

Nature of political leadership. Types of leaders

Authors: Ivaylo Hristov, Katya Hristova

Abstract: : Political leadership is among the most effective civilizational acquisitions in the history of Bulgaria. The leaders during the Renaissance carried over the modern European value system, thanks to which the builders of the third Bulgarian state turned it into a leader in the Balkans for a quarter of a century. After a period of contradictory development, in Bulgaria on 9.09.1944. the power is held by a new generation of leaders. It carries out a huge activity on the modernization of the country and Bulgaria ranks among the group of medium-developed industrial countries, reaching 27th place in the world according to the Human Development Index. The study of political leadership is particularly important for highlighting styles of political thinking and statesmanship. They will allow the Bulgarian intelligentsia to revive the upward development of our society and our country in the 21st century.

Keywords: leadership, politics, society, traditions, state

JEL: P0, N9, R1

1. General Characteristics of Bulgarian Historical Destiny Influencing Leadership

The peculiarities and manifestations of leadership in Bulgarian history are closely related to the functioning of politics and the state. Several main features emerge:

1. Prolonged interruptions of state traditions, which mark the permanent absences of church and other national institutions; as well as a lack of tribal aristocracy. One of the peculiarities of our political life is the presence of a kind of cyclical changes in the geopolitical orientation, socio-economic and political model. This, however, means a total lack of continuity and a periodic total reassessment of the transitional political leaders, including moral and physical destruction. A consequence of the new is the polarity in the assessments of political leaders and the low trust in them.

2. Agrarian lifestyle. Until the middle of the twentieth century, there were no large cities in our country in the modern sense of the word, and the peasant was the main social and psychological type in our history. For centuries, the Bulgarian has remained connected to the land, pressed against it, carrying the huge heritage of tradition. Rural psychology has a serious impact on the behavior of all social strata, which all originate from the womb of the Bulgarian peasantry. For example, the bourgeoisie. In general, it is a small and weak social group. It is distinguished by economic weakness, social immobility and devoid of serious connections with the world.

3. In its historical development, the Bulgarian people waged numerous, stubborn and bloody wars for national existence, which exhausted their national energy. For

centuries we have been torn apart by strong foreign influences: Byzantineism, Greekism, Turkishness, Philae, phobes, etc." Therefore, in the Bulgarian case, an obligatory but harmful regularity has imposed: what the favorable conditions during periods of accelerated national development have built up as character positives, the equivalent during periods of destruction necessarily exploded and supplemented with new negatives and other types of defective features."¹

4. During the Ottoman rule, we were in the "eye of the empire". Unlike Serbia or Greece, we do not have contact with a developed civilization. As a result, everything comes recycled, secondary. The saturation of Bulgarian culture with texts created in the bosom of another tradition arouses phenomena "by induction" for which there is still no ground. These are the same phenomena that Ivan Hadzhiyski talks about – the father weaves a shayak in one chamber, and the son wanders through the labyrinths of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche in the other.

5. Bulgarian society existed for three centuries without its own intelligentsia. And when it re-emerged during the Renaissance, it was divided between patriarchal life and European education, between traditionalism and the new. On the one hand, our native intelligentsia fulfills an apostolic mission, doing a great job of equalizing Bulgarian culture with the achievements of the European bourgeois civilization. At the same time, a serious part of it is eternally divided between "native" and "foreign", a wandering that accompanies it to this day. The balance between the national and the universal is the dilemma that haunts it everywhere. The desire to catch up with the advanced quickly tires our national intelligentsia, exhausts its energy. In addition, the Bulgarian intelligentsia is an intelligentsia in a small country that has been carrying out catching up modernization since the Renaissance. That is why a significant part of it is an imitator and importer of foreign values, ideas and visions from the outside. So, the level of innovation and originality in Bulgarian society is relatively low.

6. Local affection and local patriotism. An extremely difficult transition from the "folklore man" to the modern personality. Constant and continuous adherence to the family and birthplace due to the slow development of capitalism and the creation of new socio-cultural realities. The predominantly rural population and the dominant patriarchal culture determine paternalism and authoritarianism in Bulgarian thinking. That is why successful and memorable in our recent history are leaders who are bearers of these characteristics: Stefan Stambolov, Alexander Stamboliyski, Boris III, Todor Zhivkov.

7. Hence the periodic change of the two types of leadership – tragic leaders of destruction and leaders of positive development and building. This is the result of catch-up development and causal inversion, in which active social groups and their leaders, who, in a situation of delegitimization of the previous system, stand at the head of the masses and collapse the existing society, are not the winners, but the losers of change. This is not just about the well-known syndrome in which "revolutions eat their children", but about the fact that changes destroy entire social groups that were at the forefront of change. Even Ivan Hadzhiyski says that in our country the bourgeois revolution (this role is played by the

¹ Mitev, Trendafil. Bulgarian Studies. History and Theory of the Bulgarian National Character. Sofia, 2015, p. 487.

Liberation) is not carried out by the bourgeoisie, but by the small owners, who then do not win, but lose from the change. After that, the socialist revolution in our country takes place in a country where are not enough proletariat for this purpose. The second transition to capitalism was not carried out by the capitalists, but the driving force was the intelligentsia, and especially the humanitarian intelligentsia, which was subsequently crushed. For this reason, some of its leaders, such as Zhelyu Zhelev, say "what we thought, what happened", bearing in mind that as a result of the change, something completely different from their expectations has happened.¹

8. Bulgaria has always suffered from its "satellite syndrome". It is based on the real fact that our country is a buffer state: between Asia and Europe, between the Islamic East and the Christian West; between the world of poverty and the world of wealth; between the world of patriarchal morality and the world of individualism. To the south of Bulgaria is the strongest country in military terms – Turkey, which has powerful allies and its own "fifth column" in our country. This gives rise to a sustained striving to find a "counterweight". And so gradually (especially after the national catastrophes) the "satellite syndrome" was born. The practice of looking under the protective umbrella of great powers, the look "outward", the looking for a "protector", of the "big brother" outside our borders. This syndrome is an expression of the understanding that we do not have the strength to solve our problems on our own. Stefan Stambolov and Dimitar Blagoev also note the fact that only 1/3 of the processes in Bulgaria depend on Bulgaria, the remaining 2/3 are the result of external interference. Today, the decisions of the Bulgarian political elite are unthinkable without coordination with the Western embassies and specifically with the United States. Unlike the previous "philes" and "phobes", "soilers" and "Westerners", patriots and internationalists, our modern politicians strive to please not their voters, but their external patrons.

2. Types of political leadership

Political leadership involves the process of interaction between people, in which authoritative personalities endowed with real power exercise legitimate influence on society. Political leaders formulate and implement political programs, make decisions and direct the development of society. In general, they seek to govern and direct society by making decisions that affect the economic, social and political development of the state, achieving specific political and societal objectives. The authority of political leaders derives from the political system and the laws of the state. They obtain their power through elections, appointments, or other political processes.

Although the apostolate and political leadership share some common features, such as the ability to inspire and lead people, they differ greatly in their goals, methods of influence, sources of authority, and areas of activity. These differences define the unique role of each type of leadership in society.

¹ See. Prodanov, Vasil. Historical Lessons for Leaders. In: "Political Leadership: Lessons from Bulgarian History (Leadership and National Security). Sofia, 2010, p. 27.

Mission and vision: Both the apostles and political leaders have a clear mission and vision for the future of the community they lead. They seek to inspire and motivate their followers to achieve common goals.

Influence and authority: Both types of leaders exert significant influence over their followers. Apostles use spiritual and moral authority, while political leaders rely on political power and legitimacy.

Communication and persuasion: Both apostles and political leaders must be good communicators, capable of persuading and inspiring their followers. They use different methods to convey their messages and to mobilize support.

Ethics and morality: Apostles are often associated with high ethical and moral standards that serve as an example for their followers. Political leaders must also demonstrate ethics and morality in order to maintain the trust and support of society.

In view of this study, we will apply a classic typology of Max Weber's dominance and leadership: bureaucratic-rational, traditional and charismatic.¹ On this basis, we can highlight and distinguish the dominant types of leadership in modern history.

The bureaucratic-rational type of leadership is characterized by the fact that public trust in the leaders is obtained as a result of the fact that they occupy a certain place in the power hierarchy. In this case, if you lose a position, you lose the corresponding trust and rating. A typical example in this respect are the former presidents of the country Zhelyu Zhelev and Petar Stoyanov. In the modern history of Bulgaria, the characteristic and significant bureaucratic leaders are primarily from the era of state socialism with its centralized-pyramid organizations and concentration of resources. They also create greater power distances. Such leaders are Todor Zhivkov, Valko Chervenkov.

The traditional type of leadership is associated not with formal-legal procedures for taking a leadership position, but with the fact that it is obtained thanks to the transmission and legitimization of leadership from father to son, from father to daughter, etc. An example of this is the leadership of Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. There is also quasi-traditional leadership, where relatives of leaders receive opportunities to occupy leading positions, as is the case with the granddaughter of Todor Zhivkov. This is also observed in other countries of the world: Greece and India, Argentina and Uruguay, the United States.

The charismatic type of leadership in Weber's scheme is the dominant form of legitimization of leadership in transitional periods. There may be several options here: (a) the charisma of Christ as a divine embodiment – the religious charism; (b) charisma – the embodiment of national and nationalist ideas – the charisma of the leaders standing in the national liberation struggles or the current nationalist leaders – Ahmed Dogan and Volen Siderov; (c) the charisma of leaders representing a new ideology that looks like the future of humanity – Lenin, Dimitar Blagoev; (d) charisma and legitimacy coming from an external force that is seen as hope and authority – Russophilia, Europhilia, Americanism; (e) charisma generated by different expectations in the mass consciousness. For example, the charisma of the "avenger" type, typical of Boyko Borisov from the first years of his rule,

¹ Weber, Max. *Sociology of Domination*. S., 2024, pp. 87 et seq.

dictated by the feeling of an unjust and criminal transition.

3. Leadership and the public sphere

Leaders of the Gutenberg Civilization. They were created through the newspaper and the book and played a key role in the formation of secular and modern elites from the 16th and 17th centuries. In general, they are good publicists, intellectuals, and sometimes revolutionaries who have a serious influence on the printed word. Such are figures such as Botev, Blagoev, Stamboliyski, Lenin. The word is their mediator with the masses, and through it they impose the dominance of certain ideas. The role of this type of leader is determined mostly by the mass press and party newspapers. Thanks to them, after the Liberation, a radical change in the political culture of the Bulgarian people began. A qualitatively new democratic, political process has been set in motion among the nation. The leading values of the European democratic statehood are already entering the thoughts and arguments of the Bulgarians. An opportunity is created for free expression of personal opinions on the key problems of public life. If you want to enter and establish yourself in politics, you need to be actively present in the columns of newspapers. The leaders of the former communist parties until 1989 were typical representatives of the era of the literary word. Their works, which include speeches in front of an audience, texts read on the radio, are published in huge quantities and this is the main form of their impact. In most cases, their environment is made up of intellectuals – mostly writers. Yordan Radichkov and Georgi Dzhagarov are an integral part of Todor Zhivkov's circle.

Leaders of the audiovisual sphere from the 20s to the end of the 60s of the twentieth century. "Hitler would not have been possible without the radio," says Walter Benjamin. Such are Churchill, Stalin, Mao Zedong, De Gaulle, and to some extent Todor Zhivkov. True, some of them grew up in the midst of the dominant influence of written culture. They retain their tendency to communicate with the audience directly, and not so much through the mediation of electronic media. Even Hitler did not appear often on the radio, but rather his speeches were retransmitted. But radio acts like a huge magnifying glass, increasing the size of the personality in the public space, because it is an asymmetrical media that allows for one-sided influence. This increases the perception of the image of the individual who stands at its center.

Leaders of the television age in the period between the 60s and 80s of the twentieth century. The first such typical leader in this field was Kennedy, who won in 1960 the first ever televised debate as a presidential candidate with Nixon. Interestingly, the latter won the match on the radio. But Nixon, undoubtedly the more experienced, did not look good visually on the TV screen, and therefore lost there. Of this type of leaders are the experienced actors Reagan and Schwarzenegger. However, television can fail a leader. For example, in Bulgaria Zhivkov looked farcical in his TV version and it contributed significantly to the fall of his authority, especially among intellectuals. Since the 1960s, television has become a powerful PR tool. It is no longer the written word, but the TV screen that makes the leaders. This became a characteristic of the newly emerged party leaders after 1989, and television speakers and artists entered the parliaments.

Leaders in the era of digital communications. This type of leadership has been unfolding since the 1990s and has led to radical changes compared to the previous era. The Internet has become the long-awaited and necessary outlet, designed to perform both cognitive but also moralizing functions; to be a carrier of various cultural values and an intermediary in communication. At the same time, life has proven that social networks can impose patterns of behavior that gradually turn into a tradition, sometimes having nothing to do with the primordial universal ideals and values. In today's information society, the Internet has created a parallel – to some extent virtual reality, and our knowledge of man and the world is reduced to knowledge of this reality. Unlike in the previous era, when we have media where one person or group of people can irradiate millions of citizens, with almost no feedback, convergent media with strong interactive connections now dominate. Their product is leaders such as Boyko Borissov, Silvio Berlusconi, Nicolas Sarkozy. They do not write books and articles, at best they give interviews and have a daily presence in all media: both traditional and social networks and numerous sites. For them, it is especially important to monitor and maintain a high rating that generates trust, measured by peplemetric and sociological methods. Their private life became a constant focus for the media, the distinction between public and private space was almost erased. Formally, there is indeed a pluralism of opinions, but in this pluralism real facts and untruths and pseudo-interpretations are mixed into huge flows of information, so that in the end any truth can be compromised and denied.

It is curious how young people from Generation Z and Adults from Generation X see leadership in the postmodern world. For this purpose, we conducted an online survey with 51 students among 1st and 2nd year at the UNWE in the spring of this year and in the autumn – with 56 lecturers in higher education schools. The questions were grouped into several groups: family environment, education, charisma, success rate. Data shows the following results.

The responses of Generation Z, the first generation to grow up in a digital environment, reflect the specific worldview of young people who perceive themselves as citizens of the world with a strong desire to express their own individuality. As the researchers write, summarizing a survey conducted among French Generation Z youth, "After all, respect does not depend on the stars of the epaulette or on the years of service... It's time to rethink the concept of leadership, with greater attention to the human side."¹

The generation X is "skeptical, change masters, commitment phobic, self-reliant, comfortable with diversity, and technology and uncomfortable with authority."²

The two compared generations have similar understandings about the role of family and education, about the consistency in ideological platforms, about the decisive role of the media in the creation and political life of leaders, about personal qualities and coping with crises. The main two differences are outlined on the issues of trust in political leaders

¹ Sachot-Moirez, I., Urmès, M., Explorer, The Boson Project, LA GRANDE INVAZION, 2015, p.25
<https://cdn-actus.bnpparibas.com/files/upload/2015/01/20/docs/lagrandeinvazionbnpptbp.pdf>

² https://www.aallnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Who-is-Going-to-Lead-Us_None-Other-Than-the-Forgotten-Generation_Generation-X.pdf

and their actions, on the one hand, and on the authority of Bulgarian politicians in society on the other.

In conclusion, the Generation X reject the authority of modern politicians and denies trust in leaders, while Generation Z tends to give credit to trust based on the actions of politicians. For this reason, the example of the apostles from the national liberation movement of the 19th century and the builders of post-liberation Bulgaria is needed for the modern society.

Acknowledgements:

This work was supported in part by Research Activities Scientific Research—7/2024/A, UNWE.

References

1. Baeva, Iskra., 2024. Lichnostite, koito opredeliha nashata sadba. Izdatelstvo Zahari Stoyanov
2. Blondel, J., 1994,.Political leadership: towards a general analysis, SAGE Publications Inc.
3. Chantal, D., 1994. L `autorité, Paris, 1994, 23
4. Doncheva, H. Problemat za efektivnoto liderstvo v balgarskata politicheska nauka, https://www.unwe.bg/uploads/ResearchPapers/Research%20Papers_vol2_2012_No2_H%20Doncheva.pdf
5. Ivanov, D., 2008. Psihologia na liderstvoto, UI „Stopanstvo“
6. Naydenov, G., Haralampiev, K., 2023. Globalnata vlast. Riskove za badeshteto. Multiprint
7. Prodanov, V., 201. Sotsiologia na filosofiyata. Izdatelstvo Avangard Prima
8. Prodanov, V., 2017. Sistemni tsikli i badeshteto na istoriyata. Izdatelstvo Zahari Stoyanov
9. Tsekina, V., <https://www.e-acadjournal.org/pdf/article-23-2-7.pdf>,
10. Weber, Max., 2024. Sotsiologia na gospodstvoto. Izdatelstvo Iztok-Zapad
11. Znepolski, I., 2016. Kak se promenyat neshtata – ot intsidenti do golyamoto sabitie. Izdatelstvo Ciela

Survey **LEADERSHIP** /for Gen Z and Gen X/

1. Family is a prerequisite for a successful political career. * Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
1. Family is a prerequisite for a successful political career.	Yes	Count	13	13	26
		% within Generation	23,2%	25,5%	24,3%
	Rather yes	Count	23	19	42
		% within Generation	41,1%	37,3%	39,3%
	Rather no	Count	11	14	25
		% within Generation	19,6%	27,5%	23,4%
	No	Count	9	5	14
		% within Generation	16,1%	9,8%	13,1%
Total		Count	56	51	107
		% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

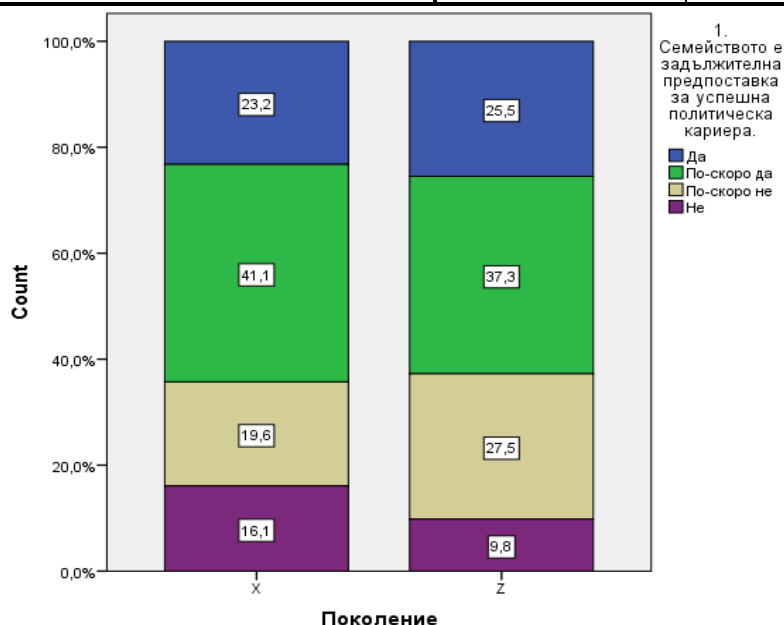
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,654 ^a	3	,647
Likelihood Ratio	1,668	3	,644
Linear-by-Linear Association	,138	1	,710
N of Valid Cases	107		

There is no statistically significant difference between the two generations.

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6,67.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,124	,647
	Cramer's V	,124	,647
N of Valid Cases		107	



2. Education is a prerequisite for a successful political career. * Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
2. Education is a prerequisite for a successful political career.	Yes	Count	27	31	58
		% within Generation	49,1%	60,8%	54,7%
	Rather yes	Count	18	14	32
		% within Generation	32,7%	27,5%	30,2%
	Rather no	Count	8	5	13
		% within Generation	14,5%	9,8%	12,3%
	No	Count	2	1	3
		% within Generation	3,6%	2,0%	2,8%
Total	Total	Count	51	106	
		% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

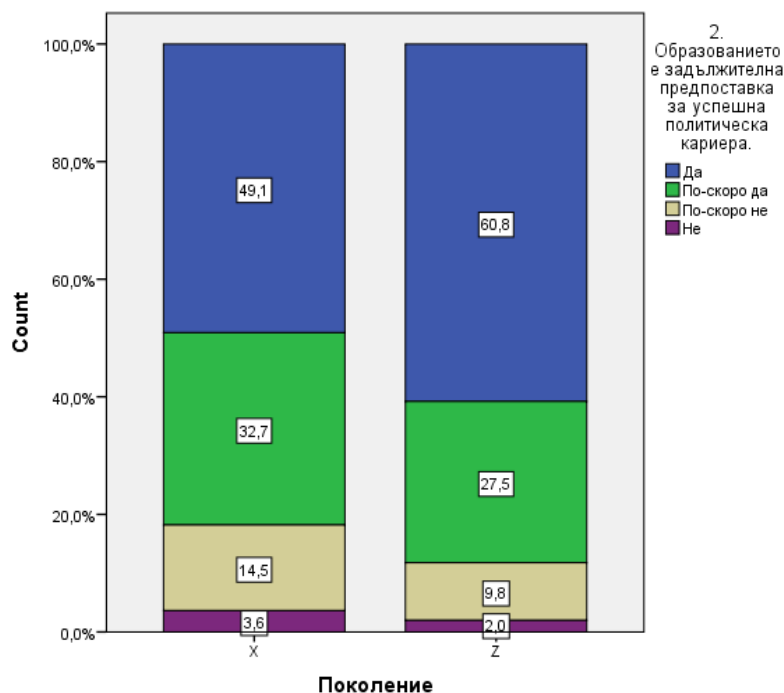
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,653 ^a	3	,647
Likelihood Ratio	1,665	3	,645
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,584	1	,208
N of Valid Cases	106		

a. 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,44.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,125	,647
	Cramer's V	,125	,647
N of Valid Cases		106	



3. Consistent ideas are a guarantee of a long political life. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
3. Consistent ideas are a guarantee of a long political life.	Yes	Count	18	20	38
		% within Generation	32,1%	39,2%	35,5%
	Rather yes	Count	28	23	51
		% within Generation	50,0%	45,1%	47,7%
	Rather no	Count	8	6	14
		% within Generation	14,3%	11,8%	13,1%
	No	Count	2	2	4
		% within Generation	3,6%	3,9%	3,7%
Total	Total	Count	51	107	
		% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

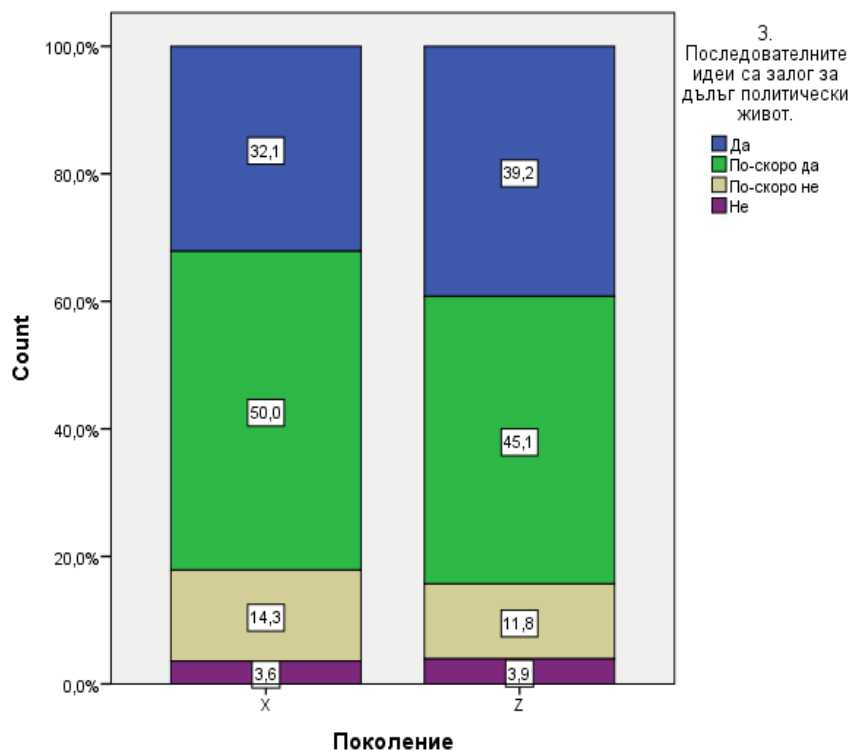
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,649 ^a	3	,885
Likelihood Ratio	,649	3	,885
Linear-by-Linear Association	,341	1	,559
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,91.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,078	,885
	Cramer's V	,078	,885
N of Valid Cases		107	



4. Political leaders set the agenda of society. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
4. Political leaders set the agenda of society.	Yes	Count	14	20	34
		% within Generation	25,5%	39,2%	32,1%
	Rather yes	Count	28	22	50
		% within Generation	50,9%	43,1%	47,2%
	Rather no	Count	11	7	18
		% within Generation	20,0%	13,7%	17,0%
	No	Count	2	2	4
		% within Generation	3,6%	3,9%	3,8%
Total	Total	Total	51	106	
	% within Generation	% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

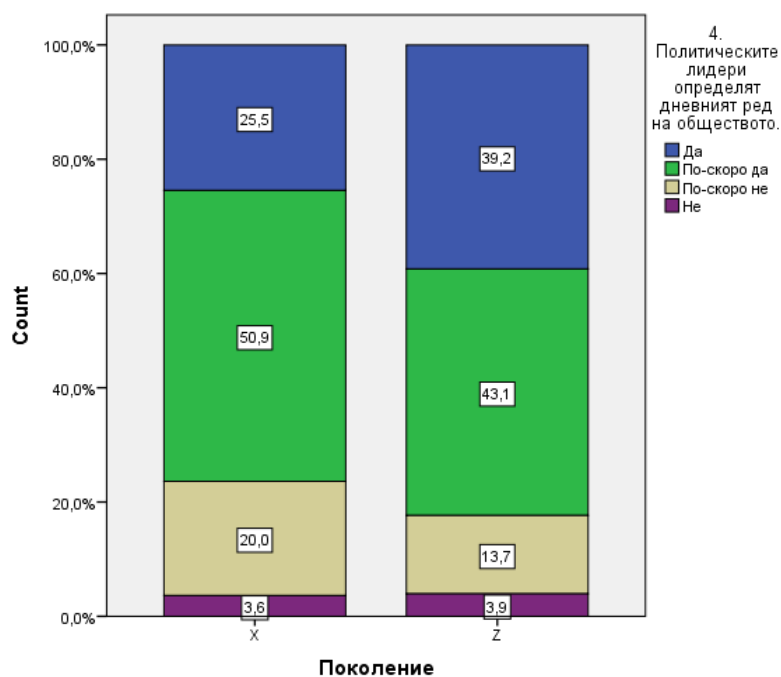
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2,520 ^a	3	,472
Likelihood Ratio	2,532	3	,470
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,562	1	,211
N of Valid Cases	106		

a. 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,92

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,154	,472
	Cramer's V	,154	,472
N of Valid Cases		106	



en

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
5. The media create modern leaders.	Yes	Count	19	19	38
		% within Generation	33,9%	37,3%	35,5%
	Rather yes	Count	24	25	49
		% within Generation	42,9%	49,0%	45,8%
	Rather no	Count	12	6	18
		% within Generation	21,4%	11,8%	16,8%
	No	Count	1	1	2
		% within Generation	1,8%	2,0%	1,9%
Total		Total	Total	51	107
		% within Generation	% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%

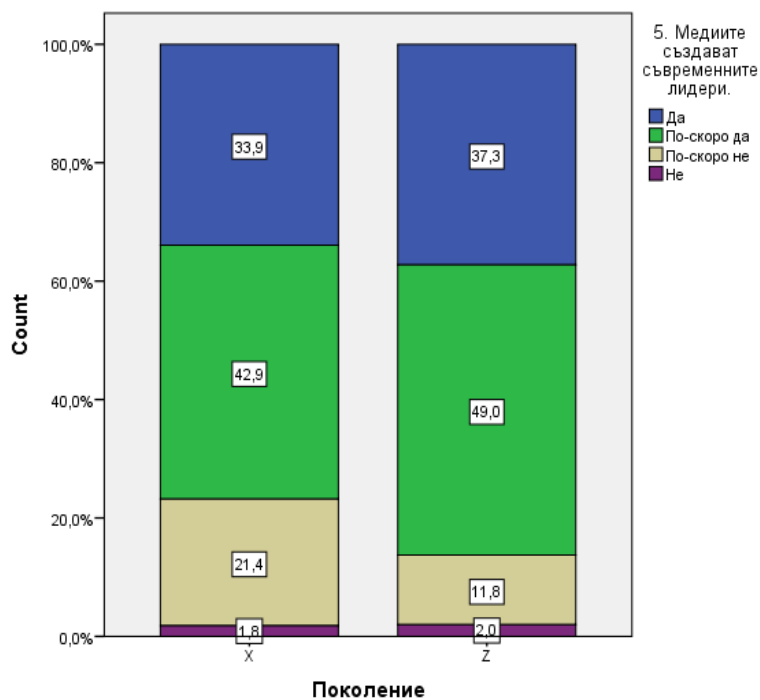
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,791 ^a	3	,617
Likelihood Ratio	1,825	3	,609
Linear-by-Linear Association	,734	1	,392
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,95.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,129	,617
	Cramer's V	,129	,617
N of Valid Cases		107	



6. Media comfort for political leaders provides them with a long-term career. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
6. Media comfort for political leaders provides them with a long-term career.	Yes	Count	28	20	48
		% within Generation	50,0%	39,2%	44,9%
	Rather yes	Count	23	23	46
		% within Generation	41,1%	45,1%	43,0%
	Rather no	Count	4	8	12
		% within Generation	7,1%	15,7%	11,2%
	No	Count	1	0	1
		% within Generation	1,8%	0,0%	,9%
Total	Total	Total	51	107	
	% within Generation	% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

Yes Count

Chi-Square Tests

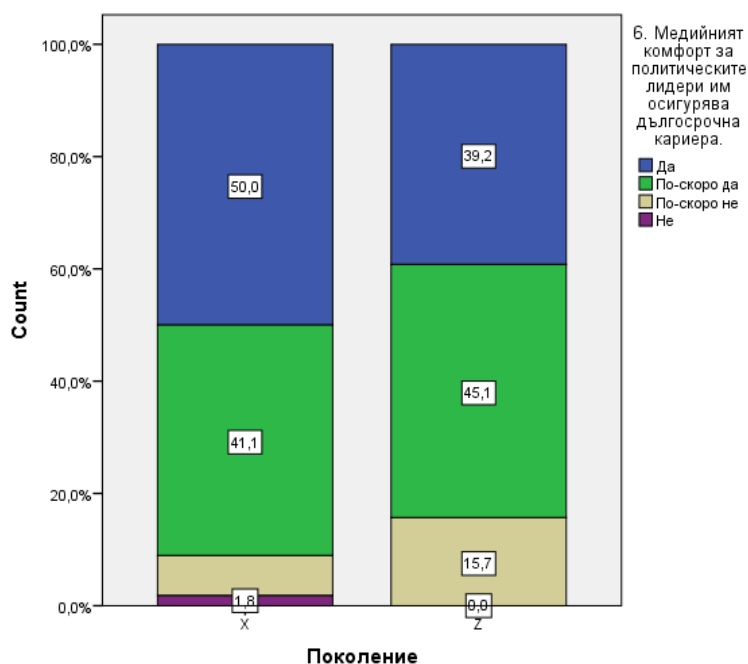
% within Generation

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,441 ^a	3	,329
Likelihood Ratio	3,851	3	,278
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,320	1	,251
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,48.

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,179
	Cramer's V	,179
N of Valid Cases	107	



7. Charismatic radiance is decisive for the success of political figures. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
7. Charismatic radiance is decisive for the success of political figures.	Yes	Count	29	27	56
		% within Generation	51,8%	52,9%	52,3%
	Rather yes	Count	21	16	37
		% within Generation	37,5%	31,4%	34,6%
	Rather no	Count	6	7	13
		% within Generation	10,7%	13,7%	12,1%
	No	Count	0	1	1
		% within Generation	0,0%	2,0%	,9%
Total	Total	Total	51	107	
	% within Generation	% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

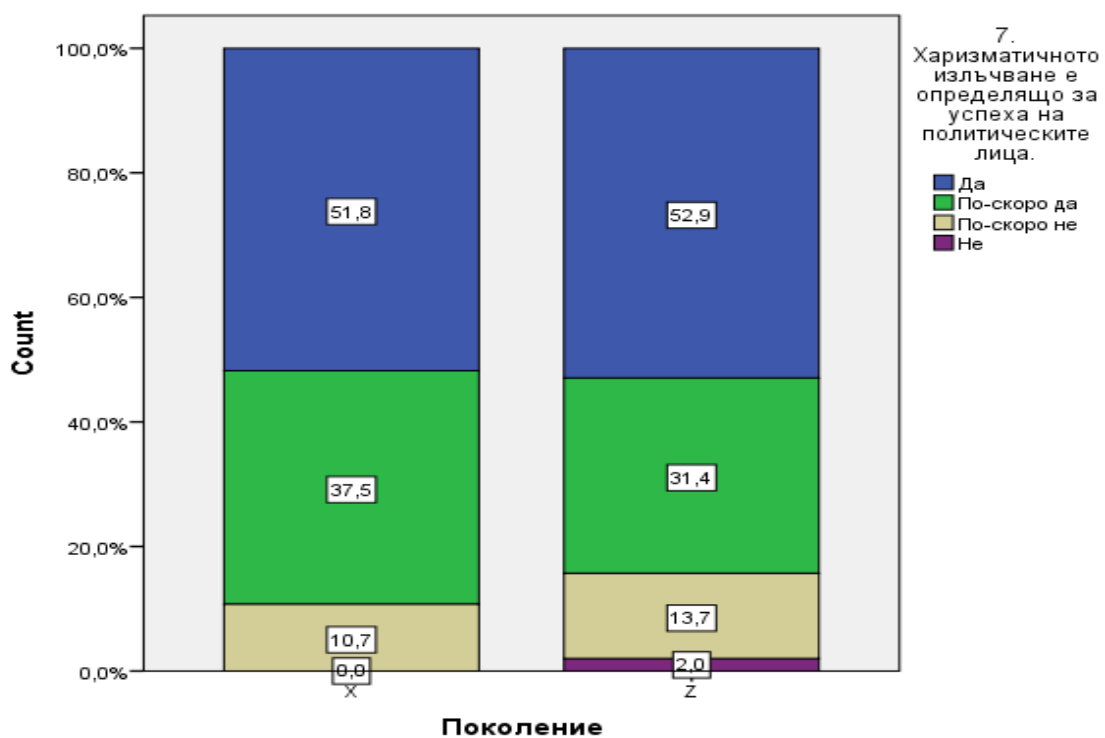
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,594 ^a	3	,661
Likelihood Ratio	1,979	3	,577
Linear-by-Linear Association	,165	1	,685
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,48.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,122	,661
	Cramer's V	,122	,661
N of Valid Cases		107	



8. Good communication skills of leaders determine the direct impact on voters. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
8. Good communication skills of leaders determine the direct impact on voters.	Yes	Count	35	35	70
		% within Generation	62,5%	68,6%	65,4%
	Rather yes	Count	20	13	33
		% within Generation	35,7%	25,5%	30,8%
	Rather no	Count	1	1	2
		% within Generation	1,8%	2,0%	1,9%
	No	Count	0	2	2
		% within Generation	0,0%	3,9%	1,9%
Total	Total	Total	51	107	
	% within Generation	% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

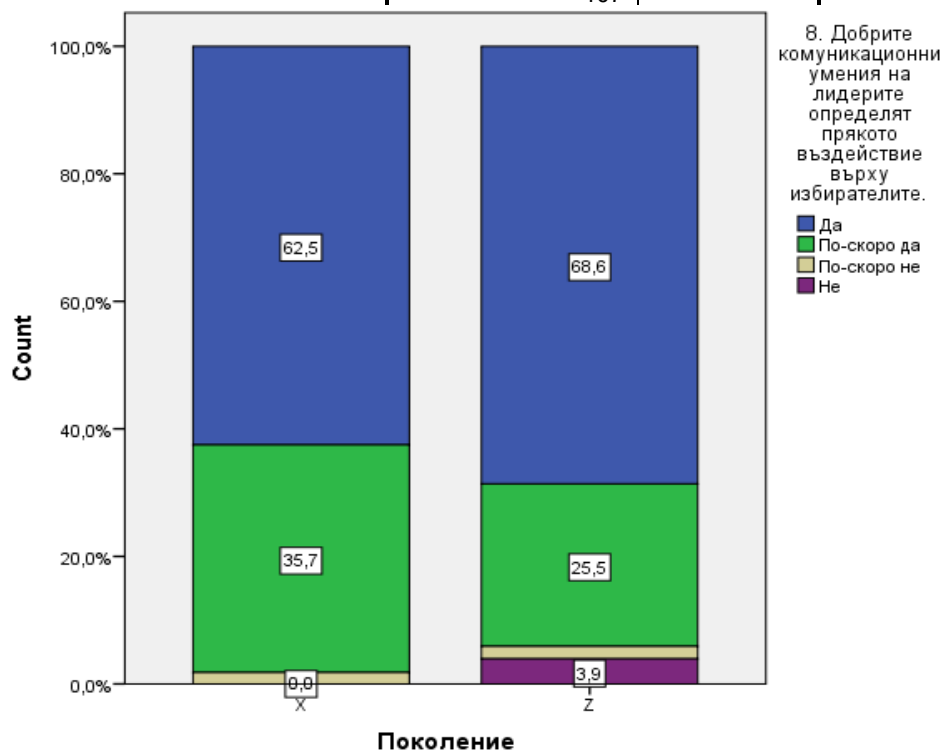
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,258 ^a	3	,353
Likelihood Ratio	4,035	3	,258
Linear-by-Linear Association	,024	1	,876
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 4 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,95.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,175	,353
	Cramer's V	,175	,353
N of Valid Cases		107	



9. Trust in political leaders is determined by their actions. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Поколение		Total
			X	Z	
9. Trust in political leaders is determined by their actions.	Yes	Count	21	34	55
		% within Generation	38,2%	66,7%	51,9%
	Rather yes	Count	17	11	28
		% within Generation	30,9%	21,6%	26,4%
	Rather no	Count	13	5	18
		% within Generation	23,6%	9,8%	17,0%
	No	Count	4	1	5
		% within Generation	7,3%	2,0%	4,7%
Total		Count	55	51	106
		% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

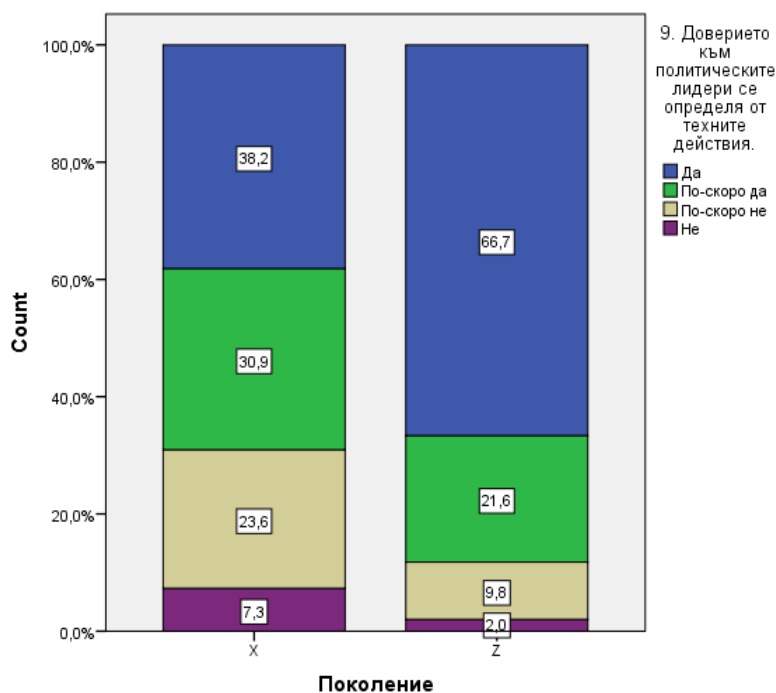
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,577 ^a	3	,023
Likelihood Ratio	9,857	3	,020
Linear-by-Linear Association	9,042	1	,003
N of Valid Cases	106		

There is a statistically significant difference between two generations.

a. 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,41.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,301	,023
	Cramer's V	,301	,023
N of Valid Cases		106	



10. Crises create leaders. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
10. Crises create leaders.	Yes	Count	24	25	49
		% within Generation	42,9%	49,0%	45,8%
	Rather yes	Count	23	19	42
		% within Generation	41,1%	37,3%	39,3%
	Rather no	Count	7	5	12
		% within Generation	12,5%	9,8%	11,2%
	No	Count	2	2	4
		% within Generation	3,6%	3,9%	3,7%
Total	Total	Total	51	107	
	% within Generation	% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

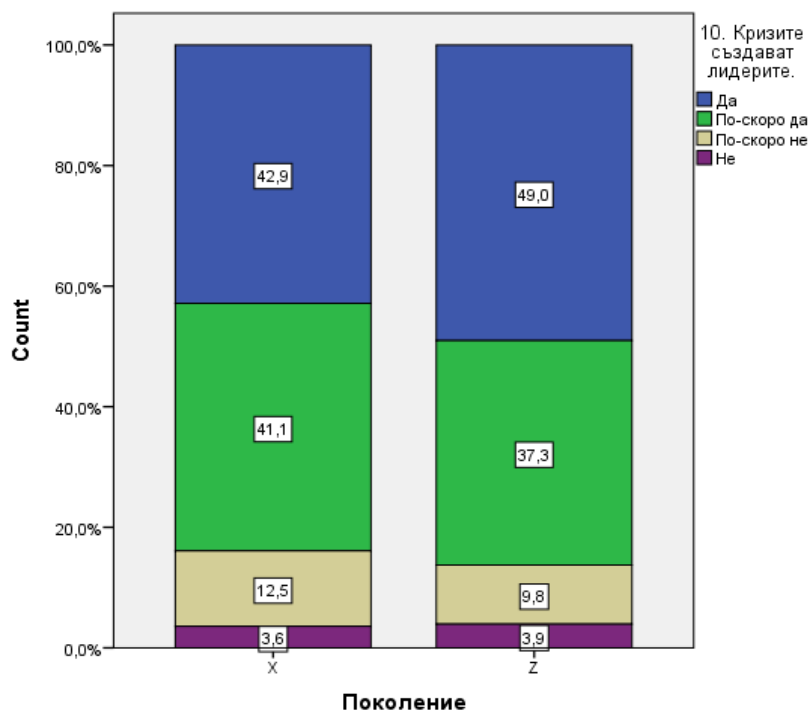
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,502 ^a	3	,918
Likelihood Ratio	,503	3	,918
Linear-by-Linear Association	,272	1	,602
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,91.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,069	,918
	Cramer's V	,069	,918
N of Valid Cases		107	



11. The ideas of the leaders for the economic development of society at the national level are a guarantee for a successful career. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
11. The ideas of the leaders for the economic development of society at the national level are a guarantee for a successful career.	Yes	Count	4	8	12
		% within Generation	7,1%	15,7%	11,2%
	Rather yes	Count	25	22	47
		% within Generation	44,6%	43,1%	43,9%
	Rather no	Count	16	16	32
		% within Generation	28,6%	31,4%	29,9%
	No	Count	11	5	16
		% within Generation	19,6%	9,8%	15,0%
Total		Count	56	51	107
		% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

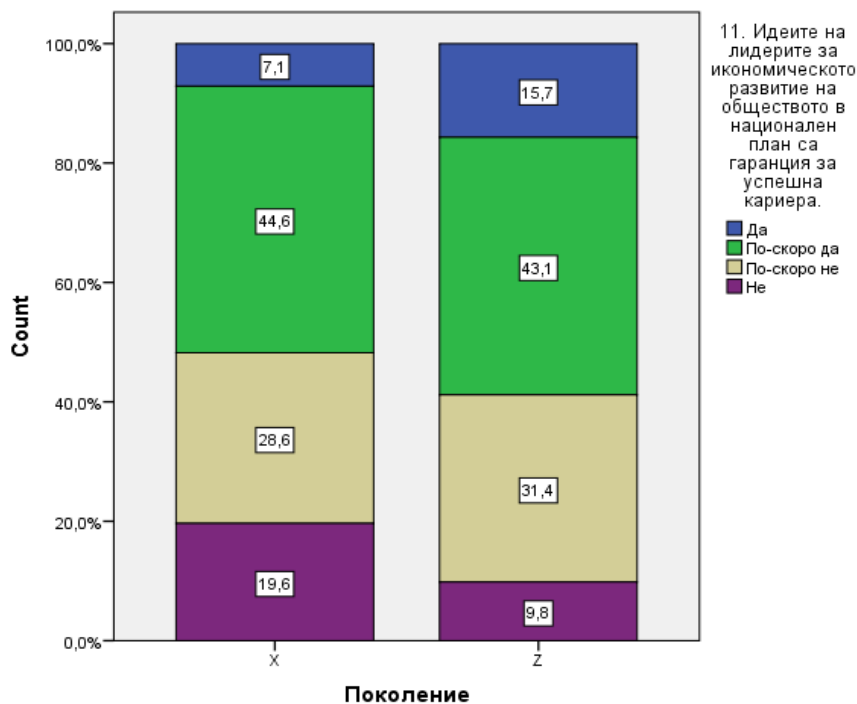
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,549 ^a	3	,314
Likelihood Ratio	3,623	3	,305
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,210	1	,137
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,72.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,182	,314
	Cramer's V	,182	,314
N of Valid Cases		107	



12. The foreign policy platform of the leaders is decisive for their success. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
12. The foreign policy platform of the leaders is decisive for their success.	Yes	Count	8	9	17
		% within Generation	14,3%	17,6%	15,9%
	Rather yes	Count	22	23	45
		% within Generation	39,3%	45,1%	42,1%
	Rather no	Count	19	15	34
		% within Generation	33,9%	29,4%	31,8%
	No	Count	7	4	11
		% within Generation	12,5%	7,8%	10,3%
Total	Total	Count	51	107	
		% within Поколение	100,0%	100,0%	

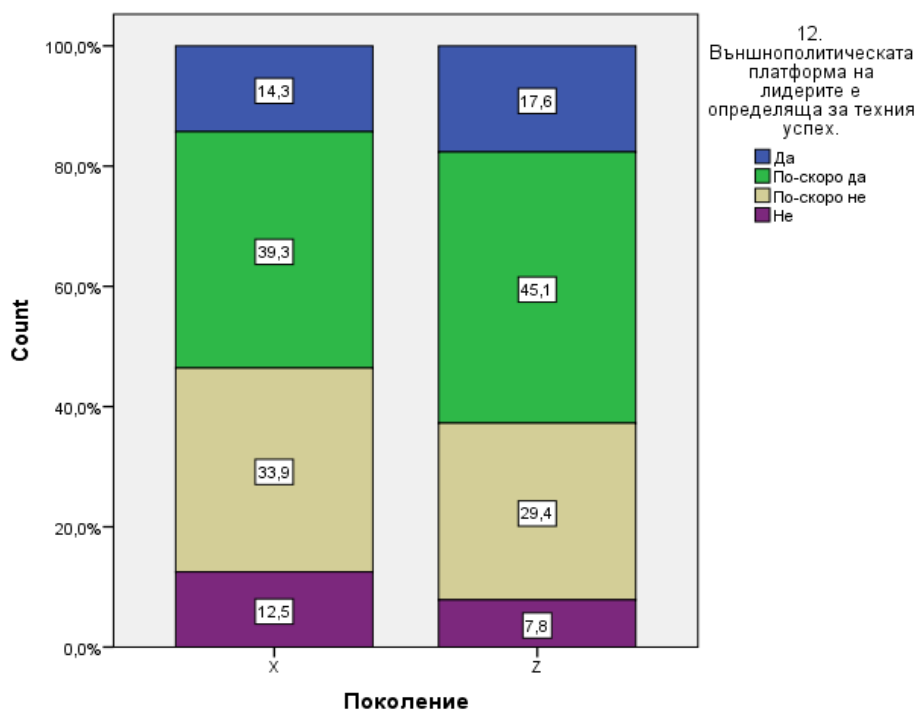
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,139 ^a	3	,768
Likelihood Ratio	1,148	3	,766
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,035	1	,309
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,24.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,103	,768
	Cramer's V	,103	,768
N of Valid Cases		107	



13. Bulgarian politicians enjoy great authority in society. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
13. Bulgarian politicians enjoy great authority in society.	Yes	Count	0	5	5
		% within Generation	0,0%	9,8%	4,7%
	Rather yes	Count	3	10	13
		% within Generation	5,5%	19,6%	12,3%
	Rather no	Count	15	17	32
		% within Generation	27,3%	33,3%	30,2%
	No	Count	37	19	56
		% within Generation	67,3%	37,3%	52,8%
Total	Yes	Count	51	106	
	% within Generation	% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

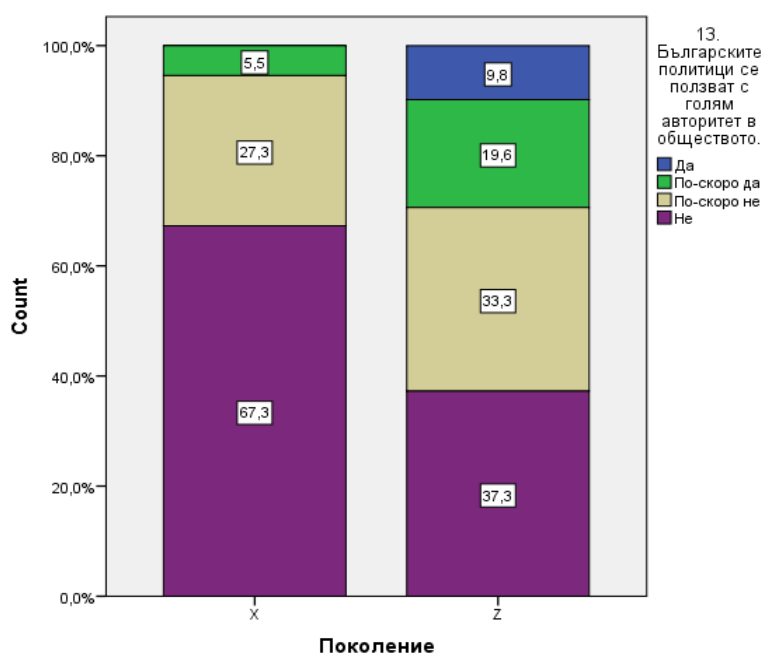
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14,550 ^a	3	,002
Likelihood Ratio	16,772	3	,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	14,357	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	106		

a. 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,41.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,370	,002
	Cramer's V	,370	,002
N of Valid Cases		106	



14. Taking risks in political decisions leads to leadership success. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
14. Taking risks in political decisions leads to leadership success.	Yes	Count	10	10	20
		% within Generation	17,9%	19,6%	18,7%
	Rather yes	Count	26	27	53
		% within Generation	46,4%	52,9%	49,5%
	Rather no	Count	12	10	22
		% within Generation	21,4%	19,6%	20,6%
	No	Count	8	4	12
		% within Generation	14,3%	7,8%	11,2%
Total	Total	Yes	51	107	
	% within Generation	% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

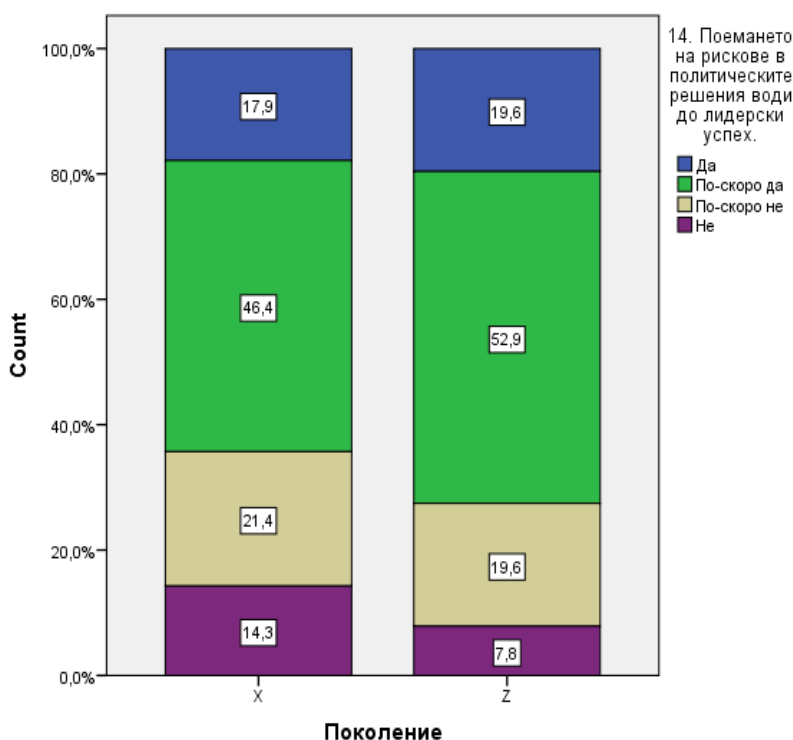
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,303 ^a	3	,728
Likelihood Ratio	1,326	3	,723
Linear-by-Linear Association	,916	1	,339
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,72.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,110	,728
	Cramer's V	,110	,728
N of Valid Cases		107	



15. Leadership is a policy of compromise. *Generation Crosstabulation

			Generation		Total
			X	Z	
15. Leadership is a policy of compromise.	Yes	Count	10	14	24
		% within Generation	17,9%	27,5%	22,4%
	Rather yes	Count	28	27	55
		% within Generation	50,0%	52,9%	51,4%
	Rather no	Count	9	8	17
		% within Generation	16,1%	15,7%	15,9%
	No	Count	9	2	11
		% within Generation	16,1%	3,9%	10,3%
Total	Total	Total	51	107	
	% within Generation	% within Generation	100,0%	100,0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,975 ^a	3	,174
Likelihood Ratio	5,331	3	,149
Linear-by-Linear Association	4,010	1	,045
N of Valid Cases	107		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,24.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,216	,174
	Cramer's V	,216	,174
N of Valid Cases		107	

