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A comparative analysis of Charismatic Leadership between Donald Trump and Narendra Modi during the Covid crisis

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Knowledge Field: Internationalization of Companies

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the charismatic leadership of two global leaders, former US President Donald Trump and the current Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi during the start of the coronavirus pandemic. The primary purpose of the study is to evaluate which of the two leaders exhibited more charisma in their rhetoric during the covid-19 pandemic starting six months; the secondary purpose is to highlight the common and differentiating features in the leadership of both these leaders during the same period. The study analyses the rhetoric made by the two leaders during the pandemic and examines the charismatic leadership constructs from them using a specialized software called WordStat. The seven charismatic leadership constructs evaluated are collective focus, follower's worth, similarity to followers, cooperation, adversity, tangibility, and action-oriented constructs. The results indicate that overall Trump was ahead of Modi in usage of the charismatic constructs by a slight margin and Modi excelled in the usage of individual constructs in his speeches. Modi had a better mix of individual constructs than Trump in his speeches, whereas Trump relied heavily on the construct of collective focus. The overall value of the research can be highlighted by the fact that such a study comparing a western, developed nation's head of state with an eastern, emerging nation's head of state during a global emergency because of the pandemic was not done before. The study not only answered the research questions but also found that the usage of constructs by these two leaders in the context of an emergency are completely different from that of prior studies of similar kind such as during the presidential elections of the US. Most words in their rhetoric belonged to collective focus, adversity, and action-oriented constructs, whereas the remaining constructs had less usage.

KEY WORDS: charismatic leadership, political rhetoric, covid crisis management, speech analysis

RESUMO

O estudo examina a liderança carismática de dois líderes globais, o ex-presidente dos EUA, Donald Trump, e o atual primeiro-ministro indiano, Narendra Modi, durante o início da pandemia de coronavírus. O objetivo principal do estudo é avaliar qual dos dois líderes exibiu mais carisma em sua retórica durante a pandemia de covid-19 a partir de seis meses; o objetivo secundário é destacar as características comuns e diferenciadoras na liderança de ambos os líderes durante o mesmo período. O estudo analisa a retórica feita pelos dois líderes durante a pandemia e examina a liderança carismática construída a partir deles usando um software especializado chamado WordStat. Os sete construtos de liderança carismática avaliados são foco coletivo, valor do seguidor, semelhança com seguidores, cooperação, adversidade, tangibilidade e construtos orientados para a ação. Os resultados indicam que, em geral, Trump estava à frente de Modi no uso de construtos carismáticos por uma pequena margem e Modi se destacou no uso de construtos individuais em seus discursos. Modi tinha uma mistura melhor de construções individuais do que Trump em seus discursos, enquanto Trump se baseava fortemente na construção do foco coletivo. O valor geral da pesquisa pode ser destacado pelo fato de que tal estudo comparando o chefe de estado de uma nação ocidental desenvolvida com o chefe de estado de uma nação emergente do leste durante uma emergência global por causa da pandemia não foi feito antes. O estudo não apenas respondeu às questões da pesquisa, mas também descobriu que o uso de construtos por esses dois líderes no contexto de uma emergência é completamente diferente de estudos anteriores de tipo semelhante, como durante as eleições presidenciais dos EUA. A maioria das palavras em sua retórica pertencia a construtos de foco coletivo, adversidade e orientação para a ação, enquanto os construtos restantes tinham menos uso.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: liderança carismática, retórica política, gestão de crises de covid, análise do discurso

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1. Introduction

There is no doubt that the Covid-19 pandemic is and will remain a defying moment in the modern history of mankind. Everything that one could think of has been impacted by the pandemic. Things are done differently now than they were before the onset of the virus. Official data states that 6.5 million people lost their lives, while the unofficial figure could be much higher. The world has almost emerged out of the pandemic more resilient but divided, divided because of many other economic and geopolitical issues which have been further exacerbated by the spread of the pandemic. The fight against the invisible enemy has been led by every individual but more so by the scientific community and our political leaders. For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on the political actors specifically on the heads of state of the two biggest democracies the US and India. Donald Trump then president of America when coronavirus started spreading in the US at the beginning of 2020, and Narendra Modi still the current prime minister of India. USA and India have the highest number of infected cases in the world, in fact the US has more than twice that of India. Trump and Modi have led their countries from the front and have communicated to their people by regular state briefings.

Multiple scholars have concluded that charismatic leadership is a common attribute of both these leaders, Donald Trump the former president of the USA (2017-2021) (see, Berger, 2017; Guilford, 2016; Khazan, 2016; Minton, 2016; Sullivan, 2017), and Narendra Modi the current prime minister of India (2014 - present) (see, Chellaney, 2018; Sharma and Dubey, 2019; Vittorini, 2022; Jaffrelet, 2015). Researchers have studied the role of charisma in leadership in the political sphere, which dates to the 1950s (Davies 1954). Various scholars have also examined the charismatic political leader rhetoric mainly for the western leaders (e.g., Bligh et al., 2010; Willis et al., 2013) while there are very few studies of the non-western charismatic political leaders. There has not yet been a study addressing the charismatic leadership among two heads of state at the time of health crisis and emergency.

The comparison is interesting because Narendra Modi is a seasoned politician, before becoming the prime minister he was the chief minister for the state of Gujarat for 14 years, whereas Donald Trump is a billionaire business tycoon and a tv personality. Also, the pandemic hit when Modi was on his second term as PM, which he had won with an overwhelming majority in 2019 with very high approval ratings from the people of India, whereas, Trump was in his final year as President and there were mixed opinion on his presidency until the start of pandemic. Therefore, Trump's rhetoric and decisions during the pandemic would have detrimental consequences on the Presidential elections in the same year. A lot of studies indicate one of the main reasons for the victory of Trump during the 2016 elections was because he was more charismatic than his counterpart from the Democratic party- Hillary Clinton (e.g., Guilford, 2016; Sullivan, 2017; Keneally, 2016). The upbringing and development of both the leaders are also very different as Trump belonged to a very upstate, rich family and was also educated at the famous Wharton School of Management on the other hand NaMo was born in a poor family, his father sold tea at the platform of a railway station.

Research agrees that there is an important relationship between trust in leadership, governmental organizations, and how things unfold when crises occur (Seeger, 2006; Schockley-Zalabak et al., 2010). Ulmer et al. (2017) contend that effective leadership during crises affects multiple or all

organizations in a country for years to come and trust is central in both the short and long term. The greater the impact of the crises and longer the duration it lasts, and hence the public remembers the longer. The incumbent government's missteps or actions can make the people angry and lose trust on those that deny responsibility, are slow in reacting, are inaccurate, or are self-serving in actions and responses. One of the preferred ways to understand and gauge the competent leadership exhibited by the incumbent is to study the rhetoric they deliver during the crises, especially at the beginning.

Though there have been numerous research on the two leaders more so on Trump owing to his meteoric rise from real estate business personality to being the president of the most powerful country in the world, most of the studies show Trump in the negative limelight calling him a narcissist, careless, undeserving, and selfish (e.g., Ethlyn et al., 2020; Simon and Beverly, 2020). There is a clear gap in the literature to study the charismatic leadership of Trump and comparing it with other nationalistic and right-wing leader such as Modi. The literature also does not shed much light on the handling of the healthcare crisis of this magnitude ever before by such charismatic leaders and comparing the same. There is also a gap in the way in which the very few similar studies conducted before concentrated on Presidential elections of US in order to study the two final candidates of the two main parties, Democrats and Republicans (see Aswad 2019). This study will follow a similar pattern, but both the scenario and context will be completely different. The scenario is that of two incumbent heads of state, Trump and Modi, who are already in power also not directly competing against each other for the same position, as in elections, and the context is that of fast degrading global pandemic led by the coronavirus.

In all democracies, the people of these countries have the right to evaluate and critique the incumbent leaders' policies and actions. Considering the fact that most of the public do not have the opportunity to meet their national leaders in person, hence, the public tend to base their evaluation of the leaders' work on public speeches, media interviews and interactions, and debates (Erikson and Wlezien, 2012; Shamir, 1995). Therefore, with this fact in consideration, my purpose with this thesis is to examine the charismatic elements in the rhetoric among Donald Trump and Narendra Modi during the first year, 2020, of the Corona virus led global pandemic. So, this thesis employs communication led approach to compare and analyze systematically the charismatic rhetoric of the two leaders. The study also discusses the rhetorical strategies used by the two world leaders to influence and persuade the people of their country to support them and emerge from the pandemic stronger. The study will be led by quantitative approaches using computer aided software named Word Stat. The advantage of using software is because it helps to analyze a vast amount of data quickly, also multiple features such as presenting the data in visually appealing graphs is relatively easy. The basis for analyzing the rhetoric of both leaders is based on the political charismatic constructs pioneered by Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl (2004) and Shamir, Arthur, and House (1994). The constructs used for the evaluation are collective focus, followers worth, similarity to followers, cooperation, action-oriented, adversity, and tangibility.

The study will mainly focus on the period between March 2020 to August 2020. This period is also the most crucial as it is when the coronavirus led pandemic started to engulf the entire world including the USA and India. The study will mainly cover the outbreak of the virus in the US and India and the response of the heads of these two nations and analyze the charismatic rhetoric made

during this period to gauge and to understand the perspective on the charismatic leadership of these two leaders.

The Research questions are:

- 1. Which leader displayed greater charismatic leadership rhetoric during the covid-19 crisis, Donald Trump or Narendra Modi?**
- 2. What are the commonalities and differences in the charismatic leadership of Donald Trump and Narendra Modi?**

The research study is quite different from past studies as it offers to review charismatic leadership of two heads of state that are one of the worst affected by the healthcare pandemic, such a crisis has not been witnessed in the recent history. Reviewing their leadership rhetoric of the crisis will provide important precedence for future leaders to deal with the kind of rhetoric suitable during such crises. The study will also provide a lot of valuable data based and backed by scientific insights on the rhetorical used during speeches and media briefings; both these leaders will go to elections in 2024 so these findings will be important to highlight their achievements during campaigns. Finally, the study will add to the larger body of charismatic leadership style of research.

In the study of leadership and their rhetoric, there is too much focus and research on the conditions, background, determinants, and the outcome of the leadership rhetoric, than on the analysis of the rhetoric itself in terms of words used. As Gaffney (2014) describes it as when people research about the background of the singer rather the song and its lyrics. One must give at most importance of trusting the tale rather than the teller. This study aims to study the words and phrases spoken by Trump and Modi during the media briefing in the first year of the pandemic, 2020. By examining the words with use of software we can determine which one of the leaders was more charismatic in their speeches.

Leadership style is defined as the ways by which leaders interact and relate to other people around them including followers, advisors, or even other leaders, and their interactions structures, also the rules, principles, and norms they look up to form such interactions (Hermann, 2003). Leadership styles form an important part of most of the literature on the overall topic of leadership. As we know the crucial roles leaders play at political and at other various organizational levels, such research will help shed information on the causal factors of processes and results in political as well as business level. Especially, a leader's style is what determines how they proceed and perform a variety of jobs such as defining pressing issues, generating and evaluating various solutions, implementing decisions, and making policies. This study will aid in theory building and testing the links between charismatic leadership style, political rhetoric, and health crisis handling. The study might even help understand the performance of leaders and their management of the start of the pandemic in context with the results achieved in their respective national elections. The comparative study of leadership styles of national leaders and their overarching consequences on the overall national and global economy is of great practical importance, especially to those of whom who seek to better the quality of policy making and generate insights for future leadership training. Studying the decision making rational during the time of crisis can prove to promote democracy and good governance in the hindsight to better tackle any future such global pandemics.

Gaffney (2014) contends that there is very little literature on the political leadership rhetoric, he also points out that outside the US there is hardly any study of contemporary leadership rhetoric. The reason he describes is because of changes in how language was perceived in the twentieth century and even more negative connotation attached to leadership rhetoric; the focus was on structuralism. Leadership rhetoric studies are spread across of vast variety of literature including linguistics, psychology, political theory, cultural studies, business studies, gender studies, communication studies, democratic theory, performance studies, etc. Aptly put by Gaffney that actual leadership rhetoric that too in political context is like a wasteland surrounded by these large mountain ranges of interlinked literature. This holds true for all geographies but the US. Also, political leadership is very minuscule compared to the vast literature on leadership in business studies. Hence, this study will add to the already limited knowledge base of political leadership rhetoric that too in a different and unusual context of a global healthcare crisis with the use of advanced software that too in two large but very distinct democracies.

1.1 American Presidency

The unique characteristic of the American presidency is its unitary nature. What is seen in most democracies is that the nations topmost leader is constrained either by parties or by their colleagues within the government, neither of which applies in the case of the US. In most polities globally, the head of state can be ousted by the coalition partners, who helped form the government in the first place, or by pressure tactics applied by their own group members. In most democratic geographies heads of state are frequently removed and replaced when the ruling coalition's fail to agree on policy matters. France is one of those countries where the presidency has most resemblance to that of the unitary system, but the president's power is shared with prime minister whose power in turn is restricted by the incumbent's parliamentary members. Whereas American Presidents can neither be removed by cabinet members nor by party colleagues. As a matter of fact, presidents can do as they wish with their cabinet colleagues, neither of whom have any defined constitutional powers. The loose and decentralized character of the party system makes sure that presidents can choose to ignore pressures from the party with relative impunity. The only way to remove presidents is thru impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, and yet this sanction has never been implemented where the presidents have had to step down. Both Andrew Jackson and Bill Clinton were impeached, but they were acquitted in the senate (McKay, 2014).

President of the United States of America or POTUS can do and act alone to exercise their constitutional powers as commander in chief and chief executive. Nonetheless, the presidents face challenges from constraints of Congress, US citizens, and from other quarters, but because of their executive branch bestowed by the US constitution they enjoy a large degree of freedom. This unitary nature of power of the president in part explains the massive scholarly literature on US political leadership. The powerful position of the US as an economic, military, and technology giant also help explain the interest in the study of American presidential leadership literature. There is nothing close in comparison supporting the study of the British, or the Indian prime minister ship or any EU leadership, or even for that matter the Russian or Chinese leadership studies (McKay, 2014).

1.2 Rise of Donald Trump and his narrative



a. Trump as Business Mogul



b. Trump as President

The 2016 presidential election is one of the most divisive elections in the US modern history. Seasoned, experienced, accomplished, and former first lady Hillary Clinton was the front runner to be the first woman president of the US but lost the battle to billionaire real estate tycoon and TV star Donald Trump. His victory defied every rule of electoral politics and media and experts' predictions alike. The overall media coverage was seen as negative towards DT and was dedicated to judge the character and remarks of DT. The popularity of DT among his followers was undisputed, for instance all the huge rallies across states was hugely successful and often the attendance of the public outnumbered that of his competitor Hillary Clinton. Ever since DT became the president, scholars, experts, and media around the globe tried to make sense of the consequences that led to his emphatic victory. There were several factors touted to be the reasons for DT's victory such as the overly right-wing views in his mandate including the famous campaign tagline "Make America Great Again"; he promised to make policies to bring back manufacturing back to the US from foreign shores, to withdraw troops back from Afghanistan, to build new railroads and highways, to increase the number of jobs, to impose many protectionist measures, etc. Also, voter fatigue with consecutive two terms of democratic government and his opponent Hillary Clinton because she was a critical member of the incumbent Obama administration and was championing Obama's policies in her campaigns and was seen to be continuation of his legacy.

According to multiple scholars (see. Berger (2017); Guilford (2016); Khazan (2016); Minton (2016); Sullivan (2017)), apart from the reasons mentioned above a vast majority of media and experts believe the outcome was due to Donald Trump's legendary charismatic personality. Whereas scholars and media alike contend that Hillary Clinton was deficient in exhibiting the charisma needed to unite the US (Keneally, 2016). Purden (2016) points that popular newspaper the Washington Post also ran an article with a mean title "Looking for the Surgeon for Hillary's Charisma Transplant". In a talk show Hillary herself admitted that she lacked the charisma that

former presidents Barack Obama and Bill Clinton commanded, claiming them to be natural and effortless (Earle and Chambers, 2016). Hence, the overview is that Donald Trump was seen as more charismatic than his presidential competitor, but it will be interesting to find whether the same holds true in comparison with Narendra Modi, an equally charismatic national leader of the largest democracy in an existential crisis of the coronavirus led global pandemic.

To understand and know the reasons that led to Trump rising to the highest position of power it is crucial to know his history. As Barra (2017), and Burns (2006) point out that personal and life stories of presidential candidates have always been a major highlight of campaigns. These stories are often evoked to portray legitimacy, credibility, and spread a narrative in favor of the candidate and provide a glimpse of the kind of policy making people could expect when in office. Therefore, these stories form the basis that co-create the context in which everyone must respond (Fairhurst, 2009). Goethals (2017) contends that political leaders mainly influence the public by stories of group's identity and Trump was able to use his narrative of business success to capture the people's trust and hence their votes. As rightly put forth by Spector and Wilson (2018) that leadership is constructed by legitimating narratives.

Donald Trump's career prior to his presidency is largely divided in three parts. The first, starting from the early 70's to the mid-late 80's as a real estate mogul, based in New York and Atlantic city. The second from the late 80's caused by the financial distress due to excessive borrowing and restructuring. The third as reality TV personality and building his own brand. Trump as a real estate businessman in the late 70's was helped by the then policies resulting from the economic decline and hence the government provided major tax deals and subsidies to developers which Trump capitalized. Also, something interesting happened during that period, Trump was accused racial bias in selection of tenants for the housing owned by him by the Justice department. Johnston (2016) claims despite a complete loss, Trump claimed the outcome as victory saying the government could not prove its case and in the settlement he had made no admission of any wrongdoing. The reason this is interesting is because this is something which also plays out during his presidency in some instances (e.g., the capitol hill riots). Hence, some scholars such as Kranish and Fisher (2016) and Johnston (2016) laid out three classic Trump stratagems: tactical withdrawal and settlement; aggressive attacking; and media spin, irrespective of the actual outcome.

Many scholars contend that Trump's success as a businessman is controversial. He acquired and redeveloped casinos in Atlantic City in 80s but failed to generate profit from them. Mixed with financial overextension with his other real estate projects by 1990, Trump owed \$3.2 billion to banks. The banks without any way out negotiated with Trump to avoid a series of defaults, also Trump kept reminding them that unless the banks gave him relief, they would all suffer together (Kranish and Fisher, 2016). Trump survived and was involved in management as his involvement was considered essential due to his brand value (Johnston, 2016). In the mid-90s, Trump formed a publicly traded firm mainly to buy the Trump Plaza Hotel and Casino, as well as other casinos and properties. He was the CEO and chairman of the new firm, the firm struggled to pay its debt obligations as a result the share price fell from a peak of \$35 to less \$1 (Buettner and Bagli, 2016). Finally, the company filed for bankruptcy in 2004, and yet Trump remained as chairman when it exited bankruptcy, as a result the shareholders and bondholders took the main haircut. With such notable failures there is little to suggest that Trump greatly succeed in business.

According to Kranish and Fisher (2016) Trump was able to cash on his success as in the 2000s mainly because of The Apprentice TV series, which without a doubt was a huge success, helping him to cement a perception amongst the public as a rich and decisive business leader. Trump himself stated ‘the image I created through media enabled me to build one of the greatest luxury brands in the world’. According to Bagli (2016) Trump’s empire mainly include 15 properties in Manhattan. Trump owns or controls over 500 properties globally and was able to expand his Trump brand via licensing arrangements in over 20 countries including Canada, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Philippines, South Korea, Türkiye, the UAE, and Uruguay. Helderman and Hamburger (2015) states that Trump was able to expand beyond real estate to branded developments and brand marketing, associating his brand to sell not just high end properties but also consumer goods ranging from menswear, and water to wine. According to Johnston (2016) despite the global financial crisis and many of Trump’s projects going bust Trump was able to survive because he did not personally invest in them (e.g., in failure of Trump Ocean Resort in Baja, Mexico, Trump Towers in Atlanta, etc.).

Trump also faced hundreds of litigations but was able to overwhelm his opponents with aggression, attrition and deep pockets. Often claimed victory despite a loss, also he proved to be an adept media personality. Journalist Tony Schwartz, also the author of The Art of the Deal along with Donald Trump himself, in his paper (2017) commented that for Trump it was always a zero-sum game, you either dominated or submitted, you either created and exploited fear, or you succumbed in front of it. Scholars contend that this approach was evident in his political career as well including his protectionist views on trade and development, his belief that Japan and South Korea had been taking advantage of US military protection. Hence, during the presidential campaign Trump consistently said that ‘America was losing’ and proclaiming that he is a winner and has the experience in winning. This narrative convinced most Americans that despite the lack of prior political experience, he was the right person for the Presidency (Fairhurst, 2009). Hochschild (2016) and Goethals (2018) argue that many Americans felt that they were not receiving enough of what they deserved, this is ‘the psychology of relative deprivation’ what worked for Trump. They concluded that Trump combined this perception of relative deprivation with his zero-sum worldview to present himself as the leader to ‘Make America great again’.

Gabriel et al. (2018) emphasizes that the people who watched The Apprentice shared a distinctive para social bond with Trump, irrespective of their political identification with Republicans or Democrats. Hall et al (2016) considered that Trump was entertaining and hence was able to captivate the audience with his performance. The character showed him with all the qualities of leadership required for presidency. Hence, this along with his constantly being in the news for various controversies served him just right to spread his right-wing populist rhetoric. Social media mainly his use of Twitter aided to spread his rhetoric. Gerbaudo (2018) argues that social media helped him to rally anger against mainstream media as biased and helped form a crowd of die hard supporters. Trump entered the political sphere with existing celebrity identity and many of the people had forged positive bond. Trump’s past provided a vehicle for non-mainstream views as accessible, acceptable, and familiar. His vision as a leader glued well with social media at which he excelled and was able to legitimize sentiments previously accepted as inappropriate in public discourse (Mollan and Geesin, 2020). The combination of these factors as an excellent political communicator along with other external circumstances and influence led Trump to win Presidential elections of 2016.

1.3 Indian Governance System

India's government is based on the British Westminster System. The country is a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic with a Parliamentary form of government. The Prime minister is the executive head of the country with his/her council of ministers and the President is the constitutional head of the country. The legislature consisting of a parliament with an upper house named Lok Sabha and a lower house named Rajya Sabha, and a judiciary with the Supreme court at its head. There are 543 members who are elected to the Upper house through a general election held every 5 years, whereas, for the lower house members are indirectly elected by state representatives on six year terms. Indian constitution is the guiding force in running the democratic system of the vast country (Government of India, 2022; Price, 2022).

1.4 Rise of Modi and his nationalism



a. Modi as Chief Minister of Gujarat



b. Modi as Prime Minister

Narendra Modi had humble beginning in the state of Gujarat, where as a child he sold tea in a railway station. Prior to becoming the PM candidate, he was also a long time Chief Minister of the state of Gujarat. Modi in his youth was also an active member of the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh), the RSS is a right-wing Hindu nationalist organization tracing its origin before the independence of India. Modi is a member of the political party named BJP (Bhartiya Janta Party) and has risen from being a grass root level worker to becoming the Prime Minister. The RSS has tremendous clout on the BJP because both share similar views on most matters. The BJP and RSS is often a victim of bad press especially in western media because of its nationalistic and Hindu religious views. The main moto of RSS is to spread the rich knowledge and culture of the Hindu religion and its civilization which is thousands of years old. According to Chellaney (2018) Modi's political career began after his tremendous relief work which he carried out at the aftermath of the 2001 earthquake in his home state of Gujarat. He became the Chief Minister (CM) of Gujarat shortly after his effort for the earthquake relief work. Gent and Sadiq (2020) contend that Modi was very successful in leading Gujarat and making it an economic success during his reign as CM. The state achieved a rapid growth rate of 10% annually, this was campaigned during the Prime Ministerial elections of 2014 as the Gujarat model of economic growth and prosperity. Modi's tenure as CM was not all that glorious, he still carries the liability of 2002 riots in Gujarat despite being completely acquitted by the Apex court of the country.

Unlike Trump, Modi had already finished a 5-year term as the Prime Minister (PM) of India from 2014-2019 before the Covid crises which emerged in 2019 in China and turned to a pandemic in 2020. Hence, it becomes necessary to give a brief about his tenure as PM. The key reason that has aided in Modi grabbing the top spot is the many corruptions cases that have been part of the previous Congress led government by then PM Dr. Manmohan Singh. These scandals have led the losses worth tens of billions of dollars in various corruption scandals such as the 2G scam, the commonwealth games scam, and the misuse of public office for private gains. Modi led his campaign for the 2014 elections with tremendous support from all corners and his campaign slogan was “sab ka saath, sab ka vikas” meaning collective efforts and inclusive growth, which was to say to include all inclusive growth leaving no one behind. He said that he would be the ‘Vikas Purush’ which was to be a development man emulating what he had done for Gujarat as CM. Modi also criticized the dynasty politics in then Congress government which essentially was overly influenced by the Gandhi family ever since the first PM of India Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, then followed by his daughter Indira Gandhi then her son Rajeev Gandhi to now the de facto leader of the Congress party Rajeev Gandhi’s wife and son Sonia and Rahul Gandhi respectively. Modi also championed another slogan of Congress free India to get rid of dynasty and nepotism-based politics. Modi as ‘Vikas Pusush’ or development man was portrayed as honest, humble, and hardworking in campaigns and promised ‘minimum government and maximum governance’(Jaffrelot, 2015). Modi also promised to bring back all the illicit black money kept in foreign bank accounts.

Venugopal (2018) notes that the BJP’s 2014 campaign was detrimental to make full use of the available social media and marketing tools to gain maximum vote share. The party hired multinational marketing firms such as Madison World, Ogilvy and Mather, and Soho Square to effectively present Modi as the right person to lead India. For the 2014 elections, Modi had done 437 public rallies in eight months across the length and breadth of India covering all the vital locations (Jaffrelot, 2015). They used technology effectively to simultaneously broadcast Modi’s speeches as many as 100 villages via holographic image technology. They also used 400 video campaign advertising semi-trucks to show his addresses in thousands of villages. In short, politically Modi’s strategy has been blending a strong leadership, nationalism, and support of the Hindu majority to win elections (Sruthijith, 2014). BJP won 282 seats out of 543 for the 2014 elections and formed the government with their allies termed the coalition as NDA (National Democratic Alliance).

Before the start of the pandemic Narendra Modi was already in his second term as PM of India. He had won the second term with an even bigger mandate than the first time, winning 303 seats. As PM in his first term he had brought in several new policies such as the Clean India movement, new Goods and Services Tax policy, Make in India, Startup India, Digital India, Opening bank accounts and providing cooking gas for the underprivileged, improving ease of doing business, etc. He was also able to improve India’s relationship with many countries including the US, Japan, ASEAN group of nations, the Arab nations, etc. He has also been credited with expanding India’s defense capabilities and fighting cross-border terrorism effectively as well as standing up to China’s quest to expand and occupy territory in India. Demonetization the popular move to ban the currency denomination of 500 and 1000 to fight corruption and to cramp down against people

holding excessive black unaccounted monies. Demonetization also acted as a catalyst to increase the adoption of digital payments in India (Gent and Sadiq, 2020).

He has also been heavily criticized for his anti-muslim policies such as the CAA (Citizenship Amendment Act), the Uniform Civil Code, abrogation of article 370 in disputed Jammu & Kashmir region, and the historic case of Ram Temple in the ancient city of Ayodhya. Hindu nationalism has played a significant role in the rise of Narendra Modi as a political leader in India. As a member of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), Modi has effectively utilized Hindu nationalist ideology to his advantage. By appealing to the majority Hindu population, Modi has capitalized on sentiments of cultural pride and the desire for a strong national identity. His emphasis on Hindutva, a term that refers to Hindu cultural nationalism, has resonated with many who feel that their heritage and traditions have been undervalued. Modi's political campaigns have often included religious symbolism, such as visiting Hindu temples and participating in Hindu rituals, which have helped cultivate an image of him as a devout Hindu leader. While this strategy has bolstered his support among Hindu nationalists, it has also drawn criticism for potentially marginalizing religious minorities and undermining the secular foundations of India's democracy. Overall, Modi's adept utilization of Hindu nationalism has allowed him to consolidate his power and maintain a strong political base.

Populism has emerged as a significant political phenomenon in recent years, and two prominent figures who have capitalized on this trend are Narendra Modi and Donald Trump. Both Modi and Trump have adopted populist strategies that aim to connect with the grievances and aspirations of the masses. Narendra Modi rose to power in 2014 by presenting himself as a champion of the common people, promising economic growth, development, and a strong national identity. BJP has utilized nationalist rhetoric, emphasizing Hindu majoritarianism and cultural pride. Similarly, Donald Trump tapped into the frustrations of the American working class, focusing on issues such as immigration, trade, and economic protectionism. Trump's rhetoric resonated with a significant portion of the electorate who felt marginalized and neglected by the political establishment. Both Modi and Trump employed charismatic leadership styles, direct communication through social media, and a rejection of traditional political elites. However, while their approaches garnered significant support and polarized their respective societies, they also faced criticism for their divisive tactics and policies that some viewed as detrimental to democratic norms and institutions. The influence of populism in the politics of Modi and Trump reflects a global trend where leaders with populist tendencies gain traction by tapping into the sentiments and frustrations of the populace.

Therefore, Trump and Modi's rhetoric and the right-wing populist movement can be succinctly described by the three characteristics identified by Wodak (2015): a. strong connection of nationalism to the homeland; b. recognition of a 'pure' community connected to the homeland who are situated antagonistically to others; c. a 'distancing dynamic' which sustains an unfair relationship between people, elites and often the dangerous others. On similar grounds Engesser et al. (2017) mention five important features of populism as "sovereignty of the public, attacking of the privileged or elites, advocating for the public, loyalty to the homeland, and ostracizing others. These can be observed in the political election campaigns of both these leaders.

1.5 Comparison between USA and Indian governance mechanisms

Firstly, the similarities between both these countries need to be understood because both these nations are sovereign, liberal, secular, and democratic. USA is the oldest recognized democracy whereas India is the largest democracy. They have rules of law which are applicable to all the citizens equally without any discrimination. The main similarities are as follows:

- Both countries follow a constitution that outlines the principles and laws for governance.
- Both nations have a system of government with power divided between the central government and the states government. USA has 50 states and India is having 28 states and 8 union territories.
- Each have a have a system of checks and balances, with the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government designed to keep each other in check.

There are several differences between the countries as well, most notably as follows:

- The US is a presidential system, where the president is the head of the executive branch and is directly elected by the people, whereas India has a parliamentary system, where the prime minister is the head of the executive branch and is chosen by the members of the parliament.
- The US has a two-party system dominated by the Democratic and Republican parties, whereas India has a multi-party system with several major parties and many smaller ones.
- The US has a written constitution with specific provisions for individual rights, whereas India's constitution is largely based on British common law and has more provisions for economic and social rights.
- The US has a strong tradition of federalism, with a significant amount of power vested in the states, whereas India has a more centralized system with more power concentrated in the central government.

Overall, both the American and Indian governance systems have their strengths and weaknesses. The US system tends to emphasize individual rights and federalism, while the Indian system emphasizes social and economic rights and a more centralized approach to governance. In the US, the President is very powerful and almost unchallenged, whereas, in India the power is shared between the Prime Minister as well as the President.

2. Literature Review

The literature review is an essential component of research projects, it provides a critical analysis and summary of the existing literature on a particular topic. The purpose of a literature review is to identify relevant sources, evaluate and synthesize the information, and present a clear and comprehensive overview of the current state of knowledge on the topic. The literature review also helps researchers to establish the context for their research and identify the significance of their study. It enables them to build on the work of others and avoid duplication of effort. Additionally, the literature review helps researchers to identify potential challenges and limitations, which they can address in their research design. In short, the literature review is a crucial step in the research process, as it provides a foundation for the research study and helps researchers to situate their work in the broader context of existing knowledge.

Given the critical importance of Literature Review, a detailed yet easily comprehensible review is written. The review will begin with exploring the very origins of the word ‘Leadership’ and how it evolved for centuries until the 20th century when scholars began to study it from an academic perspective. The review consists of the general leadership studies undertaken mainly in the second half of the 20th century to understand the concept. All the popular theories have been covered starting from the trait and behavior-based approaches to the contemporary transformational and authentic leaderships. The study of leadership goes hand in hand with that of the leadership style beginning from the laissez-faire, proven as an ineffective approach, to individualized consideration.

Various scholars argue for different leadership styles and approaches, so the review identifies the common themes which form the basis of every such style and approach. These themes are the building blocks of leadership. The review also examines and addresses the confusion between management and leadership as well as the subtle differences between the two. The review then covers charismatic leadership in detail. The review then pivots to address political leadership and draws the distinguishing factors between leadership in a business setting and leadership in the political context. The role of crisis in a political leadership setting is also researched and studied as the project deals with the leaders of two nations engulfed in the major crisis of the covid pandemic. Finally, since the study is about leadership using political rhetoric as its main component, therefore, a brief review about the same is given as the conclusion of the literature review. The political leadership rhetoric perfectly blends with the start of the methodology section covering the main aspects of the study -- the political charismatic constructs.

2.1 Brief etymology of ‘Leadership’

The etymology of the word *leadership* finds its origins back to the Anglo-Saxon heritage. When the word *leadership* is traced back, its Anglo-Saxon origin is cemented with no mention of the word in any other predominant languages including Latin, French, or other Indo-European linguistics, from whom many of modern English words were taken. Despite all the invasions and disruptions of the English cultural and linguistic history from the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Goths, Vikings, and Normans, the word leadership has a clear etymological genealogy (Harris, 1999).

Lead is the root word of leadership, and it dates to 800 CE. *Lead* has evolved over the centuries to the concept of ‘leader’ and further as ‘leadership’ in the mid-19th century (Grace, 2003; Patridge and Crystal 1981; Bass and Stogdill, 1990). The root word lead is taken from the Anglo-Saxon old English word ‘*loedan*’, which meant to travel. The Oxford Dictionary’s entry for lead is from 825 CE, defining as “to cause to go along with oneself, to bring or take a person or an animal to a place”. The Oxford Dictionary after four centuries in 1225 CE defines leadership as “to guide with reference to action and opinion; to bring by persuasion or counsel to or into a condition; to conduct by argument or representation to a conclusion; to induce to do something – said of persons, circumstances, evidence, etc.” (Grace, 2003).

Rost (1991) adds that the word *leader* started to gain momentum beginning around 1300 CE when the kings’ rights started to fade with rise of statesmen and politicians, who were documented by then writers with concept of leading as an important role in the society. The dawn of the industrial revolution brought about a sense of professionalism in many jobs in the society. At this moment the highly regarded role of a leader became a common vernacular usage of the English people. Also by this time *leadership* was gaining rapid adaptation in context with politics and military. The dictionary described the psychological definition of leadership as “the ability to lead”. Rost affirms that leadership is a 20th century concept and is directly linked to the Western civilization’s democratization.

Grace (2003) examines that the suffix “-ship” too has an old history dating back to beginning of the Old English language itself but in the modern era the suffix has been joined to nouns and mostly refers to a state or condition such as relationship, kinship, authorship, etc., the qualities belonging to a certain class of people such as craftsmanship, sportsmanship, etc., or rank or office of a personnel (ambassadorship). In the latter kind where the noun projects a designation of a class of person then the qualities, skill or power of accomplishment is denoted by the noun (e.g., leadership, lordship, dictatorship, kingship).

Boggs (1990) argues that before any serious study of leadership, it is critical to understand how relevant the idea has been to mankind and its experience. Beowulf, an Old English poem found in a 10th century manuscript which was written in the 8th century by an unknown author, is about a time when the people of England were turning to Christianity from paganism. The poem, which may be the first by a western writer on leadership, is the fictional story of a character- king Beowulf- who is both the hero and the leader. The hero displays great will and valor, but the society needs a king who puts the interest of his people before his own glory. By the start of the 10th century the minds of the people began to differentiate between the role of a hero and the role of a king, the leader. The leader’s desire to have personal glory was seen as putting the entire society at risk and, therefore, Beowulf showed that how a true leader must conduct themselves.

2.2 Leadership

Leadership is one of the most interesting and important topics in which interest never wanes. Leaders are the top helms of all society’s top organizations, and their actions and decisions change the due course of history. The stakes at risk are very high but effective leadership lies in the eyes of the beholder. For example, one celebrated historian from Princeton University claimed George W Bush as the worst ever POTUS in history (Wilentz, 2006), on the other hand former Deputy

Prime Minister for the state of Israel argued Bush as 21st century dissident whose doctrine changed the global political landscape (Sharansky, 2006). Paraphrasing and modifying William Shakespeare from Hamlet “*there is no good leader or bad leader but thinking makes it so*” (Judge et al., 2006).

There are many definitions of leadership, but almost every scholar seems to agree that leadership is a person’s capability to motivate and influence their followers’ success of the organization (Dorfman, 2004; Javidan and Carl, 2005). Contemporary leadership theories argue that leadership is not a mere process of giving and taking for the achievement of a goal, often leadership can result performance beyond logic and expectations (Yukl, 2002; Bass, 1985). Prentice (2004) described leadership is the successful achievement of goals with the help of human assistants. A leader can march his/her human collaborators to accomplish certain ends. An outstanding leader is the person who could do so day after day, and year after year, in a multitude of different circumstances.

According to Prentice (2004) most studies on leaderships are a sham because they don’t really study leadership instead focus on power, popularity, showmanship, and wisdom in long term planning. He goes on to add that some good leaders have few/most/all these qualities, but these are not the real essence of leadership. The main accomplishment is more subtle person and social one which stems from the leader’s understanding of his/her followers with respect to the relationship of their personal goals to that of the group’s.

When discussing about leadership, it is important to also define leadership style. Leadership style as Hermann (2003) defines as the different ways by which leaders relate to people around them such as followers, advisors, and other leaders, and how the leaders’ structure and use the various norms, principles, and rules to take forward such interactions. Leadership style shed light on the causal drivers of processes and outcomes. It gives an overview of how the leader will approach problems, generate solutions, make policies, and implementation of the decision. The comparative study of styles and their outcomes is important to the overall study of leadership and imparting this knowledge to develop future leaders (Boin et al., 2017). According to Helms (2012), from the political point of view, leadership styles promote democracy and good governance by unraveling the results of distinct styles for accountability, development, rule of law, transparency, and efficiency.

Vroom and Jago (2007) hold a different view on leadership. They believe leadership as a concept is more abstract and mainly conceptualized by people to understand experiences and identity. While leaders, followers, and varied situations are observable, leadership is not a standalone concept rather a concept without a physical form and created in the heads of observers. If people accept the subjective nature of leadership, then they are less likely to fall for “naïve realism” which could lead them to an idea that their perception of leadership is reality than a mix of goal focused ideas. Leadership is no scientific term with standard definition rather the subject is extensively vast, slippery, amorphous, and extremely critical (Bennis, 2007). But such views confuse the practitioners who are under pressure from three opposite divergent challenges: 1. response to internal as well as external environments; 2. accommodation of goals and interests of both individual and groups; 3. striking a balance between objective and subjective realities (Chemers, 2003). Numerous articles define leadership and its theories anywhere from it being an influencing process to it being an exchange relationship. This causes a problem because such diverse views

don't lead to one definitive definition or framework for leadership. The relative inability to settle for a definition inhibits in the understanding of this crucial organizational phenomenon. However, there is recognition from most scholars of the fact that leadership is needed to influence emotions, ideas, cognitions, and behaviors of others.

The practitioners want to understand the leadership phenomenon to extract usable insights so they can develop better strategies to lead the followers. This has led many researchers to reexamine and reanalyze existing theories to make evolved newer versions to simplify this complex concept of leadership. Leadership theories are judged using rational approaches of face validity and intuitive preconceptions to analyze decisions and make recommendations. Vroom and Jago (2007) concluded that this reinforced the basic idea that leadership style can be simply modified as per the situation. Rousseau and McCarthy (2007) argue that leaders must be trained from an evidence-based perspective which incorporates learning valid behavioral principles and procedural knowledge from practice, reflection and feedback.

2.3 Leadership studies

Social Psychologist Kurt Lewin along with his colleagues (1939) described three distinct leadership styles and their consequences. They identified autocratic, democratic, and laissez faire leadership styles. Autocratic leadership style entails where the leader makes all the decisions, appoints positions to subordinates, and everything follows a hierarchy. Democratic leadership style involves wherein the leaders with members participate in decision-making, in some instances the leader may take the final call. Laissez faire style gives complete freedom to the members to do whatever they like, leaders avoid making decisions as well as responsibility. Democratic leadership style allowed creativity, friendship, and group commitment, also when there was little monitoring, hence it was the most effective style of the three. Autocratic leadership yielded results but there was no ownership and creativity among the members, also it required continuous monitoring. Members were frustrated, angry, scapegoating, and unhappy with their leadership and work under autocratic style. Laissez faire produced the worst outcomes of all with members reporting laziness, lack of productivity, and no accountability whatsoever.

Then trait approach dominated the research in the early studies of leadership using the scientific approaches and investigations. Scholars reduced to the more observable leader characteristics to understand the difficult leadership phenomenon. 'What you see is what you get' was deduced from such research and was the frequent of most leadership theoretical methods. Hughes, Curphy, and Ginnett (2006) found that trait leadership theories focus on the personality persona in leaders and importantly the consistent behavioral patterns seen from which traits are then deduced. Trait leadership proponents are very clear under which they list a set of characteristics having abstract labels that points back to main concept, henceforth, this approach has been the pillar of all the following leadership theories and literature. Fiske (1993) argued that this degree of abstraction made traits to be more cognitively economical than relying solely on individual behaviors for making future predictions on the behaviors and in establishing the appropriate approach for interaction. Northouse (2007) notes that contemporary research on the importance of trait has altered in due course of time. Initially, it emphasized on finding the qualities of great individuals; then the relevance of situations was brought into the picture; and more recently, it has changed its course going back to reexamination of traits/attributes in the study of effective leadership. Study of past research by Zacarro, Kemp, and Bader (2004) were able to distinguish the six distinct types

of leadership traits: a. personality (openness, emotional stability, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and extroversion); b. problem-solving ability (metacognition, problem construction, and answer); c. cognitive abilities (creative thinking ability and general intelligence); d. social capacity (social and emotional intelligence, and self-monitoring); e. motivation (motivation to lead, and self-confidence); and finally f. tacit knowledge. These traits are also dependent on culture, context, and hierarchy (Densten, 2008).

There two distinct kind of traits and both have a certain component of difference amongst them. A multi-stage model in which traits those are more distal to behavioral performance and the other traits those are more proximal to outcomes. Zaccaro, Kemp, and Bader (2004) describe the multistage model where the distal traits help to predict the proximal trait which then assists to predict the final outcomes. Distal traits consist of motives, values, personality, and general cognitive abilities. Proximal traits consist of expertise, problem-solving ability, social appraisal, and tacit knowledge. The trait-based approach has always been intriguing and holds the assumption that leaders are special individuals with distinct characteristics. Dweck (1996) suggests that information processing and perceptual judgement about others are developed by the fixedness or malleability of traits. Werth, Markel, and Forster (2006) discussed that the belief of leaders and followers that traits are static and fixed will lead them to conclude global inferences from the same behavioral and personality patterns, irrespective of times when plausible situational conclusions are possible. If traits need to be a good predictor of leadership effectiveness, then they must conclusive and usable frameworks, and certainly not limited to use as multiple independent traits. Also, scholars must provide a clear picture on what impact the trait types have on the outcomes.

The trait approach is credited for the birth of study of behavior of leaders and followers because there is a lack of consensus on top set of universal traits applicable across geographies and culture. The behavioral approach was adopted due to its major benefits over the trait-based approach. Behaviors (e.g., inspiring) can easily be identified than traits (e.g., intelligence, knowledge) and provided scholars the chance to note ineffective behaviors and replace with more effective ones (Hughes, Curphy, and Ginnett, 2006). Fleishman in his (1995) paper wrote about ‘Consideration’ and ‘initiating structure’, which were observed by behavioral researchers and were proven to be strong among leadership ideas. ‘Consideration’ deals with relationship-oriented behaviors that made followers be at ease with themselves, their colleagues, and the situation. ‘Initiating Structure’ dealt with the task-oriented behaviors and broadly about achieving followers’ goals. Both ‘Consideration’ and ‘Initiating Structure’ played a role in the start of dialectic reasoning for the selection of behaviors, also the logic behind was intensely tested. Over the years these concepts have been questioned in terms of validity and measurement for leadership research. Nevertheless, Judge, Piccolo, and Ilies (2004) conducted a meta-study in which they found that both consideration and initiating structure have critical effects on many criteria, which are fundamental to effective leadership. These concepts are meta categories for leadership behavior taxonomies and aid in understanding the long list of behaviors, which are abstract and have less tangibility attributes in the real world. The Competing Values Framework is a complete taxonomy of leadership behaviors. It consists of eight paradoxical meta categories (roles) to mark leadership strategies to reach specific organizational results. The Competing Values Framework represents the complexity of leadership along with depth and range for effective leadership.

The problems with leadership taxonomies are four-fold: a. observing behavior to study perception of the world and making them useful, when these behaviors don't live in any objective sense; b. the leadership outcome choice; c. the correct level of abstraction and generality; d. the method using which the meta category was build (Yukl, 2006; Fleishman et al., 1991). Yukl (2006) cautions that decades of research on behaviors have provided enough evidence regarding the pitfalls of solely relying on behavior constructs, which are quite broad and abstract. Vroom and Jago (2007) emphasized the irrelevancy of both traits and behaviors approaches to effectiveness because of the following factors a. leaders usually have less power than is considered attributed to them; b. the selection of leaders majorly curtails their differences; c. leaders often get overwhelmed by the evolving situations and demands of the leadership role. Marion and Uhl-Bien (2001) found that the central assumption for the success of both trait leadership and behavioral approaches come from the fact that leaders through directing, controlling, planning and organizing can create a context of achieving a good articulated future state. Contingent and situational aspects of leadership too are crucial factors of behaviors of leaders mainly because leaders and their followers constantly evaluate their circumstances and situations to respond appropriately such that they can maximize rewards and performance (Epitropaki and Martin, 2005; Schein, 2004). Vroom and Jago (2007) say that to see leadership in only dispositional or only in situational lens will lead to missing the main part of the leadership phenomenon. Most traits and behaviors identified by scholars will be relevant in today's fast evolving digital world. However, the leaders to achieve competitive advantage must work on entrepreneurship, updating technical skills, risk taking propensity, and networking (Horner-Long and Schoenberg, 2002).

The research on leadership tries to focus on precise traits and behaviors of the leaders but fails to acknowledge the importance of social cognitive or information processes (Brown and Lord, 2001). Knowing and understanding the content, creation, knowledge deployment is the main theme of information processing approach (Brown, Scott, and Lewis, 2004). Calder (1977) describes the outcome of such research gives "common sense" results of leadership, generally first order constructs and easily noticeable behaviors. Calder argues for more scientifically supported assessments, second order constructs or perceptually lead understanding of events. Lord and Brown (2004) described the aspects of followers that govern their second order constructs to leadership are ignored, which are responsible for the leader centric perspective. In an earlier study conducted by Brown and Lord (2001), they have put forward that leadership studies must take into account the information processing of perceivers (followers), not just limited to actions and characteristics of leaders. Lord and Hall (2005) believe that the collection of perceived leadership characteristics and actions target the surface aspects of leadership. Easy to see leader and follower relationships always do not reflect the underlying causal structure of events. Many scholars want leadership theory to expand on how leaders and followers create value from leadership attributes/traits and behaviors, and its effect on their evaluations and self-regulation in certain contexts (Lord and Brown, 2004; Werth, Markel, and Forster, 2006).

2.4 Leadership themes

Comprehensive leadership themes are about the indisputable ideas but not such that they are undebatable. These ideas are widely recognized by the scholars through pragmatic, circumstantial evidence, and plethora of decades long research backing them. These themes have emerged from

well-established literature and are recognized by most scholars and practitioners as important to understanding and implementing leadership.

The first theme is about leadership being romanticized. Heroic leaders have always been the center of most leadership theories and command the vast majority of attention (Bennis, 2007). Often leading to the situation and most importantly the followers being largely ignored. Writers and scholars have over exaggerated heroic leaders and their achievements without equal consideration to the situation/cause or unpredictable events which led to their rise (Meindl et al., 1985). In many instances such adverse situations combined with easily susceptible and needy followers have led to the emergence of destructive leaders (Padilla, Hogan, and Kaiser, 2007). While the absolute necessity of leaders to exhibit confidence in their conviction and follow a leadership style that conveys effectiveness and control is well recognized, there must greater focus on the desired outcomes rather than just the style (Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich, 1985; Boerner, Eisenbeiss, and Griesser, 2007). These scholars advocate that the leadership definition should be disentangled from organizational effectiveness because many factors have a significant impact apart from the quality of leadership.

There is little research to show the followers and leader interaction. In fact, several studies have assumed followers as powerless, predictable and passive while the leader is powerful and in control (Collinson, 2005). Followers are unrealistically considered to be simple and impatient, who wait for the right type of influence to be given by their leaders. The fact of the matter is followers can actively attack and isolate their leaders at times to reduce their ability to influence. There have been some scholars who portray a more realistic and proactive nature of followers but leaders have always remained the main focal point of leadership research and the force binding the construct of realities about organizations, hence, leading to the overestimation of impact leaders have on organizational performance (Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich, 1990; Densten and Gray, 2001; Murphy, 2002). Moreover, the idea that leaders along with their followers easily rise above and overcome a problematic working environment, such as scarce availability of resources, further perpetuates romanticization of leadership as well as the notion that leadership is mostly related to positive outcomes.

The second theme is Influencing abilities of leaders. The ability to influence is the major idea found in most leadership literature and deals with the way by which leaders and followers change each other's cognitive, motivational, and emotional processes, to exert influence. Leadership's real value is being able to influence the outcomes to be more effective, creative, and faster while it can substitute for formal controls and mechanisms such as planning, organizing and control. The focus of leadership research has been on how these processes take place in both the formal and the informal aspects of organization's life and goes on to influence the resulting discretionary and non-discretionary behaviors, i.e., how perceptions play a role in working relationships to influence thoughts, efforts, and commitments put forward by followers and leaders. The perceptual construct of "formed impressions" and "make inferences" lie in the processes which are embedded in the organizational context leaders and followers experience. Cues including verbal, non-verbal, and interpersonal activities lead to these perceptions. The cues that both leaders and followers notice depends on what each one is trying to achieve, relating to the goals, and the level of their involvement (Kilmoski and Donahue, 2001). According to Jaques and Clement (2003), situational factors such as task, organizational level, climate, and culture transform the cues and leadership

depending on the environment and have important and unique factors that moderate the kind of influence the leaders can have. It is extremely problematic and potentially dangerous to study or apply leadership without giving a thorough consideration of these situational factors (Schein, 2004).

The third, handling the scene is an important leadership theme. Surviving the workplace environment with other potential competitors requires the respective leaders and their followers to show an image which translates to them being more competent and trustworthy. Often the leaders or followers or both show behaviors and attitudes which deny faults and exaggerate strengths in order to portray a positive image. This again reflects the romancing of what ideal leaders and followers are based on the perceivers. Lord and Hall (2005) in their paper mention that image creation is dependent on the premise that both leaders and followers have a certain idea how their behaviors must be and what they expect from others. The image of the leader can be distorted both internally and externally by self-deceptive beliefs and image management respectively (Gray and Densten, 2007). When these expectations match with the displayed behaviors and attitudes by leaders and their followers, they can be very influential and bring in more followers (Schyns and Meindl, 2005; Hogg, 2001). Chemers (2003) says that image management also deals with establishing status within the group which can be earned from exchanges that gain "idiosyncratic credits". A simple example would be when leaders or followers give immense importance to achieve team goals and shows extraordinary loyalty to team values more than their own are able to get credits to receive future influence. Discretion is used to influence others and events by encouraging others to accept the leader's potential, hence, discretion acts as a tool to earn status in image management. The main sources for leaders and followers to gain discretion is from organizational policies and procedures. This further enables them to reward, inform, order, negotiate, flatter, persuade, and provide resources to others. Others are mainly needed for admiration, loyalty, affection, knowledge and acceptance (French and Raven 1959). Soft tactics such as persuasion are preferred over hard tactics such as commanding, in some cases coercion tactics are used generally by competent power holders than less competent ones, and usually happens when the competent power holders are the primary beneficiary from the improvement in work performance (Van Knippenberg and De Cremer, 2007).

Fourth, Leadership is mostly about excelling in the relationship game repeatedly. It is well noted that relationships between leaders and followers are the source of crucial tacit knowledge about each other's act and how behaviors will be read, hence form the rules of the game. Healthy relationships help the leaders to control and influence followers than just command and control tactics. It can also enable leaders to enter the follower's motivations and expertise, which can prove beneficial to finish difficult activities/tasks. Relationships between the leader and follower forms the critical connection of the social order and rational context in organizations and groups on which influence is based upon (Uhl-Bien, 2006). To take advantage of the interdependent relationships in organizations and groups to form direct or indirect influence on followers is what gives rise to emergence of leaders. Leaders exchange extrinsic (wage increase, task allocation) and intrinsic (empowerment, appreciation) rewards to command influence. They also employ a certain behavior including inclusion, vision, protection, direction, and belonging to utilize on the position. Leaders have looked towards coaching as well guiding behaviors to grow and enhance their relationships. Hence, giving them greater powers to influence the follower's development (motivation, skills, abilities) and confidence to complete challenging work (Chemers, 2003). Successful relationships help the leaders command additional bargaining power to negotiate the followers' commitment to

the cause in exchange of rewards. The challenge here arises for leaders to discover uniqueness from each relationship with to have continuous influence on followers.

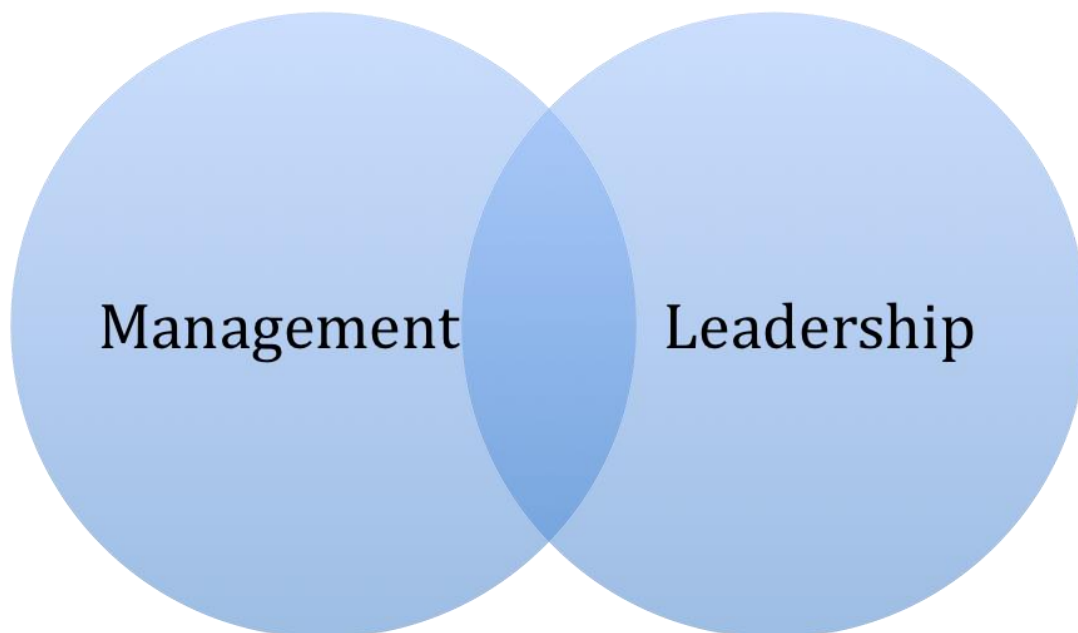
Fifth theme involves leadership bringing (positive) change and causing ripple effects. Successful leadership helps acquire those results that are not possible to be acquired by a single person alone. Leaders are focused to deploy multiplier effect where their vision and actions leads to ripple effects and people together to achieve a common mission. Leaders suffer from shortage of time, considered one of their most valuable assets, therefore, they must think what level of decision making lead to maximization of these ripple effects. Leaders must be skilled to make full use of members' knowledge, motivation, and skills on both individual and group levels to achieve the desired results from the ripple effects (Chemers, 2003). The usage of followers' skills happen in three ways a. visible behaviors; b. assumptions, expectations, and beliefs; c. values and conscious thoughts (Schein, 2004). According to Clawson (2006) leaders have an important part to play in not only energizing themselves but also others. Kark and Van Dijk (2007) believe to energize leaders must deploy two divergent motivational syndromes a. motivation for stability (prevention) and b. motivation for change (promotion) to target the cognitive and physical resources of members. Sharing the work at hand helps leaders to reduce the burden to process and solve all the information important to successful problem solving. The actions and words shared by the leaders set the benchmark for followers about the acceptable behaviors, also influence the environment of the group and the overall organization. It is absolutely critical that the character of the leader must be paramount for any socially responsible organizations and good management practices (Sarros and Cooper, 2006).

The sixth theme revolves around that leadership requires expertise, without it leaders are certain to doom. Sternberg (2007) strongly believes along with the valuable help from members, leaders must have expertise developed from the combination of knowledge, thinking skills, learning skills, metacognitive skills, and wisdom. Hollenbeck and Hall (2004) add self-confidence boosts the perceptions, thought patterns, and motivations of leaders, and it is most needed for the expertise development and to cause a significant ripple effect. Leaders to be successful must use self-motivation and have grip over their actions and thoughts so that they can outmaneuver links between organizational knowledge and dynamic capabilities inflicted from politics and power (Preito and Easterby-Smith, 2006; Yun, Cox, and Sims, 2006). They must also overcome situational demands which affect the leaders as well as followers ability to understand, manage, and perceive their emotions and cognitions (Cherniss, 2006). Relative inability to overcome these barriers would lead to misalignment of group outcomes with leadership and will be counterproductive (Cox, Jones, and Collinson, 2006). Sternberg (2007) further remarks that leadership is matter of leaders along with followers to formulate, make, and act on decisions, which to be successful must be a synthesized product of wisdom, intelligence, vision, and creativity. Leadership is also demands that leaders be experts to handle conflicting demands and have the vast resources of skills, wisdom, motivation, knowledge to give attention to not just the critical challenges but also the most prevalent problems (Densten, 2008).

To conclude, Densten (2008) identified two other factors that successful leadership can entail but not at the same level as discussed regarding the previous six most important themes. The perception of the leadership behaviors is an amalgamation of pre-conceived knowledge structures, which exist in the minds of individuals. These knowledge structures are used by people decode

new info about leadership (Lord and Maher, 1991). Knowing these knowledge structures can give significant competitive advantage to the leaders, especially to exert influence. The knowledge structure or schemas relevant to leadership are dedication, intelligence, sensitivity, charisma, masculinity, tyranny, and strength (Offermann, Kennedy, and Wirtz, 1994). These schemas remain unaffected by experience of leaders or any other organizational factors (Golembiewski, Billingsley, and Yeager, 1976). Chemers (2003) writes that the leader's capability to match the followers expectations require a good knowledge of the prototypical characteristics and situational knowledge structures of their members, and image management of expected behaviors and attitudes. The last factor identified is high performance expectations from the leaders as well as followers creates pressure such that the motivation increases to perform at higher standards. This complex relationship exceeds both leaders and followers understanding the expectations of each other which then causes enhanced performance. Instead, it behaves as self-fulfilling prophecy has a strange influence on the leader and follower. This effect acts subconsciously and is known as the Pygmalion effect. Better described by McNatt (2000) as a unusual case of self-fulfilling prophecies under which a person's expectations from another are transported to, or otherwise influence on, in such a way that the target modifies their behaviors in relation to the expectations. Simply put, the expectations of leader or follower alters the belief that they must achieve, and therefore their altered behavior causes higher performance. On the flip side, the Pygmalion effect has a reverse effect as well, the one of negative expectations from their leaders which can lead to the downfall of the follower's performance. This idea of Pygmalion effect has been challenged by White and Locke (2000). Nevertheless, the idea that interpersonal expectations have a certain influence in the personal beliefs which further impacts on performance is rather sound. This effect is continuous and works dual ways since both leaders and member try to influence each other's self-belief of what can actually be achieved.

2.5 Importance and Confluence between Leadership and Management



“Managers do things right; leaders do the right thing.”

Peter Drucker's most cited quote on leadership and management. He is regarded as the father of Modern Management. Management is usually related to the more routine and mundane jobs in the manager's hand-performance measurement, monitoring work, job assignment, team handling- whereas leadership is about the big picture setting, vision articulation, keeping all on the right direction, and certainly motivating and inspiring the followers. However, Riggio (2017) believes that both leadership and management are interlinked. In the business setting leaders are the one holding management or supervisory posts; outside the business settings they are recognized as folks with either elected or appointed seats of power and authority.

Max Weber (1947) was the first to introduce about various types of authority: traditional authority (e.g., patriarchies, monarchies), bureaucratic authority (legal or position-related authority), and charismatic authority- where followers willing obey and follow their leader because of their belief in them. All of the above rested on power in the hand of single individual on others but differed on types of power. Bureaucratic authority was the dominant choice during the industrial revolution a system based on rewards for good behavior, which meant improving productivity, and punishment for negative behavior, mostly resulting in unemployment. The famous Adam Smith (1776) in his *Wealth of Nations* wrote that the goal of management in any industry was to maximize productivity. Fredrick Taylor (1911) suggested that to improve efficiency of labor with the aim increasing productivity was to give workers additional monetary compensation when they adopt the best practice methods to perform their tasks.

Management relied on the effective use of technical skills and power to manage employees; leadership is more outward looking, extending beyond the traditional work setting and spreading the limelight on people who are the top ranks of nations, organizations, and even social movements. Leadership studies also span from business, political science, sociology, to psychology. Leadership involves beyond the mundane everyday managing individuals to creating vision for everyone, strategizing, inspiring, motivating, as well as making important decisions (Riggio, 2017).

Another popular theory arising from the management studies by Hersey and Blanchard (1969) was called the Life-Cycle Theory. The theory proposed that the leader needs to adjust their behavior towards their subordinates according to the level of supervision need by them. According to this theory the 'situation' depended on the level of maturity displayed by a subordinate. A mature subordinate displays excellent task-related skills and knowledge and is self-motivated. In this situation the manager's duty is adjust their behavior in proportion to the maturity displayed by the subordinates. The manager/leader must be directive and work focused with low level subordinates, whereas they must be supportive, and relationship focused with mature subordinates. This was the go-to formulae and was renamed as 'Situational Leadership Theory' (SLT). Hence, became the most taught lesson for management/leadership development programs (Hersey and Blanchard, 1993).

Numerous other situational leadership theories were postulated since the Life Cycle Theory by various scholars (e.g., Vroom and Yetton, 1973; Fiedler and Chemers, 1984). All the situational leadership theories have the same thing common: all of them try to engineer the most effective leadership behavior to the variables related to the situation faced by the leader (Riggio, 2011). All these theories share a unidirectional view of the confluence of management and leadership-

regarding it as a process in which leaders act in certain ways which lead to group and organizational results. Under the contemporary theories of leadership, we will examine more on the interactions between leaders and followers, both of whom work to get things done.

Currently, the COVID-19 pandemic has drastically altered the way businesses operate, with many organizations implementing work-from-home policies to minimize the spread of the virus. As a result, managers and leaders have been forced to adapt their management and leadership styles to this new virtual environment. In practice, the confluence between management and leadership has become increasingly important during the pandemic. While management focuses on the day-to-day operations and ensuring that tasks are completed efficiently, leadership is about guiding the organization towards a common vision and inspiring employees to achieve their full potential. With remote work, it is crucial for managers and leaders to strike a balance between these two aspects (Bloom et al., 2023).

Effective managers have had to ensure that their teams are productive while working from home, often by providing the necessary resources and tools to facilitate remote work, setting clear expectations, and monitoring progress. This has required a degree of flexibility and adaptability, as managers have had to find new ways of staying in touch with their team members and providing guidance and support. On the other hand, effective leaders have been focusing on building a sense of community and maintaining team morale, despite the physical distance. Leaders have been organizing virtual team-building activities, recognizing and celebrating employees' achievements, and offering emotional support to team members who may be struggling with the challenges of working from home (Choudhury et al., 2022).

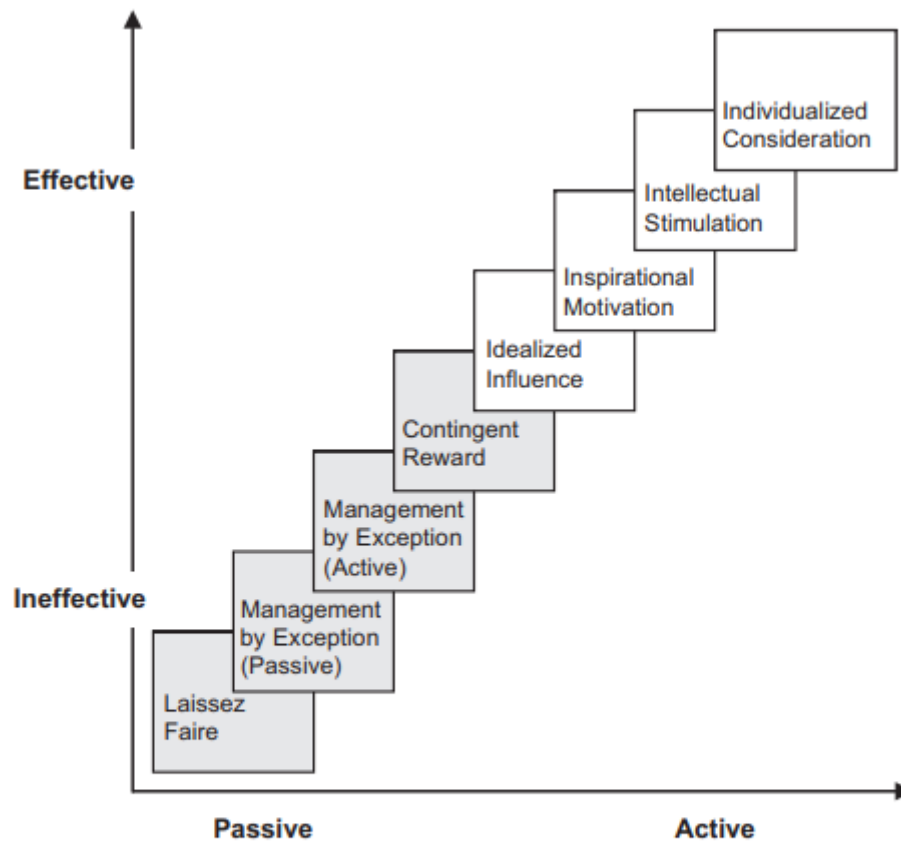
In essence, the pandemic has highlighted the importance of both management and leadership skills, and how they can work together to achieve organizational goals in a virtual environment. The successful confluence of management and leadership has been critical to maintaining team productivity and motivation, as well as ensuring the overall success of the organization during these unprecedented times.

2.6 Contemporary Theories of Leadership

The popular modern theories on leadership examine the bond between the leaders and their followers as the key to evaluating leadership effectiveness. The first theory is called 'Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory' and postulates that effective leadership can be examined from the quality of interactions between the leader and a particular section of work group members (Dansereau et al., 1975; Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995). This theory states that the dual relationship and interaction that arise between leaders and particular followers always differ in quality. According to LMX, on one hand 'in group members' have stronger bonding and relationships with followers, on the other 'out group members' are given much less time and consideration. The high-quality relationship of leader-member is gauged by determining frequent positive and supportive interactions. This high-quality LMX relationships as expected result in better levels of performance and higher follower satisfaction, also loyalty. In low-quality LMX relationships, communication suffers because of fewer interactions and less positive tone (Grestner and Day, 1997; Graen et al., 1982).

After the analysis of the LMX theory, there are two important considerations put forward to the better understanding of leadership. Primarily, in contrast to most widely popular theories LMX argues that leaders don't behave uniformly with all the followers, instead, leaders treat and are partial to certain followers, which help us understand outcomes of various decisions of various workplaces. Study by Liden et al. (2006) cements the argument that differentiations among followers by leaders led to a. influencing the performance of followers with low levels of LMX (low trust, self-interest, and close score keeping), rather than followers with high LMX (trust, equivalence, and mutual interest); b. influencing team performance when task interdependence was needed. Secondly, in recent years the work on LMX theory suggests that it is a dual interaction, which in turn is influenced by the amount of work and motivation is put forward on the relationship from both parties i.e., the leader and followers (Graen, 1976; Maslyn and Uhl-Bien, 2001). Hogg, Martin, and Weeden (2003) point to two drawbacks of the LMX theory a. the theory is dyadic and neglects the complete grouping of member-to-member relationships; b. the complete process of examination of LMX relationships used by members is oversimplified. They further argue that the leader-follower exchanges must be scrutinized and understood by a deeper inter group behavior, more textual analysis of group process, and organization membership. LMX also needs to be understood how the followers' membership of an organization impacts their self-identity.

The second theory which is very critical to all the modern theories is called 'Transformational Leadership Theory' which builds on the construct of 'charisma', there have been several good research publications building on this framework. James MacGregor Burns (1978) a well-recognized political historian of his times was crucial in putting forward a distinction between traditional transactional leadership, in which the people are compensated for the effort they apply on their work, and transformational leadership, in which both leaders and followers work towards a common shared goal. Transactional leadership emphasizes on leaders and followers contingent and non-contingent exchanges, which could either be rewards or punishments. These contingent exchanges help the leaders to concentrate and ensure the followers work toward a goal and is like the negotiation framework involving framing, clarifying, and rewarding (House 1996, Densten, 2006).



*Grey squares represent dimensions of transactional leadership;
white squares represent transformational leadership characteristics.*

Figure 1. The Full Range Leadership Model (adapted from Avolio & Bass, 1991).

‘Full Range Leadership’ is a modified version of Bass’s (1985) transformational leadership theory. Elements of transactional and transformational leaderships are represented on the vertical axis to measure effectiveness and ineffectiveness, and on the horizontal axis it represents the leader’s involvement from passive to active. Transactional leadership style is largely represented on the ineffective and passive area, whereas transformational leadership style is on the effective and active area of the model. On the first hand one could conclude that transformational leadership is better than transactional leadership style, but most transformational leadership scholars favor that the two are complementary to each other (Avolio and Bass, 1991). The dimensions of transactional leadership highlighted in Figure 1 by grey include laissez faire, management by exception (passive), management by exception (active) and contingent reward (Bass, 1990). Under laissez faire kind of transactional leadership, the leaders don’t get involved in any responsibility and let the people to do everything on their own. Management by exception (passive), the leaders are expected to do little monitoring and will get involved only when the problems get out of control. Management by exception (active), the leaders monitor the follower’s performance and will get involved to make the right decisions when needed and necessary. Under contingent reward there is simple give and take relationship, leaders will provide the necessary resources in return for followers’ support (Bass, 1990). As can be observed on the graph that the transactional leadership

is ineffective because leaders' involvement is low and lowest at laissez faire. Therefore, the most effective style under transactional leadership is that of contingent reward.

The transformational leadership theory was further developed by Psychologist Bernard Bass and colleagues (Bass, 1985; Bass and Avolio, 1994) highlighting the several factors (see table below) and created a Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire to measure transformational leadership.

<u>The components of Transformational Leadership theory</u>
<p>Idealized Influence – The leader is at the center and is the idol for his/her followers. The behavior of the leader is consistent with the overall goal and mission of the organization. The leader always ‘walk the talk’ and stays consistent. The followers idolize the leader and immensely trust them. Idealized influence can be seen both in the actions of the leader and in the qualities of ‘charisma’ that followers provide to their leader.</p>
<p>Inspirational Motivation – This quality is related to the leader’s capability to inspire and motivate the followers by providing meaning and challenge to the cause. The leader is able to have a deep impact on the followers using his inspiring words. Along with idealized influence, this forms the source of charisma for the transformational leader.</p>
<p>Intellectual Stimulation – The leader can ask thought provoking questions, assumptions, to reframe problems, and request the followers to try newer approaches. Hence, by doing so the transformational leader is able to stimulate follower creativity and innovation. It can be summed up by asking the followers to ‘think outside the box’.</p>
<p>Individualized Consideration – Another important part for the transformational leader is being able to create excellent interpersonal relationship with each follower. The leader pay’s attention to individual concerns and needs. The leader helps his follower’s build their own leadership capacity by mentoring, delegating/empowering, and coaching them.</p> <p>Note: It is not possible for the leader to give time to all his followers on the same scale, hence, there is always an inner group of his followers who are able to forge this special relationship of mentor and mentee.</p>

The core of transformational leadership which is ‘Charisma’ can be attributed to the idealized influence and inspirational motivation respectively. On the former, the leader is role model, has positive personality and has moral, whereas on the latter the leader can influence his/her men at an emotional level and achieve greater levels of success. On the intellectual stimulation part, the leader stimulates followers in problem-solving, creativity, and achieve shared goals. Lastly, by individualized consideration, leaders are required to forge stronger relationship with every

follower according to the follower's best abilities, strengths, desires, and needs. Leader must tap to these characteristics to motivate and build leadership capacity of the followers. Transformational leadership theory goes beyond just the leader's charisma and is more about developing a personality of the followers by empowering and motivating them. This theory has integrated the "change-oriented", "relationship", and "initiating structure" behaviors to become more dynamic concentrating to achieve above average results. Transformational leadership can supplement the characteristics of transactional leadership, under which the followers are influenced mainly by inspiration and the leaders are actively involved. The transformational leadership style build on the effects of transactional leadership style, hence, the very best of leaders practice both transactional and transformational styles (Bass, 1985).

Podsakoff et al. (1990) by his extensive research prepared a more complete framework called Transformational Leadership inventory measuring six reflective latent constructs. Transformational leadership has a romantic charm and popularity due to which transactional leadership has been ignored, despite the fact it is widely used in all most all working environments. Several studies using meta-analysis on transformational leadership show that the followers of such leaders are way more satisfied compared to other forms of leadership styles and achieve higher performance levels (Dumdum et al., 2002; Lowe et al., 1996). There have been studies which reflect those followers of such leaders also reported experiencing less stress and burnout, pointing out that transformational leaders are somehow able to buffer their followers (Seltzer et al., 1989). Densten (2005), Yukl and Lepsinger (2004) have raised questions about the structural validity, theoretical dimensions, conceptual rigor, concept's measurements, and details about operationalization of the influencing techniques.

2.7 Charismatic Leadership

Greek word 'Charisma' literally means 'divine gift', ability described as being able to perform miracles. German sociologist, Max Weber (1947) was the first to introduce about various types of authority: traditional authority (e.g., patriarchies, monarchies), bureaucratic authority (legal or position-related authority), and charismatic authority- where followers willing obey and follow their leader because of their belief in them. He also defined charismatic leadership as "the ambiguous quality by which a person is set apart from ordinary people and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least extraordinary powers and qualities", he also referred to it as "an extraordinary quality of a person". House and Baetz (1979) define it as the quality of having "profound and extraordinary effects on the followers". Recent researchers such as Knippenberg and Sitkin (2013) suggest that charismatic leadership should be measured from a signaling theory view, in which charismatic leadership is value-based, symbolic, and emotionally characteristic, generally not connected to the results or ability to influence others. Conger and Kanungo (1998) suggested that by behaving confident in effective and innovative ways, charismatic leaders can get disruptive change in any organizational structure and leader is judged to have achieved unusual success by the followers. Therefore, the attribution of charisma is because of the followers perception.

Trice and Beyer (1986) put forward that there are 5 essential elements for a leader to exhibit to achieve charismatic leadership, these include 1. outstanding personality traits, 2. a social crisis or a time of stress, 3. a vision that promises a revolutionary solution to the crisis, 4. followers who

believe in the charismatic leader, and 5. recurrent success and validation of the charismatic leader in dealing with the crisis.

The charismatic portion of leadership, according to Sashkin (2004), revolved on three main dimensions – behavior of leader, characteristics of leader, and situational aspect of leadership. This idea underscores the impact of personal powers of leaders motivating people to follow them (Hughes et al. 2006). Newer studies of charismatic leadership highlight the behaviors and motives of what they refer to as ‘extraordinary leaders’ and their impact on the psychological processes of followers with influence. The modern theoretical frameworks emphasize the immense positive gains a. conforming attributes of charisma to leaders because of their expertise qualities, behaviors, and situational demands; b. the ability to raise their commitment and enthusiasm to achieve a vision and high follower confidence; c. internalization of new beliefs and values; and d. a sense of strong identity and belonging with the leader (Densten, 2008). Similarly, Conger and Kanungo (1988) developed a framework explaining Charismatic Leadership into four characteristics: a. having a vision and articulating it; b. risk taking ability to achieve the vision; c. showing sensitivity to followers’ needs; and d. exhibiting novel behavior

Even though the idea of charismatic leaders’ dates to first study by Weber’s (1947) notion of charismatic authority, it is still believed to be relatively new in the vast literature on leadership. Plenty of scholars have done research on the primary qualities associated with charismatic leadership, its behaviors, and the subtle effects of the leaders’ charisma on their followers. House et al. (1977, 1995) convey that charismatic leaders are effective communicators of confidence and shared targets with followers. Apart from being excellent communicators, charismatic leaders connect emotionally and inspire followers (Hogan et al., 1990). These leaders are aware of sensitivity to their followers and the environment. Apart from wanting to challenge the status quo, charismatic leadership can be viewed as situational in some scenarios, these leaders could be better in some circumstances and situation that are unstable or uncertain, especially when there is a wave for change or transformation among the people (House and Singh, 1987). It is amply clear that the followers are core to this kind of leadership. To be successful, the charismatic leader should command the respect and admiration of their followers and be able to align the goals with those of the followers.

Yukl (2006) provides a guide to identify how exactly do the followers attribution of charisma to leaders take place. He identifies a. inadequacy feeling (guilt, fear, or even ostracization); b. a sudden and spontaneous wave of emotional and behavioral reactions (social contagion); c. the number and kind of interactions amongst the followers; d. ceremonies and rites during the changing of leaders. ‘Ideologues’ and ‘pragmatic leaders’ were two alternative meta categories added by Mumford (2007) to the evaluation of an outstanding leadership. Each type has its own behavioral, cognitive, and developmental differences which have different methods of influence. The pragmatic mainly targets the problem and need to be solving it; ideologues rely on evoking a emotion of tradition related vision in which the importance is given to shared common past, including the values and standards needed for a just society; the charismatic depend in evoking a emotional future related vision which gives a feel of shared experiences and futures.

Important considerations observed in the study of charismatic leaderships. First, Weberian perspective was that these leaders are rare and extraordinary but Conger in research (1989)

described charisma to not being a magical ability only limited to a certain handful of individuals. Trice and Beyer (1986) believe that charismatic leadership has been tamed and charisma as a quality is present in all people either to lesser or greater degree. But other scholars including Weber, Judge et al. (2006), etc., do not consider charisma to be a general commodity, they provide the example of very few exceptional charismatic leaders to have lived, inspired and influenced since the modernization of human beings. Second, Conger (1990) wrote about the negative aspects of charismatic leadership, he argues that charismatic leadership can be utilized for both good and bad deeds, which can be evaluated in the hindsight by studying charismatic leaders. There is this implicit assumption in charismatic leadership theory that it is a force for good, but charismatic leadership is neither inherently positive nor negative. House and Howell (1992) wrote that charismatic leaders in an organization can bring about instability, anarchy, and uncertainty into management and decision-making processes. Bedell et al. (2006) briefs the different kinds of Machiavellian methods observed across these meta categories. There is enough available leadership literature that point to the empirical connect between charisma and destructive leadership and describes charismatic leadership as dangerous even if it is not destructive (Padilla, Hogan, and Kaiser, 2007). The trait commonly found in charismatic leaders is their desire to willingly fracture organizations in order to bring in change (Storey, 2004).

2.8 Examining Charismatic and Transformational Leadership Styles together.

There is a widespread debate whether charismatic and transformational leadership are equal, distinct, or one builds on the other. Founding father of organizational behavior's charismatic leadership, Robert House believes both are more equal than different. In their paper House and Podsakoff (1994) argued that the fight between different scholars of both these styles to be minuscule, modest and just fine tuning. Conger and Kanungo (1998) supported by adding that there are little real differences between both these styles. On the contrary, the proponents of transformational leadership theory Bernard Bass and Bruce Avolio (1994) argued that charismatic research to be a component of transformational leadership style. They put forward transformational leadership comprising a much broader construct than just charisma. Bass (1985) had argued that charisma in itself is insufficient to account for the overarching process of transformational leadership. Authors believe that leaders scoring high on one of these measures are likely to score well on the other as well. The scholars who are on the distinctive argument side must develop measures to gauge the differences between the two (Judge et al., 2006).

In a meta-analysis Judge and Piccolo (2004) tested the hypothesis that charismatic and transformational leadership have similar validities; they did not find any significant differences in overall validities between them. In fact, in the same study, they found transformational leadership to have more consistent correlations to contingent reward and laissez faire leadership. Validities differences between transformational and contingent reward leadership were small, but in business organizations contingent reward leadership displayed higher correlations among follower's motivation and job satisfaction, and leader's performance on the job. Apart from this meta-analysis, scholars have tried to join charismatic and transformational leadership with other criteria which include constructs referring to subordinates' behaviors, psychological states, attitudes, performance, and group processes. Transformational and charismatic leaderships have also been studied using meta-analysis to examine dispositional and demographic antecedents, in which one studied the relationship with personality and another with gender. There has been other research

to examine their influences on these leadership styles, which include proactive personality, traditional values, altruistic and egotistic values, narcissism, and Machiavellianism. In addition, various moderators have been studied to understand their relationship with these leadership styles most common of those are motivation, commitment, satisfaction, performance, and effectiveness. In all these studies charismatic and transformational leadership have been assumed to be the same with little differences.

Collins and Porras (1991) suggest that there is distinction between the two at least on conceptual terms, i.e., on vision, a desired final outcome, and charisma, a personal characteristic of an individual which is mix of dynamic and persuasive communication style. They noted that vision can transcend a person and be passed on from leader to leader, whereas charisma is a personal quality. Judge et al. (2006) believe that persons thought to be charismatic are also more likely to have a vision, hence charismatic leaders will develop and communicate their vision to their followers. Judge and colleagues also argue that there could be a measurement problem where these topics have not been scrutinized to show their distinctiveness. Antonakis (2001) and Graham (1987) suggest that in charismatic leadership because leader is perceived as extraordinary, followers are dependent on him/her for guidance, whereas the essence of transformational leadership is inspiring and developing the followers, thus achieving transformational process will lead to reduction of charisma attribute towards the leader (Yukl 1999). In other words, transformational leaders inherently perform things to empower the followers and make them less dependent on the leader, but charismatic leaders perform actions to foster an outstanding self-image of competence, thereby increasing the follower dependence (Gardner 1989; Yukl 1999). Bailey (2001) and Miller (2007) described that in charismatic leadership the process of influence is one sided that is from the leader to followers because leader's main intention to align follower's vision with that of theirs. On the other side, in transformational leadership the influence process is dual sided from leaders to followers and vice versa because the entire concept's underlying foundation is on the transformation of both. House and Shamir (1993) argue that there could be many circumstances where leaders can behave both as transformational and as charismatic.

Cross cultural effects on transformational and charismatic leadership are important because my study also revolves around two largest and oldest democracies but with very distinct cultures and traditions. Bass (1997) had concluded that the effects of transformational and charismatic leadership are applicable universally, hence he generalized them across all cultures. This was rigid claim given culture tend to differ across geographies so does the leadership assumptions. There are other scholars who support this universal assertion of transformational and charismatic leadership (e.g., Walumba et al. 2005), there are others who disagree (e.g., Zagorsek, Jaklie, and Stough 2004). The GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) scholars did extensive research on the same and found that there are differences across countries, but most attributes point to universal charismatic and transformational leadership and their relative importance. Numerous other scholars argue that leadership in general is also culture sensitive. There have been several studies on cross-cultural leadership (see, Dorfman, 2004; House, Wright, and Aditya, 1997; Ayman, 2004). Mittal (2015) studied which kind of culture was inducive for either charismatic or transformational leaderships. His findings suggest that individualistic cultures (cultures where people are encouraged to get expertise, knowledge and skills to develop themselves and in such societies individual successes are expected and highly appreciated) along with loose societies (societies whereby social norms are neither strong nor strictly enforced) favor

the development of charismatic leadership, USA and New Zealand are good examples. Collective cultures (cultures with strong group goals and with more appreciation for group efforts than for personal goals and efforts) combining with tight societies (societies with strong collective social norms and strict enforcement) give rise to transformational leadership, those prevalent in Asian countries such as China and Japan.

Another aspect of charismatic and transformational leadership is that they both are assumed to be inherently positive. Bass (1985) had quoted that both these leadership styles are not necessarily beneficial. He later in his 1997 paper modified his statement to transformational leaders persuade followers to give up their own self-interests for the bigger good, which could be beneficial for the group, organization, or country (Bass 1997). There are no reasons neither to conclude all change is beneficial, nor any reasons to conclude persuasive leadership ends positively.

2.9 General Leadership Literature conclusion

Due to the recent many ethical debacles observed in many businesses and governments scholars have given greater attention to leadership ethics. Therefore, leading to many modern and novel theories addressing the ethical and moral dimensions of leadership. Authentic Leadership Theory (ALT) is one such novel and prominent theory introduced at the turn of this millennia. Walumbwa et al. (2008) suggests that ALT provides for positive ethical climate and positive psychological capacities among followers. The four main attributes of ALT are: 1. self-awareness on the part of the leader, who is very aware of his/her strengths and weaknesses; 2. a moral perspective which is internalized; 3. balance in processing of information, which can assist the leader to make objective, unbiased decisions, also value other's opinion during decision making. 4. relational transparency, which is importantly to have open and honest dealings with others i.e., to not have any hidden agendas. The leaders have the qualities of being optimistic, hopeful, resilient, confident, and possess high moral character and values. Avolio and Gardner (2005) distinguish transformational and authentic leadership, according to them under authentic style the leaders do not necessarily set out to transform their followers into leaders but they stand out by being role models for them. Hence, ALT is about being much more relational, where the leader and follower develop into their respective course.

Apart from ALT, there are other theoretical approaches that emphasize on the topic of leader ethics and morality, including Ethical leadership which relate mainly on the ethical behavior of the leaders (Brown and Trevino, 2006). Another slightly varied approach to leadership comes from the exhaustive work by Robert Greenleaf (1972, 1977) offering the notion of Servant Leadership, where the follower is put at the forefront. The servant leader mainly empowers, nurtures, and works for the benefit of the followers and the overall society as a whole. Recent studies by Barbuto and Wheeler (2006) and Liden et al. (2008) on development of measures to assess it has once again brought the concept of servant leadership at the front. Other less pre-dominant theories include Spiritual Leadership, which circles around spiritual calling to lead the followers through value alignment (Fry, 2003), and Virtuous Leadership, which deals with the leader's good character and possession of cardinal values which help keep the leader from any unethical behaviors (Riggio et al., 2008).

There has been research on identifying other outstanding leadership approaches such as distributive (Brown and Gioia, 2002), complexity (Uhl-Bien, Marion, and McKelvey 2007), distributed (Gronn, 2002), post heroic (Fletcher, 2004) and shared leadership (Pearce and Conger, 2003). These newer leadership approaches are based on relationships and not on superiority, dominance, or authority. Relationship-based leadership behaviors help the leaders to demonstrate integrity and ability which decrease the effect of trust-erosion incidents, and to show kindness which catalyzes the impact of trust building activities. Complexity Leadership Theory (CLT) is developed on the type of interactions and interdependences with various agents (people, ideas, etc.), environments, hierarchical divisions, and organizations. These form the base of the social construct, and concentrate on finding and examining the strategies and behaviors to embrace organizational and sub-unit learning, adaptability and creativity. Hence, CLT is beneficial in studying and understanding leadership in the volatile, fast-paced, changing times of the knowledge era (Schneider and Somers 2006).

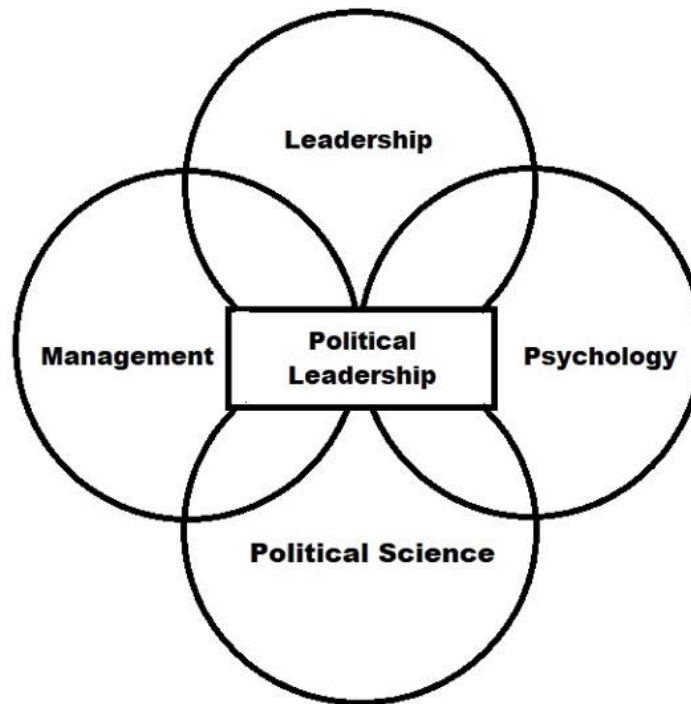
'Romance of Leadership' a term coined by Meindl and colleagues (Meindl, 1990; Meindl et al., 1985) because of the over emphasize of all the leadership theories on only the leader, hence, being 'leader centric'. However, there has some noticeable change to this trend with some new scholars trying to understand the role of followers and followership. Like the qualities and behavioral approaches to leadership, there have been research to identify the characteristics and behaviors of exemplary followers (Kelley, 1988; Chaleff, 2003). This trend has also been described as 'reversing the lens' approach because of the shift from leaders to followers and the role played by these followers to help construct the leadership of their leaders (Uhl-Bien et al., 2014). Social Identity theory is at forefront of the idea that followers help construct leaders. This theory argues that members of a group collectively choose to follow an individual who represent the goals and ideals of all (Hogg, 2001). The theory is very consistent of the fact that the charisma of the leaders resides as well as comes from the follower's perception of them. Social Identity Theory argues that the leaders influence the followers is dependent on a. how important is group identity with self-identity for each follower, and b. the leader's ability to keep up with the important aspects of the group or individual. Haslam and Platow (2001) describe both leadership and identity to be mutually interdependent features for the life of a group, which must be incorporated in all forms of leadership (Van Knippenberg and Hogg, 2003). Hogg, Martin, and Weeden (2003) believe the followers will form strong identity with the leaders and work with them, only when leaders are believed to be carrying the values of the group. Lastly, obsession with 'romance of leadership', observed by Jorg and Petersen (2007), had a devastating effect on managerial and political practices especially when there was lack of situational information.

The followers' traits also play an important role in the contingency approach of leadership. Empowering leadership and the autonomy of followers meet to influence future follower self-leadership, and hence prove followers as a critical contingency factor. Lapidot, Kark, and Shamir (2007) identified 'follower vulnerability' yet another contingency factor shown from the attachment between behaviors of leaders and the likelihood of erosion of trust. Padilla, Hogan, and Kaiser (2007) explain that destructive leadership happens when followers have unmet basic needs such as ambition, unsocialized values, low maturity, self-evaluations, and congruent values and beliefs.

‘Constructionist’ perspective is yet another approach to better understand the vital role played by the followers in the leadership equation. Scholars of this approach believe that leaders and followers come together to co-create both leadership and followership. It is believed that leaders and followers engage in a social negotiation to claim identities, granting, and recognizing the other party’s role. Simply put, followers grant the leaders their leader identity and accept the role of followers. The followers choose to accept the authority of the leader and choose to follow him/her. However, if either of them refuses to cooperate, then no leadership can be constructed. Therefore, there is mutual force at play whereby leader influences the followers and vice versa (DeRue and Ashford, 2010).

Lastly, ‘timing’ plays a very crucial role, whereby if the timing is apt then the followers follow the leader and withdraw their support as and when there is change in the circumstances. To conclude, quoting Uhl-Bien et al. (2014) the study of followership “is not the study of leadership from the follower perspective. It is the study of how followers view and enact following behaviors in relation to leaders”

2.10 Political Leadership



There is a large and growing body of research and literature on political leadership ranging from the fields of not just political science and public administration but also management science and psychology. Political leaders in a democratic society are those who are democratically elected, are people’s representatives, are threatened by deselection, and work under a constitutional and legal framework. They derive their power/authority because they have the public mandate, which is the permission to govern under a set of declared policies granted by the electorate after winning an election. The members of the electorate are all the people who are eligible to vote in a given constituency, the eligibility is usually based on nationality and age (Morrell and Hartley, 2006). This defines all the formal political leaders in a democracy; the informal political leaders such as

heads of civil rights group, activists, trade unionists, special interest groups, and even tyrants are not part of the formal group of political leaders (Azzam and Riggio 2003).

Political leaders are usually elected and not appointed to their positions acting as representatives and are bound by law to take consent from those whom they govern and serve by the process of contesting elections. They have the moral and sometimes legal obligation to work for the wellbeing and interest of all their constituents' members, even for those who did not vote for the leader. These political leaders also operate under a very distinct structure of accountability and scrutiny different from those of leaders in other spheres such as business organizations. They are responsible for a variety of issues ranging from law enforcement, legislation, economy, taxation, health, education, to policy making. These leaders also face considerable constraints from various quarters such as opposition members, fellow legislative colleagues, political parties, the media, and other institutions including lobbies, businesses, unions, charities, activists, confederations, etc. Thompson (1967) wrote political leaders need the mobilization and support from different groups to build consent in order to advance their goals and vision. Notwithstanding, political leaders are in charge for the provision of public services, as well as have a regulatory and enforcement role. Boin and Hart (2003) contend that the leaders are bound by legal, logistical, and practical constraints and these variety of challenges exemplify the complex and interdependent relationship between leaders, the electorate and other stakeholder groups.

2.11 Important Factors in Political leadership

The primary factor is that of the agency and structure. There has been tussle between agency and structure when scholars have tried to examine and understand political leadership. The main tussle was whether either one of them predominates or they exist as coequal forces to interact and shape outcomes. Early scholars such as Thomas Carlyle (1927) in his 'Great Man', and Hook (1943) in his book 'The Hero in History' had rooted for agency. Initial studies on political leadership believed leader's psychology shaped leadership styles and therefore changed the course of history. These scholars along with others have gathered compelling evidence to claim leaders' traits and styles were crucial causal factors of processes and results. The over inclination on leadership traits as drivers especially in political psychology have led to ignore the structural constraints for agency-led answers. On the contrary, the proponents of structural explanations have gained the momentum in the broader literature for political science since the 1970s. Scholars (see. Mesquita, 1981; Russett, 1993; Ostrom and Job, 1986; Rose, 1991; Edwards, 2003) of this thought believed all leaders respond similarly in their environments to similar political and economic matters, hence giving over emphasis to the structure or context over the agency. Finally, some scholars have taken the middle road (e.g. Keller 2005a; Skowronek 2008; Kettel 2009), they conclude that agency does matter, but it is heavily conditioned by the structure.

Structural factors are influential and sometimes decisive even though leaders can exercise agency, hence leaders don't exist in vacuum. Keller (2020) believe that political leadership is relational, and leaders must be ready to face off with strong institutions, culture and other political forces, these factors provide constraints as well as opportunities to rise. These contextual factors play an important role in the leadership style and effectiveness of various approaches. Therefore, agency and structure are the two sides of the same coin and inseparable.

Research points to the fact that political leaders style matter more during crisis and can influence results. At such times the problems are ambiguous, bureaucracies and institutional challenges less developed, and leaders must show more interest to solve. Boin et al. (2017) establish that during crisis there is short decision-making time, unwarranted surprises, and threat to basic values, therefore, decision making is the responsibility of a small and effective team of highly skilled members along with the leaders, who can take accountability. In autocratic regimes, leaders have the capacity to shape the decision making and policies according to their preferences because institutions are completely under the leader's control and there is little or no opposition. In democracies, political leaders can be empowered or constrained, and it depends on whether the political leaders enjoy the trust and authority of the members and the public (Kane and Patapan, 2012). The political societies which are highly bureaucratic make it difficult for the political leaders to pivot the ship in new direction and even monitor policies which are not new or controversial. These bureaucratic challenges have been well documented by Neustadt (1960) in 'Presidential Power' and Allison (1971) in 'Essence of Decision', which is based on times of the Cuban Missile crisis (Rose 1991, 2001). Interestingly, Krasner (1972) that such bureaucratic politics and organizational SOPs determine results on routine issues or in policies that are not the leader's priorities. The decisions which are the leader's priorities, leader shows full power to make an impact with their own values and decision to drive such policies. Rose (2001) and Hargrove (2002) have shown in their research that wisdom and political skill will allow political leaders to shape the results during significant obstacles.

Genovese, Belt, and Lammers (2014) have studied the importance of the historical context, they contend that even when the leaders are qualified with the needed skills still not all will have the opportunity to become great wartime leaders, innovator cruising their country's development, or a mediator trying to heal divisions in a new independent state. In another research by Hargrove (2002), and Hargrove and Owens (2003) study political leadership with context across time periods and political systems and conclude the crucial interdependency of leaders with their environments. They further add that the amalgamation of favorable context including the political and cultural climate supporting the leader's policies and that of political skill could provide incredible success to the leaders, but leaders with great skill and experience can taste success in unfavorable circumstances, also personal weaknesses can doom the leaders even in favorable circumstances.

The secondary factor influencing political leadership is the leader's degree of concern for people and their degree of concern in achieving results. Various scholars have advanced and tried to better understand the degree concern for people/relationships and results. One of the most prominent among them, Byar's (1972, 1973) work contends that developing societies need leaders to show balance between the 'task' and 'affective' orientations so that they can achieve economic developmental goals. Affect-oriented leaders are keen on socioemotional and expressive integrative actions, mainly to overcome hostilities and antagonisms due to development work. Task-oriented leaders devote to economic development. A single leader could perform both these roles or there could be different ones for each. Another scholar named Fiedler (1967) proposed that there was no ideal leadership orientation, rather the situational factors decided the orientation. Situational factors include 1. task structure (whether structured or unstructured); 2. leader and follower relations (level of trust of the followers on the leader); 3. leader's power depending on the ability to reward and punish. Several new scholars promote transformational leadership even in achieving political ambitions (e.g. Bass, 1997; Jung and Avolio, 2000; Shin and Zhou, 2017;).

As Keller (2020) rightly put forward that because leadership is everything to do with managing people to achieve desired results both in business and politics, it matters when the leaders see people as innately valuable members whose needs and choices must be included in decision-making processes, rather than cogs in the organization or society to make things happen. Hence, transformational leadership is best suited because of its emphasis on both on people and results. Therefore, according to transformational leadership theory to maximize member needs and organization or state goals it is to best to align people's interests with that of the organization or state. Soft power is the key to strike the balance and is extremely difficult to master as well, so transformational leadership is easier to describe than achieve. In sum, concern for both people/relationships and task-related results are directly proportional to each other.

The tertiary factor influencing political leadership is political context involving leader's responsiveness to it, perhaps this factor is the main reason for differentiating leadership in politics with leadership in management and elsewhere. The leaders are distinguished as two types, one who is task motivated or ideologically driven, and second one is contextually sensitive or situationally responsive. Further elaborating, the first kind of leaders are self-motivated by the desire to solve a problem, an ideology, hence making them care less about institutional and bureaucratic challenges, opposition or even demotivating info in the society. The second kind of leaders are externally validated and for them the approval of others is a determining factor. This distinction is what drives how the political leaders will handle the various constraints in the political sphere, this is not a mere concept of the leader-follower management, there entire political career is influenced by it. Keller (2005b) provides further examination of the factor, describing it in terms of leaders as 'constraint challengers' and as 'constraint respecters'.

Knowing the leader's orientation could help us understand, explain, and forecast policy making processes and their outcomes. Contextual variables including social, economic, and political factors at government, society, and even at international level are highly consequential especially in decision-making, hence their influence on leader 's decisions will only depend in how these variables are perceived and their importance in the eyes of the leader. An ideologically influenced leader will decisively move to make policies which are line with his or her views, despite facing any significant opposition. If the decision or policy is linked to the leader's survivability at the top post then there could be chance for deviation with the leader opting to pay attention to opposition view/s. Henceforth, for the ideologically motivated political leader the value of legislative bloc's views, public opinion, bureaucratic interests, and allies' interests is minimized while making decisions. On the other side, contextually sensitive leaders want to build consensus and gain maximum approval from various corners such as public, cabinet, legislative blocs, and allied countries in making decisions (Keller, 2005b, 2020). Preston (2001) has found that ideologically driven leaders who have greater need for control develop centralized and closed advisory systems.

In democratic countries, the different responses or views towards policy making is one of the core fundamentals of democracy and leader's responsiveness to them is important especially where opposition is more legitimate, varied, and institutionalized. Even in autocratic systems, leaders can't afford to squash opinions of the public and is explainable to elite institutions which include the military, secret services, party members, and other corporations. How leaders manage these political constraints either by accommodating or dismissing them shape policy results and even their own political seat (Keller, 2020).

Constraint challenging leaders are better at times of crises because decisive and strong leadership is needed as there is no time for consensus forming or even debates on policy deliberations. These leaders exhibit strength and transformative skills because they are not chained by opponents, institutional bureaucracy, and even convention. Expect such leaders to display visionary qualities and persistence to pursue goals even in face of opposition and setbacks. Unfortunately, these strengths can also be major drawbacks because leaders may unwantedly challenge opponents and risk their future success because they want to annihilate their opposition. Another major concern, these leaders may be unwilling to change from their failing policies and leading to heavier costs being borne by their country and themselves. In extreme scenarios, challenging norms and constitutional structures may destroy the political framework and risk democracy (Keller, 2020).

Constraint respecting leader being open to information and consultation considers a range of opinions, risks, and perspectives in decision-making, hence reducing the chances of locking up in failed policies or doing unpopular initiatives. Such leaders are good for having stability and predictability because they will not make any choices to harm established norms and institutional processes. The drawbacks being longer decision-making times, and frequent cold feet kind of situations due to indecisions. Because their choices are acceptable to a wide range of actors, so these choices are often diluted to the least denominator hence the policies are useless in answering to the problems. This attitude of risk aversion prevents them from making decisions which are beneficial to vast majority but not necessarily popular. To conclude, both the extremes of constraint challenging, and respecting are better avoided, which is to say both styles without political sensitivity and pragmatic approach lacking vision will mostly lead to unsuccessful leadership approaches. The best strategy to be effective leader is to possess both well thought policy vision and sensitivity to political realities, as and when need arises (Keller, 2020).

Apart from the three factors important for the political leadership literature, Fred Greenstein (2009) proposed six personal qualities in order to compare the leadership of different American presidents. The six personal qualities needed to succeed as a political leader are: public communication, political skills, organizational capacity, vision, emotional intelligence, and cognitive style. The single most important aim that any leader wants to achieve with these skills and qualities is the ability to persuade others to help the leader achieve his/her goals. According to Greenstein, it is the combination of these talents that made American presidents successful or unsuccessful, these measures are of relative leadership ability. His research findings was that some presidents score high on one variable but deficient in another, and no president was able to score high in all the parameters but there were some who scored higher than others such as President Eisenhower and Roosevelt. He also contends that among all cognitive strength is the most critical. Critics point out that this approach is non-quantitative, and the views of the author are from secondary literature sources, but critics also note that this deficiency will exist because researchers in general do not have access to data from top most cabins of world leaders, hence they will always fall back to such secondary sources (McKay, 2014).

A contradictory view from Edwards III (2009), which is different from other popular leadership theories, states that the true power of leaders is not their ability to persuade. According to him, leaders cannot really reshape the contours of the political landscape to facilitate for change by publishing an agenda and hence persuading the public, legislations, and other organizations to

support his/her policies. He believes the true power of the leader is to identify and take advantage of the opportunities already present in the environment rather than persuading many unsupportive as well as indecisive factions across the nation's boundaries. If the leaders play their cards well, they will increase the probability to succeed. Skilled and successful leaders are the one who have learned to govern in a system that is biased against change.

2.12 Crisis Leadership

Rosenthal, Charles, and 't Hart (1989) and Brecher (1993) define a crisis when there is an immediate threat-war, natural calamity, public health emergency, etc.-to the core values and crucial systems of a society, that must be faced through uncertainty and risk. The systemic perspective view crisis to describe a pivotal point in evolution, health, human life cycle, and legitimacy of governing powers, political regimes, policy shifts, or the overall system of politics. Crises can relate to various sectors, organizations, policy issues, and in many situations challenge the status quo of political systems and regimes. These macro-level crises can take place due numerous reasons, even ones that have never challenged humankind and the usual ones such as calamities, economic and financial meltdowns, wars, etc. Crises can arise from domestic instability, breakdown of civil-military relations such as a coup, and effects of regional confrontations (Tilly and Tarrow, 2006; Boix and Stokes, 2007; Linz and Stepan, 1996). On the contrary, crises also exist when powerful and influential people not only in public but also in private believe certain situations to be dangerous, urgent, and uncertain, and it does not matter what the experts, statisticians, or even impartial observers tell and however delusional, manufactured, or exaggerated they are made to be (Ansell, Boin, and 't Hart 2014).

Political leaders are mainly recognized and defined by their actions under immense pressure and stress, today's world is plagued by a variety of natural and more so man-made disasters - varying from natural disasters, climate change, terrorism, wars, financial meltdowns, cybercrimes, health pandemics, etc. Citizens of the world look towards global leaders to take decisive actions in the face of these threats. They want their governments to protect them by taking all comprehensive measures available at government's disposal, and make sure that they are better prepared to tackle similar crisis in the future (Furedi, 2005). Crisis leadership is completely different from leadership at normal times. The stakes are higher, public is under distress and attentive, the mood is volatile, and institutional constraints on top decision makers are considerably looser. Crisis test the legitimacy of incumbents in power; hence crisis are more stressful and difficult for political leaders to excel than politics as usual (Edelman, 1977). At the aftermath of the crisis, the incumbents could emerge stronger if they acted well to handle the crisis or rivals take over in case of lack luster performance and dissatisfaction among the public, so crisis bring opportunity to become heroes or threat to perish.

In the times of crisis, incumbent political leaders must manage three different roles that of facilitator, sovereign, and symbol. As a facilitator, the political leaders are responsible for mobilizing and aligning the different stakeholders to act; as a sovereign, the leaders are responsible for taking authoritative decisions on deploying resources to handle the crisis; as symbol, the role of leadership is iconic for the citizens, political community, and the response effort at large. These roles are very complex and often produce many unintended consequences. The roles can also be complementary. At the time of crisis, leaders in sovereign and facilitator role may find themselves

sending signals to the public that are in conflict and opposite of their symbolic task in reassuring the country's citizens. When crisis leaders make tough authoritative decisions, they are required to accountability for those decisions and face intense public scrutiny. They also come at center of 'blame game' politics, which permeates the crisis and at its aftermath. It is difficult to separate crisis leadership from the final outcomes achieved, on the hindsight the actions and performance of the leaders are discussed and judged (Ansell, Boin, and 't Hart, 2014).

Boin et al. (2005), post the work of Selznick (1957) on institutional leadership, conceptualized crisis leadership as a set of actions/functions that need to be done, at most times repeatedly because of the evolving nature of crisis. These are as follows:

1. Sense-making: Crisis political leaders should make interpretations of the causes, dynamics, consequences, characteristics, and outcomes of the emerging crisis. Burke and Greenstein (1989) called for a testing of the emerging realities of the crisis. Crisis leaders even though are supported by experts, information systems, and data, but the final responsibility is in their hands to see thru the ambiguity, uncertainty, and competing analysis and take final decisions for a working theory of the situation.
2. Shaping responses: Crisis leaders must provide direction and coordination to the members of the team tasked to handle and work on the emerging crisis. The team is composed of professionals, confidants, and other top members of various government departments. The leader has to monitor and ensure that these protocols unravel as expected, challenging circumstances are dealt properly, and emerging necessities are anticipated in a timely manner. These leaders prioritize and make hard decisions as well as crucial trade-offs.
3. Meaning making: Incumbent crisis leaders have the important job of being honest about the nature and impact of the crisis to citizens, stakeholders, and allies. The steps taken to ease the crisis at hand and expected to maintain and restore trust in the government and its institutions.
4. Account giving after a crisis: Crisis leaders must own and justify the actions both positive and negative with media, experts, parliamentary members, and the judiciary. They must debate so that the actions are justified and accepted, reject political blame games, and a sense of catharsis is gained (Boin, McConnell, and 't Hart, 2008).
5. Learning: Crisis political leaders at the aftermath of the crisis must organize to mark important lessons from the crisis. Must take actions from the lessons learned to take initiatives which will prevent such crisis in the future and are better prepared if one anyway arises (Stern, 1997).

2.13 Political Leadership Rhetoric

Political leadership rhetoric pertains to the language and communication strategies effectively used to influence and persuade their target audiences by political leaders. This includes speeches, press conferences, interviews, and other public statements made by political leaders also using various platforms both traditional such as print and non-traditional medium such as social media (Twitter, Facebook, etc.). Political leadership rhetoric can be traced to ancient civilizations in which the leaders used rhetorical devices and strategies to sway opinion of their people and gain traction for the policies and agendas. In modern times, leaders continue to use rhetoric to translate, communicate their vision and persuade the public to support their causes.

Leaders use political rhetoric in various forms, including the use of emotion, appeals to tradition and authority, and the use of language to frame issues in a particular way that effectively captures the people's limited span of attention, especially more relevant in the current times of distraction. For instance, a political leader may use language to cast their opponents in a negative light or may use fear or patriotism to rally support for a particular policy. This trend is especially common in today's world of populist political leaders as well as applicable to the two important democracies of our study. Effective political leadership rhetoric requires a deep understanding of the target audience, as well as the ability to craft compelling arguments and messages that will resonate with the people. It is also of paramount importance to adapt and adjust the rhetoric based on the changing political landscape as well as the evolving needs and concerns of the public or else the rhetoric is absolute garbage and in fact can have the opposite effect of swaying the public to the rivals. In short, political leadership rhetoric plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and shaping the direction of political discourse and policy.

Patridge and Crystal (1981) put forward that words form the architect of our minds and help paint our dreams and imagination for other people to understand. They are the most powerful weapons at the disposal of the leaders. According to them every word presupposes a context in terms of the leadership rhetoric and therefore we must pay close attention to the speeches of leaders in great detail. Political leadership rhetoric is about how a leader is able to persuade an audience, which is the public or the followers, to do something, or punish, or go on strike, or vote, or agree to something, or rise up, or pass legislation, or exonerate, and so on has been the primary focus of rhetoric (Kane, 2001).

The purpose of leadership rhetoric at one level is to make a good speech captivating the audience and win over their allegiance. The rhetoric portrays a character in the minds of the listeners, a character who is also outside the leadership rhetoric, this character is perceived or constructed and imagined to exist in reality, hence, both inside and outside the rhetoric the persona of the leader is visualized. The audience forms a perception of the leader and imagines the qualities possessed by them (Gaffney, 2014). According to Greenstein (2004) communication skill is one the main quality of the six described him used by people to judge a leader's effectiveness. He also believed that a leader without the proper communication skills, the rest of the qualities as described in the political leadership section above is of very little value. Pillai and Williams (1998) contend that how the leaders speak especially in rally speeches, interviews, and debates form the deciding factor in the minds of the people to evaluate and compare the leadership ability of the candidates.

Leadership rhetoric is exceptionally critical mainly because of the concept of distance, very evident in modern-day political landscape. The followers and the public are neither able to interact with the leaders nor directly see them carry out their day-to-day work (Antonakis and Atwater, 2002). As Shamir (1995) bluntly put forward that without the element of distance, rhetoric will have little value in how the followers and public judge the leaders. The more the physically distant and have only one-way interactions the leaders have with their audience, the more the audience will rely on ascribed or perceived attributes from the rhetoric to evaluate (Trope and Liberman, 2010). The ascribed attributes because of distance are gauged from the rhetoric delivered from public speeches, media interactions, and even the social media platforms. The audience's critical emphasis is the evidence of charisma or charismatic leadership qualities in the leader's rhetoric

(Merolla and Zechmeister, 2009). Jacquart and Antonakis (2015) found that there is undeniably strong evidence of charismatic leaders being perceived to possess successful leadership abilities by the citizens. Most critically, charisma is also believed to be linked to number of national and organizational results such as effectiveness, performance, and satisfaction with leader (Awamleh and Gardner, 1999).

After the end of the second world war, many British interviewees who listened to Churchill's speeches over the radio and television programs said that they pledged allegiance to Churchill and were ready to do anything him including fighting the war and even die. The interviewees said they were moved, emotionally attached, and inspired Churchill's speeches. The emotional attachment as described by Gaffney (2014) was because the people imagined Churchill imagining them as heroes fighting the war. The speeches formed relational allegiance and emotional attachment, as well as the audience constructed a persona for Churchill in this relationship because of the speeches. Marcus (2002) concluded that it is difficult to ascertain and grasp what was provoking this emotion and allegiance. Willner (1984) argues that this is because of the emotional character of the relationship along with charisma. This quality of charisma which is possessed by the leader of a certain something, on which we cannot really put a finger on, often described as the X-factor or as a star quality. Speaker vision too forms an important part of the rhetoric, evoking leader-follower relationship, proximity, empathy, and sharing. Charismatic leaders with their speeches make the followers feel that the leader is 'like us yet different'. The leaders portray being like their followers so that the followers identify the leader with themselves and yet different or unlike so the followers can confer or recognize leadership. Therefore, we must consider iconic speeches as a performance or act by the leader voicing charismatic leadership, that is an act performed with specific qualities and skills in its deployment.

According to Davies (1954) and Friedrich (1961) scholars had noted the value of charisma in the context of political leadership since the mid-1900s. Most of these researchers focused on the charismatic rhetoric use essentially related to the past presidential elections in the United States (Bligh et al. (2010); Merolla, Ramos and Zechmeister (2007); and Schroedel et al., 2013). Other researchers such as Bligh and Robinson (2010) studied charismatic leadership rhetoric in non-western leaders and Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl (2004) studied incumbent national political leaders rhetoric before, during, and after a crisis.

2.14 Political Leadership, Political Rhetoric and Overall Conclusion

The general conclusion on Leadership has been presented in section 2.9, in this part the conclusion will mainly focus on political leadership, crisis leadership and political rhetoric, and finally provide an overall conclusion. Political leadership is a critical element in the functioning of all governments, especially democratic ones. Effective political leadership is essential to the results of any policy or initiative, as leaders must be able to guide their followers towards achieving common goals. Successful political leaders must possess strong communication skills, a clear vision, and the ability to inspire and motivate others can help create a sense of unity and direction within their communities, which is essential for effective and good governance (Keller 2020). Political leaders also play a vital role in shaping the future of their nations. They must be able to anticipate and respond to emerging challenges, such as economic crises, social unrest, security threats, and even never faced difficulties such as a global pandemic (Boin et al., 2017). As per

McKay (2014) effective leadership requires a commitment to transparency, accountability, and a willingness to listen to the needs and concerns of the people they serve.

However, political leadership is not without its challenges. Leaders often face opposition from various factions, including rival political parties, special interest groups, and even their own constituents. They must be able to navigate these obstacles with grace and skill, while remaining focused on their goals and objectives. Political leadership is a complex and multifaceted undertaking that requires a wide range of skills and abilities. Those who can master the art of leadership can make a significant impact on their communities and help create a better future for all. It is up to each individual leader to develop their own unique leadership style and approach, and to use their skills and talents to make a positive difference in the world (Boin and Hart, 2003).

Scholars have identified important factors affecting political leadership and these factors are what differentiate political leadership from other kinds of leadership. The most important factor was that of agency and structure. The agency is the leader and their traits and behavior, whereas the structure pertains to the broader overall environment and system of governance which all leaders in a democratic setting must comply. Historical agency was thought to be the most critical but most modern scholars believe that both agency and structure are the two sides of the same coin because nothing exists in vacuum. There have been instances when either factor have been seen to be over prominent than the other (Keller, 2020). The other factors observed in political leadership are the relationship between leaders and followers, common goals to be achieved, and finally the politics part. The politics factor is what differentiates this kind of leadership from all the other kinds. The politics is because there is an opposition who is always on the look out to take over rein from the incumbent political leader. The incumbent leader, in democratic countries, is kept at check by the opposition, hence forming the differentiating factor in political leadership.

The thing that makes any leader legendary is the presence of a 'Crisis'. The response of the leader to a crisis is what makes a leader hero or villain. As discussed at time of crisis leader plays three different roles that of a facilitator, sovereign, and symbol. Boin et al. (2005) has outlined the 5-step process of a political leader must respond to an ongoing crisis. The crux of this process is to be proactive, understand the problem, formulate a solution, make improvements to the solution through feedback, take accountability, and finally document and learn from the overall circumstances.

In the end under political leadership umbrella, political rhetoric of leaders is understood to be the cornerstone of a successful political leader's career. The rhetoric is important because as Patridge and Crystal (1981) described words form the architect of mind to paint dreams and imagination. Rhetoric's importance is because not all followers have the opportunity to personally know and contact with their leaders and only way to connect with them is thru their rhetoric or discourse available in various public mediums starting from mainstream media to now social media. Distance is what enhances the importance of rhetoric of political leaders. History is evidence that great political leaders delivered iconic speeches which have brought about revolutions, decimated dictators, and induced positive change. The concept of political charismatic rhetoric is essential because this overall research is completely based on understanding this very topic.

Therefore, in conclusion of the overall literature review, we have analyzed all the scholarly work needed to answer the research questions starting appropriately right from origins of the word until all the most important theories and research pioneered in the 20th century not just in leadership and different styles alone but also in management, political science, crisis circumstances, and finally political rhetoric. The research gaps become clearer and prominent after the literature review that there has not yet been any study (comparative or otherwise) on the charismatic political rhetoric of heads of state during a healthcare led crisis. It would be justified to tell that no scholar could identify this gap because the circumstances needed to provoke such study never happened especially after the mid-1950's when most academic scholarly work began on the topic of leadership. Once again reiterating the research questions which form the north star for the study are as follows:

1. Which leader displayed greater charismatic leadership rhetoric during the covid-19 crisis, Donald Trump or Narendra Modi?
2. What are the commonalities and differences in the charismatic leadership of Donald Trump and Narendra Modi?

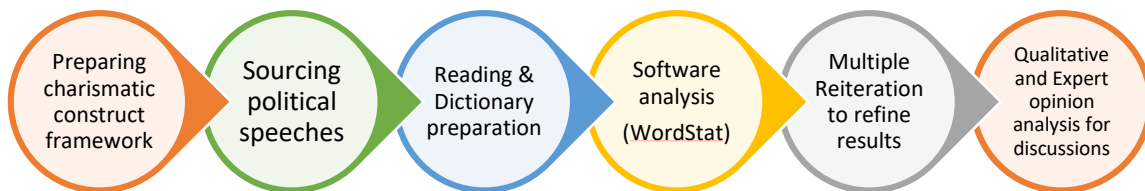
In summary, the table below highlights all the important topics covered in the literature review section of the study.

Topic	Definition/ central theme
Leadership	The quality of an individual to motivate and influence their followers to achieve a common goal. A great leader is the one who can repeat the same day after day, and year after year, in a multitude of circumstances.
Leadership themes	a. Leader is romanticized; b. leader can influence other to achieve goals; c. manages most difficult and variety of situations; d. excels in managing relationships especially with followers; e. brings about positive change; f. has the necessary and relevant expertise to lead.
Management	It is ability to use varied techniques to work towards a mission, the difference between leadership and management is perfectly captured by this quote “managers do things right, leaders do the right things”.
Leader-Member exchange	This theory captures the essence of the relationships of the leader with their followers by the quality of interactions.
Transactional leadership	Under this idea, the people are compensated for their efforts to achieve a common goal.
Charismatic leadership	An extraordinary quality of a person able to influence followers to achieve a certain goal.
Transformational leadership	Builds on top of charisma, where the goal is given more importance and leader too works towards transforming the followers to be able to take lead in the future.
Authentic leadership	Strives for ethical climate and positive psychological capacities and change among the followers
Political leadership	Leadership in a political setting where the leaders are elected thru a mandate of the people of defined constituency by vote of eligible members.

Factors of Political leadership	a. agency and structure; b. leader's relationship with followers and common goals; c. political context
Crisis leadership	Leadership at the time crisis and their response in deal with the same.
Political leadership rhetoric	The rhetoric/ discourse of leaders to influence the followers to achieve a common goal

3. Methodology

The methodology section of a research thesis is a critical component that outlines the procedures and techniques used to conduct the research. It provides a clear understanding of how the study was carried out and the rationale behind the chosen methods. The study is quantitative, and software led using a program named WordStat from Provalis Research. The cornerstone to study the charismatic leadership of Trump and Modi is based on the political charismatic constructs, explained in detail in the next section. First, for the study, the speeches of Donald Trump and Narendra Modi have been sourced from official websites which monitor day to day speeches, meetings, interactions, etc. of both these global leaders. Only the publicly available speeches delivered between March 2020 and August 2020 have been utilized for the research. The interactions of the leaders with their followers, colleagues, or even the Q&A with media is not considered. Hence, the speeches studied are basically monologues which have been delivered in front of the media. Then, the speeches are analyzed using software with a specially prepared dictionary containing the list of words to be analyzed as well as words to be excluded from analysis in the research. The discussions and conclusions arrived required listening to all the speeches delivered, also qualitative expert opinions available in primary media and inputs from academia. The complete study is focused on answering the research questions: 1. Which leader displayed greater charismatic leadership rhetoric during the covid-19 crisis, Donald Trump or Narendra Modi? 2. What are the commonalities and differences in the charismatic leadership of Donald Trump and Narendra Modi?



Flow chart describing the complete process of the study.

3.1 Measuring and Defining the Charismatic Rhetorical Constructs

There is interconnection between a leader's public rhetoric and charismatic leadership, despite the somewhat overall elusive and ambiguous concept of charisma as a construct (Spinard, 1991). Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl (2004) believe there are different ways to measure or even operationalize charismatic leadership by studying the rhetoric of leaders. Shamir, Arthur, and House (1994) proposed the following constructs to measure the charismatic leadership: followers' worth, shared history, moral values, faith, distant goals, collective identity, and similarities to followers. Few other scholars recommend an examination of factors such as stories, rhetorical questions, similes, and metaphors (Frese, Beimeel, and Schoenborn, 2003).

The seven charismatic constructs which made it to the study are: a. collective focus, b. cooperation, c. adversity, d. action oriented, e. follower's worth, f. similarity to followers, and g. tangibility. As per Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl (2004), Shamir, Arthur, and House (1994), and Aswad (2019) these

rhetorical charismatic constructs were found to be theoretically and empirically connected to quality of charisma in a leader. To put it differently, these constructs were highly correlated with the production of charismatic effects among the followers. These were also selected for the fact that the same researchers mentioned above conducted well know studies for charismatic leadership thru political rhetoric by leaders. They were also able to examine how the political leaders rhetoric revealed characteristics of charisma because of motivational effects, which include the topics of self-expression, self-worth, and self-esteem, on the audience. Bligh et al. have categorized agentic constructs as masculine and communal constructs as feminine.

Communal Charismatic Constructs: Communal constructs relate to relationship building and often underline the common bonds between the leader and their followers. They are considered as the foundations of charismatic leadership (Waldman and Yammarino, 1999). The four communal rhetorical constructs used in this research are:

1. **Collective focus:** This kind of language builds trust around a common or shared social identity (e.g., social groupings, geographical entities), self-sacrifice, or aiming a common goal over individual self-interest and wishes. The study will use the additive formula of the overall public and collective reference words.
2. **Follower's worth:** This type of language refers to confidence in the leader's followers and uses a lot of affirmative language, building self-worth with the help of ingratiation and flattering language (Shamir, Arthur, and House, 1994). To calculate this part, the study will rely on the utilization of praises, follower inspirational and satisfactory words (Aswad, 2019).
3. **Similarity to followers:** This language is different from the emphasis on group identity or follower's worth described on top. It identifies the leader as part of the same in-group as their followers, neglects differences, and focuses on similarities with followers in line with aspects such as family, values, and financial status. At the same time, the leader belabors their fitness to lead and be the head of the group (Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl, 2004). To measure this construct, the study will use dictionaries relating to familiarity, leveling, and human interest.
4. **Cooperation:** This kind of language resembles a commitment to a shared vision or interactions among people that will result in the final group outcomes.

Agentic Charismatic Constructs: Agentic constructs downplays the need to suffer hardship to achieve an ambitious vision mainly for the country. They tend to indicate characteristics such as power, competence, and resoluteness. The two agentic rhetorical constructs included in the study are:

1. **Action-oriented:** This type of language indicates certainty about achieving a vision for the country. It indicates the form of a call to action by the leader to their followers. To evaluate this construct, the study will add the vocabulary referring to aggression and accomplishment (Aswad, 2019).
2. **Adversity:** This kind of language focuses on the desire to overcome intolerable incumbent conditions and circles around the themes such as the inevitable need for change and the urgent need to alter the status quo, also voicing the repression against the people, if any (Conger, 1991). To measure the construct, I rely on words focusing on denial, hardships, and blame.

Neutral Charismatic Construct (Tangibility): Tangibility establishes references to the intangible future goals and to something concrete, and tangible outcomes. Many scholars have hinted that a

charismatic leader will use less tangible rhetoric mainly to largen the appeal of their vision, rather than use language related to specific, measurable outcomes (Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl, 2004; Conger, 1991;). To this final construct, the study relies on vocabulary of words pointing to concreteness, goals and insistence.

3.2 Overview of Charismatic Constructs (Operational Definitions, Formulas, and Sample Words)

Construct	Formula	Sample Words
Collective focus	Collectives + peoples' reference	We, us, our, team, humanity.
Follower's worth	Praise + satisfaction + inspiration	Terms of praise that point to positive emotional states, such as faithful, loyal, and good.
Similarity to followers	Leveling + familiarity + human interest	Anybody, everybody, children, family, friends, parents, yours.
Cooperation	Cooperation	Alignment, network, teamwork, sharing and consolidate.
Action-oriented	Aggressive + accomplishment	Action, change, speed, and momentum.
Adversity	Blame + hardship + denial	Disaster, carnage, injustice, and hardships.
Tangibility	Concreteness + insistence	Concrete words such as goals, buildings, homes, etc. and repetition of key aims.

Source: Bligh et al. (2010); Bligh and Robinson (2010); Davis and Gardner (2012); Schroedel et al. (2013).

I will use a computer-aided content analysis software program named WordStat version 2022.0.4 to examine the charismatic rhetoric speeches of Donald Trump and Narendra Modi. WordStat is a lexical software program that is developed Provalis Research and widely used for the analysis of such political speeches and interview transcripts. The software concentrates on word choices and the frequency of predefined families of words (Noor, 2019). This study did not use the predefined families of words usually called dictionary or words categorization depending on the version. Instead, a new dictionary was created which concentrated not only on words but also on phrases.

Often words don't capture the true meaning, but phrases are more complete, providing a better understanding of the context. There were many newer additions made to accommodate and customize according to the context of the health pandemic something which can't be traced back to any study done before. For example, words such as Corona, Covid, Chinese/China virus (regrettably used by Trump), quarantine, pandemic, etc. were added to the adversity construct; operation warp speed, task force, etc. were added to the action-oriented construct; vocal for local was added to the cooperation construct; similarly other phrases including defeat the virus, vanquish the virus, etc. were added to tangibility construct. Since, the comparison is between an English-speaking leader with another leader who delivered the speeches in Hindi, using a customized dictionary was more effective for the study. The dictionary put in context for various Hindi words or phrases for which the English translation was not used on the official sources. For example, the term *Atmanirbhar Bharat* meaning actions for self-reliant India was added to the action-oriented construct, *Janta curfew* meaning public imposed curfew was added to the adversity construct, similarly *Garib kalyan yojna* (a scheme for the poor people of India to provide food) and *Abhiyan* (operation or process) were added to action-oriented construct, as well as numerous other such Hindi words to make the comparison as legitimate as possible. In total there 445 words or phrases used in the dictionary to compare across the seven different constructs to evaluate the charismatic leadership. Similarly, 556 words were added to the exclusion list following multiple iterations.

The advantages of using such an advanced computerized content analysis software are manifold as it allows for analysis in quantitative as well as qualitative methods (Insch et al., 1997). The software is highly regarded as efficient and reliable (Bligh et al., 2004). The software can process up to 300,000 words per second, but in my testing, it was around 60,000 words per second. There are also a few limitations of this methodology: the software determines charismatic leadership with the word frequency and lacks accounting for the context of the discourse (Pennebaker and Lay, 2002), this holds true even to date but there could more drastic improvements with the proliferation of AI tools, after they become more accessible and affordable in future. The method also does not consider perceptions of charisma among the people, such as past behavior, personality characteristics, and media coverage.

The results from the analysis of the speeches by the WordStat software will be further analyzed to arrive at a winner between Donald Trump and Narendra Modi for who exhibited more charismatic leadership during the coronavirus pandemic based on the comparison of the quantitative data generated.

4. Sample

The speeches of both Trump and Modi are analyzed for the first six months since March 2020 and until the end of August 2020. The WHO declared it as pandemic on 11th March 2020. This timeframe is the most appropriate to analyze the speeches to determine charismatic leadership of the two leaders on the fighting the global health pandemic. The speeches for Donald Trump were taken from ‘The American Presidency Project’ available at <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>, an independent website maintained by University of California at Santa Barbara consisting of all speeches text transcript, news conferences, memorandums, letters, orders, remarks, addresses, and everything else pertaining to all the Presidents of USA. There were 73 relevant speeches which Trump gave in this period pertaining to the Covid. At the beginning of pandemic Trump and his team, consisting of scientists, doctors, the vice president, sometimes also company CEOs of various firms helping to manage the crisis better as well as personnel from military, held everyday Press briefings to update the nation on the rise in number of cases, fatalities, various steps taken, arranging medical equipment, covid tests, medicine, arranging from masks to PPE kits, vaccine research updates, and others steps to fight the invisible enemy. The study takes into account only speeches delivered by President Trump and ignores media Q&A’s. Trump has been very proactive in dealing with fighting the virus. President Trump led from the front and participated in all the press briefings which were conducted every day from the 9th of March thru the 30th of April, barring only a few days. Trump always began with the briefings usually then followed by the Vice President, Mike Pence, or the Scientific advisors Dr. Anthony Fauci or Dr. Deborah Birx, then followed the media Q&A’s. The press briefings lasted anywhere between 45 to 120 minutes. Of the 73 speeches, there is only one address to the nation whereas everything else is either press briefs, remarks, or news conferences.



a. Trump during covid press conference



b. Modi during address to the nation.

Narendra Modi’s speeches were taken from his own website - <https://www.narendramodi.in/downloadapp>, having everything pertaining to the current PM daily activities. The total eligible speeches were only 23 and include zero press briefs, instead consists of 7 national addresses, and there are 3 radio addresses pertaining to covid, he has been doing these radio speeches every month since he was elected as PM. The other pandemic related speeches are publicly available speeches which he delivered at the various meetings with Chief Ministers of various states, business conferences, global organizations speeches, and universities addresses. Unlike President Trump, PM Modi has not done any media Q&A’s at least during the six months of the study period. All of Modi’s speeches have been delivered in Hindi language and transcripts for the same have been pre-converted to English which were already available on the website. His

speeches are mainly prerecorded and televised across all platforms from news channels to social media platforms. His speeches usually last between 10 and 30 minutes. The Indian government had established covid task force under the Union Health Ministry to give updates on day-to-day updates regarding the pandemic, the task force was responsible to answer to all the media queries unlike the initiative taken by the US government under the Trump administration. Unlike the US, India in 2020 had a much milder wave 1 resulting fewer fatalities and overall cases. Whereas India faced a more devastating wave 2 of the pandemic in 2021.

There are 3 exceptions to the total speeches of both the leaders in the study for the six months ranging from March to August 2020. First, 2 speeches of Donald Trump have been taken from February 28 and 29, 2020, because these were some of the first speeches pertaining to pandemic delivered by him, coincidentally shortly after his state visit from India in the same month where both leaders exhibited a lot of public bonhomie. Second, with respect to Narendra Modi his speech, which was national address, delivered on 20th of October 2020 is also considered because it was purely on covid before the start of festive season in India.

Donald Trump Speeches		
No.	Date	Title & themes
1	28/02	Remark & Press Brief – China travel ban, covid
2	29/02	News Conference – Travel ban, covid
3	02/03	Remarks on formation of Covid task force
4	04/03	Meeting with Airline companies
5	09/03	Press Brief – Covid task force
6	10/03	News Conference with Health Insurance industry experts
7	11/03	National Address – Travel ban, relief package
8	13/03	News Conference – Testing, hospitalization
9	14/03	Press Brief – Relief package, testing
10	15/03	Press Brief – Economy, Federal reserve
11	16/03	G7 Joint Statement – Economy, pandemic
12	16/03	Press Brief – Task force, G7 brief, social distancing
13	17/03	Press Brief – Testing, fast food-service firms
14	18/03	Press Brief – Defense Production Act (DPA), FEMA
15	18/03	Meeting with Nurses
16	19/03	Press Brief – FDA, vaccine, Hydroxychloroquine
17	20/03	Press Brief – Student loans, border closures
18	21/03	Press Brief – Business CEOs meetings, FDA
19	22/03	Press Brief – Relief package, medical essentials (PPE kits, masks, beds)
20	23/03	Press Brief – Relief package, HCQs
21	24/03	Press Brief – FEMA, DPA
22	25/03	Press Brief – Economic relief package, FEMA, testing
23	26/03	Press Brief – Economic relief package, testing, G20 meeting
24	27/03	Press Brief – DPA, ventilators
25	29/03	Press Brief – FDA, FEMA
26	30/03	Press Brief – Medical and critical supplies
27	31/03	Press Brief – Economic relief package, supplies, meeting with TMT firms

28	01/04	Press Brief – Illegal narcotics
29	02/04	Press Brief – Testing, medical supplies
30	03/04	Press Brief – NYC situation, critical supplies
31	04/04	Press Brief – NYC situation, ventilators, medical and critical supplies
32	05/04	Press Brief – Boris Johnson, medicines, critical supplies
33	06/04	Press Brief – Boris Johnson, critical supplies, NYC situation
34	07/04	Press Brief – Ventilators, vaccine and drug trials, meet with Bank CEOs
35	08/04	Press Brief – General
36	09/04	Press Brief – OPEC, novel treatments, relief package
37	10/04	Press Brief – OPEC, critical supplies, testing
38	13/04	Press Brief – General
39	14/04	News Conference – WHO, ventilators
40	15/04	Press Brief – Testing, critical supplies, economic relief
41	16/04	Press Brief – Covid deaths, testing
42	17/04	Press Brief – Economic relief, testing, covid deaths, critical supplies
43	18/04	Press Brief – Economic relief, testing, critical supplies
44	19/04	Press Brief – Testing, general
45	20/04	Press Brief – Medicine and vaccine trials
46	21/04	Press Brief – Ventilators and critical supplies
47	22/04	Press Brief – Covid hotspots, testing, fake news
48	23/04	Press Brief – Relief package, virus testing
49	24/04	Press Brief – CARES Act
50	27/04	Press Brief – Overall covid response
51	29/04	Meeting with Business delegates
52	30/04	Exchange with Reporters - General
53	11/05	News Conference – Testing, critical supplies
54	15/05	Remarks on Vaccine development
55	21/07	News Conference – Vaccine development
56	22/07	News Conference – Operation Warp Speed (OWS), testing
57	23/07	News Conference – Vaccine development, Remdesivir, reopening
58	27/07	News Conference – OWS, vaccine development
59	28/07	News Conference – Vaccines, critical supplies
60	30/07	News Conference – Covid mortality, relief package, Plasma therapy
61	31/07	Remarks on Covid Response – Florida covid situation
62	03/08	News Conference – Pharmaceutical firms
63	04/08	News Conference – Vaccines, medical supplies
64	05/08	News Conference – General
65	07/08	News Conference – Economy, jobs
66	08/08	News Conference – Relief package
67	11/08	News Conference – Vaccines, economy
68	13/08	News Conference – Opposition vilification
69	14/08	News Conference – Achievements since start of the pandemic
70	15/08	News Conference – Covid testing milestones.
71	19/08	News Conference – General
72	23/08	News Conference – Covid research
73	31/08	News Conference – OWS, vaccine trials

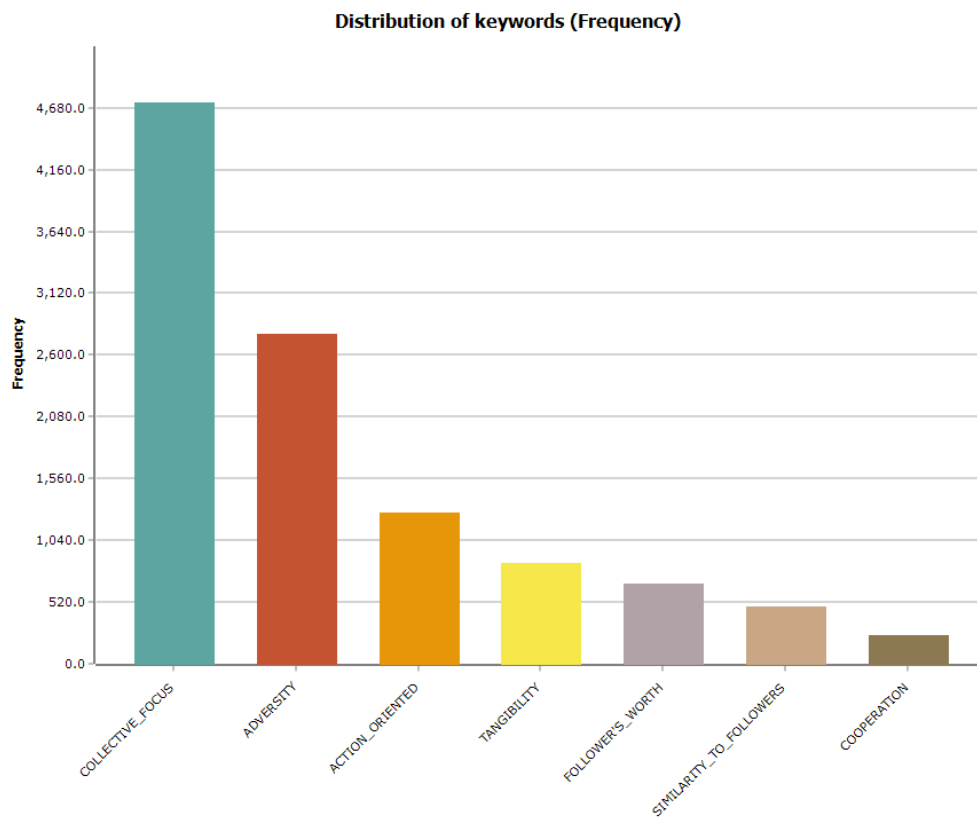
Narendra Modi Speeches		
No.	Date	Title & themes
1	19/03	National Address 1 – Lockdown, social distancing
2	24/03	National Address 2 – Lockdown, social distancing
3	29/03	Mann ki Baat 1 – Lockdown, social distancing, testing,
4	03/04	National Address 3 – Social distancing, covid warriors, schemes
5	14/04	National Address 4 – Lockdown, social distancing, testing
6	24/04	Meeting with Sarpanches – Social distancing, covid warriors
7	26/04	Mann ki Baat 2 – Social distancing, schemes, welfare, covid warriors
8	12/05	National Address 5 – Unlock, masks, self-reliant India
9	31/05	Mann ki Baat 3 – Self-reliant India, Yoga
10	01/06	Rajiv-Gandhi University address – Covid warriors, Arogya-Setu app
11	02/06	Meeting with Indian Businesses – Self-reliant India, Make in India
12	16/06	Meeting with CMs of all states 1 – Testing, hospitals, unlock
13	17/06	Meeting with CMs of all states 2 – Testing, health infrastructure
14	20/06	PM Garib Kalyan Yojana – Welfare scheme, food, employment
15	21/06	Yoga Day address – Yoga, healthcare
16	26/06	UP address with CM Yogi – Welfare scheme, food, employment
17	30/06	National Address 6 – Unlock, welfare schemes.
18	09/07	India-UK Indian diaspora address – Self-reliant India, ease of business
19	17/07	United Nations Address – Development, schemes, SDGs
20	27/07	Covid testing center launch – Testing, isolation, healthcare
21	11/08	Meeting with CMs of all States – Testing, hospitalization, cases
22	15/08	Independence Day address – Self-reliant India, welfare schemes
23	20/10	National Address 7 – Social distancing, festivities

Most used Words and Phrases by Modi in his speeches

5.2 Speech Analyses WordStat Results

	FREQUENCY	% SHOWI	% PROCESSED	% TOTAL	NO. CASES	% CASES
COLLECTIVE_FOCUS	4725	42.84%	7.54%	3.22%	73	100.00%
ADVERSITY	2778	25.19%	4.43%	1.90%	73	100.00%
ACTION_ORIENTED	1277	11.58%	2.04%	0.87%	71	97.26%
TANGIBILITY	847	7.68%	1.35%	0.58%	72	98.63%
FOLLOWER'S_WORTH	677	6.14%	1.08%	0.46%	71	97.26%
SIMILARITY_TO_FOLLOWER:	480	4.35%	0.77%	0.33%	69	94.52%
COOPERATION	245	2.22%	0.39%	0.17%	64	87.67%

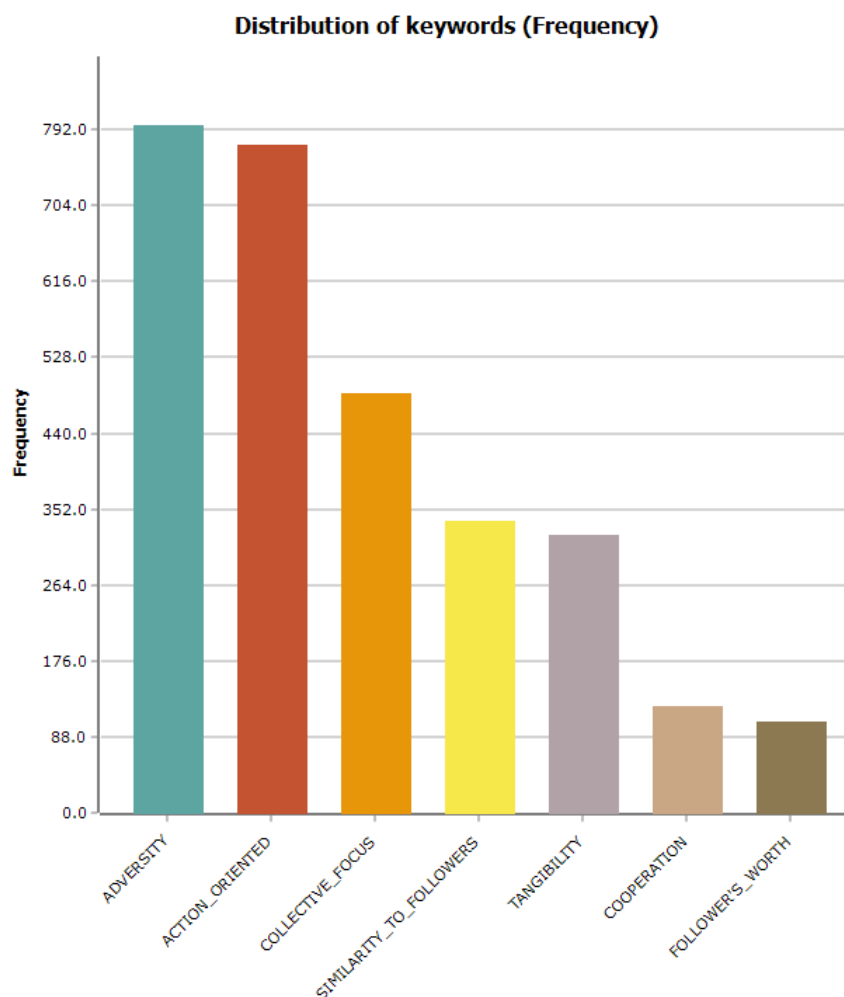
Table 1: Analyses of Trump's Speeches



Bar Chart: Showing Trump's frequency of words and phrases according to the defined constructs.

	FREQUENCY	% SHOWN	% PROCESSED	% TOTAL	NO. CASES	% CASES
ADVERSITY	797	27.04%	4.06%	1.77%	23	100.00%
ACTION_ORIENTED	775	26.30%	3.95%	1.72%	23	100.00%
COLLECTIVE_FOCUS	487	16.53%	2.48%	1.08%	23	100.00%
SIMILARITY_TO_FOLLOWER:	338	11.47%	1.72%	0.75%	23	100.00%
TANGIBILITY	322	10.93%	1.64%	0.71%	23	100.00%
COOPERATION	123	4.17%	0.63%	0.27%	22	95.65%
FOLLOWER'S_WORTH	105	3.56%	0.54%	0.23%	20	86.96%

Table 2: Analyses of Modi's Speeches



Bar Chart: Showing Modi's frequency of words and phrases according to the defined constructs.

Multiple iterations were done to make simultaneous additions to the dictionary as well as to exclude words and phrases unrelated to the constructs to arrive at more accurate results. Of the overall 73 speeches, Trump delivered 50 speeches including a mix of press briefs and news conferences in the month of March and April. The number of speeches by Trump drastically slumped for the month of May and June. Then there was an increase in relevant speeches made in July and August after spike in cases as well as announcements pertaining to new treatment methods as well as progress of vaccines being made by big pharmaceutical firms such as Pfizer and

Moderna. Modi gave 2 speeches each month addressing the nation in March and April and 1 each in May and June of the 7 televised addresses. He also delivered 3 radio addresses to the nation pertaining to covid every month starting from March until May. Other Modi speeches were his starting remarks at chief minister meetings, business conferences, university addresses, Independence Day address, and at other forums.

To gain insights and understand what these numbers mean every speech delivered by Trump and Modi were heard thru available recordings on YouTube. Simultaneously, expert opinions on these speeches and developments happening during the fast degrading and evolving situation was also taken into account to provide better discussion, analysis and conclusion for the study. The expert opinions were accessed through popular news portals such as Fox News, CNN, Washington Post, Financial Times, etc. for the Trump speeches and his actions. Whereas, for PM Modi, the expert sources were primarily Indian news portals such as NDTV, Times Now, Times of India, Economic Times, etc. were utilized.

Since Trump delivered thrice as many speeches as Modi, rather than total frequency of words the percentage of processed and even percentage of the total words pertaining to the constructs will make the comparison fair. On average, President Trump spoke 2008 words per speech whereas PM Modi spoke 1960 words per speech. Of the seven charismatic constructs only collective focus and adversity is present in all the speeches of Trump. In Modi's speeches the charismatic construct of cooperation and follower's worth is missing in few of the speeches whereas the remaining 5 constructs are present across all the speeches. In absolute terms Trump has covered all the constructs in 64 speeches whereas Modi has done so in 20 speeches.

Amongst the analyzed charismatic constructs, i.e., the % shown (*see column 3 of Table 1 & 2*) which represents only the words and phrases included in all the constructs that had the maximum to minimum usage in each candidates' speeches, it is important to note that Trump's speeches are heavily dominated by collective focus and adversity with 43% and 25% respectively. On contrast, Modi's speeches have almost equal importance to the constructs of adversity and action-oriented constructs at 27% and 26% respectively. For Donald Trump the bottom 2 constructs comprise of similarity to followers at 4.35% and cooperation of the followers at 2.2%. In the case of Modi, cooperation construct was at 4.2% ending by follower's worth at 3.6%. Action-oriented (12%), tangibility (8%), and follower's worth (6%) form the middle constructs of Trump's pandemic speeches. Whereas, collective focus (17%), similarity to followers (12%), and tangibility (11%) make up the middle constructs of Modi.

Before going ahead, it is critical to highlight that of the total words and phrases spoken by Trump only 43% were included for analysis by the software, and for Modi too this number stood at 43%. The customized dictionary along with the excluded words account for 96% of every word or phrase spoken by Trump and for Modi's speeches it was 91%.

The prominent findings establish that Trump at 43% was way more likely to use the collective focus than Modi at 17% to connect with the citizens of the country. The excessive use of collective focus by Trump shows that the people listening to Trump will perceive that the President stands with his people shoulder to shoulder at this difficult moment of crisis and understands their pain and agony. Both Trump (26%) and Modi (27%) are at par in terms of highlighting the adversity

construct, which is about the hardship their countries and people are facing at the face of the invisible enemy. With reference to adversity, Trump and Modi showcase the challenges ahead and the need to follow the safety rules and guidelines established by the scientific community in order to stay safe. In his speeches, Modi at 26% is way more explicit in talking about the actions that he and his government were taking in order to deal with the pandemic, whereas Trump at 12% uses less than half of words or phrases pertaining to taking actions. Clearly, this shows that Modi was more determined to highlight in his speeches that he was taking several concrete steps than Trump. The constructs of collective focus, adversity, and action-oriented forms the top 3 but in different order in both leaders' charismatic constructs.

In the remaining charismatic constructs only at follower's worth, which deals with praising, satisfaction with one's followers or in this case the public, and inspiring the followers, is led by Donald Trump at 6% and Modi slumps at it at mere 3.5%. Hence, Trump appreciated, inspired, and was more satisfied with his citizens as established by his pandemic speeches than did Modi. Of the remaining charismatic constructs which includes similarity to followers, tangibility and cooperation, Modi stood at 11.5%, 11%, and 4% respectively whereas Trump at these same constructs stood at 4.4%, 7.7%, and 2.2% respectively. Therefore, it is appropriate to say that PM Modi showcased more similarity with his followers or the public, focused more achieving tangible goals after overcoming the pandemic, also requested for more cooperation with his citizens to achieve a common desired goal than did Donald Trump in all these three charismatic constructs.

According to the discussed framework of charismatic constructs, President Donald Trump won at only 2 out of the 7 constructs usage and almost drew at 1 construct usage against Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Trump won with a thumping majority in the usage of collective focus construct, and similarly with a good margin at follower's worth construct, and almost was at draw in usage of adversity construct, the difference was of around only 1.5%. As can be seen in the remaining constructs were won by PM Modi with significant margin for the usage of action-oriented construct, and with single digit differences in the remaining constructs usages of similarity to followers, tangibility and cooperation. Despite PM Modi winning 4 out of the 7 constructs, which is only amongst the usage of the different constructs, President Trump has higher percentage usage of overall charismatic constructs in his speeches. President Trump's speeches contain 17.6% of charismatic constructs out of the total processed words and phrases (*see % Processed column 4 of Table 1 & 2*), whereas PM Modi records 15.02% of words and phrases at the same measurement. Even if we look at the complete words and phrases across the entirety of speeches for both, Trump is still ahead of Modi. Across all the speeches, Trump's charismatic rhetoric construct accounts for 7.53% of the entire speeches and Modi is just 1% behind at 6.53%. So, it can be said that Trump is overall more charismatic than Modi though by not much. It can also be seen that all the constructs are not used in equal proportions, especially for Trump the extremes of maximum and minimum usage of different constructs are high and low respectively. In Modi's speeches the different constructs usage difference is not as extreme as Trump's. Modi used more variety in constructs and Trump used overall more charismatic constructs across all his speeches.

6. Discussion



a. Trump during Presidential election rally



b. Modi during one of the rallies

The overall analysis confirms that Donald Trump exhibited slightly more degree of charismatic leadership than Narendra Modi over the first 6 months period of the coronavirus led pandemic. The same has been confirmed and established from studying the charismatic constructs of the speeches delivered by both. The study shows that Trump used way more collective constructs words and phrases than did his competitor for the study, PM Modi. After the examination of Trump's communal charismatic rhetoric confirms a pattern of usage of collectives to create an in-group and an out-group, this is done primarily to direct his followers to align with him. In all his speeches and not just restricted to the pandemic speeches, President Trump relies excessively on terminology such as "we", "us", "together", and "our". This excessive use is mainly done to create a sense of unity and common ground with his followers/public. To be more precise, all his speeches examined even among all the mentioned collectives his personal favorite is collective "we", this collective is used more than the self-referential "I". For instance, in his pandemic speeches almost certainly include variations of the collective that too in a row as *"we have taken strict measure, we are number the 1 country, we are the largest economy, we have the best health infrastructure, we have done the most tests, we stopped them from coming, and so on"*. The same pattern has been noticed by scholars such as Aswad (2019) who studied Donald Trump's rhetoric during his presidential campaign *"we will make America prosperous again, we will make America safe again, and most popular we will make America great again"*. Hence, validating the results achieved at least for this collective construct by President Trump. Often the actual referents of the "we" is ambiguous, and he does so deliberately to show he was able to do so in tandem with his followers. Since, the Presidential elections were also to be held in the same year, Trump in his later pandemic speeches referred to himself in third person so show his accomplishments *"nobody would have been tougher on Chinese virus than Donald Trump, that's what happens when Donald Trump is President"*. Raskin and Shaw (1988) believe that such stylistic techniques are commonly deployed to form a perception of in-group and out-group, showing added impact of projecting oneself as impartial at same time doing self-promotion. Fiske (1998) argues that such strategic use of collective construct in such manner is effective to raise a sense of identity among followers and voters are more likely to trust in-group members and similar others.

Modi on the other hand did not use collectives so aggressively, instead he used the same to invoke sense of unity such as *"friends we need to support our warriors, we will follow all the rules, we*

need to help the needy, we need to stand with the nation, etc.” mainly to show support to corona warriors (people who were on the frontline dealing with the virus such as Doctors, Nurses, and Emergency services workers). Unlike Trump, Modi frequently used collectives in combination with the cooperation construct to align people to show support with corona warriors by participating in certain activities such as beating utensils, clapping and switching off lights to in turn light lamps and candles instead. According to various national and international media reports these call to action for various activities to all citizens was considered a success. This was seen as his ability to unite the citizens of India to come together to fight the pandemic and emerge stronger. The difference between the use of collective we between Trump and Modi was that while the former used it to describe what America already was and the latter used it to bring together everyone on the same page to achieve a common goal. Cooperation construct does not form a critical part of both the leader’s public rhetoric unlike at other times such as elections or even other emergencies including war and natural calamities because the very nature of the health pandemic which required most of the work to be done by experts including doctors, scientists, researchers, etc. The only call to cooperation common in both Trump and Modi’s speeches were to stay at home, follow rules, stay away from rumors, and to get tested and quarantine in case of infection.

Adversity is one common construct which is used in almost equal proportion by both. It is intriguing that the construct of adversity is usually used by political leaders in their campaigns when they are in opposition to garner the support of followers as well as unite people who are unhappy with the incumbent state of affairs in a nation. But because of the completely different context of a healthcare related pandemic and both leaders are the ones who are in power, yet have heavy emphasis on adversity, hardships, pain, sorrow and all other challenges induced by the virus. The difference however is because the state of affairs is not induced within the borders of their nations but rather has a foreign source. Another interesting factor both leaders in all their speeches did not, obviously so, mention that they were ill-prepared to handle such plausible health scare even though the statistics are clear that there are only 2.64 doctors/1000 people in US and even lower at a paltry 0.9/1000 people in India. The same is true for hospital beds. One could argue that no one could see such a massive healthcare disruption ahead of time but on the contrary, there has been similar instance of respiratory attacking viruses in the form SARS-Cov 1 (Severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus) and similarly MERS-CoV (Middle East respiratory syndrome-related coronavirus). Irrespective of the plausible arguments, both have adeptly covered all the hardships because of the virus in similar words or phrases including *fatalities, lockdowns, pain, social distancing, masking up, lost, mourn, etc.* Despite all this, there is a critical difference between Trump and Modi in describing the adversity construct. PM Modi has been polite and diplomatic, also refraining from using harsh words when talking about the coronavirus, but President Trump was critical in his choice of words when describing the same. Trump almost never called it covid or coronavirus rather he referred to it as the China, Chinese, or Wuhan virus. Echoing Trump’s statements, most of his followers too referred to it as the same. The reasons for doing so would be because he was critical of China since his start of his presidential campaigns and believed the Chinese had taken advantage of the USA and WTO agreements to make massive wealth. From the beginning he wanted to bring back jobs, especially manufacturing, to America from China as well as the ongoing trade wars among both could have led to Trump being so critical with the name of virus. Also, other reasons including China’s attitude with respect to Taiwan, as well as frivolous claims made on South-China Sea, and challenging America’s hegemony and influence in the World.

Action-oriented constructs was excelled by PM Modi. In all his speeches, Modi has made sure to first announce the various schemes and actions he had taken to protect mainly the poor and vulnerable people of the Indian society. Modi in his initial address to the country had announced \$22.6 billion stimulus plan to directly aid the poor communities affected by the virus. He was extremely vocal about the initiative to provide free of cost food and free cooking gas to around 800 million people of the country during the lockdowns, he later extended this initiative until end of festivities in India till November 2020. Modi also combined many of his action constructs with similarity to followers constructs to tell the people he understood their hardships and woes. Here too there is difference between Modi and Trump in the kind of rhetoric under this construct mainly because during the first wave India was less affected by health related issues and more by economic woes due lockdowns. So Modi’s action-oriented rhetoric focused initially on initiatives to provide for the poor and evolved finally to make India self-reliant by his popular slogan “*Atmanirbhar Bharat*” and “*Make in India*”. In the month of May 2020, Modi further announced a mega Economic package around 10% of India’s then GDP close to \$300 billion (INR 20 lakh crore) and named it “*Atmanirbhar Bharat Package*”. Even today the term Atmanirbhar is quite popular in Indian press almost 3 years since its announcement. Certainly Modi has clearly communicated his actions and initiatives to the people.



a. Trump showcasing covid testing at one of the News Conferences in July 2020

Despite President Trump announcing 4 stimulus packages for the US with months 2 months, he hasn’t been as vocal in his action-oriented constructs as PM Modi. It is crucial to emphasize that Trump had taken way more actions since first affected month including to purchase medicines, funding for vaccine development, manufacturing of critical supplies such as masks, sanitizers, ventilators, testing kits, and much more. During the last 2 months of the study the Trump administration was at fore front in taking all measures to fasten the vaccine trials of Pfizer and Moderna firms, announced vaccine roll out under “Operation Warp Speed”, championed novel treatment methods including Plasma transfer, new medicines such as Remdesivir, etc. Yet Trump

failed to take the mileage of his actions in relation to Indian PM Modi. He had also signed Defense Protection Act to start PPE, masks, ventilators, etc., production on US soil. Trump administration also passed the CARES Act (Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act) appropriated at \$2.3 trillion. Millions of people benefited from his stimulus packages directly as these measures provided with cash payments, unemployment insurance, payroll tax deferrals, stopping evictions from homes, and suspension of loan payments by students and homeowners. Many of these measures were taken directly by signing Executive Orders by President Trump. Despite all these measures, Trump lost the Presidential elections to Joe Biden. He did highlight his actions to protect the US economy and people at his election campaigns but not being more explicit and vocal at his 70 plus media briefings could be seen as a lost opportunity which also ultimately cost his Presidency. Certainly, there were several other factors for loss at the elections, but this could have been one of the negative factors too. It is an established fact that more often than not the incumbent government has more resources under their control to sway public opinion in their favor but how they make use of it is up to them.

Follower's worth and similarity to followers come at the bottom three constructs for Trump. Similarly for Modi too these constructs are seen in the bottom four. Modi does well in similarity to follower constructs usage in comparison to Trump, which could be attributed to the fact that Modi had a very simple and difficult upbringing in comparison to Trump. Modi is not a billionaire nor has any business interest nor a wife or kids, he has been into social work and then into politics. On the other hand, it is difficult for Trump to relate to his followers as well as the majority of the citizens of US because of business background and later as a successful TV personality. He comes under the elites of the USA. Modi also rose from the grass roots to climb the success ladder from being just a party worker of BJP then to chief minister of Gujarat for multiple terms and then finally as PM. Modi in his speeches highlighted that he was like the common man of India owing to his personal hardships and poverty as a child; he further adds to commonality by following a simple life style and as a normal citizen by following all the rules such as social distancing, masking up, and working from home. He pioneered the slogan "*Do Gaj Doori, Mask hai Jaruri*" literally translating to "2 feet distance and masking up is mandatory".

Trump has bettered Modi at followers worth because unlike Modi, he not only appreciated the people working directly with him in "Task Force" but also appreciated the spirit of people of America to overcome any problem. It should also be noted that the software is unable to distinguish for example when under followers' worth construct a praise is offered to the followers or to the people working with the leader. President Trump has this peculiar habit of always praising anyone working under him, aligning with his views, and someone from his party. For instance, President Trump has used the following praises appreciating Vice President Mike Pence in his speeches, "*Best Vice President, Excellent man, a Great man, fabulous man, very hardworking person, and so on and so forth*". Same is true when spoke about any state Governor from the Republican Party. It is not to conclude that any of these people whom Trump praised is not deserving but from the point of view of the study the software includes all such praises without distinguishing whether they were to the followers or others. The praises and inspirations that Trump used for the public were "*incredible people, great people, loyal, brave men and women, do not give up, etc.*". Praises followed by words of inspiration was dominant in follower's worth constructs and words associated with satisfaction were rare. Modi hardly used any praises for anyone in his speeches apart from sometimes appreciating the frontline workers under the broad bracket of "*the great*

Covid Warriors”, but this too is for people directly fighting the pandemic and not the followers. Hence this construct is missing or of negligible value in Modi’s pandemic speeches.

Though usage of tangibility construct is slightly higher for Modi over Trump, but both used similar words or phrases for the same. Since, nobody knew in the beginning how long the pandemic would last and disrupt normal lives as well as how soon an effective vaccine would be available, therefore, most of the words or phrases were related to intangible future goals rather than concrete ones. The common phrases used in both leader’s speeches were “*defeat the virus, vanquish the virus, emerge victorious, light at the end, succeed soon, win the battle, emerge stronger, opportunity in future, etc.*”. Unlike the usual tangibility construct observed previously under normal circumstances usually seen in political rally speeches where the leaders promise to achieve a mix of tangible as well as intangible future goals but because of context of the health pandemic the usage is completely varied.

In the end, it is important to discuss about the platforms thru which these narratives reached the followers/ public of both the leaders. These platforms are multifold in today’s day and age starting from the traditional television broadcasting, newspaper, to now dominating social media platforms, web-based applications and other online mediums. Their speeches were available everywhere for the followers to perceive and comprehend, but it does not stop there because not is the followers perception being shaped by experts such as anchors and journalist but also from other followers, who can now seamlessly interact and influence each other. Bakshy et. al (2015) put forward that it is important to remain cognizant of the rhetorical excess of all media platforms including social media because these are becoming increasingly siloed versions of national and international news to which the public is subjected. Among all social media Twitter was excessively used by both Trump and Modi to convey their messages to the public.

Furthermore, it is clear from the results of the WordStat program that Trump used overall more charismatic rhetoric than Modi, though by a slight margin. Whereas Modi emerged victorious in varied usage of the charismatic constructs. Therefore, it would not be wrong to describe that PM Modi uses more of variety of constructs effectively in his speeches, but President Trump is the overall more charismatic one, with heavy reliance of the collective charismatic construct.

7. Conclusion

The last section of the study will focus mainly on the objectives achieved, significance of the research, overall implications on charismatic political leadership, current studies on leadership topic as well as where future research is needed. The entire research was based on the academic track of the MPGI thesis guidelines to contribute meaningful insights into the overall topic of leadership, especially charismatic political leadership in a crisis by examining the rhetoric.

Despite charismatic political leaders dominating all the media coverage, there has been little research on this topic, barring the US. There has been little to no research on political leaders from the east, mainly from the developing countries. Forget comparing the charismatic political rhetoric of the heads of state, even asking for a comparison of developed western political leader against an eastern political leader from developing nation remains a distant dream. This study addresses that gap and goes beyond. It compares two incumbent heads of state and their rhetoric during an unfolding of a healthcare catastrophe, the Covid-19 global pandemic. The study enhances our understanding of the rhetorical techniques used to gain public support and keep them calm at the hour of global crisis. Also developing our understanding of how exactly the usage of the charismatic constructs played out, helping us determine the overall winner and how each of the two leaders Trump and Modi performed in individual constructs. The study will also help future researchers who intend to study political rhetoric to analyze different situations using varied constructs. As explained in depth below under the objectives that the usage of constructs in varied situations also need to change depending on the scenario and context of study. Hence, the same constructs can be used to study candidates' speeches during elections as well as the same constructs to study the speeches at the time of crisis. The study can be helpful to leaders in general as well as strategists and speech writers on the kind of words to be emphasized in speeches related to constructs which have the maximum impact on listeners (followers). On the qualitative front, from studying the overall context, in this case the pandemic, helps us understand the policies and actions taken by Trump and Modi to combat the virus. As a result of this study, the residual benefit of also learning and understanding the different measures undertaken and which of these measures was more effective can also be examined. The research shows who was more effective in their usage of constructs and can help future research pertaining to the same as well as related topics on performance in the elections of 2020 US elections and upcoming 2024 national elections in US and India. The research carried out can also be used to expand the study by involving more political rhetoric of other global leaders both from the western bloc as well as leaders from the global south.

Trump is known for his brash and confrontational style, often using harsh or divisive language to make his points. This was evident in his handling of the COVID crisis at the very beginning especially in February and early March 2020, as he frequently downplayed the severity of the pandemic and dismissed concerns raised by experts and critics. In contrast, Modi has generally adopted a more measured and conciliatory approach to his rhetoric, often using more diplomatic language and avoiding direct confrontations. Reiterating that Trump always had 2-way interaction involving him and the media, but PM Modi preferred to do monologues, which can be considered as playing it safe and avoiding any faux-pax.

The study achieved both the objectives of determining who was more charismatic during the start of the pandemic between US President Donald Trump and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi;

also, the second objective of comprehensive discussion about the commonalities and differences in the charismatic leadership of both. From the quantitative aided study using an advanced lexical software so as to avoid any bias and to be as binary as possible, it is clear that by a small margin Trump remained ahead in the overall usage of all the charismatic constructs than Modi. But Modi, remained ahead of Trump in usage of the majority of the political charismatic constructs. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the political leadership rhetoric of both Donald Trump and Narendra Modi played a significant role in shaping public opinion and response to the crisis. While both leaders have been known for their charismatic personalities and ability to use rhetoric effectively, there are some key differences in the way they approached their leadership during the pandemic.

There was also a third unintended and unexpected objective which was discovered during the analysis from the multiple speeches. The usage pattern of the different charismatic rhetoric constructs is no where the same in the pandemic context than what similarities generally prevailed in prior studies seen especially in the election contexts in studies of Bligh (2013) and Aswad (2019) regarding the 2008 and 2016 presidential elections of US to analyze rhetoric of different candidates. In the global pandemic context, as elaborated in the discussion section the charismatic constructs of collective focus, adversity and action-oriented constructs saw much higher usage by both Trump and Modi. On the other hand, the remaining four constructs of tangibility, similarity to followers, follower's worth, and cooperation saw little or very little usage in both the candidates. The adversity construct was used heavily to be critical of the then prevailing situation, something unusual because it is actually the rhetoric of the opposition leader during elections campaigns to undermine the work done by the incumbent governments. This construct was heavily used because the source of the problem arose from outside and the current incumbent powers were not responsible for the same, even though it can be argued that they were way too underprepared to handle such a rare but plausible global pandemic.

Therefore, future charismatic political leadership studies must examine these constructs used to compare charismatic speeches of different leaders but in different scenarios including other man-made and natural crises. In future when there would be natural crisis but caused by man-made factors due to climate change and global warming, such studies could provide better management and solutions to handle the problems thru effective rhetoric. Also as seen would the different constructs especially the adversity construct be played out as it did in this pandemic because the incumbent had no responsibility in making, but disasters from climate change can't be put on external sources given that there has been ample warning and red flags from the scientific community since the late 20th century.

This study also lacks in many aspects because of limited focus and timeline, and a much deeper assessment can provide even more comprehensive picture because the current study is only of the initial 6 months of the start of the pandemic, whereas there were multiple waves at different times affecting the US and India differently. The second wave in 2021 wreaked havoc in India as compared to less loss in terms of lives and overall impact on people in the first wave. The pandemic is still underway in some countries and precautions still taken across all the countries of the world. It would be beneficial to know how the charismatic leadership evolved or remained constant after the initial 6 months when the vaccine rollouts started to begin in US first in the end of 2020 and then in India in 2021. This study did not consider the rhetoric used on social media particularly Twitter, hence other studies involving multiple rhetoric delivery platforms involving all mediums

could enhance and add to the scholarly literature. The study was quantitative led and there are trade offs because of the same, such as not being able to distinguish the context and to calculate differently depending for whom the leaders refer to in speeches. This can be overcome by doing a combination of quantitative and simultaneous qualitative analysis, future smarter software incorporating AI will help the researchers. The other important half involving the followers and their sentiment was not taken into account, a survey of the citizens of both nations will add to the understanding whether the people who are directly impacted echo the same or similar sentiments as those found after analyzing their leader's rhetoric. Lastly, there could be some words or phrases lost in translation for Modi because his speeches were delivered in Hindi language. Finally, the factor of personal bias in the discussion should not be discounted; even though the study was done to be as objective and binary as possible.

The study does consider two of the largest countries in the world, it would be critical to understand how does charismatic leadership play out in other settings such as smaller countries, autocratic rule-based nations, other countries with varied demographics, countries with different standards of living, etc. and other large number of variables, to understand the role of charismatic leaders to lead their people. There is greater need for studies especially with regard to diverse culture among diverse people. The same must be true for even with women leaders, there has been lot of attention on gender in this regard in recent decade (e.g., Chin, 2014; Eagly and Carli, 2007). The rise in the number of scholars from underrepresented sections of the globe thanks to globalization, in this multi-culture planet will ease these problems and better days lie ahead for the academics, increasing the overall knowledge wealth with aid of technology.

Pillai and Williams (1998) and Pillai et al. (2003) stress there is evidence to show that the charisma exhibited by a leader in their rhetoric is linked with voting behavior of the people, hence this could lead to future research to examine and analyze the election results of 2020 US presidential elections outcome. It was evident from the discussions that at least in the press conferences Trump was less vocal compared to Modi regarding the actions taken by the state to manage and lead the crisis, hence, scoring lower on the important parameter. Could this have played a major role in removal of Trump from White House?

There must be studies which also evaluate the role of followers. There have been many studies about how leaders motivate their followers but the same is not true the other way round regarding how followers influence these charismatic leaders. There is new research in this area but clearly more needs to be done (Uhl-Bien et al., 2014). It will also greatly benefit if there are more studies on how charismatic leadership develops and evolves both in the younger days as well as in the adulthood. This can help mold and shape better leaders in the future (Day et al., 2009).

The overwhelming majority of leadership literature is formal, focusing on managerial positions, and based in North America leading to influences of most leadership models, theories, and measures (Bedeian and Hunt, 2006). Surveys form the vast share of all leadership investigations, and the often-cited drawback is lack of qualitative and longitudinal studies. There is measurement bias which alter the relationships between several factors and unseen variables. The misspecification of formative and reflective constructs leading to validating incorrect models (Mackenzie, Podsakoff, and Jarvis, 2005). These mistakes are important to defining, measuring and identifying the leadership theoretical concepts. Therefore, leading to attributing one thing (a

relationship, an effect) to one level of analysis (a person) when the actual reason is a completely different (a group) thing (Dansereau, Cho, and Yammarino, 2006). Other problems pertain to overuse of easy short-term measures, the effect of quantity and quality of observation samples on perceptions of leadership, avoiding multi-level relationships, and the right classification of mediator and moderator variables (Osborn and Hunt, 2007; Jones and Kelly, 2007; and Ayman, 2004).

Most classic and influential work on leadership is completely based on western leaders with dominance from American presidents and British prime ministers in the democratic and capitalistic market contexts. One could argue that the most valuable research is dominated and related to America because of the dominant and influential role of the US in world politics and economy since the twentieth century. This argument brings a lot of setbacks and hampers our understanding of the topic to other regions and institutions, it will be beneficial to have more research on how and what leadership features are unique as well as similarities among them. The current situation is better but still far from the over reliance of studies related to the States. One of the main challenges for this is that there are far fewer researchers who have the linguistic, cultural, and comparative knowledge which can allow deep studies of leadership and their rightful comparison with the western context. Cross-disciplinary collaboration is beneficial especially on the different university levels. There needs to be more mutual knowledge sharing between the knowledge centers from different regions, and the current deglobalization trend will only hamper the efforts in which many scholars were working from turn of the millennia. Knowledge sharing between experts of political science, psychology, and leadership could shed light on what factors shape leaders and their styles, and the nuanced effects of institutions, culture and up bringing factors.

There is also need for continuous methodological advancement and refinement in gauging both verbal and non-verbal cues during political speeches, also studying tone, pauses, confidence, content, gestures, and speed during such speeches. The role of political speech writers also needs to be examined and weighed in.

The mainstream political researchers find leaders' traits and styles as idiosyncratic, vague, and difficult to measure. This has led to falling back on structural explanations and to studies correlating the end result with variables thought to be more objective and easier to measure including economic environment, structures of institutions, power capabilities, and other factors. There is need for work to advance the understanding of leadership essentially when there is change in results across various subjects, time periods, people, and other political climates. Also, scholars must be able to explain the role of structural variables, demonstrate by using empirical frameworks of how leadership style and structural factors interact.

Helms (2012) noted that comparative analysis was essential for future leadership theory and testing different hypotheses but there is a lack of systematic and rigorous comparative studies on especially political leadership. As Keller (2020) put forward many scholars give attention to individual leaders in a country at a point of time with certain context but there are problems in designing comparative research in which one could keep certain variables constant as well as allow differences in key or new variables related to the leader's style and the context. Scholars must also pay importance to constraints and opportunities depending on political climate and historical

contexts. Henceforth, rigorous comparative research is critical to advance our understanding of political leaders and their charismatic leadership traits.

As Keller (2009) and Boin et al (2012) further point that there is requirement to understand leadership as a dependent variable so that we know the dispositional and contextual factors leading political leaders to adopt different leadership styles. Understand what causes differences in the same leader's style over his political career, how the crises mold and shape these leaders can be decisive and needs further examination. This pandemic was a watershed moment especially for the leaders because not only few very powerful leaders were deciding the course of actions but many of them were also personally affected by the virus, and many suffered personal losses. There should be a detailed examination on the before, after, during the crisis the overall change in the leader's traits, style, behaviors, interaction, etc. These fluctuations would not be random and there must correlations with the features of the situation with the leader. The explanatory power of leadership theory increases if we could specify when each style will become operative and the impact and learnings from the pandemic. Developing links to identify specific conditions is critical to know which one framework versus another can be used to explain behavior and predict the course of action taken by leaders. Finally, often scholar's discuss the same important topics but use different terms, methods, or contexts which adds to delays, confusion, and obscures the common understanding and delays cumulation of knowledge. The links between past studies and current studies must be better connected, articulated, and explored.

Effective leadership is judged by their outcomes (Judge et al., 2006). There are results which are beyond the control of leaders, then one wonders how history would have judged a leader very differently if because of fate the results would have gone the other way. The perception of leadership is not only immersed in the values, but in the perceived results which happen under the leader, not considering the behaviors and actions of leader that may or may not have produced the results.

The current global scenario in the beginning of 2023 is more complicated than before, no one would have been able to predict these new challenges faced since the start of this decade. The world has not yet recovered completely from the pandemic, in fact the coronavirus is still present, and a major war is going on in Ukraine. The study of political leaders apart from those in the western bloc is more crucial than ever. When we study such personalities who are shaping the future, we can predict their policies and actions that will be taken to an extent, hence, helping to navigate such turmoil ridden situations. The trends in leadership studies undertaken since the start of the pandemic are still heavily focused on business settings, especially on topics such as leadership for industry 4.0, leadership for digital transformation, effective leadership for leading remotely, leadership to manage change, etc. (see Steude, 2021; Guzman et al., 2020; Fischer and Sitkin, 2023; Hartwell and Deviney, 2021; Benmira and Agboola 2020; Ospina et al., 2020). These leadership research broadly constituted how the business leaders need to adopt, innovate, and manage resources given the disruption due to emerging advances in technology including AI, data sciences, metaverse and machine learning. This kind of research is mainly targeted to the C-suite executives regarding staying ahead of their competitors. There are of course other academic research for business leaders especially in manufacturing for the need to diversify their supply chain including adopting near-shoring, friend shoring, or even manufacturing in the country of origin of the firm .

On the political leadership front scholarly work can be mainly divided on three fronts since the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. The first set of work (beginning of 2020 and until the year end) focused on how the national and international leaders should manage the pandemic, the kind of policies they need to introduce, managing the citizens, importance on finding solutions (novel treatments and vaccines), and access to critical medical supplies such as masks, ventilators, kits and testing systems. The second set of scholarly research (end of 2020 and thru 2021), primarily focused on the supply chain issues, delivering vaccines and medicines, and manufacturing critical technologies. The research targeted western economies and their dependence on developing countries for manufacturing their physical goods. The scholars argued that western leaders need to focus on manufacturing critical supplies related to advanced technologies, and medical supplies including vaccines, medicines, kits, etc. The scholars argued that most of these western countries have pivoted to service led economies and have outsourced most of the manufacturing to Asia, mainly China. The third kind of current academic work (since start of 2022 to present day) shifts focus to geopolitics led leadership research. The main emphasis about how the USA and their allies need to manage the Russia led war at Ukraine, and threats of war between China and USA pertaining to the independent status of Taiwan (e.g. Johnson and Williams, 2020; Mclean and Ewart, 2020; Shao and Hao, 2020; Antonakis, 2021; Grint 2020).

There were also a handful of studies on political leaders and how they managed to handle the pandemic, but most were restricted to studying single countries focused on individual leaders. Post this comparative study, it gives me confidence that especially for political leaders it is more beneficial to do comparative studies because the insights, the policies comparison and their effects provide better in depth understandings. Therefore, comparative studies tell how the countries fared against each other and what policies and actions had the maximum positive impact, whereas what completely failed. Therefore, comparative studies can aid us to improve the leadership styles and policies to face similar situations in the future.

At last, to conclude this study is like a drop in an oasis of political leadership, surrounded by miles and miles of study relating to leadership in management and business settings. As is true of all literature or most things that have reached a stage of maturity, wherein the low hanging fruits have been plucked, which therefore fortunately or unfortunately also points to the paradox that most crucial leadership concepts to be studied and researched are also the least traceable of all. Leadership researchers' primary goal must be to give actionable ideas which are better than established practices and to clear the unnecessary clutter and redundant concepts. Leadership will forever remain a complex subject and continue to intrigue scholars across the globe.

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