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Beyond personality: exploring the role of motivations, self-evaluations and values in leadership emergence within an organizational setting

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Abstract

The current research explored the relationships between personality and non-personality traits with leadership emergence. Managers in a UK insurance company completed a self-report survey on leadership behaviours and individual differences (i.e., traits). Analyses of over one hundred participants found significant associations between their emergence as a leader and many variables (e.g., extraversion, motivation, and leader-member relationships). Practical implications include the use of trait measures in leadership selection and recommendations for mentoring and training in regards to leadership development. Further research combining situational factors in leadership emergence is advised, as are longitudinal studies employing multiple methodologies across a diverse sample.

Background

Leadership is a multi-faceted domain involving a set of complex behaviours and interactions between people, which can be crucial to the success or failure of an organization (R. Hogan, Curphy & J. Hogan, 1994). One interesting aspect of leadership concerns how people develop into potential leaders, and how individual characteristics influence this process (Riggio & Mumford, 2011).

Leadership emergence

When an individual moves into a leadership position it is known as leadership emergence (Li, Arvey & Song, 2011). Leadership emergence concerns the traits and experiences that predispose a person to become perceived by others as '*leaderlike*', and how these enable them to emerge into a leadership position (Dinh et al., 2014). Leadership can emerge through informal or formal means.

Firstly, an individual can claim a leadership position in the absence of authority, through being considered a leader within a group by the group members, and

potentially even by individuals external to the group. There is potential for informal leadership emergence in a wide range of contexts where leaderless groups might be present, such as music groups or software development teams, as well as in more traditionally hierarchical settings (i.e., customer service), where teams have a formally appointed supervisor. Given a person has exerted significant influence over others they are considered an emergent leader (Schneier & Goktepe, 1983). In contrast, a more formal emergence process exists whereby leaders are appointed a leadership position via selection or nomination (Kaiser, R. Hogan & Craig, 2008). This can occur when a member within a team (or elsewhere in the organization) is promoted following a competitive promotion process or informal promotion selection. For instance, formal emergence to team leadership is common among teams operating in organizations providing health care. Similarly, a person can formally emerge into a leadership role by being recruited externally, which is often the case in the hospitality sector where team member turnover tends to be high. The mutual link between the formal and informal routes is that the person has been perceived as leaderlike, based partly on their characteristics. Understanding why leaders emerge can be just as important as whether leaders will be effective. For example, a person may possess qualities of an effective leader but lack those enabling them to reach that position to begin with.

Leadership emergence is especially relevant for decision makers within organizations, whereby failing to recognise and develop individuals with potential to become leaders can result in lost talent. Additionally, selecting future leaders based on technical abilities rather than leadership potential may be costly. Therefore, recognising characteristics of emergent leaders and identifying those with future potential is particularly valuable from an organizational perspective.

Individual differences in leadership emergence

Despite leadership existing universally, individual differences are important to recognise (Judge, Piccolo & Kosalka, 2009). Those in leadership positions may exhibit specific patterns of behaviour that have enabled them to emerge into leadership roles. Various constructs have been associated with leadership emergence, with particularly strong support for personality seen in meta-analyses (Judge, Bono, Ilies & Gerhardt, 2002). However, attempts to create a consistent trait profile of those more likely to emerge as leaders have not always been successful (Smith & Foti, 1998).

As a result, authors have not yet reached agreement on which traits are significant and under which circumstances. For example, across the various studies and on-going list of related traits, some highlight masculinity as being important (Mann, 1959), others Emotional Intelligence (Goleman, 2003), alertness (Stogdill, 1948), and various measures of personality (e.g., Northouse, 1997). In fact, a review of the literature around leadership competencies (Judge et al., 2002) highlighted that self-confidence was the only trait related to leadership across most studies, and that “if one were to ask five leadership researchers, in general, whether trait theory was valid and, if so, specifically which traits were valid, one would likely get five different answers” (p.766).

One critique of the existing research is the tendency to focus on personality as a predictor of leadership emergence, whilst the role of values, motives and social

skills are ignored (Zaccaro, 2007). In order to address some of these concerns, the variables of interest in this study are not confined to personality measures; rather, they encompass a broader range of both positive and negative attributes.

Setting the research agenda

This research aims to explore which constructs are related to leadership emergence, and whether these relationships are stronger with personality or non-personality attributes. For example, research supporting the role of the Five Factor Model of personality suggests it is more apparent in those who have emerged as leaders than those who have not (e.g., Judge et al., 2002), where other research highlights the role of motivation and values (e.g., Chan & Drasgow, 2001). Is it that both are influential or does personality have much greater influence? A review of the literature was conducted and the variables of interest are outlined below.

Personality

The Five Factor Model (FFM) is a common measure of personality, referring to five traits set out by Costa and McCrae (1992); openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and emotional stability. Taggar, Hackett and Saha (1999) found that team members higher on conscientiousness and extraversion are more likely to emerge as leaders in autonomous teams. Such autonomous teams exist when the roles assumed by members are flexible (Seers, 1989) and thus multiple members can exhibit leadership qualities at any one time.

Similarly, peers are more likely to nominate an extraverted, open and conscientious individual for the position of team leader (Emery, Calvard & Pierce, 2013). These findings are reinforced by a meta-analysis which demonstrated that extraversion, conscientiousness and openness are positively related to measures of leadership emergence, while agreeableness had a negative association (Judge et al., 2002).

Although a wealth of supportive evidence confirms the prediction that the five factors are related to leadership emergence, research considering the relative strength and direction of each relationship is inconsistent. For the purposes of this research, each factor will be treated separately and their relationship to leadership emergence investigated.

Narcissism

Narcissism is one of the three traits that comprise the 'dark triad' of personality, together with Machiavellianism and sub-clinical psychopathy (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Defined as a personality trait, narcissism encompasses behaviours such as arrogance, self-absorption, feelings of grandiosity and entitlement. Interestingly, narcissism is an attribute shared by many powerful leaders (Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006). On-one-hand, being perceived as exploitative and arrogant could lead to poor ratings by peers, whereas displaying self-esteem and exuding confidence may convince others of their leadership capabilities (Paunonen, Lönqvist, Verkasalo, Leikas & Nissinen, 2006). Either way, a narcissist's primary need to prove their superiority leads to their pursuit for power and recognition from others (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001a, b).

Empirical research suggests that narcissistic individuals tend to emerge in leaderless discussions when both self-report and expert ratings are used across student and executive samples (Brunell et al., 2008). In formal leadership emergence, narcissistic individuals may appear desirable to selection panels due to their charismatic tendencies (R. Hogan, Raskin & Fazzini, 1990), and are capable of manipulating others into thinking they possess leadership potential (Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006). These findings are consistent with (and reinforce the role of) personality traits in leader emergence, since narcissistic individuals tend to be low on agreeableness and high on extraversion (Vernon, Villani, Vickers & Harris, 2008); traits that are associated with leader emergence (Judge et al., 2002).

Core Self-Evaluations (CSE)

Core Self-Evaluations refer to a broad personality trait encompassing four well established characteristics: locus of control, emotional stability, self-efficacy and self-esteem (Judge, Locke & Durham, 1997). Although measured as a single construct, the justification for each component in relation to leadership is outlined below:

- *Locus of Control* (LOC) refers to an individual's beliefs about the causes of life events, where an internal locus indicates a belief they have control over these, and an external locus that events are controlled by the environment or fate (Rotter, 1966). Given that those wanting to control their environment would naturally prefer to lead than follow it is reasonable to expect this to have some bearing on leadership emergence. One study comparing a control group to students deemed as having leadership potential found that the potential group had significantly greater levels of internal LOC (McCullough, Ashbridge & Pegg, 1994). This supports previous findings relating LOC with leadership outcomes (see Anderson & Schreier, 1978), however similar investigations have not been explored more recently.
- *Emotional stability* (the opposing trait to neuroticism) refers to the tendency to have a positive cognitive style and avoiding a focus on the negative aspects of the self (Watson, 2000). Leaders with high levels of emotional stability may be perceived by others as reserved or laid back, and seldom experience fluctuations in emotion (Goldberg, 1999). As included in the Five Factor Model, emotional stability has been positively associated with leadership emergence (Judge et al., 2002).
- *Self-efficacy* refers to "*beliefs in one's capabilities to organise and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments*" (Bandura, 1997, p.3). It has been identified by social-cognitive theorists as the self-regulatory mechanism most able to affect behaviour, with those high on the trait generally being motivated, resilient and goal-orientated (Bobbio & Manganelli, 2009). Within the leadership literature it is apparent that those who emerge as leaders tend to be described in a similar manner (Locke et al., 1991), for example as persevering in the face of obstacles and committing strongly to their work.

- *Self-esteem* refers to the judgement made by a person about their level of worth across situations (Coopersmith, 1967), and has found to be associated with numerous leadership variables. For example, a longitudinal study of male cadets at military college found self-esteem at Year 1 predicted whether cadets assumed leadership positions at Year 4 (Atwater, Dionne, Avolio, Camobreco & Lau, 1999). One potential explanation for this is that a leader's self-esteem appears related to (for example) trust in others, not requiring constant recognition and being courteous to colleagues (Bass & Bass, 2009). These behaviours will likely enable the attainment of leadership positions. In addition, those with greater self-esteem tend to seek more feedback than those low on the trait (Ashford, 1986), which is likely to enhance leadership development (Waldman & Atwater, 1998).

Emotional Intelligence (EI)

Emotional Intelligence refers to a person's ability to perceive and understand emotion in themselves and others, with the ability to manage the experience and expression of these emotions (Mayer, Salovey & Caruso, 2000). The concept can be broken down into a number of components, including self-awareness, self-monitoring, social awareness/empathy and relationship management (Goleman, 1998). Despite some scepticism for the construct on the basis of measurement issues and scant evidence regarding the predictive validity of EI above and beyond the Five Factor Model of personality and IQ (e.g. Antonakis, Ashkanasy & Dasborough, 2009), evidence for the strength of EI in the workplace comes from several studies in recent years, with some support for its role in predicting leadership emergence (e.g. Côté, Lopes, Salovey & Miners, 2010). For the purposes of this study, EI is measured as a single construct, although the benefit of measuring separate constructs is discussed.

Motivation to Lead (MTL)

Motivation to Lead refers to "*a construct that affects a leader's or leader-to-be's decisions to assume leadership training, roles, and responsibilities and that affect(s) his or her intensity of effort at leading and persistence as a leader*" (Chan & Drasgow, 2001, p.482). Categorised into three dimensions, the premise suggests that people with high MTL possess positive feelings towards being a leader, compute little calculation of its cost effectiveness and feel a sense of duty to lead. For example, given that there are usually costs related to being a leader, those who consider these against the benefits of leading may be more likely to avoid leadership positions (Kark & Van Dijk, 2007). In addition, some people (particularly those who are promotion-focussed) who are motivated by personal growth and development are more likely to adopt leadership roles based on their wanting to do so (rather than having to do so).

In one study supporting the relationship between MTL and emergence, findings demonstrated that those high on MTL were more likely to be identified as potential leaders by unknown raters and be selected for leadership positions. Furthermore, highly motivated people were more likely to assume leadership positions compared to their less motivated peers (Luria & Berson, 2013). The evidence would suggest that those higher on MTL will be more likely to emerge as leaders. For the purposes of this study, MTL is measured as a singular construct reflecting overall motivation to lead.

Achievement values

The need for achievement refers to an individual's "*concern for long-term involvement and competition against some standard of excellence*" (House, Spangler & Woycke, 1991, p.367). Examples of achievement behaviour include demonstrating to themselves or others that they are successful, through showing competence against social standards and gaining social approval (Scannell & Allen, 2000; Schwartz, 2012). A value can be seen as a guiding principle in a person's life, providing motivation for behaviour (Schwartz, 1996). As such, individuals who value achievement are motivated to accomplish and as such may strive to achieve a leadership position.

Core Self-Evaluations as a mediating variable

Despite being a driving force of behaviour, possessing achievement values may not necessarily lead to action. For example, it is reasonable to expect that individuals valuing success and influence may require the internal belief that emergence is possible. Even when individuals appear motivated, self-derogatory beliefs about ability can hinder performance (Wine, 1971). Core self-evaluations may act as a facilitator of behavioural action on values and thus is expected to mediate between achievement values and emergence.

Leader-Member Relations (LMX)

Leader Member Exchange (LMX) theory refers to the one-on-one relationship between a leader and follower (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). According to LMX, a leader develops relationships of varying quality with their followers during interactions and routines. Followers engaged in high quality relationships will also have access to additional resources and opportunities as given by their leader (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995), information that could motivate them to assume greater responsibilities (Liden & Graen, 1980) and participate in leadership activities. As a result, an individual could develop the relevant experiences and gain recognition as a potential leader above their peers. There may also be cases where a supervisor nominates a follower for a leadership position, which is more likely to happen if their relationship is positive.

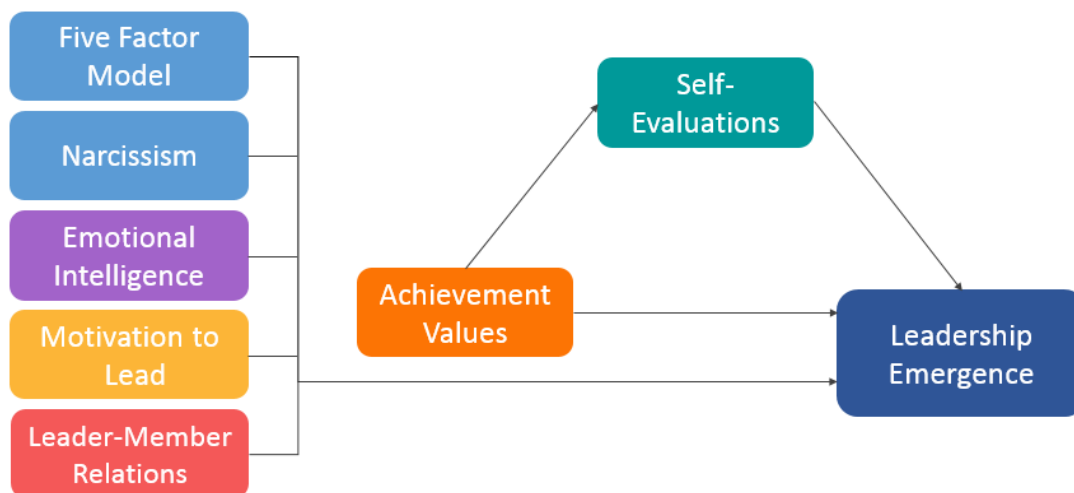
Research questions

Given the supportive evidence outlined it is expected that:

- Personality variables will demonstrate strong relationships with leadership emergence. People scoring highly on narcissism, extraversion, conscientiousness, openness and emotional stability, and low on agreeableness will be more likely to emerge as leaders.
- Non-personality variables (EI, MTL, achievement values and CSE) will also be related to leadership emergence (i.e., people high on these will be more likely to emerge as leaders).
- The relationship between a leader and follower (LMX) will be related to leadership emergence (i.e., those in higher quality relationships will be more likely to emerge as leaders).
- CSE will mediate the relationship between achievement values and leadership emergence.

The predicted relationships are represented as a conceptual model below (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The predicted conceptual model of relationships between variables



Method

Participants

Pearn Kandola, a business psychology consultancy, provided an opportunity sample of four hundred experienced leaders from a UK insurance company. The participants were invited to participate in the research via an email from a consultancy representative, which contained a link to the on-line survey. The leaders were senior managers, each managing between six and 16 employees and distributed across individual business units. All managers were recruited through an Assessment Centre consisting of an interview, psychometric tests and group role play activities. Managers have received structured training lasting between one to three years and have reached the most senior level that exists within a business unit.

Measures

Participants were asked to report their responses on a number of established scales which measured the variables of interest. This was followed by demographic information, the outcome measure (leadership emergence) and three control variables (sex, age, tenure). One hundred and sixteen responded to a survey measuring their characteristics and leadership behaviours. The measures used are summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Measures used for each construct included in analyses

Construct	Measure
Personality	Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI; Gosling, Rentfrow & Swann, 2003)
Narcissism	Narcissism Personality Inventory (NPI-16; Ames, Rose & Anderson, 2006)
CSE	Core Self-Evaluations Scale (CSES; Judge, Erez, Bono & Thoreson, 2003)
EI	Assessing Emotions Scale (AES; Schutte et al., 1998)
MTL	Motivation to Lead Scale (MTL; Chan & Drasgow, 2001) as used by Bobbio and Rattazzi (2006)
Achievement values	Achievement component of the Work Value Survey (Schwartz, 1994)
LMX	LMX-7 scale (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995)

Measuring leadership emergence

The study adapted a scale used by Kent and Moss (1990). Participants were asked to imagine themselves in a typical team scenario with colleagues at work, in which there is no assigned leader (informal emergence). Although the original scale asks participants to rate themselves and peers after participation in group projects, constraints of the current research did not allow for such tasks and thus self-reports from a hypothetical situation were deemed sufficient.

Using a 7-point Likert scale from “*Never*” to “*Always*”, participants rated the extent to which they would assume a leadership role, lead the conversation, influence group goals and decisions. These behaviours are based on research by Bass (1981), which suggests that emergent leaders talk, participate and attempt to lead to influence the group more than others. Scores from the three items were averaged to form a single score of leadership emergence. The original scale demonstrated an internal consistency of 0.90, with the adapted scale demonstrating a reasonable value of 0.73.

Results

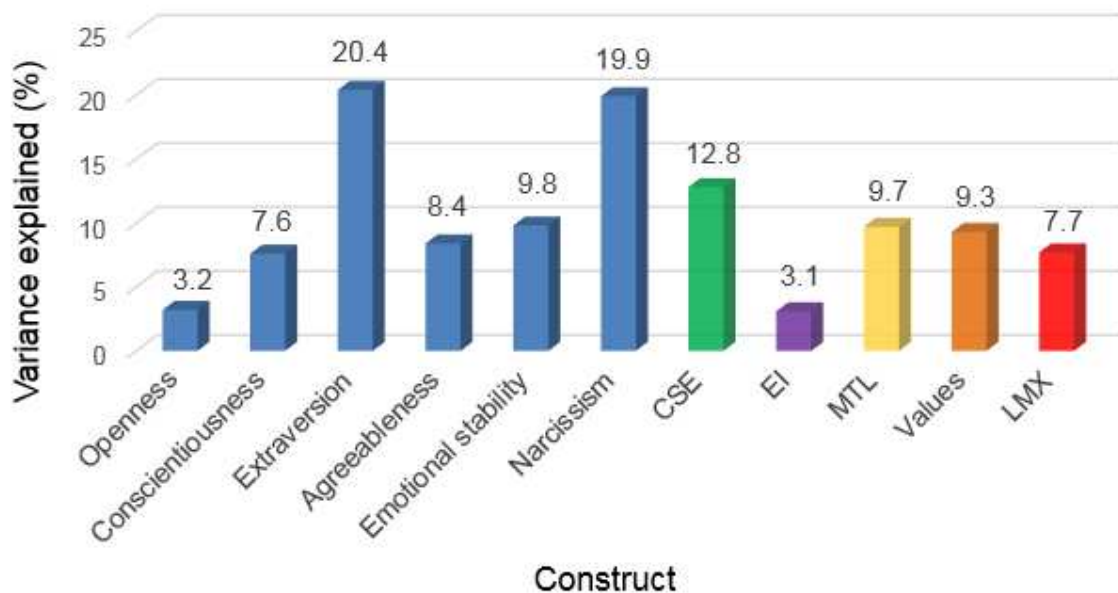
Descriptive data

The sample consisted of 76 males and 40 females, of which 113 of the 116 were British. Ages ranged from 25 to 60 ($M = 44.60$, $SD = 8.44$), with organizational tenure ranging from one year to 34 years and 11 months. Participants reported having held an average of 2.81 leadership positions and managed 16 subordinates, both indicating they possessed substantial leadership experience.

Analyses

Data screening highlighted cases of univariate outliers and missing values, meaning 13 cases were removed from further regression analyses, leaving 103 participants included in the study. Tenure, age and sex were included in all analyses as control variables, in order to establish that any effects on the dependent variable are caused by the independent variables. A visual representation of the strength of each construct on leadership emergence can be seen below (Figure 2) and the findings are summarised beneath.

Figure 2. A bar chart showing the percentage of variance in leadership emergence as explained by each construct.



Note: personality variables are coloured blue.

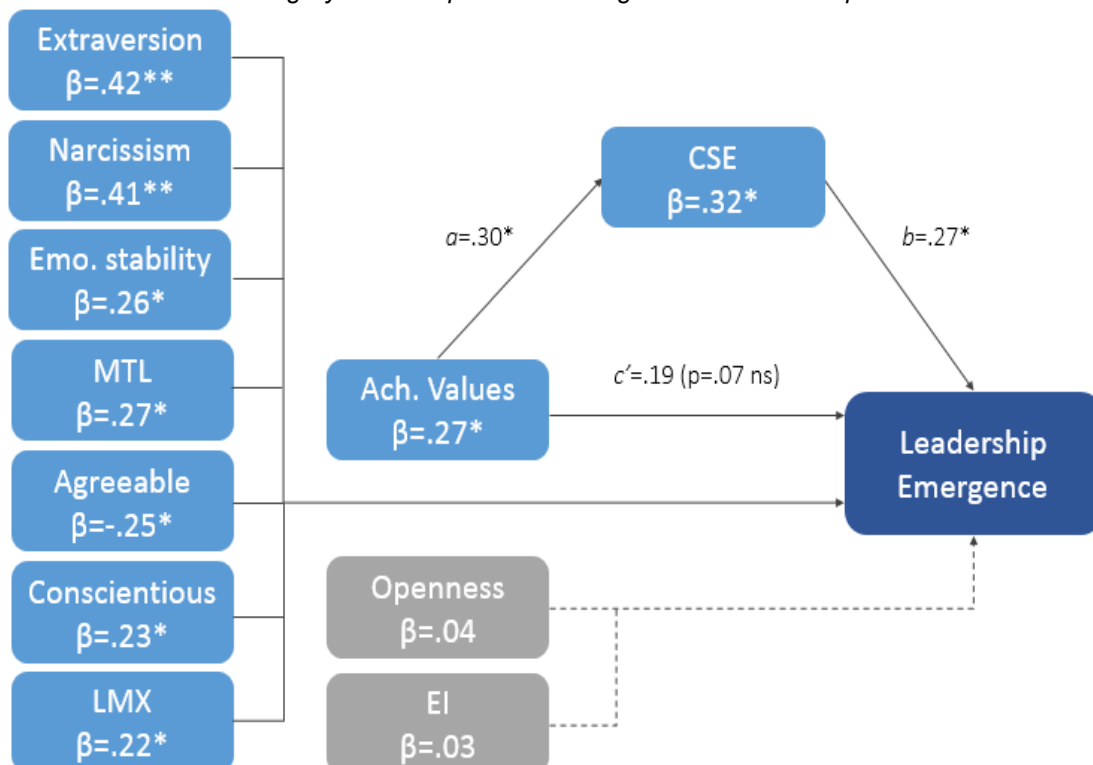
Summary of findings

The research investigated the influence of non-personality constructs (i.e., self-evaluations, values, motivations) in addition to personality constructs (Five Factor Model, narcissism) and situational influences (LMX) on leadership emergence. Support was gained for the research questions in that most constructs were significantly related to leadership emergence, except in the case of Emotional Intelligence and openness. The strongest relationships were found with extraversion and narcissism, which suggests a strong influence from personality. When core self-evaluations were analysed as a mediator between achievement values and leadership emergence, a strong relationship was found. That is, whether the relationship between a person's values and their likelihood to emerge as a leader can be explained by how the person evaluates their own abilities. Within organizational settings this finding suggests that valuing achievement may not be sufficient to gain a leadership position if individuals do not possess the belief that they are able to lead.

Relationships between variables and leadership emergence are displayed visually in Figure 3 (below).

Figure 3. A representation of the direct relationships between the constructs and leadership emergence

Note: Dashed lines and grey boxes represent non-significant relationships.



*Regression coefficients are unstandardized. N=103. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$.*

Discussion of findings

This research has helped gain understanding of leadership within an organizational setting. The pattern of associations between personality traits and leader emergence confirms prior research findings and reinforces our appreciation of the role of personality as a facilitator or inhibitor for individuals' emergence into leadership. This is reinforced by the strong relationships found with extraversion and narcissism on leadership emergence.

However, considering traits other than personality has opened up a wide range of constructs proving influential (i.e., values, judgements, motivations). For example, the role of Core Self-Evaluations as a sole contributor and mediator proved highly significant, which provides further support for the role of non-personality variables in leadership emergence. Of particular interest is the relatively new construct, Motivation to Lead, that is positively associated with leadership emergence and has been deemed trainable (Chan & Drasgow, 2001) and is worthy of further research. This is not to say that investigations of personality and leadership emergence should be abandoned; given its influence in the current study and the mixed findings (e.g., openness) it is still worthy of further research.

The role of narcissism

The finding that narcissism was strongly related to leadership emergence commands attention as it can potentially have both positive and negative implications for followers and organizational performance. Narcissistic leaders tend to be perceived negatively by followers and are rated lower by their superiors with regards to performance (Judge, LePine & Rich, 2006). On the other hand, positive associations have been found between narcissism and senior leadership performance (Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007) and in some situations, higher follower ratings (Paunonen et al., 2006). Therefore, this relationship appears more complex than is perhaps seen in other traits and although at senior levels narcissism is potentially beneficial, caution needs to be exercised especially when managing teams having members high on the trait.

Unexpected findings

Openness and Emotional Intelligence (EI) were not found to be significantly associated with leadership emergence. In relation to openness, previous research has failed to find a relationship between the construct and leadership emergence (e.g., Taggar et al., 1999), which indicates that perhaps the trait is not a significant predictor of emergence. However this is just one possible explanation for the finding in the current study.

Regarding EI, there are two possible reasons for the lack of a significant relationship with leadership emergence. Firstly, it is possible that the scale used to measure the construct does not fully reflect the concept. For example, it has been suggested that one of the singular components of EI (i.e., self-monitoring) could better demonstrate where the relationship between EI and leadership emergence exists (see Zaccaro, Foti & Kenny, 1991).

Alternatively, despite advocates of the construct providing convincing research (Gardner & Stough, 2001; Côté et al., 2010), critique regarding the weak empirical

evidence of EI must be acknowledged. In the 25 years since its introduction to research (Salovey & Mayer, 1990), Antonakis and colleagues (Antonakis et al., 2009) argue that support has come from papers lacking methodological rigour and inferences drawn from unsubstantiated claims. To be recognised as a viable construct it appears that EI may need rethinking.

Advancing the research

There are many different ways in which future empirical research could build upon these results, ideally across a range of organizational contexts. Firstly, by using experimental methods such as real-world tasks where autonomous groups measure leaders emerging informally. Secondly, gaining leadership ratings from leaders and followers would create a more consistent picture of leadership traits, especially in relation to LMX. Thirdly, conducting longitudinal investigations where people's leadership development is followed over time allows for tests of cause and effect (whether a variable can predict leadership emergence). Qualitative methods could also be applied to compliment and explore quantitative findings.

Practical recommendations

Several personality and non-personality factors were identified as being related to leadership emergence. As such, these results could be utilised for purposes of development, selection, and identifying potential leaders. The following practical recommendations are drawn directly from the significant findings and are just three possible examples of next steps.

Developing aspiring leaders

Results can be used in the implementation of development initiatives for aspiring leaders. Traits identified as potential 'predictors' of emergence are ones that aspiring leaders would want to possess, or even emulate. Therefore, if extraversion, motivation and self-efficacy (for example) can be developed, the organization wishing to facilitate an individual's emergence could assist in the following three ways:

- **Mentoring programmes**

Given the significant association between high quality supervisor relationships and emergence, mentoring schemes could be implemented that pair subordinates with experienced colleagues, focussed on establishing trusting and supportive relationships (features of both high LMX and strong mentoring). A meta-analytic review of the mentoring literature demonstrated those individuals who receive workplace mentoring tend to have better work- and career-related attitudes and outcomes, along with a range of positive psychological outcomes, including improved self-perception, emotional adjustment and well-being (Eby, Allen, Evans, Ng & DuBois, 2008).

- **Self-efficacy training**

Given the strong support for the role of Core Self-Evaluations on emergence, traits such as self-esteem and self-efficacy may be crucial for enabling those lacking belief in their own leadership abilities. Organizations could implement programmes (e.g., workshops) focussed on enhancing employee self-

evaluations. One study reviewed a simple intervention and found that those receiving the training showed greater self-efficacy and reduced turnover when compared to controls after nine weeks (McNatt & Judge, 2008).

These findings are similar to previous support for interventions within organizational settings (i.e., Davidson & Eden, 2000), which are beneficial in relation to cost-effectiveness and ease of implementation. They also bring additional benefits to the organization (e.g., job enrichment, quality of communications; Parker, 1998). Of course, individuals can embark upon attempts to enhance these traits themselves.

- Enhancing motivation

Findings suggest that increased motivations to lead were associated with increased leadership emergence. It is worth emphasizing that motivations to lead are specific and differ from motivation as a broad term. Within organizations it may be possible to enhance motivations by portraying leadership positively (to decrease the calculation involved), encouraging more leadership experience (increasing positive affect) and framing the role as one that they ought to adopt (encouraging social-norms). Given the construct has sub-components, it is interesting to consider how individual motivations towards leading may depend strongly on the individual. For example, one person's affective motivation could be the driving force in their motivation to become leader, regardless of the strengths of other components.

Alternatively, in a culture where aspiring to lead is a strong norm, individuals may be driven by this aspect more than the extent to which they like the idea of leading. Thus it is important to recognise these differences when considering a person's appropriateness for a particular position.

Identifying leadership potential

A growing concern for senior managers and human resource practitioners is the identification of leadership potential (Dries & Pepermans, 2012). In order to direct development initiatives to those deemed 'high potentials', accurate identification of these individuals is needed (i.e., the knowledge of factors seemingly predicting emergence). Procedures currently relied upon are all open to bias, for example performance reviews, 'gut instinct' and competency frameworks of experienced leaders. The problem with using competency frameworks means that those possessing the potential to develop (i.e., junior members) are compared to those who are experienced leaders. They cannot realistically be expected to possess similar trait profiles currently, although they may in the future, and so this could be considered (Briscoe & Hall, 1999).

Therefore scales similar to those applied in this research could be used to identify individuals possessing the characteristics/potential to emerge as future leaders. Emphasis here is on developing existing potential rather than on recruitment, particularly if costs are a limitation. Personality variables, core self-evaluations and motivations to lead in particular could be easily measured by employers using established scales. Combined with traits related to successful leadership, a systematic measure of potential could be designed specifically to suit an organization's future needs.

Assessment and selection of leaders

When it comes to leadership decisions in the workplace, the gap between research and practice is evident (R. Hogan et al., 1994). Methods for choosing leaders come in many formats (structured interviews, assessment centres, cognitive ability tests), all adequately able to predict effective leadership (see Bass, 1990). However, such methods are often ignored in favour of promoting employees based on technical ability rather than leadership capability (R. Hogan et al., 1994), and perhaps assumptions about potential. Again, bias is inevitable and poor decisions can be costly.

Similar to the identification of potential, traits related to emergence could be compiled into bespoke assessment tools, where a person's scores on leadership emergence and effectiveness are combined. However, using trait research in selection comes with a warning, especially in situations where individuals are motivated to present themselves favourably. Counteracting scales should thus be integrated where possible. Especially given that individuals possessing 'dark' traits are usually skilled socially with high self-esteem (Harris & J. Hogan, 1992), implications of narcissism as an influential trait are worth consideration.

Furthermore, combining with traits of effective leaders could yield a more complete picture of leadership outcomes (i.e., who *will* lead and who *can* lead). For example, much of the leadership research aims to establish the qualities of an effective leader (who can lead), with one method being organizations identifying competencies of their outstanding leaders. Albeit a perfectly legitimate focus for organizations, is it not worth trying to gain an overall picture of individuals who can and will lead? It could be the case that someone possesses the traits of an effective leader, but not those that enable them to reach a leadership position. On the other hand, a person may reach a leadership position but prove ineffective.

Conclusion

It is clear that the link between individual differences and leadership emergence is strong, but that the picture is mixed. The current study confirmed many relationships found in the literature, such as between extraversion, motivation and core self-evaluations. The strength of the relationships suggests that personality is significantly related to leadership emergence in that it may be able to predict a person's potential to become a leader. However the research gained support for the influence of motivational, situational and value-based constructs, which also appear to influence leadership emergence. In conclusion, further research would be needed to establish which variables can consistently predict a person's emergence as a leader, and under which conditions.

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