism industry is not a part of his/her job description: "Locally here, there's not really a retail association, I would love it if there was. That's not my job per say, but just [to have someone to] partner with and educate from a legislative standpoint" (Lodging 2). Passing the buck may be a tactic used by advocates who feel the need to concretely define their role as a

political leader. Many described the challenges associated with time and resources needed to serve as an advocate, and so by stating that certain tasks were "not their job" they were protecting their ability to fulfill their other leadership roles.

The relatively limited evidence of advocate informants utilizing reactive behaviors may result from their desire to avoid conversation about these topics. While reactive behaviors do not necessarily imply that advocate informants were engaging in unethical behaviors, advocate informants may be reticent to discuss how they protect their own image as this may be perceived as bad leadership behavior. Additionally, they could be unaware that they are engaging in reactive behaviors. However, the fact that several did reoccur in the advocate informant interviews suggested that reactive behaviors are a part of the "toolbox" used by tourism advocates when engaging in efforts to build relationships with tourism industry members.

Symbolic Influence

Ammeter et al. (2002) suggested that in addition to proactive and reactive behaviors, leaders may utilize forms of symbolic influence to develop relationships with their followers. Others have found evidence that the rhetoric leaders use helps to influence followers (Emrich et al., 2001) and the findings of this study provided additional evidence for this claim (Figure 13). This concept emerged as an important tool that advocate informants utilized when connecting with industry members. Tourism advocate informants demonstrated the influential nature of rhetoric by referring to common phrases such as "a unified voice" and a "rising tide lifts all ships." Advocate informants used these phrases to signal to industry members that they were part of a universal and worthy cause. It was interesting to note that this shared language has direct ties to

the VHTA mission statement which introduces the phrase "a unified voice" (VHTA Bylaws, 2009). Here an advocate informant provided evidence of how he/she incorporate this rhetoric into his/her actions: "That's where I think being a tourism leader, and informing and educating and coming together as one group, one solid voice on issues, is so extremely helpful." (Lodging 2). The use of phrases such as "unified voice" or "one voice" represented a direct connection to the foundation of VHTA's organizational culture.

However, there was also evidence that other rhetoric related to the idea that "a rising tide lifts all ships" developed organically but was frequently used in advocate informants' efforts to create influence among tourism industry members. Several examples emerged such as "Back to the whole 'rising tide lifts all boats,' whatever's good for the industry is going to help us all" (Lodging 1), and "I think that I've always viewed the broader picture of the rising tide lifts all boats" (VHTA Staff Member 1), as well as:

I'm a big believer, if you improve the destination and you improve the industry, then your business is going to do fine. A lot of things I do, being involved the industry, I always look at it, what's good for the destination. That's what's going to benefit your business in the long run. I'm a big believer in that all boats float in the high tide for the most part. (Attraction 3)

It is interesting to note that this rhetoric is used across sectors, which suggests that it may be an effective form of symbolic influence among many members of the industry.

Peters (1978) and Ammeter et al. (2002) both suggested that the amount of time that leaders spend with their followers is an important form of symbolic influence. Many advocate informants identified the simple act of spending time with people as a powerful method of gaining influence with tourism industry members. Here an advocate supports that notion:

I think 90 percent of success is showing up. How do you get to be a leader? When somebody asked you in Richmond to do something, 'Can you help me do this? I need somebody to be at this committee meeting and speak.' You show up, and you speak. I think you have to show up, you have to engage, you have to participate. (Attraction 2)

Spending time was an action that many new advocate informants recognized as being

particularly valuable because it served as a symbol of their commitment:

All I've really done quite frankly is I tell people I put about 40,000 miles on the car and show up at every luncheon and have a visible presence. That goes a long way towards letting them know that you care, that you're engaged in what they've got going on, and that you're there to help. (VHTA Staff Member 1)

While it was the most commonly cited effort at creating symbolic influence, most advocate

informants recognized that it was challenging to participate in this simple activity. Some

suggested this was due to changes in technology:

Now we have conferences calls, we have Snapchats, and we text and we tweet. Even emails, we don't email as much as we used to. Let alone talk to each other on the phone or in person... It's hard getting people to get actively involved, even to keep their attention for more than 10 or 15 minutes. (Lodging 3)

Lodging 3 goes on to explain the value of face time:

For me it's about spending less time on my cellphone and in front of my computer, and even going to meetings. It's more about get in your car, drive to these hotels, trying to hit somebody every couple of weeks, and talk to them about what's happening in their business. (Lodging 3)

As evidenced by this quotation, face time has become a valuable commodity. As a result,

reaching out personally becomes a very powerful action.

In addition to investing time, many advocate informants suggested that actively listening to

tourism industry members helped them gain influence and demonstrate their commitment. This

form of symbolic influence was not explicitly defined by Ammeter et al. (2002) but emerged as

an important indicator of commitment which was able to influence members of the tourism

industry as described here:

I have to build that consensus. I have to build that trust. The way in which does this is by going in and listening, not talking, asking the questions and listening, and getting a sense of what is really very important to everyone individually, and amongst all the individuals, what is important collectively to the greater good. (DMO 6)

Many advocate informants indicated that these symbolic actions are often more powerful than

either proactive or reactive behaviors. Therefore, it may be concluded that efforts for symbolic

influence are a vital tool utilized by tourism advocates. The recognition of their value in gaining

influence among tourism industry members sparked many advocate informants to ensure that

their organizational resources supported such actions. These findings also suggest that it is

important to recognize that some of the most powerful tools tourism advocates can use for

building relationships may consist of simple actions such as listening to and spending time with

industry members.

4.4.4 Leader Outcomes

This study utilized Ammeter et al.'s (2002) classification of leader outcomes as a means of

assessing the results of tourism advocate informants' political leadership behaviors. This is not a

direct measure of the success of advocate informants' behaviors, but rather it provides an

opportunity to understand how advocate informants evaluated the benefits or costs of their

efforts. Support was found for all of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) categories of leader outcomes that

are related to performance evaluation, promotion and mobility, and power and reputation (Figure

14).

Leader Outcomes

- Performance Evaluation
  - *Personal Goal Achievement*
  - *Organizational Benefits*
  - *Creation of a Competitive Product*
- Promotion
  - *Assuming Additional Leadership Roles*
  - *Career Advancement Opportunities*
- Power and Reputation
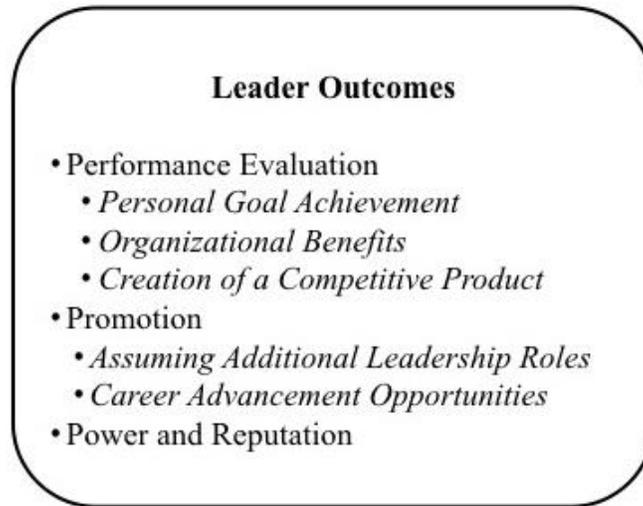
Figure 14. Leader Outcomes and Their Subthemes (modifications of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) original Political Model of Leadership italicized). Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1 Used under fair use, 2015.

Performance Evaluation

Ammeter et al. (2002) indicated that advocates' performance can be assessed through a self-review of their goals. This study found evidence that the tourism advocate informants were able to evaluate the achievement of such goals, with some indicating they felt they had accomplished them and others suggesting there was more work to be done. Advocate informants also recognized that advocacy could lead to benefits for an organization (their own or an external group such as VHTA or the state tourism office) and the creation of a more competitive product. Evidence of these multiple forms of advocate informants' performance evaluation is outlined below.

Multiple advocate informants described personal goals related specifically to gaining political influence for the tourism industry. The personal goals of some advocate informants were focused on relationship building:

An over-arching goal with this whole new role is to solidify myself in the community as a tourism leader. And as a leader, back to getting away from being behind the desk, it's ongoing. I've certainly made strides in that. Again, it's about being there, being on different committees and that kind of thing. (DMO 3)

Other advocate informants were able to evaluate their performance on personal goals that they had set for gaining political recognition for the tourism industry as a whole:

For me, it was just the passion of educating and getting them to recognize how significant it was. To a point where my vision was, 'I no longer want to be knocking on Congress' doors. I want Congress to be picking up the phone and asking us.' We've gotten there. (DMO 6)

Both of these examples illustrated how some advocate informants recognized an achievement of their personal goals as a result of their political leadership activity. This was not the case for all advocate informants, however. Several advocate informants evaluated their performance on personal goals and found themselves lacking. For example, Lodging 3 described his/her goals for industry member participation in VHTA's Day on the Hill activities as falling short in the area of relationship building and engagement:

When I say, 'Hey, we need people to go up', it's pulling teeth to get people to go up. I want people hopping on the bus. We had two buses last year that we could've filled, we didn't have the people to fill them. Talk about a goal, it's relationship building and it's helping people to realize that it's such a priority. (Lodging 3)

Other advocate informants also identified goals for the industry that they felt had not been achieved, as illustrated here regarding gaining political influence for the whole of the tourism industry, "What do I personally hope to achieve? Betterment for individuals and respect for industries. We are still the Rodney Dangerfield industry of the world" (Lodging 4).

While Ammeter et al. (2002) identified personal goal achievement as a measure of performance

outcomes, this study also found that there are outcomes for advocate informants which are not

related directly to their personal goals. These include the generation of organizational benefits

and the creation of a competitive product, which may still be evaluated as a part of an advocate's

performance. One informant described an "a-ha" moment on the part of the lodging industry:

When you have wins like that, then all of a sudden, this industry of 100 and some odd hotels look at you and you go, 'Wow. You fight for us. You work for us. You don't only help us fill our rooms, but you're looking out for us, and making business easier to be done.' (DMO 6)

Such recognition may help organizations, particularly DMOs, demonstrate the organizational

benefits of their participation in advocacy efforts. This could be a particularly valuable outcome

for those DMOs that have limited organizational resources for their advocacy efforts, as they

may feel a greater need to justify their advocacy activities. For organizations that focus on

advocacy efforts such as VHTA or regional hotel and lodging associations, organizational

benefits may come in the form of increased membership:

I went to meet with [the Chambers] in hopes to gain more members. That's the other residual effect of a lot of these issues, is picking up membership. It all comes full circle. We've already picked up one member in Prince William, because they're like, 'I totally want to be involved.' The gentlemen spoke at both the Board of Supervisor's meeting, he's very active. I'm thinking, 'We need this guy. I really hope he's going to come with us on these state issues.' (VHTA Staff Member 3)

As described in the examples above advocate informants often sought outcomes that did not

necessarily benefit them personally, it was quite common for informants to be more comfortable

in describing how their efforts were beneficial to their organization, as opposed to just

themselves. Other advocate informants recognized that their leadership behaviors resulted in

benefits for their organization which were specific to the creation of a more competitive product

and increased business success:

My business is much better off with me as a tourism advocate. You're communicating with people all the time, you're talking about your business. There's a relationship that you are building. When I'm serving in any one of these roles, if I meet a supplier that sells something that we need, and I can bring them and introduce them to somebody at my workplace… that's a win. (Attraction 1)

Evidence from this study supported Ammeter et al.'s (2002) identification of performance evaluation as means of measuring the outcomes of an advocates' leadership behavior. However, the assessment of personal goals alone did not provide a complete measure of advocates' self-reported performance. Instead, their contribution to organizational benefits and creation of a competitive product should also be considered.

Promotion

Promotion serves as a tangible means of assessing the outcome of advocates' leadership behaviors (Ammeter et al. 2002). In this study, two forms of promotion were recognized that did not exist in Ammeter et al.'s original model: assuming additional leadership roles and career advancement opportunities (Figure 14). Advocate informants described how their advocacy efforts caught the attention of larger organizations and resulted in recruitment and appointments to various board positions within VHTA at the state level and the National Restaurant Association (NRA), American Hotel and Lodging Association (AHLA), or the Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA) at the national level. "You start proving yourself locally and you get into bigger and bigger boards until, like I said, I'm on the national board now*"* (Lodging 6).

Some advocate informants also described how their advocacy activities with VHTA and other

organizations such as the Virginia Association of Convention and Visitor Bureaus (VACVB)

contributed to their promotion and career advancement:

Sure, because of VACVB, I'd say the former director did recommend me for the director position.
She did that because my ability as a leader here in the office, and part of that came from
performing well [as] VACVB president… (DMO 4)

These examples illustrate a pattern across tourism advocate informants that supports Ammeter et

al.'s (2002) use of promotion as a means of assessing the outcomes of advocates' behaviors. For

these advocate informants, opportunities for promotion were not always expected as a result of

their advocacy efforts. In fact, most seemed genuinely surprised that they had advanced into

positions on VHTA or national associations boards.

Power and Reputation

Promotion offers a relatively concrete means of assessing the outcomes of an advocate's

behavior, but more nuanced measures of changes in power and reputation are important as well

(Ammeter et al., 2002). Recognition of the power and/or power differentials between themselves

and other tourism industry partners did not come easily for advocate informants. In spite of this,

findings from the interviews offered evidence that leadership behaviors can affect the perceived

power and reputation of individuals and organizations. One advocate informant described how

advocacy activities increased his/her influence with tourism industry members and policymakers:

I'm not on a first name basis, I don't give money to politicians but I can call them up, and they
can answer my call. You get to know different people. I know directors of CVBs. I know people in
different hotels. I know all these different things. If issues come up, I can contact them. You get to
understand how things work. (Restaurant 1)

While advocate informants had difficulty recognizing their own power, they were much more ready to describe how their advocacy efforts resulted in increases in their organization's reputation. This was an outcome that seemed easier for advocate informants to identify and attribute to their leadership behaviors, as described here by an informant who recently came into their leadership role and emphasized the infectious nature of advocacy:

I think there's been a little bit of an inferiority complex for a lot of people here. They're very proud of their community, but when it comes to being an advocate that's listened to by political forces, I think because it was never a priority before, I think that we didn't ever put focus there. I think now that we're recognizing that if we want to be heard in the room, and we want to be a voice that can be reckoned with and be respected and to be viewed as a legitimate voice that's not better than what Fairfax has to say, or Richmond has to say, or Virginia Beach, again a voice that's worthy of being listened to, then we do need to exert a little bit more pro-activity, and we need to be on our game in terms of, 'Well, what is our position on that?' (DMO 5)

The reluctance of advocate informants to identify and address their own power is similar to the previously discussed reluctance to address power as a part of the leader cognition antecedent of power mental models. It would appear that the concept of power and its presence and role in tourism advocacy is a difficult topic for advocate informants to address. This may be expected to some degree, but it is a phenomenon worth noting and considering since it may have a great deal of underlying influence on the behaviors of tourism advocates.

In conclusion, these findings supported the argument that multiple measures should be used to assess the outcome of advocates' leadership behaviors. In addition, as Ammeter et al. (2002) note, utilizing only perceived success of advocates' personal goals does not provide a comprehensive picture of accomplishments or shortcomings. Instead, a more accurate assessment utilizes a broader approach. However, these findings only address the outcomes of political leadership behavior from the perspective of tourism advocates. The addition of their followers'

perspective, that of tourism industry members, would provide a richer evaluation of the outcomes of tourism advocates' efforts.

4.5 Findings Derived from VHTA Member Survey

The following sections outline a survey of VHTA members. A description of the response rates and data cleaning procedures is provided along with a presentation of the respondents' demographics. This section concludes with a review of the four target outcomes which may result from advocates' political leadership behaviors: affective reactions (i.e. industry members' perceptions of their trust in advocates), cognitive reactions (i.e. industry members' perceptions of advocates' political skill), attitudes (i.e. industry members' satisfaction with advocates' activities), and performance (i.e. industry members' participation in political activities) (Ammeter et al., 2002). These findings provide the opportunity to examine how members of the tourism industry perceive the behaviors of tourism advocates, specifically those interviewed in this study.

4.5.1 Response Rates

Once the survey instrument was finalized (Appendix 2) 425 VHTA members were invited via email to participate (Appendix 3). As described in Chapter 3, a modified Dillman technique was used to create a schedule for reminding members to complete the survey. A total of 50 usable questionnaires were completed for a response rate of 12%. This level of response is not surprising as there tends to be only about 10% of the VHTA membership engaged in most of the association's activities. Each questionnaire contained up to three complete leader evaluations, resulting in a total of 128 cases available for analysis. It is important to note that an additional 54

VHTA members started the questionnaire but failed to complete it. Another interesting observation that arose during data collection was that 15 VHTA members indicated that they could not participate in the survey as they did not recognize any of the leaders available for evaluation. The completed questionnaires were downloaded from the Qualtrics into SPSS 22 for analysis.

4.5.2 Respondent Demographics

Table 12 outlines the demographics details of the 54 survey respondents who identified 25 of the 26 advocates interviewed for the qualitative portion of this study. Survey respondents represented a variety of tourism industry sectors, and most participants indicated that they were involved in lodging, restaurants, or DMOs. This distribution is representative of VHTA's membership population. Each of the state's tourism regions were represented in the group of respondents, with a majority of respondents reporting that they operated in Central Virginia, the Shenandoah Valley, or NOVA. Additionally, a majority of respondents operate in urban and suburban locales, though rural locales were represented to a moderate degree. A majority of respondents indicated that they had been involved with VHTA for 1 – 10 years.

Table 12. Survey Respondent Demographics

Characteristic	N
Sector (Participants could identify multiple sectors of operation)	
Attractions	7
Lodging	19
DMO	15
Restaurant	17
Hospitality or Travel Supplies	5
Transportation	4
Other	7
Region (Participants could identify multiple regions of operation)	
Blue Ridge Highlands	3
Central Virginia	15
Chesapeake Bay	2
Coastal Virginia/Eastern Shore	4
Coastal Virginia/Hampton Roads	11
Heart of Appalachia	3
NOVA	12
Shenandoah Valley	13
Southern VA	5
Locale of Majority of Operations	
Rural (less than 2,500 residents)	7
Suburban (2,500 – 49,999 residents)	10
Urban (50,000 + residents)	22
Operations across these locales	7
Years of VHTA Membership	
1 – 10 years	26
11 – 20 years	2
21 – 30 years	3
30+ years	6

4.5.3 Target Outcomes

A review of the scales used to measure the target outcomes was conducted prior to further

analysis, including reliability and validity. As seen in Table 13, each scale demonstrated

acceptable reliability. All items for each scale loaded on a single factor, suggesting the scales

measured uni-dimensional concepts.

Table 13. EFA and Reliability Analysis of Target Outcome Scales

	Factor Loading	Eigen Value	Variance	Cronbach Alpha
McAllister's Interpersonal Trust Scale		8.51	77.3%	.967
KMO = .861; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = .000				
I feel I can trust this person with my ideas about the industry	.937			
I can talk freely to this individual about difficulties I am having and know that they will want to listen	.936			
I feel we can both freely share our ideas, feelings, and hopes for the industry	.935			
Other industry associates of mine who interact with this individual consider them to be trustworthy	.933			
Most people, even those who aren't close friends of this individual, respect them as a fellow member of the Virginia tourism industry	.905			
Given this person's track record, I see no reason to doubt their competence and preparation for the job	.881			
If I shared my problems with this person, I know they would respond constructively	.877			
I can rely on this person not to make my job more difficult by careless work	.863			
This person approaches their job with professionalism and dedication	.849			
We would both feel a sense of loss if we could no longer work together	.832			
I would say that we have both made considerable emotional investments in our working relationship	.702			
Douglas and Ammeter's (2004) Political Skill Scale		9.46	86%	.983
KMO = .923; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = .000				
As an advocate for the tourism industry [LEADER]…				
easily develops good rapport with most people	.963			
is able to make most people comfortable	.959			
is able to communicate effectively with others	.954			
is good at getting people to like him/her	.943			
understands people very well	.938			
is good at building relationships with influential people	.937			
spends a lot of time developing connections with others	.931			
is good at using networks to make things happen	.926			
tries to show a genuine interest in people	.914			
knows many important people and is well connected	.889			
has developed a large network of colleagues and associates who can be called on for support when things really need to get done	.843			

	Factor Loading	Eigen Value	Variance	Cronbach Alpha
Satisfaction with Advocate Activities Scale		6.64	83%	.970
KMO = .922; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = .000				
How satisfied are you with [LEADER's]…				
Ability to put the needs of Virginia's tourism industry above those of their own organization	.954			
Efforts to create a legislative agenda that suits your political needs	.944			
Efforts to create a unified voice for the tourism industry	.940			
Efforts to foster collaboration among members of the tourism industry	.933			
Ability to consider multiple viewpoints on political issues impacting the tourism industry	.904			
Utilization of research-based facts and figures in the development of their position on political issues impacting the tourism industry	.886			
Efforts to advocate for your organization's needs	.869			
Ability to deliver the tourism industry's message to members of the State Legislature	.853			

The data were organized for analysis based upon the advocates since respondents evaluated

leadership outcomes with a specific advocate in mind. This allowed for a descriptive analysis

which yielded a factor score for the entire scale for each advocate (Table 14). The aggregate

sentiment for each outcome was assessed by averaging the advocates' factor scores (Table 14).

An average number of the respondent's reported political activities was calculated to assess the

behavioral outcomes associated with each advocate (Table 14).

Table 14. Mean Outcomes Reported for Each Advocate

Advocate Identified by Participants	Number of Cases	Trust Scale Factor Score (Affective Outcomes)	Political Skill Scale Factor Score (Cognitive Outcomes)	Satisfaction with Advocate Activities Factor Score (Attitude Outcomes)	Average # of Target's Political Activities (Performance Outcomes)
Attraction 1	4	5.95	6.01	6.31	2.75
Attraction 2	11	6.23	6.44	6.22	3.00
Attraction 3	3	6.18	6.36	6.65	4.67
Attraction 4	1	5.55	6.18	6.43	2.00
DMO 1	1	6.00	6.00	6.00	1.00
DMO 2	14	5.96	6.15	5.77	2.79
DMO 3	2	6.32	6.23	6.00	1.50
DMO 4	2	7.00	6.55	6.31	4.50
DMO 5	2	5.18	5.00	5.25	1.00
DMO 6	8	6.47	6.50	6.52	3.63
DMO 7	6	5.92	5.31	5.72	2.33
DMO 8	6	6.57	6.62	6.65	4.00
Lodging 1	2	5.18	5.36	5.25	5.00
Lodging 2	6	5.70	5.35	5.85	3.33
Lodging 4	2	6.55	6.50	6.81	1.00
Lodging 5	4	5.50	5.25	5.32	2.75
Lodging 6	6	5.71	5.64	6.10	3.83
Lodging 7	4	6.07	6.36	6.12	3.25
Restaurant 1	5	6.40	6.38	6.40	3.80
Restaurant 2	4	6.48	6.54	6.63	4.00
Restaurant 3	2	6.18	6.00	6.00	2.50
Suppliers 1	5	5.89	6.24	5.85	2.80
VHTA Staff 1	17	6.48	6.63	6.48	3.41
VHTA Staff 2	7	6.44	6.54	6.39	4.14
VHTA Staff 3	4	6.32	6.65	6.53	2.75
Aggregate	*128*	*6.09*	*6.11*	*6.14*	*3.03*

From this descriptive analysis it can be determined that in general, tourism industry members recognize that advocates strive to cultivate a sense of trust in the relationships they develop as a part of their political leadership behaviors. Additionally, survey respondents agree that advocates possess and implement the political skills necessary to be effective in their efforts to gain political influence for the tourism industry. Survey respondents also indicated that they are generally satisfied with advocates' activities. Survey respondents exhibit behavioral outcomes,

such as communicating with legislators or participating in VHTA advocacy events, and on average reported participating in more than three political activities.

These findings are somewhat surprising considering that many tourism industry members have voiced concerns about a lack of political leadership in tourism, and perceive the tourism industry as having little political influence. The positive nature of these findings may be further tempered by the fact that a sizeable number of VHTA members could not identify a single leader out of the 26 advocate informants listed on the questionnaire. This suggests that many VHTA members are not aware of who is representing their political interests and is making efforts on their behalf to gain political influence for the tourism industry. Additional conclusions and discussions related to this issue and others identified in the Findings sections will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.6 Chapter Summary

Chapter four outlined the results of this study's qualitative and quantitative findings. The procedure for developing and pretesting the interview protocol was described and the results of the survey pilot test and pretest were also presented. The pretest discussion also provided the opportunity to discuss how the scales utilized in this study were tested for reliability and validity. The chapter continued with a presentation of the interview findings, organized by the sequential concepts of the Political Model of Leadership. This discussion was designed to provide illustrations of the Political Model of Leadership concepts that emerged in this study. These findings suggested that the contextual elements, leader antecedents, leadership behaviors, and leader outcomes outlined in the Political Model of Leadership were present among tourism advocates in Virginia. The findings also revealed that there were several emergent concepts that

were present among the advocate informants included in this study, such as the contextual element of organizational resources and the antecedents of political savvy and cultivated skillset. Furthermore, a much deeper understanding of each concept was gained through the examination of multiple subthemes for each concept. This chapter also described the quantitative findings of the tourism industry member survey. This component of the study revealed that overall tourism industry members hold mostly positive perceptions of the outcomes they gain from tourism advocates' behaviors. The next chapter applies these findings to the research questions of this study and offers theoretical and managerial implications based upon their outcomes. The chapter concludes with limitations and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Review of the Study's Purpose

This study was designed to provide a deeper understanding of the tourism advocates who serve as the leaders in efforts gain political influence for the tourism industry. Ultimately this political influence may result in the maintenance of an environment that helps Virginia's tourism industry grow and continue to generate jobs, direct spending dollars, and tax dollars for the state. Many authors have identified important roles for tourism advocates including: the development of a unified voice for the industry's political needs (McGehee, 1992; McGehee & Meng, 2006; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a), the cultivation of collaboration and negotiation among members of the tourism industry, advocates, and policymakers through the use of both formal and informal methods of communication (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Stevenson, Airey, & Miller, 2008; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a), and the establishment of an effective legislative agenda (Swanson & Brothers, 2012). All of these roles require advocates to cultivate relationships with tourism industry members. However, the literature lacks an investigation into how advocates fill these roles and develop relationships and how tourism industry members perceive the outcomes of advocates' efforts. Therefore this study worked to begin to fill that gap.

While the exploration of political leadership has been limited in the context of tourism, the broader literature yields many frameworks and theories for understanding political leaders. Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Political Model of Leadership is one such framework and it was employed to achieve the purpose of this study. This model provided a means of exploring who

tourism advocates' are in Virginia and the context and antecedents which influence their behaviors used to create relationships with members of the tourism industry. Ultimately these behaviors resulted relationships that help advocates to fill roles such as those identified in earlier studies and yield outcomes for both advocate informants and members of the tourism industry. This study's focus on understanding the attributes and behaviors of specific advocate informants advances the need to study the individuals who play roles in tourism development (Beritelli & Laesser, 2011). The purpose of this study and the application Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Political Model of Leadership resulted in the development of four research questions which were explored using a mixed method study. The discussion of the findings for these research questions are described below.

5.2 Discussion of Research Question Findings

The findings presented in Chapter 4 provide an illustration of each component of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) political model of leadership as well as the components and dimensions that emerged within the context of this study. These findings were described in order to explore the research questions developed for this study:

RQ1: How do contextual elements influence tourism advocates' participation in political leadership?

RQ2: What antecedents determine tourism advocates' selection of political behaviors used to influence members of the tourism industry?

RQ3: What are VHTA tourism advocates' perceptions of the outcomes of their political behaviors directed to members of the tourism industry?

RQ4: What are tourism industry members' perceptions of the outcomes of tourism advocates' political behavior?

The subsequent discussion will explore the relationships described in these research questions in order to demonstrate the contributions of this study.

5.2.1 Research Question 1 Discussion

Research Question 1 was designed to explore the role of context in tourism advocates' participation in political leadership. Evidence from both advocate informant interviews and the VHTA member survey indicated that the contextual elements of organizational culture and structure of VHTA as well as prior episodes of political leadership experienced by the advocates did play a role in influencing tourism advocates' participation in political leadership. Additionally, the presence of supportive organizational resources emerged as a contextual element that played a role in determining political leadership participation (Figure 15). This was not a part of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model and therefore adds to the leadership literature. Contextual elements which had limited influence on tourism advocates' participation included accountability and leader position.

As Fredrickson (1986) notes, organizations that utilize a Professional Bureaucracy structure operate in a decentralized nature, which allows for easier entry into positions of power as long as members demonstrate professional knowledge. Based on evidence from the VHTA Bylaws (2009) and examples from interviews with VHTA staff members it is evident that VHTA is a Professional Bureaucracy with a culture focused on gaining benefits for the association's members. This helped establish a foundation of inclusivity and collective purpose, facilitating membership involvement in advocacy efforts.

Context
- Organizational Structure
- Organizational Culture
- Accountability
- Leader position
- Prior episodes

Context
- Organizational Structure
- Organizational Culture
- *Organizational Resources*
  - *Supporting*
  - *Limiting*
- Accountability
  - *Formal*
  - *Informal*
- Leader Position
- Prior episodes
  - *Tenure*
  - *General Political Involvement*
  - *Industry Fights*
  - *Watershed Moment*

Contextual Elements in Ammeter et al.'s (2002)
Original Political Model of Leadership

Contextual Elements and Subthemes
Adapted for Tourism Advocates

Figure 15. A comparison of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Contextual Elements and those revealed in this study. Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1   Used under fair use, 2015.

The presence of supportive resources from outside of VHTA, namely from an advocate's

employer, is what may determine the degree to which advocates participate in political

leadership activity. For example, this DMO informant felt that he/she could not actively

participate in direct advocacy activities, such as testifying in Congressional subcommittee

hearings or walking the halls on VHTA's Tourism Day on the Hill, due to the organizational

constraint of conflict of interest, "That's the reason that I am a member of VHTA, so that my

points of view can be funneled through that organization. I'm not actually the one that goes up on

the Hill, because it doesn't look good" (DMO 7). This example illustrated the organizational

resource challenge faced by DMOs housed within county or city governments and supported by

public tax dollars. As a public entity they are prohibited from engaging in lobbying efforts. The

publicly funded DMO informants in this study recognized this prohibition and described how

they would avoid lobbying activities such as VHTA's Day on the Hill. Despite a state-mandated lack of resources of advocacy efforts, these DMO employees still found the opportunity to serve as political leaders who could apply their industry knowledge and networking-building capabilities to help create relationships among tourism industry members and educate them on the importance of political influence for the industry. There were some exceptions however, particularly for those advocate informants from DMOs in the capital region. As a nonprofit entity with proximity to the Capitol the Richmond CVB was able to frequently participate in meetings with policymakers. Tourism advocate informants employed in private industry frequently mentioned organizational resources, in terms of available money or time, that supported their participation in political leadership activities.

Based upon the evidence provided by the tourism advocate informants, it is also clear that their prior episodes related to political leadership, particularly those where they witnessed their own actions gaining influence for the industry, served as an important factor in driving their political leadership activities. While not every advocate informant described such a watershed moment, most could easily identify specific industry issues that they had helped fight for or an opportunity they had to participate in general political activities that impacted their decision to engage in leadership. These specific experiences represent various forms of the prior episodes described by Ammeter et al. (2002) that influence participation in political leadership activity. This supports previous findings that suggest prior episodes are vital to the decision to engage in political activity (Boyd & Taylor, 1998; Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Schriesheim, Castro, & Cogliser, 1999).

There are noticeable differences between this study and Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model, including the limited role of accountability and leader position in determining advocates participation in leadership activity. There was little discussion of formal accountability among the advocate informants, suggesting that even though all had participated in political activity, very few felt that their successes or failures were being monitored. This could be related to a limited recognition of advocacy efforts among some VHTA members, but it is evident that most advocate informants have participated in political leadership even without being held accountable for their activities. This is in stark contrast to many studies of leadership outside of tourism that suggest that accountability is a powerful influence on individuals' participation in leadership activities (Ammeter et al., 2004; Pfeffer, 1997; Rus et al., 2012). It is also interesting to note that advocate informants from all ranks within VHTA participate in political leadership activities. Furthermore, they are not limited by their degree of centrality within the VHTA network. It would seem that assumptions cannot be made that only those with higher rank (such as VHTA board members or staff) or a highly centralized position within the network have the power to participate in political leadership activities (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2006; Janicik & Larrick, 2005; Zaccaro & Klimoski, 2002).

5.2.2 Research Question 2 Discussion

Research Question 2 was designed to explore the connections between advocates' leader antecedents and the behaviors they use to gain influence with tourism industry members. The discussion of findings in Chapter 4 offers evidence of the wide variety of tourism advocate informants' antecedents and behaviors and provides support for many of the antecedents and behaviors included in Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model and outlines those that emerged as a part of

186

this study (Figures 16 and 17). The presence of so many antecedents and behaviors suggests that there are multiple avenues that advocate informants may use for gaining influence among tourism industry members. However, several patterns can be discerned and are discussed below. These patterns may help establish an understanding of what shapes an advocate informant's behavior and could offer examples of the traits, skills, and knowledge that future advocates may nurture in order to be successful in their leadership efforts.

Leader Antecedents
- Cognitions
  - Leader Identity
  - Power Mental Models
  - Political Scripts
- Political Will
- Industry knowledge
- Personality attributes
- Interpersonal style
- Social Capital
  - Structural
  - Relational
  - Cognitive

Antecedents in Ammeter et al.'s (2002)
Original Political Model of Leadership

Leader Antecedents
- Cognitions
  - Leader Identity
  - Power Mental Models
  - Political Scripts
- Political Will
- Interesting task
- *Passion*
- Job Function
- Ethical prerogative
- *Mentorship*
- Industry knowledge
  - *Larger Picture*
  - *Sector-Specific*
- *Political Savvy*
- *Cultivated Skillset*
- Personality attributes
- Interpersonal style
- Social Capital
  - Structural
  - Relational
  - Cognitive

Antecedents and Subthemes Adapted for
Tourism Advocates

Figure 16. A comparison of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Antecedents and those revealed in this study. Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1   Used under fair use, 2015.

Leader identity and political scripts emerged as two forms of leader cognitions that influence many advocate informants' behaviors. Advocate informants that engaged in organizational and

vision promotion exhibited self-identity as a leader and relatively high recognition as a leader among VHTA members (measured through in-degree centrality). Perhaps an awareness of their leadership role created more opportunities for these individuals to demonstrate the value of vision or an organization's efforts, as described here by an advocate informant who was the most recognized leader among his/her peer tourism advocates and VHTA members:

I do have kind of a long-term vision on where things should be. Where you want to be, what your goals are, how do you get to that goal. My horizons have always been in three to five year horizons on things. (VHTA Staff Member 1)

Leader Political Behaviors
- Action at individual,
  coalition, network levels
- Proactive Behaviors
- Reactive Behaviors
- Symbolic Influence

Political Behaviors in Ammeter et al.'s (2002)
Original Political Model of Leadership

Leader Political Behaviors
- Action at individual, coalition,
  network levels
- Proactive Behaviors
    - Coalition-building
    - Networking
    - Consultation
    - *Empowerment*
    - Ingratiation
    - Exemplification
    - Rational persuasion
    - Inspirational Appeals
    - Vision Promotion
    - Organizational Promotion
    - Use of Expertise
- Reactive Behaviors
    - Scapegoating
    - Playing it Safe
    - Passing the Buck
- Symbolic Influence
    - Shared Language
    - Spending the Time
    - *Listening*

Political Behaviors and Subthemes
Adapted for Tourism Advocates

Figure 17. A comparison of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Leadership Behaviors and those revealed in this study. Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1. Used under fair use, 2015.

The use of political scripts related to educating others and sharing data and facts were common antecedents among advocate informants who engaged in proactive behaviors such as rational persuasion. The effectiveness of rational persuasion depends on an advocates' ability to provide valuable information to tourism industry members and policymakers, so it is logical that advocate informants would have a predilection to presenting data and facts in an educational manner:

As we were beginning to really educate our politicians here about the value of tourism, we're going, 'It is way beyond just the hotel taxes, just the retail taxes, but look at the industry as itself. In every single hotel room, every room in this county, contributes to your commercial tax base $4,863 and that's a 600 square foot on average room. That's more than most of your single family dwellings over the year, and that's per room.' They're all going, 'Wow! Never thought of it in those terms.' But, when you're talking to the politicians, you have to talk in terms in which they'll understand. That's certainly taxes, certainly jobs, certainly quality of life. (DMO 6)

McGehee and Meng (2006) noted the importance of advocates' ability to educate policymakers on accurate tourism statistics. In this study, advocate informants made it clear that they used facts and data to educate tourism industry members on the need for political influence and to build relationships. While it was clear that leader identity and political scripts played an important role in determining advocate informants' behaviors, there was very limited evidence of power mental models as an influence on behavior. This challenges earlier findings that suggest power mental models are vital to helping leaders determine which behaviors they should employ (Fiol et al., 2001).

Multiple forms of the antecedent political will were identified through informants' discussion of their motivations to engage in advocacy activities. Doldor et al. (2013) previously identified interesting tasks, job functions, and ethical prerogatives as forms of political will but this study also revealed that personal passions and mentorship be included in this category. Advocate

informants who engaged in political activities because it was part of their job function often

utilized behaviors such as coalition building, networking, and use of expertise to influence

tourism industry members. These advocate informants' also tended to have organizational

resources which supported their political leadership behaviors, and thus they were able to

conduct large scale coalition-building and networking efforts:

We did a series of tourism summits last year, throughout the year. We did seven of those around the state. They had done them several years prior, they hadn't been done in recent history. So we really started doing those around the state. What we discovered is that as they moved along, the attendance built, the participation built. The elected officials showed up. It became much stronger. The latter ones were much stronger than the first ones that we did. I think it really showed a strong industry because we brought together all sorts. (VHTA Staff 1)

From these findings it could be surmised that when job function is utilized as a motivation for

advocacy efforts, and is combined with supporting organizational resources, tourism advocates

are more likely to facilitate the large scale coalition building and networking needed to

accomplish goals such as bringing together industry members to create a unified voice. Advocate

informants who cited their job function as a motivation for participation in political leadership

activities also described the use of reactive behaviors such as scapegoating, playing it safe, and

passing the buck. These behaviors result in response to a perceived threat and are enacted in

order to minimize adverse consequences (Ammeter et al., 2002). Advocates' who feel compelled

to engage in political leadership as a part of their job may be more sensitive to threats (e.g. an

unresponsive coalition partner) because their job hinges on their success as advocates. In order to

protect their job they may be more willing to engage in reactive behaviors that mitigate or

disperse the threat.

The advocate informants also offered evidence that being mentored cultivated political will which resulted in the use of exemplification behaviors, perhaps as a form of emulating their mentor as described here: "This is something I got from my father, who is probably my mentor in this whole thing, that if you're going to be a leader or advocate, it's got to be a service above self-type thing" (Restaurant 1). Such examples provide evidence that mentorship is an activity that should be cultivated by organizations such as VHTA. If new advocates had the opportunity to work with a mentor they could begin to identify the qualities and behaviors of advocates that have helped advance VHTA's goals in the past.

Advocate informants also indicated that passion was a powerful influence on behaviors such as spending time with tourism industry members and promoting a vision. For advocate informants with a passion for tourism, spending time with industry members in order to communicate a meaningful vision to industry members and policymakers did not seem like a burden, but rather a true opportunity to gain political influence. As one advocate put it "you have to believe in the message you're communicating. Again, you have to have that passion for the message you're delivering. If you have that, you're good" (Attraction 1). Passion represents a form of political will that can't be facilitated in a similar manner to mentorship or job functions. However, it is a motivation that could be identified by VHTA and employers who are seeking to cultivate tourism advocates. Identifying the connection between passion and advocate leader behaviors such as spending time with tourism industry members and promoting a vision could facilitate the cultivation of successful tourism advocates. Advocates could be encouraged and to take the time to connect with individuals in the industry or serving as a spokesperson for VHTA and the industry's vision and goals and be rewarded for their actions. This connection is even more

powerful considering the limited connections between other forms of political will such as advocate informants' perception of advocacy as an interesting task or an ethical prerogative to advocate informants' behaviors.

The findings of this study expanded Ammeter et al.'s (2002) conceptualization of political will and industry knowledge, which was found to be a nuanced and vital antecedent to advocate informants' political behavior. As a form of industry knowledge, sector-specific knowledge was an influential antecedent for many advocate informants, which supports Kirkpatrick and Locke's (1991) proposition that business knowledge helps leaders think strategically. For example, advocate informants frequently demonstrated how cultivating sector-specific knowledge could improve their coalition-building behaviors. Sector-specific knowledge is also something VHTA has recognized and built into their Professional Bureaucracy structure. By requiring representation of each sector on the board they have built direct access to a broad spectrum of industry knowledge. VHTA should strive to further harness that knowledge and encourage advocates to utilize it to form coalitions that facilitate a unified voice and legislative agenda. While not all advocate informants possessed sector-specific knowledge, every advocate informant demonstrated their ability to see a larger picture of the tourism industry as a whole. Sector-specific industry knowledge therefore contributed to all of the behaviors selected by tourism advocates and might be considered a required attribute for tourism advocates.

The next antecedent that may influence advocates' leadership is political savvy. Political savvy is an understanding of the political process and players and is very much related to the idea of "reading the political landscape," a concept introduced by Swanson and Brothers (2012). The

192

presence of this antecedent often resulted in advocate informants engaging in behaviors such as exemplification, use of expertise, and implementation of shared language. While this connection was most frequently observed among VHTA staff members, it was also observed among advocate informants like this hotelier who described how he/she sets an example for other industry members by participating in advocacy activities:

I have lobbied, not just on the Day on the Hill. But I have reached out to my specific legislators on behalf of some of those issues, both via email and telephone, to try to engage them as a constituent of theirs. Because that can be much more powerful than just Joe Blow stopping by to see you kind of thing. (Lodging 1)

As seen in this example when advocate informants demonstrated political savvy (i.e. the recognition that policymakers want to hear from their constituents) they could identify behaviors to exemplify for industry members. Political savvy also played a role in developing a shared language around the creation of a unified voice for the tourism industry. Advocate informants with political savvy recognized that a unified voice for the industry held more sway with policymakers, as identified by McGehee and Meng (2006). Thus terms such as "a unified voice for the tourism industry" became part of the shared language that advocate informants employ when building relationships with tourism industry members.

The cultivation of a skillset is an antecedent that was frequently connected to the application of rational persuasion and use of expertise. Several advocate informants were recognized for their unique skillsets and thus were able to use his/her expertise to help tourism industry members solve problems, as described here:

A lot of work that we do begins with problems. We've got something bubbling up here, we've got a meal tax there. We've got these problems. We have to come to the table with pragmatic solutions, actionable plans, and key strategic targets. 'Here's what we're going to do. Here's how

we're going to do it. Here's what you're going to do to help us get this done.' (*VHTA Staff Member 2*)

The VHTA staff member demonstrated how his/her skillset, e.g. dealing with meals tax issues, is what enabled them to use their expertise, e.g. identifying solutions, plans, and targets. Ammeter et al. (2002) did not identify cultivated skillsets as an antecedent to leadership behaviors, as seen in the example above these skillsets may be highly contextualized to the industry in which advocates operate and therefore it may be difficult to generalize this antecedent to advocates outside of tourism.

Other antecedents such as personality, leadership style, and social capital may be present in political leaders across a variety of industries. The advocate informants in this study suggested that as an antecedent, personality influenced proactive behaviors such as ingratiation, reactive behaviors such as playing it safe, and symbolic actions such as spending time. Being extroverted or tenacious emerged as two personality indicators, but those identified by previous studies such as self-esteem, self-verification, Machiavellianism, need for power, and locus of control (Biberman, 1985; Ferris, Russ, & Fandt, 1989; House, 1988) were not present. Ingratiation and personality seem logically linked as advocates need certain personality characteristics in order to cast a positive impression on tourism industry members. The connection between personality and reactive behaviors may be based on some advocates' inherent desire to "not rock the boat" or avoid conflict.

While there were some connections evident between advocate informants' personality and their behaviors, stronger connections emerged related to their interpersonal styles. Interpersonal style, or leadership style, is one of the most commonly examined leader antecedents. The data revealed

the presence of four leadership styles among tourism advocates, including three derivatives of

Transformational Leadership (Authentic, Shared/Community-based, and Servant Leadership)

and Transactional Leadership. Advocate informants who demonstrated the Transactional

Leadership style engaged in behaviors such as exchange, intimidation, and scapegoating.

This is in contrast to advocate informants who utilized Authentic Leadership and engaged in the

use of shared language and rational persuasion. These advocate informants value their

credibility, which is a hallmark of Authentic Leaders (Northouse, 2012). This was often manifest

in the advocate informants' use of data, which is also vital to influencing tourism industry

members through rational persuasion. Therefore, it may be important for those advocates who

utilize Authentic Leadership to have access to credible data that they can utilize in their efforts to

influence industry members. The provision of such data could be a role for VHTA to take on, as

they did by supporting a study of the effect of school start dates on standardized test scores.

Authentic leader advocates are now able to utilize that study's data in rational persuasion efforts

related to Post-Labor Day School Start Date policies.

Advocate informants using a Community-Based leadership style emphasized the creation and

use of a collective vision (Kirk & Shutte, 2004) through behaviors such as coalition building,

networking, and consultation in an effort to gain influence among tourism industry members. For

example, advocate informant DMO 5 described how he/she utilized consultation with his/her

members to create policy positions based upon a collective vision:

*It is challenging to reach that consensus. It takes a lot of painstaking back-and-forth-ing. It's just
like politics. If we change to this word, we say this, 'Do you feel better about this? Does this still
convey the spirit of what we're trying to say? Do we still feel like this is in line with our values as*

a Chamber, or do we need to scratch this language all over and start again with a blank sheet of paper?' (DMO 5)

Some advocate informants utilized a Servant Leader style and focused on giving back to the industry by serving as stewards (Stone et al., 2003). Many Servant Leader advocate informants found that they could give back to the industry through exemplification, as seen here where the advocate informant describes his/her service to VHTA as a form of stewardship for the organization:

I've made a living in this industry and I'm thankful for that. That's one way of giving back to it to help that next generation. We all want it our own sake right now, but I do think there's a sense of obligation I feel to VHTA that if they ask, I usually say yes. (Supplier 1)

Authentic, Shared/Community Based, and Servant Leadership all attempt to empower followers, which is a primary tenet of Transformational Leadership, as illustrated in this example from a Servant Leader:

I will just probably just underline one thing that is never worry about who takes the credit. Just get it done. If you work so hard and you do it all behind the scenes for a part of the industry, and somebody within that part of the industry stands up and says, 'That's a good idea.' Let him go or, let her go, with it. It doesn't matter who takes credit as long as fundamentally what needs to be done to advance the industry not only to sustain it, but grow it, gets done. You can unify a lot of people at the end of the day by saying, 'We are in this together, no one more than the other, so let's work that way and we can accomplish it.' (DMO 6)

Collectively, these findings point to the value of diversity in the advocate population. While aspects of Transformational Leadership were present among most of the advocate informants, it was also clear that Authentic, Community-based/Shared, and Servant leaders all had important roles to play in advancing VHTA's goals. Therefore, the concept of an advocate for the tourism industry should embrace a wide spectrum of leadership styles. These findings suggest that a variety of strategies for building relationships with tourism industry members can be employed

advocates' with different leadership styles. This diversity may help reach a wider audience within the industry and among policymakers as well.

While leadership style emerged as an important antecedent in influencing tourism advocates' leadership behavior, there was evidence that social capital played a vital role as well. It is interesting to note that very rarely did an advocate informant present only one of Nahapiet and Goshal's (1998) three dimensions of social capital. Advocate informants that utilized behaviors such as coalition building, ingratiation, use of expertise, vision promotion and playing it safe had all cultivated both structural and relational social capital. Advocate informants were also very good at using one form of social capital to strengthen another. For example, one advocate informant who had strong structural social capital (via out-degree centrality) described how it could be used in combination with relational social capital to build coalitions and promote a common vision:

The Richmond Chamber of Commerce, I work with them. I would say the Hanover education group, and I advocate with them. I'd say the Ashland Little League. I'm saying whenever you're out and about, every association you work with there's a representation of a goal that you want to accomplish. (Attraction 1)

Relational social capital used in conjunction with cognitive social capital was also valuable for helping advocate informants utilize consultation, exemplification, inspirational appeals, and shared language. Here an advocate informant illustrated how his/her use of consultation (e.g. establishing a debate among VHTA members) was driven by relational and cognitive social capital:

I think having a debate within VHTA to ensure we all agree what that unified messages is, so that when it is dispersed out, we have all agreed to it, we support it and are willing to carry the water, if you will, in support of that message.. (Lodging 1)

These findings suggested that advocate informants felt that they could not effectively engage in proactive and reactive behaviors or symbolic influence without the cultivation of multiple social capital dimensions.

The data suggested that all of Ammeter el al.'s (2002) leader antecedents influence advocates' use of various political leadership behaviors to some degree. Only the leader cognition dimension of power mental models did not appear to influence advocates' selection of behaviors in this case. Other, new antecedents emerged from this data, including political savvy and a cultivated skillset. Multiple dimensions of each antecedent were also recognized, e.g. the multiple leadership styles, forms of political will, and types of industry knowledge. A recognition of the larger picture, a form of industry knowledge, was the only universally present antecedent among these advocate informants. This suggests that it is vital for tourism advocates to be able to assess the industry at a macro level. However, the rich diversity of other antecedents among tourism advocate informants suggested that there a few other constants in their antecedents. Most advocate informants demonstrated at least two forms of social capital and many other displayed evidence of political savvy or sector-specific knowledge. While it was clear that some antecedents, like political will and leadership style, played a role in advocate informants' selection of behaviors, there was not a specific motivation or style that stood out as common to all of the informants. What this could indicate is that there is not a "one size fits all" approach to advocacy. Rather advocates can come from multiple contexts and will have a profile of behavioral preferences dependent upon their antecedents.

5.2.3 Research Question 3 Discussion

Research Question 3 was designed to gain an understanding of how tourism advocates perceive

the outcomes of their leadership activity. Based on the advocate informants' discussion there is

clear support for Ammeter et al.'s (2002) conceptualization that leaders perceive outcomes

related to their performance evaluation, promotion, as well as power and reputation (Figure 14).

However this study did reveal that performance evaluation and promotion were not

unidimensional constructs for tourism advocates. Rather this study's informants evaluated their

performance based upon achievement of their own personal goals, the benefits derived for their

organization (e.g. increased membership), and the creation of a more competitive product (e.g.

networking with suppliers who could reduce operating costs) (Figure 18). They also implied that

promotion came in two forms, both assuming additional leadership roles and career

advancement. In general outcomes related to power and reputation were more difficult for

advocate informants to identify, suggesting this was not necessarily the most important outcome

for these advocates. Nearly all advocate informants based their outcomes on personal goal

achievement or gaining benefits for their organization. However, outcomes such as creating a

competitive product, assuming additional leadership roles, and career advancement may

represent benefits that could encourage additional industry members to get involved in advocacy

efforts.

It is valuable to note that advocate informants did not always recognize the positive outcomes of

their political leadership behaviors. Some perceived that their actions have contributed to a

momentum of advocacy, but think there is still a lot of work yet to be done: "I really am

passionately pleased that Virginia tourism, as a one strong voice, is a real obtainable goal. I don't

think we're anywhere near there, but we're making steps in the right direction" (Supplier 1).
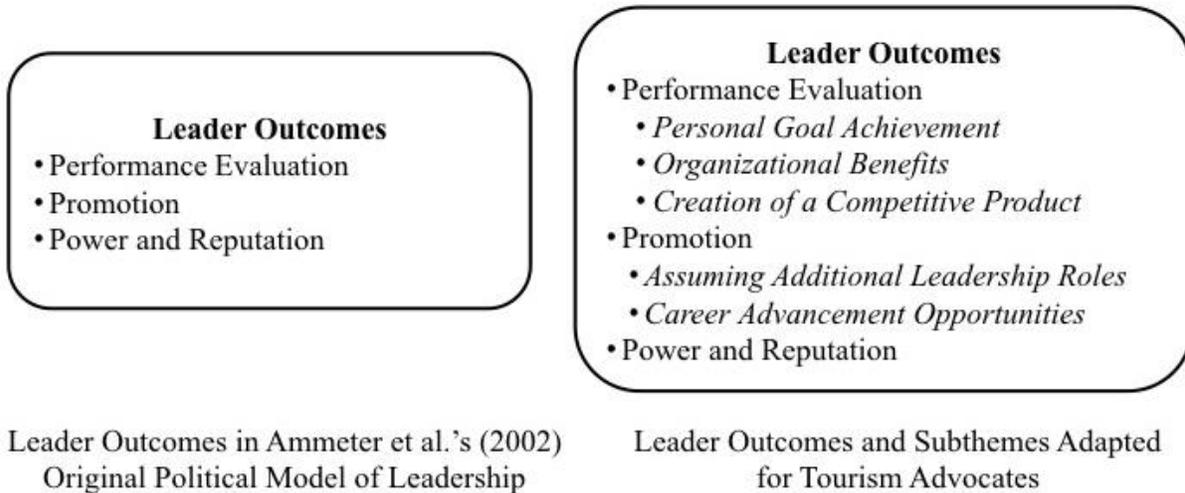
Figure 18. A comparison of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Leader Outcomes and those revealed in this study. Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1. Used under fair use, 2015.

This example illustrated how an advocate informants' personal goals help them evaluate their

performance. It also represents the sentiment of many informants who felt that they had not

accomplished their personal goals, despite significant advocacy efforts.

Other advocate informants were more positive in assessing the outcomes of political behaviors

directed to members of the tourism industry. Here an advocate illustrated how his/her efforts

have increased the organizational influence of VHTA:

I will tell you that I think the reputation of VHTA, when I got here, was certainly much poorer than I would have expected it to be. But I think the turnaround of that perception has moved more rapidly than I would have thought. Normally, I would have told you that it would take us three years to build that out there, and I think we're going to do it. I think we've made huge strides for that. I think we're continuing to do that pretty quickly. I think we're going to be on a much faster timetable. (VHTA Staff Member 1)

What these findings suggest is that there are multiple measures of advocates' outcomes and there is not a universal sentiment on whether the outcomes are positive or negative. It is clear that these advocate informants for Virginia's tourism industry cast a critical eye on their own actions and see real opportunities to improve the effectiveness of their political behaviors directed to members of the tourism industry. This sentiment is summarized here:

My by-line for my company is 'a difference of night and day.' That is really where we are today with government affairs. We're not where we need to be and if we ever believe that we ever get so full of ourselves and we think we've perfected it, we're already on this slippery slope on the way down. So it's always going to be a process of improvement and tweaking but what we made were major strides. (Lodging 4)

It is also worth noting that some advocate informants recognized recent gains from their political behaviors directed to members of the tourism industry:

On the whole I felt that our members were much more engaged. At least at the beginning of this Session they really came in with a lot more energy and eagerness to be good partners. Specific example of that is an Online Travel Company letter that we were circulating. We drafted this letter. We were trying to get people to sign on to it and add their business logo to it, or the company logo, to show support for this. Folks were really eager and willing to be included in that effort. It was a really nice show of support and strength that so many people were engaging. (VHTA Staff Member 2)

It is interesting to note that advocate informants can have similar goals yet they have very different perspectives on whether they have been accomplished. This suggests these performance evaluations are very subjective and it may be difficult to set a standard for what is considered successful tourism advocacy efforts. In conclusion, advocate informants perceive multiple potential outcomes of their leadership actions (Figure 14). Furthermore they have differing perceptions as to whether their behaviors have resulted in significant progress in these desired

5.2.4 Research Question 4 Discussion

Research Question 4 was designed to gain an understanding of how tourism industry members perceive the outcomes of advocates' leadership activity. Ammeter et al. (2002) addressed the value of gaining input from both leaders and followers in their model. In this study the perspective of tourism industry members offered a useful means of examining advocates' behavior from another perspective. Based on the findings outlined from the tourism industry survey, tourism industry members perceive positive outcomes of tourism advocates' political behavior across all four outcomes identified by Ammeter et al. (2002): affective, cognitive, attitudinal, and behavior outcomes.

Survey respondents indicated that attitudinal outcomes were the most positive results of advocates' leadership behaviors. These attitudinal outcomes were measured as respondents' satisfaction with advocates' activities, such as efforts to create a unified voice and the utilization of research-based facts and figures in the development of positions on political issues impacting the tourism industry. The high levels of satisfaction with attitudinal outcomes reported by survey respondents suggests that members of the tourism industry feel that their political leaders are doing a sufficient job of participating in advocacy activities. Survey respondents also perceived positive cognitive outcomes of leadership behavior, which were measured using an assessment of advocates' political skill (Douglas & Ammeter, 2004). This suggests that respondents feel advocates possess the ability to employ strategies that could gain political support for Virginia's tourism industry (i.e. building relationships with influential people). Compared to cognitive and attitudinal outcomes respondents reported slightly less positive affective outcomes of leadership behavior, or those outcomes related to advocates' efforts to build trust among tourism industry

members. Overall however, respondents perceived that advocates were effective in building trust by demonstrating attributes such as encouraging tourism industry members to share their ideas about the industry. It should also be noted that survey respondents reported an average of three performance outcomes, or participation in activities such as communicating their political needs directly to policymakers. These performance outcomes may represent advocates' effectiveness in catalyzing the empowerment members of the tourism industry, which may result in those followers participating in advocacy activities.

Combined, these findings suggest that tourism industry members hold positive perceptions of tourism advocates' political behaviors. While improvements could be made in terms of advocates' efforts to develop trust among tourism industry members, it would seem that survey respondents feel tourism advocates are doing a good job of gaining influence for Virginia's tourism industry. This is particularly notable given many of the advocate informants' tendency for critical self-evaluation. It would seem that advocate informants are being more critical of their own actions than their followers. This could be due in part to the advocate informants' being more intimately involved with the advocacy efforts, and thus are able to see what work remains to be done. However, it is heartening to note that many within Virginia's tourism industry feel that their political leaders are working hard on their behalf. In order to maintain this sentiment advocates should continue to work hard to build trust, employ their political skill, engage in advocacy activities, and catalyze a sense of empowerment among tourism industry members.

5.3 Contributions and Implications

This study represented the advancement of both the tourism and leadership literature through its utilization of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Political Model of Leadership. As previously discussed there were multiple adaptations to the model that provide a contribution to both fields and their existing literature (Figure 19). While these theoretical contributions may be helpful for additional studies of tourism advocacy the managerial contributions may highlight opportunities to improve the current practices of tourism advocates so that they can be more successful in gaining political influence for the tourism industry. Both the theoretical and managerial implications of this study are outlined below.
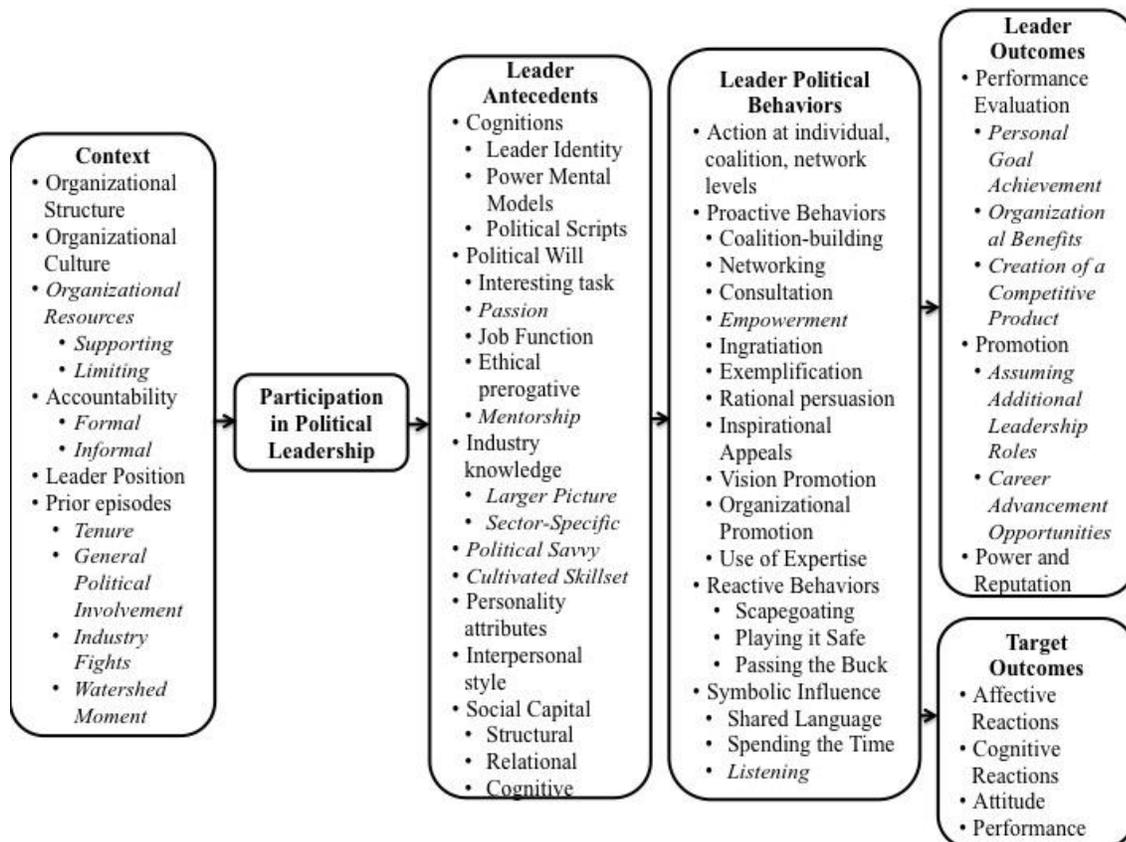

Figure 19. A Political Model of Leadership for Tourism Advocates (modifications from Ammeter et al. (2002)'s original model italicized). Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1 Used under fair use, 2015.

5.3.1 Theoretical Contributions and Implications

This study provides multiple theoretical contributions to the tourism literature in the area of tourism and politics (Hall, 1994). It offers the first attempt at gaining an understanding of who serves as tourism advocates, the behaviors in which they engage, and the outcomes of those behaviors. Up to this point there has been only limited examination of the individuals who serve as advocates, although their value has been widely recognized (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; McGehee & Meng, 2006; Stevenson et al., 2008). The existing literature describing political activity on behalf of the tourism industry focuses solely on advocacy groups at the international (Anastasiadou, 2008) and national levels (Greenwood, 1993; Swanson & Brothers, 2012). By examining the individual advocates for tourism at the state level, a more nuanced understanding of political leadership efforts may be realized.

To achieve this goal, Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Political Model of Leadership was applied in the context of tourism for the first time. Doing so helped to advance the tourism literature and has helped to establish a new theoretical approach for examining political leadership in the field. The framework required some initial adaptation for use in the context of tourism advocacy, and was further augmented by the findings of this study. Three new concepts that emerged for potential use in future application of this framework include the contextual element of organizational resources as well as the leader antecedents of political savvy and a cultivated skillset. Support was also found for utilizing the concept of industry knowledge, as opposed to general mental ability, as a leader antecedent in the Political Model of Leadership. For tourism advocates industry knowledge was a nuanced concept that included both sector-specific knowledge and the ability to see the "larger picture" of the tourism industry. These adaptations suggest that it is

mutually beneficial for leadership theories and frameworks to be tested and improved upon through application in the context of tourism.

While Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Political Model of Leadership offered a robust framework for an exploration of tourism advocates its application in this study revealed several theoretical shortcomings. As described in Chapter 2 there were multiple examples of concepts within the model that had similar definitions and conceptualizations, for example the leader antecedent of cognitive social capital was closely related to the symbolic leadership behavior of using shared language. While the findings of this study supported and expanded upon the majority of Ammeter et al.'s (2002) model components there were challenges in operationalizing many of them. Outside literature sources related to leadership, organizational behavior, and management provided materials to improve the operationalization of all the model's concepts, but it should be noted that this challenge may limit the use of this model in future tourism studies. A more parsimonious model which focuses only on the contextual elements, antecedents, behaviors, and outcomes that are pertinent to tourism advocates would be more appropriate. Overall, the Political Model of Leadership (Ammeter et al., 2002) offers a valuable foundation to modify for application in tourism studies.

Additionally, this study served as an opportunity to apply McAllister's (1995) Interpersonal Trust Scale and Douglas and Ammeter's (2004) Political Skill scale in the context of tourism. Based on measures of these scales' reliability and validity, it would seem that they are well suited measures for tourism industry members' perceptions of cognitive and affective outcomes of tourism advocates' behaviors. This study also provided the opportunity to begin development

of a scale measuring tourism industry members' satisfaction with advocates' activities. The items used in this study were found to be reliable and unidimensional, but additional testing of this scale is needed. However, it does offer a promising measure for tourism industry members' attitudes towards advocates' activities.

5.3.2 Managerial Contributions and Implications

This study yielded several managerial contributions and implications that may help to improve tourism advocacy efforts. First, it is crucial to create an environment where all industry members are welcome to participate in advocacy efforts. In this study VHTA was found to utilize an organizational structure and culture that was welcoming to participants from all sectors of the industry with all manner of experiences and skills related to tourism advocacy. The roles of advocates should not be reserved only for those who have political leadership as a part of their job title. This type of egalitarian approach can help to ensure that a wide range of knowledge, skills, and resources are available to help try and gain influence for the tourism industry. It is important to note that this study did not find evidence of a singular type of leader. Rather, advocate informants were found to hold many positions in VHTA and the industry and demonstrated a variety of leadership styles and personality traits. All of these approaches to leadership were highlighted as effective in advocate informants' efforts to gain political influence for Virginia's tourism industry. Therefore, it is recommended that VHTA and other organizations that are interested in supporting tourism advocacy efforts continue to limit the barriers to participation in political leadership.

This recommendation is tempered to some degree by the fact that some industry members, specifically non-profit DMOs who are funded through tax dollars, may feel limited in their ability to participate in advocacy efforts. While a provision in the Code of Virginia (2.2-240) allows for such organizations to participate in activities that education policymakers about the industry's political needs, many DMO employees still feel reticent to engage in behavior that could be seen as advocacy. This may be due in part to the fear of being punished for such activities. It also may result from the organizational structures and value of the DMO itself, which could limit an employees involvement in advocacy efforts. Therefore, VHTA may make advocacy opportunities for DMOs that emphasize their ability to advise on political issues, but do not necessarily require them to engage in behaviors they are not comfortable with.

In addition to limiting the barriers to participation in political leadership the findings of this study also yields the recommendation that VHTA and the tourism industry as a whole should focus on creating a sustainable system of advocacy. Several advocate informants described how they started participating in political activities as a relative newcomer to the industry but have gone on to become well recognized leaders in the tourism industry. It was evident in the interviews that this tenure was important in allowing advocates' to develop prior experiences, political scripts, and insight into which behaviors were effective in creating relationships with industry members. Many of the tenured advocate informants pointed to the importance of a mentor or a watershed moment that helped solidify their involvement in political activities on behalf of the tourism industry Therefore, creation of opportunities for early involvement and mentorship would be a valuable investment in the future of the tourism industry. This is a vital role that VHTA could serve as they could identify new members who might benefit from

mentorship and facilitate those watershed moments in order to help spark an interest in long term advocacy efforts.

Building upon the recommendations to establish an open environment for advocacy and a system focused on the sustainability of advocacy it is recommended that VHTA and other organizations concerned with political influence for the industry invest in resources that support advocacy. The findings of this study suggest that reliable data is a vital resource for many advocates, particularly those who utilize an authentic leadership style, employ political scripts related to data, and engage in proactive behaviors such as rational persuasion. Therefore, organizations such as VHTA may consider a continued investment in research studies that provide reliable and valid data that advocates can utilize to create relationships with tourism industry members. Space for interaction with tourism industry members is another resource that advocates rely upon, particularly those that utilize a shared/community-based style and engage in proactive behaviors such as coalition-building, networking, consultation, and empowerment. VHTA has already invested in the creation of space for these behaviors by hosting regional tourism summits and supporting events such as the statewide VA-1 Tourism Conference. It is recommended that they continue this support and also explore new opportunities to bring advocates and tourism industry members together. It is also recommended that VHTA and the tourism industry in general consider investing in resources that will help advocates cultivate the skillset and political savvy that will improve their effectiveness as political leaders.

Another important contribution of this study is related to the discovery of how influential organizational resources can be in allowing advocates to fully engage in political leadership

behaviors. Evidence from the interviews suggested that leaders who have more supporting resources from their employers are able to be more actively engaged in gaining political influence for the industry. Therefore, if the industry truly wants to gain more political influence, employers need to increase their commitment to supporting advocates' efforts. While financial resources are helpful, these were not the only resources of value mentioned by advocate informants. Some discussed the fact that they were simply given time to participate in their role as an advocate. In addition to committing organizational resources to advocacy efforts employers may consider incorporating political leadership activities into some employees' job descriptions. It is proposed that more formalized structures for employees' advocacy roles could be implemented that would nurture political leadership behavior and highlight the opportunities for professional growth. Some advocate informants, particularly those in the lodging sector, described how current employer practices were reducing the incentives for employees to participate in advocacy efforts. These practices included centralizing power in corporate offices rather distributing it to individual properties, which led to general managers and other employees feeling as though it didn't matter if they served as advocates. Additional evidence from this study, however, suggested that employers have a lot to gain from allowing their employees to engage in political activities. Several advocate informants described how their advocacy efforts resulted in the creation of a more competitive product. Therefore, it is recommended that tourism organizations act as a catalyst to empower employees to participate in advocacy activities by providing organizational resources and more formalized structures for advocacy responsibility in order to gain both the benefits of greater political influence and a more competitive product.

The findings of this study illustrate that many of the advocate informants associated with VHTA have made significant gains in developing a unified voice for Virginia's tourism, creating legislative agendas that represent the industry's needs, and catalyzing tourism industry members' empowerment to participate in political activities. These victories need to be celebrated more prominently and communicated to VHTA members and the broader tourism industry. The sentiment that the tourism industry does not have political influence is inaccurate and misrepresents the progress that many advocate have made. The recommendation for better communication comes not only as a result of the evidence from the interviews but also due to the fact that many tourism industry members reported that they were not aware of any of the advocates included in this study. By being more proactive in the promotion of advocates' activities, VHTA may be able to improve industry members' perceptions of their efforts and may also gain additional benefits such as increased membership. In making their activities more visible, VHTA may also increase advocates' perceptions of accountability for their behaviors, which was found to be minimal in this study.

5.4 Limitations

Though significant efforts were made to minimize them, this study is subject to limitations. First the nature of studying politics in tourism is challenging. Some industry members resist recognizing the political nature of tourism, and if they do, find it difficult to evaluate objectively (Hall, 1994). While efforts were made to gain multiple sources of insight on advocacy, objective evaluation remains a challenge. This may be particularly true for tourism industry members who were asked to evaluate advocates' effectiveness, when these advocates may be business colleagues or personal friends, as is so often the case in the tourism industry Other challenges

211

pertaining to the survey, which were not entirely unanticipated, included the difficulty industry members have in identifying tourism advocates. This may have contributed to the low response rate for the survey, which also impacts the generalizability of the quantitative findings. Additionally, the quantitative nature of the survey limits the depth of understanding that may be gained from tourism industry members' evaluation of advocates' efforts.

A deliberate effort was made to gain deeper insight on advocates' perceptions of the context and antecedents which influence their behaviors and subsequent outcomes related to political activity through the collection of qualitative data. However, these qualitative findings are limited to the context of advocate informants connected to VHTA and their work on behalf of Virginia's tourism industry. Other limitations include issues of social acceptability for both the informants and the survey respondents.

5.5 Suggestions for Future Research

While the findings of this study advance the understanding of tourism advocates there is still much work to be done. While the research questions for this study focused the analysis on the relationships between the constructs in Ammeter et al.'s (2002) Political Model of Leadership there is great potential to explore this data from a variety of perspectives. For example, it may be valuable to identify different categories of tourism advocates based upon patterns in their antecedents or behaviors. This identification of different types of advocates could assist in developing effective teams of leaders for future advocacy efforts.

Additional research may focus on how advocates address specific leadership roles such as creating a unified voice, developing consensus, or catalyzing empowerment among tourism industry members. While this study identified many contextual elements and antecedents that influence various leader behaviors a deeper understanding of how such behaviors results in the fulfillment of specific leadership roles could be useful. Additionally, a greater focus on how advocates negotiate differences in power, and how those differences impact their behaviors and outcomes would be useful. This is identified by Ammeter et al. (2002) as the use of power mental models in the antecedent of leader cognition, but the results on their effects were inconclusive. It would be valuable to replicate this study in other locations where there is significant political influence and limited political influence for the tourism industry. Replication at the state level would allow for the comparison of influential advocate attributes and behaviors across different contexts, which could help identify universally effective actions in gaining political influence. Furthermore, replicate studies could help streamline the Political Model of Leadership. Efforts should be made to test the value of maintaining concepts that were found to be relatively less important (e.g. accountability and power mental models) in future modifications of the model. Lastly, using networks as the unit of analysis for future studies may help to explore the interconnectivity of political leadership across the nested networks that affect tourism. Doing so could help to outline how tourism advocates work in concert with political leaders from other industries and may provide a richer understanding of tourism advocates roles within these nested networks.

5.6 Conclusions

In conclusion, this study offers initial insight into who tourism advocates are and how they go about creating relationships with industry members in an effort to gain political influence. These findings provide information on the context in which advocates operate and the elements that influence their participation in political activity. By gaining an understanding of these elements efforts can be made by advocacy organizations such as VHTA to ensure that an environment that encourages advocacy is created. The study also reveals the leader antecedents that influence the behaviors advocates engage in when building relationships with tourism industry member. While there are only limited universal antecedents, such as the possession of a broad scale understanding of tourism industry, these findings support the idea that all tourism industry members have skills and strengths that would allow them to serve as an advocate. Furthermore, the findings suggested that advocates are far more critical of their efforts than tourism industry members. However, promotion of advocates' successes may go a long way in improving overall industry awareness of the political influence that advocates help attain. Ultimately this study provides a foundational understanding of tourism advocates and industry members' perceptions of their actions, but there are many opportunities to continue the exploration of how they gain political influence for the industry.

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule

Introduction

Thank you so much for making the time to talk with me today. You have been identified by your peers as a political leader in Virginia's tourism industry and I'm very interested in learning about what makes you a leader. Do you have any questions before we begin? Is it alright with you if I record our conversation?

Q1. When you hear the phrase "tourism industry leader," what do you think of? (prompt political component of they do not). Then explain that you are focusing on the political element of tourism industry leadership for the duration of the interview.

Q2. Do you think of yourself as a tourism industry leader.in the political sense?

Q3. I'd like you hear your story, tell me how you got to this position as a tourism industry leader:

   Prompt 1: How did you get here? Does your industry or sector-specific knowledge help you as a political leader?

   Prompt 2: What motived your participation in political action on behalf of the tourism industry?

   Prompt 3: In your efforts as a tourism industry leader, could you describe one or two of the early political activities you were actively involved in as a member of VHTA? For example, educating fellow industry members on the importance of a legislative agenda item, meeting with policymakers. What was your approach to these activities?

   Prompt 4: How did these activities impact your involvement in VHTA since then?

   Prompt 5: How do you think that your personality has influenced your leadership behavior?

Q4. Now I'd like to ask you about where you see yourself as "fitting in" to the tourism industry in Virginia. For example, who are some of the individuals that you recognize as other key leaders (peers) in promoting the political agenda of the hospitality and tourism industry? Conversely, who are some of the individuals or groups in the tourism industry for whom you are trying to gain political influence?

Q5. Of those individuals and/or groups (those that the interview participant has identified as fellow leaders, and the followers they serve), who do you feel most closely monitors your actions and or behavior in this area? How do you justify your political leadership actions to those that monitor them?

Q6. When you think about your relationships within the tourism industry that you have described previously, how were those built?
   Prompt 1: Were they built through organized formal meetings, or more informal connections? Industry meetings and trade shows, national, statewide or regional events, local meetings? Tourism related meetings? Non-tourism related meetings?

(Be listening for shared language clues, specific style or approach to leadership activities)

Q7. I asked you earlier about some of your early political efforts as a tourism industry leader. Now I'd like to talk about more recent efforts. First, talk to me about a recent example of your work that was supported by folks in the tourism industry. Why do you think it was so well-received?

Q8. Conversely, I'd like to hear about an example of a time when your leadership efforts were not supported by folks in the industry. Why do you think it was not well-received? Did you feel you had to defend your actions? How did that go? How do you handle occasions when you do not achieve consensus within the tourism industry?

(Be listening for communication methods and strategies, rhetoric)

To wrap up I'd love to hear more about the outcomes that you have observed from your political leadership activities

Q9. What are some of the goals you set for yourself as a tourism advocate, and to what degree have you accomplished those goals?

Q10. Aside from achieving your personal goals have you recognized any additional or unexpected outcomes from your political leadership behaviors? Perhaps in terms of advancement in your role with the VHTA or within the tourism organizations for whom you work?

Q11. Based upon your actions as a tourism advocate how has your personal influence on or reputation among members of the tourism industry changed?

Again, thank you so much for taking the time to talk with me about your role as a political leader in the Virginia tourism industry. I have learned so much today and I would like to share my notes and the transcript from this interview with you to make sure that I have recorded everything correctly. Could I send you the transcript in a couple weeks so that you can look it over and let me know if anything is misinterpreted?

Additional Questions for VHTA Staff

Organizational Structure Question 1: Is VHTA an organization that relies on a single individual to make decisions or do major decisions involve multiple individuals?

Organizational Structure Question 2: Is the VHTA decision-making process guided by procedures and policies that seek to ensure multiple opportunities for input? For example, do members vote on issues, or does the VHTA board of directors determine the Association agenda?

Organizational Structure Question 3: How would you characterize VHTA's relative reliance on the industry knowledge of its members in advance the Association's political agenda?

Organizational Culture Questions: What are VHTA's values? Where did those values come from? How do you see those values manifested in VHTA's actions and strategies?

Appendix 2: Online Questionnaire

Note: Where LEADER* is indicated, a leader that the participant has selected from Question 1 will be inserted. The participant will answer each question three times, once for each leader selected in Question 1.

Introduction
Thank you for participating in this survey, it will take approximately XX minutes to complete. This survey is designed to gain an understanding of your perceptions of political leaders in Virginia's tourism industry. An understanding of your perceptions of individual leaders may help to identify and develop future political leaders for Virginia's tourism industry.

Your responses will be confidential and you may cease your participation in the survey at any time. By clicking the "Begin Survey" link at the bottom of this page you are providing your consent to participate in this survey. You are free to stop participating in this survey at any time. If you have any questions or concerns about this survey please contact Whitney Knollenberg at knollenw@vt.edu.

Question 1
Please select three individuals that you recognize as leaders in VHTA's efforts to gain political influence for the tourism industry at the state level. These leaders may be formal (i.e. those who have a job or title which dictates their involvement in politics on behalf of the industry) or informal (i.e. those who take it upon themselves to be involved in politics on behalf of the industry).

    List of 15 – 20 interviewed tourism advocates

Question 2
Please consider your past experiences with [LEADER 1, 2, and 3] and their efforts to gain political influence for Virginia's tourism industry when responding to the following statements*

As an advocate for the tourism industry [LEADER 1, 2 and 3]*…

    spends a lot of time and effort making connections, working relationships, and networking with others
        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

    is good at building relationships with influential people
        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

    has developed a large network of colleagues and associates who can be called on for support when things really need to get done
        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

    knows many important people and is well connected

1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

spends a large amount of time developing connections and networking with others
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

is good at using connections and networks to make things happen
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

is able to make most people comfortable and at ease
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

is able to communicate easily and effectively with others
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

easily develops good rapport with most people
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

is good at getting people to like him/her
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

understands people very well
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

tries to show a genuine interest in people
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

FOLLOW UP QUESTION: Do you have anything to add about *[LEADER]*'s ability to make political connections and contacts that help the industry?

Question 3
Please consider your observations about [LEADER 1,2 and 3]'s efforts to gain political influence for Virginia's tourism industry when responding to the following statements

This person approaches their job with professionalism and dedication
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

Given this person's track record, I see no reason to doubt their competence and preparation for the job
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

I can rely on this person not to make my job more difficult by careless work
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

Most people, even those who aren't close friends of this individual, respect them as a fellow member of the Virginia tourism industry
1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

Other industry associates of mine who interact with this individual consider them to be trustworthy

        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

I feel I can trust this person with my ideas about the industry

        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

I feel we can both freely share our ideas, feelings, and hopes for the industry

        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

I can talk freely to this individual about difficulties I am having and know that they will want to listen

        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

We would both feel a sense of loss if we could no longer work together

        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

If I shared my problems with this person, I know they would respond constructively

        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

I would say that we have both made considerable emotional investments in our working relationship

        1 (strongly disagree) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (strongly agree)

FOLLOW UP QUESTION: How would you describe [LEADER 1,2, 3]s efforts to create a sense of community among members of the tourism industry?

Question 4
Please consider your satisfaction with [LEADER's]* efforts to in advancing VHTA's goals

How satisfied are you with [LEADER's]*…

   Efforts to create a unified voice for the tourism industry

      1 (extremely unsatisfied) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (extremely satisfied)

   Efforts to lead the development of a legislative agenda that suits your political needs

      1 (extremely unsatisfied) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (extremely satisfied)

   Efforts to foster collaboration among members of the tourism industry

      1 (extremely unsatisfied) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (extremely satisfied)

   Ability to deliver the tourism industry's message to members of the State Legislature

      1 (extremely unsatisfied) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (extremely satisfied)

   Work on behalf of your political needs

1 (extremely unsatisfied) 2   3   4   5   6   7 (extremely satisfied)

FOLLOW UP QUESTION: Think of a time when LEADER worked to advance VHTA's goals. How did you feel about her/his efforts?

Question 5
Please indicate whether you participated in any of the following VHTA activities in 2014 (select all that apply)

    Participated in a meeting with members of the State Legislature's Tourism Caucus
    Attended the VHTA Fall Meeting
    Attended VA-1
    Attended a regional tourism summit
    Participated in a Governmental Affairs Committee meeting or phone call
    Communicated your political needs directly to your Virginia State Delegate
    Communicated your political needs directly to your Virginia State Senator
    Communicated your political needs directly to your Federal Representative
    Communicated your political needs directly to your Federal Senator
    Other (please describe):

FOLLOW UP QUESTION: How has LEADER* influenced your participation in VHTA activities?

Question 6
Please list any additional individuals that you recognize as leaders in VHTA's efforts to gain political influence for the tourism industry (open ended response)

Question 7

In which of the following sectors of the tourism industry do you operate? (Select all that apply)

    Attractions
    Destination Marketing or Management
    Hospitality or Travel Supplies
    Hotels/Lodging
    Restaurants/Food & Beverage
    Transportation
    Other _____

In which of the following regions do you operate? (Select all that apply)

    Blue Ridge Highlands
    Central Virginia
    Chesapeake Bay
    Coastal Virginia – Eastern Shore
    Coastal Virginia – Hampton Roads

Heart of Appalachia
Northern Virginia
Shenandoah Valley
Southern Virginia

Which of the following best describes the locale of the majority of your operations? (Select one)

Rural areas (less than 2,500 residents)
Suburban areas (2,500 – 49,999 residents)
Urban areas (50,000 + residents)
I operate across these locales

How long have you been a member of VHTA? _____years

References

Allaire, Y., & Firsirotu, M. E. (1984). Theories of organizational culture. *Organization studies, 5*(3), 193-226.

Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Ferris, G. R., & Goka, H. (2004). A social relationship conceptualization of trust and accountability in organizations. *Human Resource Management Review*, *14*(1), 47-65. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2004.02.003

Ammeter, A. P., Douglas, C., Gardner, W. L., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly, 13*(6), 751-796. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00157-1

Anastasiadou, C. (2008). Tourism interest groups in the EU policy arena: characteristics, relationships and challenges. *Current Issues in Tourism, 11*(1), 24-62.

Ashforth, B. E., & Lee, R. T. (1990). Defensive Behavior in Organizations: A Preliminary Model. *Human Relations, 43*(7), 621-648. doi: 10.1177/001872679004300702

Ashton, R. H. (1992). Effects of justification and a mechanical aid on judgment performance. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 52*(2), 292-306.

Astley, W. G., & Sachdeva, P. S. (1984). Structural Sources of Intraorganizational: Power: A Theoretical Synthesis. *Academy of Management Review, 9*(1), 104-113.

Avolio, B. J., Walumbwa, F. O., & Weber, T. J. (2009). Leadership: Current theories, research, and future directions. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60, 421-449.

Baggott, R. (1995). *Pressure Groups Today*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Balkundi, P., & Kilduff, M. (2006). The ties that lead: A social network approach to leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly, 17*(4), 419-439. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2006.01.001

Barney, J. (1991). Firm resources and sustained competitive advantage. *Journal of Management, 17*(1), 99-120.

Bass, B. M. (1985). *Leadership and Performance Beyond Expectations*. New York: Free Press.

Bass, B. M. (1991). From transactional to transformational leadership: Learning to share the vision. *Organizational Dynamics*, *18*(3), 19-31.

Bass, B. M., & Avolio, B. J. (1993). Transformational Leadership And Organizational Culture. *Public Administration Quarterly, 17*(1), 112-121. doi: 10.2307/40862298

Baumgartner, R. J. (2009). Organizational culture and leadership: Preconditions for the development of a sustainable corporation. *Sustainable Development, 17*(2), 102-113.

Baumgartner, F. R., Berry, J. M., Hojnacki, M., Leech, B. L., & Kimball, D. C. (2009). *Lobbying and policy change: Who wins, who loses, and why*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Benson, A. M., & Blackman, D. (2011). To distribute leadership or not? A lesson from the islands. *Tourism Management, 32*(5), 1141-1149. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2010.10.002

Beritelli, P. (2011). Cooperation among prominent actors in a tourist destination. *Annals of Tourism Research, 38*(2), 607-629.

Beritelli, P., & Bieger, T. (2014). From destination governance to destination leadership– defining and exploring the significance with the help of a systemic perspective. *Tourism Review, 69*(1), 25-46.

Beritelli, P., & Laesser, C. (2011). Power dimensions and influence reputation in tourist destinations: Empirical evidence from a network of actors and stakeholders. *Tourism Management, 32*(6), 1299-1309.

Biberman, G. (1985). Personality and characteristic work attitudes of persons with high, moderate, and low political tendencies. *Psychological Reports, 57*(3f), 1303-1310.

Blichfeldt, B. S., Hird, J., & Kvistgaard, P. (2014). Destination leadership and the issue of power. *Tourism Review, 69*(1), 74-86.

Bolman, L. G., & Deal, T. E. (1991*). Reframing organizations: artistry, choice, and leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bouty, I. (2000). Interpersonal and interaction influences on informal resource exchanges between R&D researchers across organizational boundaries. *Academy of Management Journal, 43*(1), 50-65.

Boyd, N. G., & Taylor, R. R. (1998). A developmental approach to the examination of friendship in leader-follower relationships. *The Leadership Quarterly, 9*(1), 1-25. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(98)90040-6

Bramwell, B., & Meyer, D. (2007). Power and tourism policy relations in transition. *Annals of Tourism Research, 34*(3), 766-788. doi: 10.1016/j.annals.2007.03.009

Bramwell, B., & Sharman, A. (1999). Collaboration in local tourism policymaking. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(2), 392-415. doi: 10.1016/s0160-7383(98)00105-4

Brass, D. J., & Burkhardt, M. E. (1993). Potential Power and Power Use: An Investigation of Structure and Behavior. *Academy of Management Journal, 36*(3), 441-470. doi: 10.2307/256588

Brown, E. A., & Arendt, S. W. (2011). Perceptions of Transformational Leadership Behaviors and Subordinates' Performance in Hotels. *Journal of Human Resources in Hospitality & Tourism, 10*(1), 45-59. doi: 10.1080/15332845.2010.500205

Brownell, J. (2005). Predicting leadership: The assessment center's extended role. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 17*(1), 7-21. doi: 10.1108/09596110510577644

Brownell, J. (2010). Leadership in the Service of Hospitality. *Cornell Hospitality Quarterly, 51*(3), 363-378. doi: 10.1177/1938965510368651

Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done?. *Qualitative research*, *6*(1), 97-113.

Burns, J.M. (1978). *Leadership*. New York: Harper and Row.

Burns, P. M., & Sancho, M. n. M. (2003). Local perceptions of tourism planning: the case of Cuellar, Spain. *Tourism Management, 24*(3), 331-339.

Burns, T. E., & Stalker, G. M. (1961). *The management of innovation*. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's Academy for Entrepreneurial Leadership Historical Research Reference in Entrepreneurship.

Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organisational analysis*. London: Heinemann.

Burt, R. (1992). *Structural holes: The social structure of competition*. Cambridge: Harvard.

Chandler Jr, A. D. (1962). *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise.* University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's Academy for Entrepreneurial Leadership Historical Research Reference in Entrepreneurship.

Cheong, S.-M., & Miller, M. L. (2000). Power and tourism: A Foucauldian observation. *Annals of Tourism Research, 27*(2), 371-390.

Chin, K. Ä., Pun, K. Ä., Ho, A. S., & Lau, H. (2002). A measurement, communication, recognition framework of corporate culture change: An empirical study. *Human Factors and Ergonomics in Manufacturing & Service Industries, 12*(4), 365-382.

Chung, J. Y., Chan Su, J., Kyle, G. T., & Petrick, J. F. (2010). Servant Leadership and Procedural Justice in the U.S. National Park Service: The Antecedents of Job Satisfaction. *Journal of Park & Recreation Administration, 28*(3), 1-15.

Cobb, A. T. (1986). Political diagnosis: Applications in organizational development. *Academy of Management Review, 11*(3), 482-496.

Creswell, J., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cunha, R. C., & Cooper, C. L. (2002). Does privatization affect corporate culture and employee wellbeing? *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 17*(1), 21-49.

Currall, S. C., & Judge, T. A. (1995). Measuring trust between organizational boundary role persons. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 64*(2), 151-170.

Dansereau Jr, F., Graen, G., & Haga, W. J. (1975). A vertical dyad linkage approach to leadership within formal organizations: A longitudinal investigation of the role making process. *Organizational Behavior And Human Performance, 13*(1), 46-78.

Day, D. V. (2001). Leadership development: A review in context. *The Leadership Quarterly, 11*(4), 581-613.

Dillman, D. A. (2000). *Mail and internet surveys: The tailored design method* (Vol. 2). New York: Wiley.

Deal, T. E., & Kennedy, A. A. (2000). *Corporate cultures: The rites and rituals of corporate life*: Da Capo Press.

DeCrop, A. (2004). Trustworthiness in qualitative tourism research. In J. Phillimore and L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies* (pp. 156-169). New York: Routledge.

DeLuca, J. R. (1999). *Political saavy: Systemic approaches to leadership behind-the-scenes*. Berwyn, PA: Evergreen Business Group.

Denison, D. R. (1990). *Corporate culture and organizational effectiveness*. John Wiley & Sons.

Denison, D. R., & Mishra, A. K. (1995). Toward a Theory of Organizational Culture and Effectiveness. *Organization Science, 6*(2), 204-223. doi: 10.2307/2635122

DePaulo, B. M. (1992). Nonverbal behavior and self-presentation. *Psychological Bulletin, 111*(2), 203.

Dirks, K. T., & Ferrin, D. L. (2002). Trust in leadership: meta-analytic findings and implications for research and practice. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*(4), 611.

Doldor, E., Anderson, D., & Vinnicombe, S. (2013). Refining the Concept of Political Will: A Gender Perspective. *British Journal of Management, 24*(3), 414-427. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8551.2012.00812.x

Douglas, C., & Ammeter, A. P. (2004). An examination of leader political skill and its effect on ratings of leader effectiveness. *The Leadership Quarterly, 15*(4), 537-550. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2004.05.006

Dredge, D., & Jenkins, J. M. (2007). *Tourism Planning and Policy*. Milton, Australia: John Wiley & Sons Australia, Limited.

Dredge, D., & Moore, S. (1992). A methodology for the integration of tourism in town planning. *Journal of Tourism Studies, 3*(1), 8-21.

Eden, D., & Leviatan, U. (1975). Implicit leadership theory as a determinant of the factor structure underlying supervisory behavior scales. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 60*(6), 736.

Edgell, D. L., DelMastro, A. M., Smith, G., & Swanson, J. R. (2008). *Tourism Policy and Planning - Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. Oxford: Elsevier.

Emrich, C. G., Brower, H. H., Feldman, J. M., & Garland, H. (2001). Images in words: Presidential rhetoric, charisma, and greatness. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 46*(3), 527-557.

Fairhurst, G. T., & Sarr, R. A. (1996). *The art of framing: Managing the language of leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Falbe, C. M., & Yukl, G. (1992). Consequences for managers of using single influence tactics and combinations of tactics. *Academy of Management Journal, 35*(3), 638-652.

Farmer, S. M., & Maslyn, J. M. (1999). Why are styles of upward influence neglected? Making the case for a configurational approach to influences. *Journal of Management, 25*(5), 653-682.

Farsari, I., Butler, R. W., & Szivas, E. (2011). Complexity in tourism policies: A Cognitive Mapping Approach. *Annals of Tourism Research, 38*(3), 1110-1134. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.03.007

Ferris, G. R., & Kacmar, K. M. (1992). Perceptions of organizational politics. *Journal of Management, 18*(1), 93-116.

Ferris, G. R., Mitchell, T. R., Canavan, P. J., Frink, D. D., & Hopper, H. (1995). Accountability in human resources systems. *Handbook of human resource managemen*t, 175-196.

Ferris, G. R., Russ, G. S., & Fandt, P. M. (1989). Politics in organizations. In R. A. Giacalone & P. Rosenfel (Eds.), *Impression management in the organizaiton* (pp. 143 - 170). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawerence Erlbaum.

Ferris, G. R., Witt, L. A., & Hochwarter, W. A. (2001). Interaction of social skill and general mental ability on job performance and salary. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(6), 1075.

Fiol, C. M., O'Connor, E. J., & Aguinis, H. (2001). All for one and one for all? The development and transfer of power across organizational levels. *Academy of Management Review, 26*(2), 224-242.

Ford, J. K., & Weldon, E. (1981). Forewarning and accountability effects on memory-based interpersonal judgments. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 7*(2), 264-268.

Fredrickson, J. W. (1986). The strategic decision process and organizational structure. *The Academy of Management Review, 11*(2), 280-297. doi: 10.2307/258460

Freeman, L. C. (1979). Centrality in social networks conceptual clarification. *Social Networks, 1*(3), 215-239. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0378-8733(78)90021-7

Frink, D. D., & Kilmoski, R. J. (1998). Toward a theory of accountability in organizations and human resources management. In G. R. Ferris (Ed.), *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management* (Vol. 16, pp. 1 - 51). Stamford, CT: JAI Press.

Fry, L. W., & Slocum, J. W. (1984). Technology, structure, and workgroup effectiveness: A test of a contingency model. *Academy of Management Journal, 27*(2), 221-246.

Gardner, W. L., & Avolio, B. J. (1998). The charismatic relationship: A dramaturgical perspective. *Academy of Management Review, 23*(1), 32-58.

Gardner, W. L., & Cleavenger, D. (1998). The impression management strategies associated with transformational leadership at the world-class level a psychohistorical assessment. *Management Communication Quarterly, 12*(1), 3-41.

Gilens, M., & Page, B. I. (2014). Testing theories of American politics: Elites, interest groups, and average citizens. *Perspectives on Politics, 12*(3), 564-581.

Gill, A. S., Flaschner, A. B., & Shachar, M. (2006). Mitigating stress and burnout by implementing transformational-leadership. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 18*(6), 469-481. doi: 10.1108/09596110610681511

Goodwin, V. L., Bowler, W. M., & Whittington, J. L. (2009). A Social Network Perspective on LMX Relationships: Accounting for the Instrumental Value of Leader and Follower Networks. *Journal of Management, 35*(4), 954-980. doi: 10.1177/0149206308321555

Gooty, J., Serban, A., Thomas, J. S., Gavin, M. B., & Yammarino, F. J. (2012). Use and misuse of levels of analysis in leadership research: An illustrative review of leader–member exchange. *The Leadership Quarterly, 23*(6), 1080-1103.

Graen, G., & Cashman, J. F. (1975). A role-making model of leadership in formal organizations: A developmental approach. In J. G. Hunt & L. L. Larson (Eds.), *Leadership Frontiers* (pp. 143 - 166). Kent, OH: Kent State University Press.

Graen, G. B., & Uhl-Bien, M. (1995). Relationship-based approach to leadership: Development of leader-member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership over 25 years: Applying a multi-level multi-domain perspective. *The Leadership Quarterly, 6*(2), 219-247. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/1048-9843(95)90036-5

Greenleaf, R. K. (2002). *Servant Leadership: A journey into the nature of legitimate power and greatness*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press

Greenwood, J. (1993). Business interest groups in tourism governance. *Tourism Management, 14*(5), 335-348. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(93)90002-3

Guerrier, Y. (1998). *The role of trade associations in promoting competitiveness in the international hospitality industry*. Paper presented at the annual Euro CHRIE conference, Lusanne, Switzerland.

Guion, R. M. (1983). Comments on Hunter. In F. Landy, S. Zedeck & J. Cleveland (Eds.), *Performance Measurement and Theory*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawerence Erlbaum.w

Gunn, C. A. (2004). Prospects for Tourism Planning. *The Journal of Tourism Studies, 15*(1), 1-5.

Hage, J., & Aiken, M. (1969). Routine technology, social structure, and organization goals. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 14*(3), 366-376.

Hall, A. T., Blass, F. R., Ferris, G. R., & Massengale, R. (2004). Leader reputation and accountability in organizations: Implications for dysfunctional leader behavior. *The Leadership Quarterly, 15*(4), 515-536. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2004.05.005

Hall, A. T., Bowen, M. G., Ferris, G. R., Royle, M. T., & Fitzgibbons, D. E. (2007). The accountability lens: A new way to view management issues. *Business Horizons, 50*(5), 405-413. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.bushor.2007.04.005

Hall, C. M. (1994). *Tourism and politics: policy, power and place*: John Wiley & Sons.

Hall, C. M. (1999). Rethinking collaboration and partnership: A public policy perspective. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 7*(3-4), 274-289.

Hall, C.M. (2011). Policy learning and policy failure in sustainable tourism governance: From first-and-second-order to third-order change? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 19*(4-5), 649-671.

Hall, C.M. & Jenkins, J. (1995). *Tourism and Public Policy*. London: Routledge.

Hall, R. H. (1977). *Organizations*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice hall.

Harrell-Cook, G., Ferris, G. R., & Dulebohn, J. H. (1999). Political behaviors as moderators of the perceptions of organizational politics‚work outcomes relationships. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 20*(7), 1093-1105.

Harrison, R.L. & Reilly, T.M. (2001). Mixed methods designs in marketing research. *Qualitative Market Research: An international journal, 14*(1), 7 – 26.

Hatch, M. J. (1993). The dynamics of organizational culture. *Academy of Management Review, 18*(4), 657-693.

Henderson, K. A. (1991). *Dimensions of choice: A qualitative approach to recreation, parks, and leisure research*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing, Inc..

Hill, A. J. G. (2012). *Are there differences in leadership styles at local, state, and national/federal levels among advocates for people with disabilities*? Dissertation retrieved from http://ezproxy.lib.vt.edu:8080/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1272145947?accountid=14826

Holburn, G. L. F., & Vanden Bergh, R. G. (2008). Making Friends In Hostile Environments: Political Strategy In Regulated Industries. *Academy of Management Review, 33*(2), 521-540. doi: 10.5465/amr.2008.31193554

Hoppe, B., & Reinelt, C. (2010). Social network analysis and the evaluation of leadership networks. *The Leadership Quarterly, 21*(4), 600-619. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2010.06.004

House, R. J. (1977). A 1976 theory of charismatic leadership. In J. G. Hunt & L. L. Larson (Eds.), *Leadership: The cutting edge* (pp. 189 - 207). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinoise University Press.

House, R. J. (1988). Power and personality in complex organizations. In B. M. Straw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in Organizational Behavior* (pp. 305 - 357). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

House, R. J. (1991). The distribution and exercise of power in complex organizations: A MESO theory. *The Leadership Quarterly, 2*(1), 23-58.

Isler, T. (2008, February 1). Where Bed Taxes Go. Retrieved December 10, 2014, from http://www.meetings-conventions.com/News/Features/Where-Bed-Taxes-Go/?p=2

Janicik, G. A., & Larrick, R. P. (2005). Social network schemas and the learning of incomplete networks. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*(2), 348.

Jaskyte, K. (2004). Transformational leadership, organizational culture, and innovativeness in nonprofit organizations. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership, 15*(2), 153-168.

Jensen, M. C., & Meckling, W. H. (1979). *Theory of the firm: Managerial behavior, agency costs, and ownership structure*. Springer.

Jones, E. E., & Pittman, T. S. (1982). *Toward a general theory of strategic self presentation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Jones, R. A., Jimmieson, N. L., & Griffiths, A. (2005). The impact of organizational culture and reshaping capabilities on change implementation success: The mediating role of readiness for change. *Journal of Management Studies, 42*(2), 361-386.

Judge, T. A., Bono, J. E., Ilies, R., & Gerhardt, M. W. (2002). Personality and leadership: a qualitative and quantitative review. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*(4), 765.

Jung, T., Scott, T., Davies, H. T., Bower, P., Whalley, D., McNally, R., & Mannion, R. (2007). *Instruments for the Exploration of Organisational Culture*.

Kacmar, K. M., Bozeman, D. P., Carlson, D. S., & Anthony, W. P. (1999). An examination of the perceptions of organizational politics model: Replication and extension. *Human Relations, 52*(3), 383-416.

Kipnis, D., Schmidt, S. M., & Wilkinson, I. (1980). Intraorganizational influence tactics: Explorations in getting one's way. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 65*(4), 440-452.

Kirk, P., & Shutte, A. M. (2004). Community leadership development. *Community Development Journal*, 39(3), 234-251.

Kirkpatrick, S. A., & Locke, E. A. (1991). Leadership: Do Traits Matter? *The Executive, 5*(2), 48.

McGehee, N. G., Kline, C., & Knollenberg, W. (2014). Social movements and tourism-related local action. *Annals of Tourism Research, 48*, 140-155.

Kotter, J. P. (1985). *Power and influence: Beyond formal authority.* New York: Free Press. Lawrence,

Lawrence, P. R., & Lorsch, J. W. (1986). *Organization and Environment: Managing Differentiation and Integration*. (Harvard Business School Classics).

Leavitt, H. J. (1951). Some effects of certain communication patterns on group performance. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 46*(1), 38.

Lerner, J. S., & Tetlock, P. E. (1999). Accounting for the effects of accountability. *Psychological Bulletin, 125*(2), 255-275. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.125.2.255

Li, M. (2013). Social network and social capital in leadership and management research: A review of causal methods. *The Leadership Quarterly, 24*(5), 638-665. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2013.04.005

Liden, R. C., & Mitchell, T. R. (1988). Ingratiatory behaviors in organizational settings. *Academy of Management Review, 13*(4), 572-587.

Liden, R. C., & Mitchell, T. R. (1989). Ingratiation in the development of leader-member exchanges. In R. A. Giacalone & P. Rosenfeld (Eds.), *Impression management in the organization* (pp. 343-361). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawerence Erlbaum.

Lincoln & Guba (1985). *Naturalistic enquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Litvin, S. W., Smith, W. W., & Blackwell, C. (2012). Destination marketing, accommodation taxes, and mandated tourism promotional expenditures: may be time to reconsider. [Article]. *Current Issues in Tourism, 15*(4), 385-390. doi: 10.1080/13683500.2011.590187

Lord, R. G. (1985). An information processing approach to social percpetion, leadership perfepctions and behavioral measurement in organizational settings. In L. L. Cummings & B. Staw (Eds.), *Research In Organizational Behavior* (pp. 87 - 128). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Lowery, D. (2007). Why do organized interests lobby? A multi-goal, multi-context theory of lobbying. *Polity, 39*(1), 29-54.

Madison, D. L., Allen, R. W., Porter, L. W., Renwick, P. A., & Mayes, B. T. (1980). Organizational politics: An exploration of managers' perceptions. *Human Relations, 33*(2), 79-100.

Mahon, J. F., & Murray, E. A. (1981). Strategic planning for regulated companies. *Strategic Management Journal, 2*(3), 251-262.

Martin, J. (1992). *Cultures in organizations: Three perspectives.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Marsh, S. J. (1998). Creating barriers for foreign competitors: a study of the impact of anti-dumping actions on the performance of US firms. *Strategic Management Journal, 19*(1), 25-37.

Matthews, C. (1988). *Hardball: How politics is played told by one who knows the game.* New York: Harper Perennial.

Mayer, R. C., Davis, J. H., & Schoorman, F. D. (1995). An integrative model of organizational trust. *Academy of Management Review, 20*(3), 709-734.

McAllister, D. J. (1995). Affect-and cognition-based trust as foundations for interpersonal cooperation in organizations. *Academy of Management Journal, 38*(1), 24-59.

McGehee, N.G. (1992). Marketing Tourism to the North Carolina State Legislature. Paper Presented at the *22ⁿᵈ Annual Travel and Tourism Research Associa-tion Annual Conference*, Minneapolis, MN.

McGehee, N., & Meng, F. (2006). The politics of perception: Legislative images of the tourism industry in Virginia and North Carolina. *Journal of Travel Research, 44*(4), 368 - 378.

McGehee, N. G., Lee, S., O'Bannon, T. L., & Perdue, R. R. (2010). Tourism-related Social Capital and Its Relationship with Other Forms of Capital: An Exploratory Study. *Journal of Travel Research, 49*(4), 486-500. doi: 10.1177/0047287509349271

McGehee, N. G., Meng, F., & Tepanon, Y. (2006). Understanding legislators and their perceptions of the tourism industry: The case of North Carolina, USA, 1990 and 2003. *Tourism Management, 27*(4), 684-694. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.02.008

McKercher, B., du Cros, H., & McKercher, R. (2002*). Cultural tourism: the partnership between tourism and cultural heritage management*. Haworth Hospitality Press.

Meek, V. L. (1988). Organizational culture: Origins and weaknesses. *Organization Studies, 9*(4), 453-473.

Mehra, A., Dixon, A. L., Brass, D. J., & Robertson, B. (2006). The Social Network Ties of Group Leaders: Implications for Group Performance and Leader Reputation. *Organization Science, 17*(1), 64-79. doi: 10.1287/orsc.1050.0158

Mero, N. P., Guidice, R. M., & Werner, S. (2014). A Field Study of the Antecedents and Performance Consequences of Perceived Accountability. *Journal of Management, 40*(6), 1627-1652. doi: 10.1177/0149206312441208

Mintzberg, H. (1979). *The structuring of organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Mintzberg, H. (1983). *Power in and around organizations* (Vol. 142): Prentice-Hall Englewood Cliffs, NJ.

Mistzal, B. (1996). *Trust in modern societies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mitchell, T. R., Hopper, H., Daniels, D., Falvy, J. G., & Ferris, G. R. (1998). Power, accountability, and inappropriate actions. *Applied Psychology, 47*(4), 497-517.

Mitnick, B. M. (1981). The strategic uses of regulation and deregulation. *Business Horizons, 24(*2), 71-83.

Nahapiet, J., & Ghoshal, S. (1998). Social Capital, Intellectual Capital, and the Organizational Advantage. *The Academy of Management Review, 23*(2), 242-266. doi: 10.2307/259373

Northouse, P. G. (2012). Leadership: Theory and practice. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ogbonna, E., & Harris, L. C. (2000). Leadership style, organizational culture and performance: empirical evidence from UK companies. *International Journal of Human Resource Management, 11*(4), 766-788.

Parsons, T. (1951). *The social system.* Glenecoe, III; Free Press.

Pechlaner, H., Kozak, M., & Volgger, M. (2014). Destination leadership: a new paradigm for tourist destinations? *Tourism Review, 69*(1), 1-9. doi: 10.1108/tr-09-2013-0053

Peters, T.J. (1978). Symbols, patterns, and settings; An optimistic case for getting things done. *Organizational Dynamics*, 1(1), 3 – 23.

Pettigrew, A. M. (1979). On studying organizational cultures. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 24*(4), 570-581.

Pfeffer, J. (1981). *Power in Organizations*. Boston: Pitman.

Pfeffer, J. (1992). *Managing with power: politics and influence in organizations*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Pfeffer, J. (1997). *New directions for organization theory: Problems and prospects*: Oxford University Press New York.

Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L. (2004). *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies.* New York: Routledge.

Pitts, G. (2008). Life as an entrepreneur: leadership and learning. *Development and Learning in Organizations, 22*(3), 16-17.

Potrikus, A. (2010). Loss of state tourism grants could hit local promotion and marketing efforts. Retrieved on 1/25/15 from: http://www.syracuse.com/news/index.ssf/2010/03/loss_of_state_tourism_grants_c.html

Potters, J., & Sloof, R. (1996). Interest groups: A survey of empirical models that try to assess their influence. *European Journal of Political Economy, 12*(3), 403-442. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0176-2680(96)00008-0

Pugh, D. S., Hickson, D. J., Hinings, C. R., & Turner, C. (1968). Dimensions of organization structure. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 65-105.

Rashid, M. Z. A., Sambasivan, M., & Johari, J. (2003). The influence of corporate culture and organisational commitment on performance. *Journal of management development, 22*(8), 708-728.

Reichenberg, J. (2011). Former legislators White, Taylor lament loss of state tourism funding at Capitol. Retrieved 1/25/15 from: http://www.steamboattoday.com/news/2011/mar/14/former-legislators-white-taylor-lament-loss-state-/

Reid, S., Ruhanen, L., & Johnston, N. (2012). Untangling the messy legislative basis of tourism development planning: five cases from Australia. *Anatolia, 23*(3), 413-428.

Robbins, S. (2000). *Organizational Behavior: Concepts-controversies-applications* (8th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Ross, S. A. (1973). The economic theory of agency: The principal's problem. *The American Economic Review,* 134-139.

Rothfelder, K., Ottenbacher, M. C., & Harrington, R. J. (2013). The impact of transformational, transactional and non-leadership styles on employee job satisfaction in the German hospitality industry. *Tourism & Hospitality Research, 12*(4), 201-214. doi: 10.1177/1467358413493636

Ruhanen, L., & Reid, S. (2014). The legislative aspects of tourism policy and planning: stakeholder perspectives. *International Journal of Tourism Policy, 5*(3), 192-207.

Rus, D., van Knippenberg, D., & Wisse, B. (2012). Leader power and self-serving behavior: The Moderating Role of Accountability. *The Leadership Quarterly, 23*(1), 13-26. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2011.11.002

Schein, E.H. (1989). *Organizational culture and leadership: A dynamic view.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Schlenker, B. R. (1980). *Impression management: The self-concept, social identity, and interpersonal relations*. Brooks/Cole Publishing Company Monterey, CA.

Schlenker, B. R. (1985). Identity and self-identification. In B. R. Schlenker (Ed.), *The self and social life* (pp. 65-99). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Schmidt, F. L., & Hunter, J. E. (1998). The validity and utility of selection methods in personnel psychology: Practical and theoretical implications of 85 years of research findings. *Psychological Bulletin, 124*(2), 262.

Schriesheim, C. A., Castro, S. L., & Cogliser, C. C. (1999). Leader-member exchange (LMX) research: A comprehensive review of theory, measurement, and data-analytic practices. *The Leadership Quarterly, 10*(1), 63-113. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(99)80009-5

Scott, N., Baggio, R., & Cooper, C. (2008). *Network analysis and tourism: From theory to practice*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Sederberg, P.C. (1984). *The politics of meaning: Power and explanation in the construction of social reality*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Shafer, E. L., Vieregge, M., & Youngsoo, C. (2005). Cultural Differences in Perceived Leadership Styles. *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration, 6*(3), 65-84. doi: 10.1300/J149v06n03¬ï05

Shaffer, B. (1995). Firm-level Responses to Government Regulation: Theoretical and Research Approaches. *Journal of Management, 21*(3), 495-514. doi: 10.1177/014920639502100305

Sherony, K. M., & Green, S. G. (2002). Coworker exchange: relationships between coworkers, leader-member exchange, and work attitudes. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*(3), 542.

Siegel, B. (2009). What Happens When You Stop Marketing: The rise and fall of Colorado tourism. Retrieved from: http://www.longwoods-intl.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/The_Rise_and_Fall_of_Colorado_Tourism.pdf on November 24, 2014.

Siegel-Jacobs, K., & Yates, J. F. (1996). Effects of procedural and outcome accountability on judgment quality. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 65*(1), 1-17.

Simonson, I., & Staw, B. M. (1992). Deescalation strategies: A comparison of techniques for reducing commitment to losing courses of action. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 77*(4), 419.

Slocum, S. L., & Everett, S. (2014). Industry, government, and community: power and leadership in a resource constrained DMO. *Tourism Review, 69*(1), 47-58.

Smircich, L. (1983). Concepts of culture and organizational analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 28*(3), 339-358.

Spangler, W. D., House, R. J., & Palrecha, R. (2004). Personality and leadership. *Personality and organizations*, 251-290.

Sparrowe, R. T., & Liden, R. C. (1997). Process and Structure in Leader-Member Exchange. *Academy of Management Review, 22*(2), 522-552. doi: 10.5465/amr.1997.9707154068

Sparrowe, R. T., & Liden, R. C. (2005). Two Routes to Influence: Integrating Leader-Member Exchange and Social Network Perspectives. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 50*(4), 505-535. doi: 10.2189/asqu.50.4.505

Stevenson, N., Airey, D., & Miller, G. (2008). Tourism Policy Making:: The Policymakers; Perspectives. *Annals of Tourism Research, 35*(3), 732-750.

Stevenson, W. B., Pearce, J. L., & Porter, L. W. (1985). The concept of coalition in organization theory and research. *Academy of Management Review, 10*(2), 256-268.

Stogdill, R. M. (1974). *Handbook of leadership: A survey of theory and research*. New York: Free Press.

Stone A.G., Russell, R.F., & Patterson, K. (2003). Transformational versus servant leadership: A difference in leader focus. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 25(4), 349-361.

Swanson, J. R., & Brothers, G. L. (2012). Tourism policy agenda setting, interest groups and legislative capture. *International Journal of Tourism Policy, 4*(3), 206-221.

Tadmor, C., & Tetlock, P. (2010). Accountability. Political and Civic Leadership: A Reference Handbook. SAGE Publications, Inc. In R. Couto (Ed.), *Political and Civic Leadership: A reference handbook* (pp. 701-710). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Tetlock, P. E. (1992). The impact of accountability on judgment and choice: Toward a social contingency model. *Advances In Experimental Social Psychology*, 25, 331-376.

Tetlock, P. E. (1985). Accountability: The neglected social context of judgment and choice. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 7*(1), 297-332.

Thacker, R. A., & Wayne, S. J. (1995). An examination of the relationship between upward influence tactics and assessments of promotability. *Journal of Management, 21*(4), 739-756.

Thompson, J. (1967). *Organizations in Action: Social Science Bases of Administrative Theory. Classics in Organization and Management Series*. Trans. Publishers.

Tracey, J. B., & Hinkin, T. R. (1994). Transformational leaders in the hospitality industry. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly, 35*(2), 18.

Treadway, D. C., Hochwarter, W. A., Kacmar, C. J., & Ferris, G. R. (2005). Political will, political skill, and political behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 26*(3), 229-245.

Tsai, W., & Ghoshal, S. (1998). Social Capital and Value Creation: The Role of Intrafirm Networks. *The Academy of Management Journal, 41*(4), 464-476. doi: 10.2307/257085

Tsui, A. S., Zhang, Z.-X., Wang, H., Xin, K. R., & Wu, J. B. (2006). Unpacking the relationship between CEO leadership behavior and organizational culture. *The Leadership Quarterly, 17*(2), 113-137. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2005.12.001

Turnley, W. H., & Bolino, M. C. (2001). Achieving desired images while avoiding undesired images: exploring the role of self-monitoring in impression management. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(2), 351.

Tyler, D., & Dinan, C. (2001a). The role of interested groups in England's emerging tourism policy network. *Current Issues in Tourism, 4*(2-4), 210-252.

Tyler, D., & Dinan, C. (2001b). Trade and associated groups in the English tourism policy arena. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 3*(6), 459-476. doi: 10.1002/jtr.328

Uhl-Bien, M., Graen, G. B., & Scandura, T. A. (2000). Implications of leader-member exchange (LMX) for strategic human resource management systems: Relationships as social capital for competitive advantage. *Research In Personnel And Human Resources Management*, 18, 137-186.

UNWTO (2014). *UNWTO Tourism Highlights: 2014 Edition*. Madrid, Spain.

Upchurch, R. S., & Ruhland, S. K. (1995). An Analysis of Ethical Work Climate and Leadership Relationship in Lodging Operations. *Journal of Travel Research, 34*(2), 36-42. doi: 10.1177/004728759503400208

Valente, F.J., Dredge, D., & Lohmann, G. (2014). Leadership capacity in two Brazilian regional tourism organisations. *Tourism Review, 69*(1), 10-24.

Valle, M., & Perrewe, P. L. (2000). Do politics perceptions relate to political behaviors? Tests of an implicit assumption and expanded model. *Human Relations, 53*(3), 359-386.

Virginia Tourism Corporation (2015). *Fast Facts about the Virginia Tourism Economy*. Retrieved from https://www.vatc.org/research/economicimpact/ September 26, 2015.

VHTA. (2014). *Mission and Vision.* Retrieved 10/3/14, from http://www.vhta.org/?page=MV

VHTA Bylaws (2009). Bylaws of the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association, Incorporated. Retrieved 24/15 ,from the Virginia Hospitality and Travel Association (personal interview).

Wagner, R. K. (1997). Intelligence, training, and employment. *American Psychologist, 52*(10), 1059.

Wallis, J., & Dollery, B. (2005). The impact of alternative styles of policy leadership on the direction of local government reform. *International Journal of Social Economics, 32*(4), 291-306.

Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social network analysis: Methods and applications* (Vol. 8). Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Wofford, J., & Goodwin, V. L. (1994). A cognitive interpretation of transactional and transformational leadership theories. *The Leadership Quarterly, 5*(2), 161-186.

Woolcock, M., & Narayan, D. (2000). Social capital: Implications for development theory, research, and policy. *The World Bank Research Observer, 15(*2), 225-249.

Wrong, D. H. (1968). Some problems in defining social power. *American Journal of Sociology*, 673-681.

Yardley, W. (2011). *A Tourism Office Falls Victim to Hard Times*, New York Times. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/12/us/12tourism.html?_r=0

Yukl, G. (2002). *Leadership in organizations* (5th ed.). Upper Saddle Creek, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Yukl, G., & Falbe, C. M. (1990). Influence tactics and objectives in upward, downward, and lateral influence attempts. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 75*(2), 132.

Yukl, G., Kim, H., & Chavez, C. (1999). Task importance, feasibility, and agent influence behavior as determinants of target commitment. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 84*(1), 137.

Yukl, G., & Tracey, J. B. (1992). Consequences of influence tactics used with subordinates, peers, and the boss. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 77*(4), 525.

Zaccaro, S. J., & Klimoski, R. J. (2002). The nature of organizational leadership: an introduction. In S. J. Zaccaro & R. J. Klimoski (Eds.), *The nature of organizational leadership: Understanding the performance imperatives confronting today's leaders* (Vol. 12). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Zagenczyk, T., Purvis, R., Shoss, M., Scott, K., & Cruz, K. (2013). Social Influence and Leader Perceptions: Multiplex Social Network Ties and Similarity in Leader-Member Exchange. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 1-13. doi: 10.1007/s10869-013-9332-7

Zanzi, A., & O'Neill, R. M. (2001). Sanctioned Versus Non-sanctioned Political Tactics. *Journal of Managerial Issues, 13*(2), 245-262. doi: 10.2307/40604347

Zehrer, A., Raich, F., Siller, H., & Tschiderer, F. (2014). Leadership networks in destinations. *Tourism Review, 69*(1), 59-73.

Zheng, W., Yang, B., & McLean, G. N. (2010). Linking organizational culture, structure, strategy, and organizational effectiveness: Mediating role of knowledge management. *Journal of Business Research, 63*(7), 763-771. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2009.06.005