Working within Constraints: Can Transformational Leaders Alter the Experience of Red Tape?

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Abstract

Can leadership, an understudied variable in red tape research, create conditions that mitigate how followers experience red tape? To answer this question we employ data from a survey of agency heads in U.S. city government, asking them about the transformational leadership qualities of their City Manager, and estimating how this is associated with the organizational conditions followers experience, and in turn, red tape. We hypothesize that transformational leadership alters perceptions of red tape through its influence on goal clarity, political support, and communication. Results from a structural equation model provide empirical evidence consistent with our theory. We also find that respondents with public administration training and those who work in control agencies reported themselves less likely to experience red tape.

Leadership: A Missing Variable in Red Tape Studies

The emerging empirical literature on red tape research primarily draws upon Bozeman's (2000, 12) definition of red tape as "rules, regulations, and procedures that remain in force and entail a compliance burden, but do not advance the legitimate purposes the rules were intended to serve." Growing evidence suggests that the perceptions and effects of red tape may be subject-dependent and not consistent among employees within the same organization (Feeney and Rainey 2010; Walker and Brewer 2008). The somewhat restrictive nature of the above definition of red tape, and the common focus on managerial perceptions of red tape in empirical work have resulted in consistent but narrower characterizations of the concept, focusing on managerial impressions that formalization exerts a negative impact on organizational purposes (Pandey and Kingsley 2000; Pandey, Coursey, and Moynihan 2007). The central role that perception plays in red tape theory suggests that the experience and effects of red tape may be somewhat mutable. Even if the rules that give rise to red tape cannot be changed, managerial actions can alter the organizational context in ways that change how employees experience red tape, and how they subsequently respond.

Does it matter if employee's experience of red tape can be changed? They might feel better (or worse), but is that change meaningful for studying public management outcomes? Much of the literature on red tape suggests that it does matter. For example, a recent stream of research argues that organizational culture can mediate the negative impact of red tape on performance (Brewer and Walker 2010; Moynihan forthcoming; Pandey and Moynihan, 2006; Pandey, Coursey, and Moynihan, 2007; Walker and Brewer 2009). Organizational culture cannot directly change rules, but it frames how individuals understand and respond to the rules, with meaningful implications for organizational performance (Bozeman and Kingsley 1998). More

broadly, red tape research has shown that perceptions of red tape predict important attitudinal variables, such as public service motivation and perceptions of public sector work (Chen 2011; Feeney 2010; Moynihan and Pandey 2007a), interest in new technologies (Moon and Bretschneider 2002; Pandey and Bretschneider 1997), job satisfaction (DeHart-Davis and Pandey 2005; Wright and Davis 2003), and organizational commitment (Moon 2000; Moynihan and Pandey 2007b; Stazyk, Pandey, and Wright 2011). In short, perceptions of red tape matter.

Leadership is a largely omitted variable in red tape studies. Perhaps this is because we assume that leaders are focused more on specific policy initiatives, and strategically choose not to engage in time-consuming and unglamorous management battles to reduce red tape (Kaufman 1981; Bozeman 2000). But leaders do not have to take on red tape directly to make a difference to the experience of red tape. An underutilize approach to understand the overall influence of leadership is to look at indirect effects. Leaders with limited time and objectives can only meaningfully shape a few management variables, but in doing so they "set the table" for a broader array of management outcomes (Moynihan, Pandey, and Wright 2012). Red tape research has identified a series of variables that are potentially under the domain of influence of leaders. If the argument that leadership exerts significant indirect effects via other variables is correct, the effects of leadership may be present in other studies of red tape, but simply have not been explicitly specified. For example, Walker and Brewer (2009) identify a wide variety of both external and internal organizational predictors of red tape that they argue are subject to managerial influence, but do not model a role for leaders.

This article takes an initial step toward introducing a role for leadership in red tape theory. To do so, we utilize what is perhaps the most popular model of leadership in organizational behavior, namely transformational leadership (Bass and Riggio 2006; Dumdum,

Lowe, and Avolio 2002; Lowe, Kroeck, and Sivasubramaniam 1996; Trottier, Van Wart, and Wang 2008). However, the overall impact of transformational leadership in public management research has been limited (Fernandez 2005, 200; Trottier, Van Wart, and Wang 2008, 319; Wright and Pandey 2010, 75). Here we seek to test its effects on a well-studied public management variable. In particular, we propose that the emphasis transformational leaders place on communication, innovation, and mission outcomes are likely to create an environment in which employees are less sensitive to and more tolerant of the type of rules that are often classified as red tape. Although the use of cross-sectional data limit our ability to perfectly test the hypotheses, the findings show empirical relationships that are consistent with our hypotheses.

The Indirect Effects of Transformational Leadership on Red Tape

Transformational leadership proposes that leaders change follower beliefs, assumptions, and behavior by appealing to the importance of collective outcomes. Transformational leaders direct and inspire employee effort by raising their awareness of the importance of organizational values and outcomes. By appealing to higher-order needs, transformational leadership is conceptually distinguished from transactional leadership models that focus on follower self-interest, although the two models may overlap in practice (Bass and Riggio 2006).

What is or is not transformational leadership is sometimes debated (Avolio, Bass, and Jung 1999; Trottier, Van Wart and Wang 2008; Podsakoff et al.1990), but three factors are generally accepted as standard: idealized influence, inspirational motivation, and intellectual stimulation (Van Wart 2003). Idealized influence involves modeling behaviors consistent with the stated vision and building employee confidence and pride in the organization. By doing so, transformational leaders raise employee awareness of the importance of organizational values

and outcomes. Inspirational motivation involves articulating an appealing vision of the organization's mission, giving confidence and direction about the future of the organization. Intellectual stimulation challenges followers to question old assumptions about organizational problems and practices, and to look for new ways to solve problems. Overall, we propose transformational leadership's emphases on mission, communication, innovation, and organizational outcomes should be largely at odds with red tape.

There is reason to believe that transformational leadership plays an important role in establishing the basic underlying conditions that shape organizational behavior and outcomes, but that much of this role is indirect and easy to overlook. In one study, transformational leadership was found to have important indirect, as well as direct, effects on mission valence (Wright, Moynihan, and Pandey 2012). Such indirect effects are too often overlooked and, as a result, may underestimate or even mask the true importance of leadership. A second study, for example, found that transformational leadership predicted whether followers would use performance data, although the effect was completely mediated by goal clarity and developmental culture (Moynihan, Pandey and Wright 2012).

This article follows the approach of modeling transformational leadership as an important, albeit indirect influence on organizational variables, examining the mediating role played by internal communication, goal clarity, and political support.

Transforming Red Tape Perceptions through Communication

We have long known that effective leaders communicate well (Barnard 1938; Selznick 1957). Leadership depends to a great degree upon winning the hearts and minds of followers, which in turn depends upon persuasion. Transformational leadership also rests on the

communicational efficacy of leaders. There is a straightforward connection between the inspirational motivation aspect of transformational leadership and communication, as such motivation depends upon sufficient "skill in emotional communication to effectively and accurately communicate inspiring emotional messages" (Bass and Riggio 2006, 112).

Communication for purpose of inspirational motivation suggests a top-down approach in which the leader talks and followers listen. But other work emphasizes that a two-way approach to communication has value for transformational leadership beyond inspirational motivation (Bass and Riggio 2006, 7). Some suggest that interactive communication creates a common bond between participants that enhances the impact of transformational leadership (Stone, Russell, and Patterson 2004, 351). Other work links two-way communication to the intellectual stimulation aspect of transformational leadership, suggesting that it facilitates a more open learning environment (Berson and Avolio 2004). Such environmental qualities have been associated with reduced perceived red tape (Ban 1995; Pandey and Moynihan 2006). They also are associated with greater goal clarity: "By creating such an open learning environment, transformational leaders not only assure followers are aware of strategic goals, but also that they are better understood. Moreover, in a more open learning environment, followers can be reinforced for questioning the leader's strategy and its basic assumptions, which could lead to greater adaptation and innovation, especially during times of significant turbulence and change." (Berson and Avolio 2004, 643).

Similarly, red tape scholarship has long recognized the key role of internal communications. Building on the work of Galbraith (1973), Pandey and Bretschneider (1997, 117) argue that, "…red tape can be viewed, in part, as a result of problems in information processing and communications within an organization."

While communication can serve a wide variety of purposes within an organization, this study focuses primarily on two inter-related mechanisms by which transformational leaders can use communication to alter employee perceptions of red tape. First, we focus on the value of communication to provide employees with information that helps them better understand their work environment and, as a result, feel less burdened or hindered by this environment. Case studies of federal constraints offer practical examples of this point. Ban (1995) identifies that better communication was important in dispelling rumors about the workings of personnel systems and correcting errant beliefs about the excess of red tape in these systems. Kelman (2005, 100) recounts that the success of initiatives to reduce red tape in procurement depended on leadership communication about the nature of these changes. A case analysis of the response to Hurricane Katrina shows that as military leadership understood the scope of the disaster, they communicated an expansive interpretation of what Department of Defense policy allowed uniformed officials to do, thereby unleashing a more proactive response by those in the field (Moynihan forthcoming).

Communication can therefore foster a two-way exchange between leaders and their followers that can increase their understanding of and confidence in performing within their work environment, and encourage a willingness to question assumptions and experiment in this environment. A second reason why two-way communication will matter to red tape is that when it does not occur it is likely to be replaced with more formalized reporting, review, and other control mechanisms that may become associated with red tape.

H1: Transformational leadership will have an indirect effect on perceptions of red tape through its influence on internal communication.

Transforming Red Tape Perceptions through Goal Clarity

In addition to broader benefits of communication, transformational leaders can also reduce follower perceptions of red tape by increasing their understanding of organizational goals. In particular, the central component of the inspirational motivation provided by transformational leaders is derived from the articulation of a clear and compelling vision for the organization (Bass and Riggio 2006; Paarlberg and Lavigna 2010; Trottier, Van Wart, and Wang 2008). As noted above, transformational leaders can communicate the strategic goals of the organization more successfully (Berson and Avolio 2004), and we therefore model a relationship between communication and goal clarity. But influence on organizational goal clarity is not limited to leader communication. Transformational leaders – through the mechanism of intellectual stimulation – empower followers to ask questions. As a result of this intellectual engagement, followers are able to flesh out abstract goals and also clarify the necessary tradeoffs in satisfying competing organizational goals. Given this emphasis on inspirational motivation and intellectual stimulation, it is not surprising that transformational leadership has been found to increase employee perceptions of organizational goal clarity (Park and Rainey 2008).

The relationship between transformational leadership and goal clarity only describes half of the story. For our purposes, it is just as important that past research has found that goal clarity can, in turn, reduce red tape (Chen and Williams 2007). Given our focus on employee perceptions of red tape, a number of mechanisms may help explain this relationship. There is, for example, reason to believe that goal clarity can actually reduce the need for and use of the type of rules often classified by employees as red tape. When goals are clear, they provide useful guides for organizationally valued behavior. They not only help inspire employee action, but they also provide the basis by which performance can be directed, limited, and even evaluated. In

the absence of clear goals, however, other structural mechanisms are needed to serve these purposes and undue deference is likely to be given to the use of standardized procedures and rules as a way to direct, control, or evaluate behavior (Pandey and Wright 2006). When fewer such rules exist, perceptions of red tape are likely to be lower (Walker and Brewer 2008).

In addition to reducing the need for and use of red tape in an organization, goal clarity can also affect employee perceptions of red tape by altering how employees interpret or understand rules commonly categorized as red tape. Employee perceptions of red tape are likely to be higher when the established organizational policies or procedures hinder or diverge from assigned performance objectives. This can occur in two alternative ways that depend upon how narrowly defined the mission is. In one scenario, goal clarification that results in a narrowly defined mission (such as providing a particular good or service) may increase the perception of red tape by making employees more sensitive to and less tolerant of rules that serve important societal values (equity, transparency, and representativeness), but may hinder the organization's efficient provision of goods and services. An alternative scenario is that goal clarification is done in such a way that helps employees understand legitimate purposes of their effort include broader procedural goals expected of all government entities, thereby making them more tolerant of rules. In this scenario, the employee may understand that their goal is not only to provide a good or service efficiently, but also to ensure that it accords to other values such as equity. It is this latter approach to clarifying organizational goals that is most consistent with how transformational leadership is portrayed. Given that the broader contextual goals of society are an inherent part of any public organization's mission, they are less likely to be overlooked by leaders that emphasize using inspirational motivation and intellectual stimulation to transform and develop, rather than simply direct and motivate, employees.

In other words, goal clarity, like internal communication, creates an understanding of the legitimate purposes or values of policies and procedures, as well as how they are expected to coexist with their particular performance expectations. When driven by transformational leadership, we expect that these processes do so in such a way that reduces the need for excessive rules, but also fosters an acceptance of the procedures in place.

H2: Transformational leadership will have an indirect effect on perceptions of red tape through its influence on goal clarity

Transforming Red Tape Perceptions through Political Support

Another way in which transformational leaders are likely to influence employee perceptions of red tape is by influencing perceptions of external support for the agency. When leaders communicate an appealing vision for the public agency and offer new ways of thinking about old problems, they create conditions for enhanced political support. While not using the framework of transformational leadership, profiles of successful public sector leaders emphasize the degree of time and energy these leaders devote to managing the political environment (Denhardt 1993; Bryson and Crosby 1992; Moore 1995). Such profiles tend to focus partly on the ability of leaders to communicate the value of agency goals (inspirational motivation), but also on the personal character of the leaders, which suggests that idealized influence also plays a role in the ability of transformational leaders to shape the political environment.

For example, Roberts' (2005) profile of James Lee Witt's tenure at the Federal Emergency Management Agency portrays a leader who needed to be equally skilled at convincing employees and political stakeholders that he was turning around a troubled agency. The key to re-establishing the organization's political reputation, and thereby its autonomy, was

to do the things we associate with transformational leadership. Lee Witt articulated a new and innovative all-hazards approach to crisis response that aligned with state government emergency professionals (an essential stakeholder), convinced Congress of the value of this approach, and relentlessly communicated with these stakeholders. He was able to do this partly because he had worked in the field as an emergency manager at the state level; his experience granted him a level of influence not available to the majority of his predecessors (and successors) who lacked such a background. As a result, Congress reduced its micromanagement of the organization. In other words, transformational leaders may increase political support which, in turn, can decrease the need for and perceptions of red tape.

Indeed, that the level of red tape an organization experiences is closely related to the political environment has been long-speculated (Kaufman 1977; Bozeman 2000) and empirical work has confirmed that strong political external control will result in higher red tape (Rainey, Pandey, and Bozeman 1995; Stazyk, Pandey, and Wright 2011; Welch and Pandey 2007). More specifically, Chen and Williams (2007) have found a direct negative relationship between political support and red tape. This effect may occur for any number of reasons. Greater political support can reduce the number of externally imposed rules on an agency, as well as the tenacity with which those rules are monitored and enforced. Even if external agencies continue to create and impose rules on the organization, employees that perceive greater political support for their organization may be less likely to feel that the rules are being used against them to closely monitor, evaluate, and control their every move. Leaders who face an organizational environment of low political trust and support do not have room to innovate or take risks (Bozeman and Kingsley 1998; Pandey and Moynihan 2006). Failure to follow the rules becomes a political vulnerability. In such a context, organizations may succumb to a defensive and rule-

based culture (Chen and Williams, 2007), where employees may be more sensitive to and fixated on strict rule observation. By contrast, organizations that enjoy a certain level of political support can assume that an error will not be seized upon, and can direct less attention to rule-following.

H3: Transformational leadership will have an indirect effect on perceptions of red tape through its influence on political support for the organization.

Control Variables

To isolate the effects of transformational leadership on employee red tape, we control for a number of organizational and individual factors, some of which have not been tested in the context of red tape, and thus hold some interest in their own right.

We control for the size of city government (operationalized as the number of employees). We also control for organizational type. To control for organizational type or role, we group the department in which the employee works into two types. Control agencies (finance/budget organizations, and human resource/personnel agencies, in our sample) are organizational departments whose clients are primarily other government agencies. External service providers are agencies that provide services to the public (public works, parks, economic development, planning, and community development). We expect that employees in service-providing agencies will perceive greater amounts of red tape than control agencies. The mission of control agencies generally centers on serving the head of the executive branch (rather that the public or legislature), and to ensure the implementation of a body of rules. These agencies enjoy the authority to create rules for other agencies to follow, and many of the complaints about red tape in government come from frustrated service managers who perceive that control agencies are not allowing them to do their job (Bozeman 2000). The type of human resource red tape we examine

here is a prime example, since limitations on how to manage employees generally result from rules imposed by budget and personnel control agencies. The differences in tasks of control agencies and service agencies may also sensitize managers to the effects of rules in different ways. Managers in control agencies tasked with protecting rules are likely to be more sensitive to the need and benefits of these rules, but without a full appreciation of the operational costs they impose. Managers in service agencies may be less aware of why the rules are needed and see them more as impediments in their mission to serve the public, and thus become more likely to characterize rules as red tape.

Individual characteristics and values may also affect perceptions of red tape (Kaufman 1977). While such values may stem from a number of sources, we focus on tenure and professional training. While tenure is a commonly used control that often has little effect (Feeney and Rainey 2010), professional training, particularly the form of educational preparation we examine, has not been widely used and deserves greater explanation. We expect that different types of degree programs instill different professional values that will shape how employees interpret rules as red tape. In particular, we expect respondents with a Masters in Public Administration (MPA) or related graduate degree to report lower levels of red tape. A consistent theme across MPA training is that the democratic context of public work demands an ability to balance competing values. Alongside values such as efficiency, MPA students are exposed to professional values such as social equity, accountability, transparency, and due process. These values are even codified in standards for MPA program accreditation,[i] as well as the ethical code of the professional association most closely affiliated with program faculty and graduates.[ii] Thus professionals with an MPA education should be more tolerant to the type of rules often classified as red tape as a result of training that highlights the benefits of such rules.

Given that organizational and individual characteristics may also influence the perceptions or actual existence of our primary theoretical variable, transformational leadership, we control for the effect of these characteristics on this variable also.

Data and Measures

The data for this study were collected in Phase 4 of the National Administrative Studies Project (NASP-IV) using a survey administered to a nationwide sample. The theoretical population of interest for NASP-IV was comprised of senior managers in U.S. local government jurisdictions with populations over 50,000. The sample design and construction for the NASP-IV study was aided by the International City/County Management Association (ICMA). Based on the study criteria, ICMA compiled a list of potential respondents and the NASP-IV team used publicly available information to verify each respondent and identify a working email address. These efforts resulted in 3,316 individuals in the study sample. When the study concluded, 1,538 of the 3,316 had responded, for a response rate of 46.4%.

In this study, we focused only on the responses of agency heads about the leadership behavior of their chief administrative officer (the city manager or equivalent position). We therefore excluded the responses by the chief administrative officers, deputies, and their assistants. This reduced the number of observations to approximately 1,020 complete responses. Because our respondents are agency leaders, they are generally appointed to their position, but they have a professional background and significant experience more consistent with a career employee. The average amount of time they have been with the organization is just over 12 years, and the average time in their current position is slightly under eight years. Just over 24% of them have an MPA degree, and 33% have some other sort of graduate degree. For functional

managers, the mean age was 51 with an inter-quartile range of 9 (25th percentile being 47 and 75th percentile being 56). As expected, a sizable majority were male (66%), white (85%), highly educated (more than 56% with graduate degrees), and well compensated (65% with salaries over $100,000).

Wherever possible, the study variables were measured using multiple item measures that have been tested and validated in earlier studies (see Appendix A). For the measure of transformational leadership, our respondents (the heads of city agencies) are not describing their own leadership qualities, but rather assessing the perceived transformational leadership of their supervisor, the city manager. This approach has the advantage of minimizing the potential for upward response bias. Our measure of transformational leadership is an index of five statements. Items were selected from four socialized charismatic leadership subscales (vision, role modeling, inspirational communication, and intellectual stimulation) developed by House (1998), that depict the three transformational dimensions (inspirational motivation, idealized influence, and intellectual stimulation) previously described. One item was taken from each of three subscales (intellectual stimulation, role modeling, and inspirational communication), whereas two items were selected from the vision scale because of the underlying importance transformational leadership places on organizational goals and vision. A factor analysis of these items extracted only one factor that explained nearly 76% of their variance and is consistent with previous findings that suggest that the transformational dimensions may be best characterized as a single factor (Avolio, Bass, and Jung 1999).

Table 1 provides the univariate and bivariate statistics for each of the study's measures. Scale composite reliability estimates ranged from 0.62 to 0.94. The bivariate relationships provide evidence of the study measures' discriminant validity. In addition to a low average

bivariate correlation (0.07), the largest bivariate correlation – between transformational leadership and organizational goal clarity – was 0.49, suggested that no measure shared more than 24% of its variance with any other measure.

Insert table 1 here

Analysis and Results

The results suggest that the theoretical model accurately captures the pattern of relationships found in the data. Consistent with our hypotheses, transformational leadership has substantial direct effects on goal clarity, political support and internal communication and, through these relationships, an indirect effect on red tape experienced by followers.

To test the study's hypotheses, a series of covariance structure analyses of the data were conducted using LISREL Version 8.80. This type of analysis consists of two parts which not only subsumes but improves on more common techniques, such as confirmatory factor analysis, path analysis, and regression. In the first stage, the model performs a confirmatory factor analysis to construct the latent variables from their respective questionnaire items and assess the validity and reliability of the study measures (summary of results provided above). In the second stage, the structural equation model subsumes conventional regression and path analysis models to test the hypothesized relationships among the latent variables. Given that there is often more than one respondent for each city, many of the respondents are exposed to the same organizational and leadership characteristics. While we expect that each respondent within a particular city is likely to interpret these characteristics differently, it is likely that the observations within an organization are correlated, rather than truly independent. To avoid violating the independence assumption required in our analyses, we adjusted the data to remove

between-group differences by subtracting the group means from each organization from the individual scores of respondents within that organization (Dyer, Hanges and Hall, 2005).

In the first stage of the analysis, the confirmatory factor analysis testing the hypothesized measurement model for the multiple item measures provided a good fit to the data, suggesting that the items converged on their respective latent variables and that each measure represented a distinct latent variable. While the chi-square (SB χ2(138)=403.89, $p < 0.05$) was statistically significant and inconsistent with good model fit, this index is highly sensitive to sample size, such that samples above 200 are less likely to illustrate good fit (James, Mulaik, and Brett 1982), so we relied on three alternative indices that suggested the model provided a good fit to the data. All three fit indices recommended by Williams,Vandenberg and Edwards (2009) were consistent with a good model fit. The root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) was 0.044 and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) was 0.03; both were lower than the thresholds generally considered necessary for a satisfactory model fit (0.08 and 0.10, respectively).[iii] The comparative fit index (CFI) was 0.98, above the 0.95 value used to suggest good model fit. All of the scale items were found to have statistically significant factor loadings (p < 0.05) for their respective latent constructs (lambda values ranged from 0.51 – 0.99). Thus the confirmatory factor analyses provide support for the measures used here, finding that the items from each scale had a statistically significant relationship (factor loading) on the latent factor represented by that scale, while assuming its relationship to factors that represent other scales were zero.

In the second stage, the structural equation model subsumes conventional regression and path analysis models to test the hypothesized relationships among the latent variables. This stage tests the hypothesized relationships by estimating the overall fit of the model, as well as the individual parameter estimates. To avoid concerns that the overall model fit of the structural

relationship will be driven by the fit of the measurement model, the hypothesized relationships among study constructs were tested using as the latent factor correlations produced in the confirmatory factor analysis as the input matrix (McDonald and Ho 2002; Williams, Vandenberg and Edwards 2009). In addition to the hypothesized relationships and control variables, our model also predicts that internal communication will foster goal clarity (as suggested by Berson and Avoilo 2004), and that goal clarity will have a positive relationship with political support (though it is possible the relationship runs in the opposite direction, see Chen and Williams 2007).

As with the CFA, the structural model was a good fit to the data with the exception of the chi-square (SB $\chi2(14)=40.62$, $p < 0.05$) Again the recommended overall model fit indices (Williams, Vandenberg and Edwards 2009) suggested that the theoretical model accurately captured the hypothesized pattern of relationships found in the data (CFI = 0.98, RMSEA = .043, standardized RMR = 0.031). These fit indices suggest that a theoretical model that assumes that transformational leadership has only indirect effects on human resource red tape accurately captured the pattern of relationships found in the data.[iv] In addition to the fit indices being consistent with good model fit, the path coefficients and t-tests for all of the hypothesized specified paths were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$; Figure 1) and in the predicted direction.

Insert Figure 1 here

Figure 1 presents the parameter estimates for the structural model as standardized regression weights. These findings are consistent with our hypotheses. Of particular interest are the findings regarding transformational leadership. In support of hypothesis 1, transformational leadership was found to increase goal clarity ($\beta = 0.48$, $p < 0.05$) and, in turn, increased goal

clarity decreased human resource red tape directly ($\beta = -0.13$, $p < 0.05$). Consistent with

hypothesis 2, transformational leadership increased the quality of communication within the

organization ($\beta = 0.54$, $p < 0.05$) which, in turn, lowered perceptions of human resource red tape

($\beta = -0.12$, $p < 0.05$). Support was also found for hypothesis 3, as transformational leadership

increased the political support for the organization ($\beta = 0.07$, $p < 0.05$), although the relationship

here was less strong than for the other two mediating variables. Greater political support resulted

in lower perceptions of human resource red tape ($\beta = -0.13$, $p < 0.05$). When accounting for all

three indirect effects transformational leadership has on human resource red tape, LISREL

estimates that its overall effect was statistically significant ($\beta = -0.18$, $p < 0.05$). When the effects

of all study variables are considered, the model explains approximately one-sixth of the variation

in human resource red tape ($R^2 = 0.17$).[v]

We find findings among the controls that are interesting in their own right. Among the

controls for perceptions of red tape, we find that larger city governments (in terms of the number

of employees) tend to be associated with higher red tape. Consistent with expectations,

individuals with MPA degrees report lower red tape ($\beta = -0.07$). This finding has substantive

importance in confirming a role for professional training has in shaping perceptions of red tape.

Specifically, it suggests that professional training that emphasizes the balancing of competing

values allows individuals to be more appreciative of the benefits of rules, and less likely to

consider them red tape. We might suppose that individuals that undergo professional training that

primarily emphasizes speed, flexibility, and performance would be more likely to perceive red

tape.

Similarly, the result for organizational type provides a new finding to research on red tape,

showing that individuals who work in organizations that provide services directly to the public

are more likely to perceive red tape relative to employees of control agencies ($\beta = 0.30$). While this finding is novel, there remains more to do to isolate the causal mechanism: is it the exposure to the public that matters? The finding can be interpreted to suggest that interaction with the public makes respondents in our sample care more about serving public needs and more likely to consider any rules that make such service more difficult to be red tape. This possibility might be tested by examining variation in attitudes about rules across types of functions or positions with varying degrees of exposure to the public. Or is the role of the respondent in relation to rule-creation and enforcement? It may be that respondents in human resources or budget control agencies who generate and enforce such rules are more aware of the necessity and benefit of such rules, and less aware of their costs, because of their particular role. One could partially test this mechanism by examining whether budget and personnel staff in external service providers agencies have attitudes towards rules that are similar to personnel in control agencies or to colleagues within their agency.

The control for tenure is not significant on perception of red tape, and none of the controls significantly correlate with our measure of transformational leadership.

Limitations

As with other research on red tape, our dependent variable reflects the subjective perception of the respondent, and not an objective measure of the actual rule-burden the respondent faces. Such subjective assessments are important. We care about red tape because we care about its behavioral consequences, which depend a good deal upon the experience of the individual. This subjectivity also makes interpretation difficult at times, however. Is a predictor of red tape predicting objective burden or subjective experience? For example, we interpret the

negative effect of MPA training on red tape to suggest that such training alters individuals' normative frameworks, so that they are less likely to perceive red tape when examining an equivalent set of rules as those without the training. An alternative interpretation might be that MPA graduates are simply better skilled at managing the policy process in ways that reduce the level of red tape their organizations face. This latter interpretation seems less plausible to us, but cannot be discounted for our sample of agency leaders. The point is that while these subjective indicators of red tape are important because they are consequential, they demand a good deal of judgment to interpret, and such judgments may be contested. Ultimately, while the results support the claim that transformational leadership alters the experience of red tape, we cannot say the degree to which it does so by altering the objective burden or subjective experience of rules.

Given the cross-sectional design of the study there is also the potential for common source bias to affect the results. It is worth noting that the substantive effects of common-source bias are less serious that sometimes thought (Lance et al. 2010). The study design also took a series of recommended strategy steps to minimize the potential for this problem (Podsakoff et al. 2003). First, we avoided the self-report problem that contributes to common source bias by having respondents assess the key independent variable (transformational leadership) of other individuals, rather than themselves. Second, we used previously tested measures with high construct and discriminant validity. Finally, we also took pains to emphasize to respondents the confidential nature of the survey, minimizing the social desirability response that occurs when respondents may be unsure on this point. Alternative research designs might limit some of these difficulties. For example, an experimental approach can control for the nature of rules a respondent faces and test more directly factors that might alter the subjective experience of rules,

such as the professional background of respondents. But such a design has external validity

problems, since it cannot replicate the actual experience of dealing with such rules on a regular

basis. Another improvement to our research design would be to track longitudinal changes in

transformational leadership over time, and link such changes this to the actions and beliefs of

followers.

The hypotheses seek to develop a clear causal narrative that relies on explicitly developed

theory for the relationships specified in the model. But the cross-sectional nature of the data

cannot prove causality, and the high likelihood that some of the variables have recursive

relationships creates the potential that if causality exists, it might run in the direction opposite to

what we specify in our hypotheses. This risk is greater for some of the relationships specified

than others. For example, red tape has been modeled as a predictor of organizational goal

ambiguity (Pandey and Rainey 2006), and this raises questions about whether a conceptual

cousin – goal clarity – is predictive of red tape as we propose, or whether red tape predicts goal

clarity. One advantage of the modeling approach is that it minimizes the potential of endogeneity

for our key independent variable, transformational leadership, and the other variables. The data

on transformational leadership are about city-level actors, while the other variables are at the

agency level. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that the transformational leadership of city

managers will shape specific agency variables, but that agency variables are unlikely to shape

city-level measures, e.g., it is likely that City Manager leadership shapes the perceptions of goal

clarity at the Parks Department, but unlikely that goal clarity in the Parks Department shapes the

transformational leadership qualities of the City Manager.

Another limitation to our empirical sample is that the perspective of senior managers may

be distinct from lower-level employees, and therefore caution must be applied in generalizing to

other groups. While this is a common and important group of employees to study with regards to the effects of leadership (Bass and Riggio 2006; Colbert et al. 2008), additional research will need to replicate these relationships in different employee groups and samples. For example, one concern might be that our respondents may be more directly subject to appointment power of the leader than lower-level employees, and this appointment power might be used to select based on loyalty and goal congruence in a way that influences follower perceptions of transformational leadership. But if such an effect exists, it should result in range limitation on our measure of transformational leadership that reduces the likelihood of our findings. Put another way, the results occur despite the direct appointment power of the leader. In any case, descriptive data from our dataset suggest that City Managers in our sample were not actively using appointment power, with a rate of turnover among department heads with a new City Manager of just over 29% over a four-year period, not much different from natural turnover rates.

Conclusion

Managerial perceptions of red tape have a notable influence on the experience of work and engagement with work in the public sector. These perceptions are not only worthy of intellectual examination, but should be of interest to organizational leaders. But existing research has largely ignored the potential for leadership to alter these perceptions. In this article we explicitly model the role of leadership on red tape. The results suggest that the effects of leadership are both real and easy to miss.

We think of leaders as powerful, but they are constrained in their ability to change the underlying realities of workplace rules (Kaufman 1981). But even within constraints, our research suggests that leaders can alter how managers perceive and respond to red tape. Our

model proposes that transformational leadership behaviors can alter the perceptions of red tape through its effects on three key mediating variables – organizational goal clarity, internal communication, and political support. The results support the model and provide additional support to the burgeoning evidence that transformational leadership has a variety of positive organizational outcomes. One obvious implication is that public organizations could do with more of a good thing, and consider transformational leadership in selection, training, and socialization of employees. Is it possible to cultivate transformational leaders? While the emphasis on inspiration and personal motivation may make transformational leadership too daunting an order for most managers who struggle to exhibit the charismatic aspects of the construct, Bass (1990) and Bass and Riggio (2006) argue that leaders can learn the traits of transformational leadership, and training programs have been successfully modeled on this assumption (Dvir et al. 2002; Barling, Weber, and Kelloway 1996; Kelloway, Barling, and Helleur 2000). While it goes beyond the scope of our article to speculate on whether one can create transformational leaders, we do, however, note that one of the benefits of our model is that it emphasizes how transformational leadership might reveal itself (building political support, goal clarity, and fostering two-way communication). These practices are not necessarily limited to transformational leaders, but provide guidance to all managers willing to take them on. This provides some grounds for optimism on the possibility of leadership to exert an influence on follower perception of red tape.

Our findings also underscore the easy-to-miss, indirect effects of leadership. Research on credible commitment emphasizes that leaders can make a difference to a specific organizational issue if they choose to make it an explicit priority that all are aware of. But leaders can also have far-ranging and unforeseen impact on organizational life. Transformational leadership is

associated with the three mediating variables we identify – however, it is unlikely that many of those who exhibit these behaviors are primarily motivated by a specific goal of reducing red tape. Much of the prescriptive recommendations that emerge from red tape research suggest that the problem must be dealt with head-on, with a comprehensive review of rules that singles out and eliminates red tape. Our theory does not contradict this point, but suggests something else. Establishing organizational conditions that are generally helpful to management also serve to minimize the experience of red tape. While studies of implementation condition us to think of unanticipated consequences only in a negative fashion, not all unanticipated consequences are bad. We propose that as leaders try to set the right basic conditions for their organization, they also enjoy the benefit of reducing a sense among their followers that they are hampered by red tape. Even if red tape is destined to be overlooked by leaders, that does not mean it will be unaffected by the choices they make.

Table 1. Univariate and Bivariate Statistics

<div align="center">Correlations and Reliabilities</div>

	Mean	Std. Deviation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Human Resource Red Tape	13.41	3.81	(0.76)								
Goal Clarity	10.65	3.34	-.169*	(0.73)							
Political Support	10.13	3.14	-.171*	.361*	(0.94)						
Internal Communication	7.14	1.17	-.154*	.305*	.206*	(0.62)					
Transformatioal Leadership	19.68	4.68	-.175*	.491*	.295*	.404*	(0.91)				
Tenure	2.95	1.86	-.015	.067*	.069*	.018	.031	na			
Number of Employees (000)	.98	2.44	.027	-.026	-.077*	-.039	-.007	-.035	na		
Service Agency	.68	.47	.213*	.066*	.044	.035	-.009	.098*	-.188*	na	
MPA degree	.26	.44	-.070*	.023	.029	.043	.000	-.024	-.015	.003	na

Figure 1: Factors Associated with Perceived Human Resource Red Tape

All paths reported as standardized coefficient

*$p < 0.05$
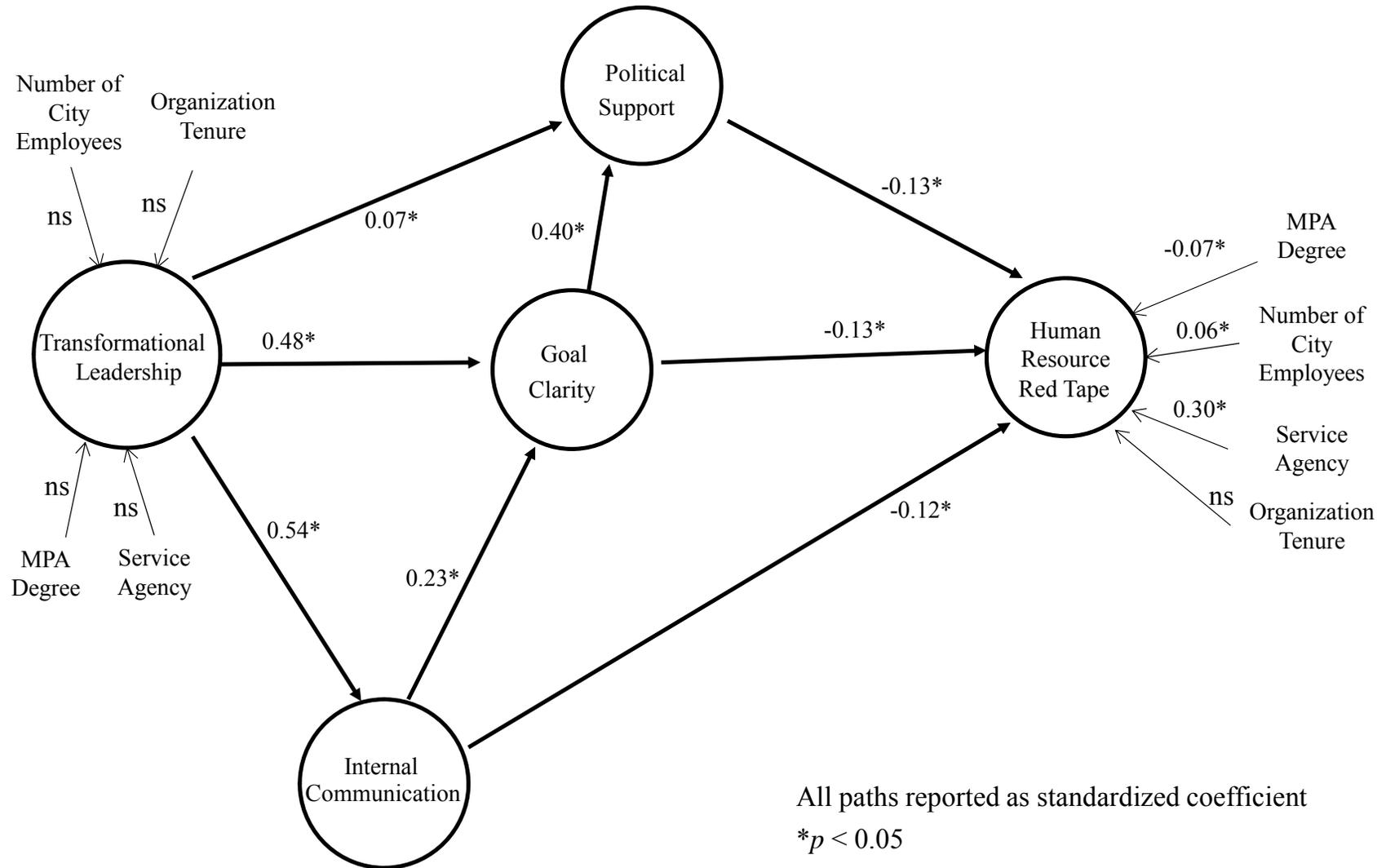
Appendix A: Variable Measurement

Unless otherwise specified, data are based on responses to statements, with response options ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Human Resource Red Tape (Rainey 1983; Pandey and Scott 2002)
- Personnel rules make it hard to remove poor performers from the organization.
- Personnel rules on promotion make it hard for a good employee to move up faster than a poor one.
- Pay structures and personnel rules make it hard to reward a good employee with higher pay here.
- Personnel rules make it hard to hire new employees.

Transformational Leadership (Adapted from House 1998)
The Chief Administrative Officer/City Manager:
- clearly articulates his/her vision of the future.
- leads by setting a good example.
- challenges me to think about old problems in new ways.
- says things that make employees proud to be part of the organization.
- has a clear sense of where our organization should be in five years.

Goal Clarity (Pandey and Wright, 2006; Rainey 1983)
- This organization's mission is clear to almost everyone who works here.
- It is easy to explain the goals of this organization to outsiders.
- This organization has clearly defined goals.

Internal Communication (Pandey and Garnett 2006)
- Upward communication about problems that need attention is adequate.
- Downward communication about feedback on work performance is adequate

Political Support
- Most elected officials trust the organization.
- Most elected officials think the organization is effective.

Number of Employees - Number of employees in city government.

Tenure – Number of years respondent has held current position.

External service provider dummy variable: 1= respondent from Public Works, Economic Development, Parks & Recreation, Planning, and Community Development; 0 = respondent from Finance/Budgeting, Personnel/Human Resources.

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Notes

[i] NASPAA, the accrediting body for Masters of Public Affairs programs in the United States, identifies as a precondition for accreditation: "Public service values are important and enduring beliefs, ideals and principles shared by members of a community about what is good and desirable and what is not. They include pursuing the public interest with accountability and transparency; serving professionally with competence, efficiency, and objectivity; acting ethically so as to uphold the public trust; and demonstrating respect, equity, and fairness in dealings with citizens and fellow public servants" (NASPAA 2009).

[ii] Of the 32 principles listed in the code of ethics of the American Society of Public Administration, ten identify principles that clearly imply the type of rules that are often characterized as red tape: "oppose all forms of discrimination and harassment, and promote affirmative action; recognize and support the public's right to know the public's business; Involve citizens in policy decision-making; eliminate unlawful discrimination; prevent all forms of mismanagement of public funds by establishing and maintaining strong fiscal and management controls, and by supporting audits and investigative activities; encourage and facilitate legitimate dissent activities in government and protect the whistleblowing rights of public employees; zealously guard against conflict of interest or its appearance: e.g., nepotism, improper outside employment, misuse of public resources or the acceptance of gifts; establish procedures that promote ethical behavior and hold individuals and organizations accountable for their conduct; provide organization members with an administrative means for dissent, assurance of due process and safeguards against reprisal; promote merit principles that protect against arbitrary and capricious actions; promote organizational accountability through appropriate controls and procedures." The full code can be found at:
http://www.aspanet.org/scriptcontent/index_codeofethics.cfm

[iii] Our model also satisfies the more stringent and commonly cited acceptance thresholds of SRMR < 0.08 and RMSEA < 0.06 (Hu and Bentler, 1999).

[iv] Additional analyses were run altering the model to allow direct effect of transformational leadership on human resource red tape did not provide as strong of a fit to the data.

[v] The model also explains 20% of the variation in political support, 29% of the variation in internal communication and 40% of the variation in goal clarity.