CHAPTER-2

THEORY AND CONCEPT
OF LEADERSHIP
The world has witnessed great leaders time and again from the
days of Julius Ceasar to the former South African president Nelson
Mandela. In the past we had kings as great leaders like Julius Ceasar,
Alexander The Great, Ashoka The Great, Changez Khan, Akbar The
Great. In the modern era Napoleon Bonaparte, George Washington,
Winston Churchil, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and so on. The
distinction lies not in their traits but role they assumed. During
the Ancient period the monarchs acted as great leaders and in the
modern era politicians assumed the mantle of leadership. And now
with the birth of nation-system the political leaders are steering
the fate of national and international affairs.

The pertinent question raised is what, precisely is leadership?
For a common man it is something that can be felt but lacks precise
definition. But social scientists have a clear focus 'influence'. Many
experts on this topic agree that leadership is the process through
which one member of a group (its leader) influence other group
members towards the attainment of specific group goals.¹

The leadership process is confronted with several issues. First

why some persons but not others rise to positions of authority. Second we might attempt to examine the evidence concerning the possibility of gender difference in leadership. And the age-old question whether the leaders determine the situation or situation makes the leader. Finally we will examine various current theories concerning the basis of leaders' effectiveness, and a new perspective that deals with inspirational (transformational) aspect of leadership.

THE TRAIT APPROACH: ARE LEADERS BORN OR MADE?

Are some people born to be leaders? common sense suggests that this is so. Eminent leaders of the past such as Alexander The Great, Queen Elizabeth-I, Abraham Lincoln and Mahatma Gandhi do seem to differ from ordinary human beings in several aspects. Such observations led early researchers to formulate the 'great person theory of leadership' according to this approach, great leaders possess key traits that set them apart from most human beings. Further, the theory contends that these traits remain stable over time and across different groups. Thus it suggests that all great leaders share these characteristics regardless of when and where they live
or the precise roles they fulfill. We will probably be surprised to learn therefore, that they have not been confirmed. Decades of research most conducted before 1950 failed to yield consensus, but agreed upon list of key traits shared by all leaders.\(^2\)

Although a few consistent findings did emerge e.g. leaders are slightly taller and more intelligent than their followers, these were hardly dramatic in nature or in scope. Indeed, the overall result of this persistent search for trait associated with leaders were so disappointing that most investigations gave up in despair and reached the following conclusion: leaders simply do not differ from followers in clear and consistent ways.

Until quite recently this conclusion was widely accepted as true. Now, however, it has been called into question by a growing body of evidence indicating that leaders do actually differ from other persons in several important and measurable respects. After receiving a large number of studies concerned with this issue, Kirk Patrick and Locke (1991) have recently contended that (in business settings at least) traits do matter that certain traits-drive, honesty and integrity, leadership motivation, self confidence, cognitive

ability, expertise, creativity and flexibility, together with other factors, contribute to leader's success.

Most of these characters are ones we will readily recognize (drive, honesty and integrity, self confidence) others however, seem to require further classification. According to Kirk Patrick and Locke the term leadership motivation refers to leader's desire to influence others in essence to lead. Such motivation, however, can take two distinct forms. On the one hand, it may cause leaders to seek power as an end in itself. Leaders who demonstrate such personalised power motivation wish to dominate others and their desires to do so is often reflected in an excessive concern with status. In contrast, leadership motivation can cause leaders to seek power as a means to achieve desired shared goals. Leaders who evidence such socialised power motivation co-operate with others, develop networks and coalitions, and generally work with subordinates rather than trying to dominate or control them. Needless to add, this type of leadership motivation is usually far more adaptive for organisation's personalised power motivation.

With respect to cognitive ability, it appears that to be effective, leaders must be intelligent and capable of integrating and
interpreting large amount of information. Mental genius, however, does not seem to be necessary and may in some cases, prove detrimental.3

While the trait approach presented is quite comprehensive and provides a good overall summary of recent evidence concerning. This issue, we may note that one particular characteristic seems to play an especially crucial role in effective leadership. This trait 'flexibility', refers to the capacity of leaders to recognise what actions are required in a given situation and then to act accordingly. The evidence for the importance of flexibility is provided by an ingenious laboratory simulation conducted by Zaccaro, Toti and Kenny.4 These researchers investigated the role of flexibility in leader emergence in small task performing groups. It can be said that flexibility-the ability to match one's style and behaviour to the needs of followers and the demands of the situation-may be an


important trait where effective leadership, is concerned. In sum recent evidence seems to require some revision in the widely accepted view that leaders do not differ from other person with respect to specific traits as noted by Kirk Patrick and Locke (1991, p.58).

"Regardless of whether leaders are born or made it is unequivocally clear that leaders are not like other people. Leaders do not have to be great men or women by being intellectual geniuses of omniscient prophets to succeed but they do need to have the "right stuff" and this stuff is not equally present in all people."

GENDER DIFFERENCE IN LEADERSHIP

Do male leaders and female leaders differ in their style or approach to leadership?, the authors of many popular books suggest they do. But the systematic research on this issue suggests that, in general, they do not. While female and male leaders do appear to differ in a few respects, these differences are smaller in

magnitude, and fewer in number than widely held gender role stereotypes suggest perhaps the most comprehensive evidence on this issue is reported by Eagly and Johnson.

These investigators examined potential differences between male and female leaders with respect to two key dimensions generally viewed as playing a crucial role in leader's behaviour or style: (1) Concern with maintenance of good interpersonal relations (often known as showing consideration) Versus concern with task performances (known as initiating structure) and participative versus autocratic decision making style. Gender role stereotypes suggest that female leaders might show more concern with interpersonal relations and tend to make decisions in a more participative manner than male leaders. Results however, offset only weak support for such beliefs. With respect to showing consideration and initiating structure, there were few significant findings. In laboratory studies (in which participants interacted with a stranger), female were slightly higher than male on both

dimension. In organisational studies (in which leadership behaviour in actual organisations was assessed) no differences on these dimensions were observed.

Turning to decision-making style, female did appear to adopt a more democratic or participating style than male more over, this was true across all three groups of studies namely laboratory, organisational and assessments (in which measures of subject's leadership were obtained.) One possible reason accounted for this difference is that female leaders are more concerned than males with interpersonal relations and realise that permitting subordinates to offer input to decisions is one way of maintaining good relations with them. Another possibility, suggested by Eagly and Johnson involves the fact that women are higher than men in interpersonal skills. Such superiority, in turn, may make it easier for them to adopt a decision making approach utilising considerable give and take with subordinates, what ever be the precise basis for this difference the overall findings of the meta analysis conducted by Eagly and Johnson suggests that female and male leaders may indeed differ in some respects, but these differences are smaller in magnitude and less consistent than gender role stereotypes suggest.
THE CLASSICAL QUESTION:
WHETHER LEADER DETERMINES
THE SITUATION OR SITUATION DETERMINES THE LEADER?

The age old question of whether leader determines the situation or the situation determines the leader in other words; Is leader the product of the situation. We can say that ever since the birth of power presumes not merely a situation in which a form of arrangement and understanding is ripe for development but likewise individuals or groups of individuals who are ready to utilize the opportunity by this conjunction or circumstances. Out of this which of events there come leaders, governors, specialists in the art demanded or made possible by the social environment of the moment. Those who know how and have the urge to act. Hence the question whether the situation makes the man or one man make's the situation. It is sufficient for the present purpose to find that they work together in the formation of power complex, without deciding which of them came first or whether there is any general rule precedence. 9

If we examine our rule more carefully it becomes evident that the qualities of leadership are found in a group of individuals who together are able to function as a politicising instrument for the community and for themselves. The nominal bearer of the externalia of power may be infact powerful per se, or he may be the representative of larger group of persons better qualified to understand and execute councils, courts, cabinet may contain the wisdom which really rules through a prestige instrument, sound board rather than a voice.

But why do not the real leaders overturn the nominal and substitute themselves for their dummies? This ignores the whole basis of power which lies in a social situation, conditions, the actions of the leaders, and making it difficult or impossible for them to operate against the very basis of their own authority. They are not merely leaders per se but they function in a total situation of which they are parts. As servants of the crown they may largely direct the crown but as claimants of the crown they may become traitors.10

Types of leaders differ with the social relationship in which they are set, with the tensions within these types, with the varying requirements of prestige and of ideology. The leader is a function of the social pattern and cannot be understood apart from it. And as there are many types of situation, and many degrees of tension, and many different types of situation, and many degrees of tension, and many different ways of meeting the same problem as further, there are distinctions to be drawn between those who hold the power nominally and those who function through them the conclusion is inevitable that there are many kinds of leaders and many qualities, dispositions, aptitudes, characteristics of these power processors.

Modern leadership exhibits strikingly the importance of two factors, the command of symbolism and facility in organisation. Symbolism is not a club, but a magnet, which draws men into the central focus of the leader group and fuses them with the others there. It rests upon an understanding or an appreciation of or sympathy with the potential responses of masses of men and women, adult and youth, measured in terms of slogan and signs and life and colour and appeal symbolic content is susceptible of infinite variation, and even inner contradictors is not a weakness but a gain
if there develops an assemblage of appeals self interest, sacrifice, struggle, ease, may all be intermingled in what may seem from one angle an incongruous and inconsistent pattern but from another angle indicate a type of solidarity from which victory may arise.

In the past leaders wielded the axe or involved the immemorial mumbo jumbo of the clan, or smoked the pipe of peace in conference with their foes, the more modern type must busy himself to a greater extent with the manufacture of symbols of current value in a swiftly changing world, weighing interests, ideologies, personalities with an issue to developing them into useful tools of social combat. Even if force is the final stroke, states the way must be prepared by attitudes favourable to its exercise, by hates and adorations, by promises and predictions, by diabolical fixations of responsibility upon unworthy holders of power, by appeal to the emotional intellectual life of great masses of individuals.

Organisation as well as interpretation is a key to the use of symbolism upon a mass scale. It is not enough to dream or devise a

* The inner core of symbolism has been but little studied, but is of profound importance in human relations. cf A.N. White Head Symbolism, its meaning and effect, also the brilliant study of Jacob wackernagal Derheistoles 1934.
catching symbol, for the techniques of modern mass action of advertising, of assembly must be invoked, so that the symbol is impressed upon millions. In organised form this is sometimes called propaganda. But the propagandist does not sow the seed but he systematically surveys the field and spreads the seed mechanically in spots where it may most quickly or most deeply take root.

LEADER'S EFFECTIVENESS:
TWO INFLUENTIAL VIEWS

All leaders are definitely not equal. Some are effective and contribute to high levels of performance and satisfaction on the part of their followers. Others are much less successful in these respects. Why is this case? what factors determine leaders success in directing their groups. This has been a central issue in much research concerned with leadership done by Kiesler A., Reber, G. & Wunderer in the Encyclopedia of leadership 1987, Vecchio, R.P. in Situation and leadership theory: A examination of a prescriptive theory Journal of Applied Psychology 72, 1987. As yet no definite answers have emerged. But the two theories Fiedler's contingency
theory\textsuperscript{11} and Vroom and Yetton's nominative theory\textsuperscript{12} have added considerably to our understanding of this issue.

Fiedler labels his approach the contingency theory, and this term is quite appropriate for the theory's central assumption. A leader's contribution to successful performance by his or her group is determined both by leaders trait and by various features of the situation.

Evidence on current status of Contingency Theory presents something of a mixed picture. On the one hand, most laboratory studies performed to test various aspects of contingency theory have yielded positive results.\textsuperscript{13} On the other the results of studies conducted with naturally existing groups have not been as favourable.\textsuperscript{14} Such investigations have sometimes yielded results

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} I. Fiedler I.E. Contingency model and leadership process 1978. In L. Berkowitze (Ed), advances in experimental social psychology (vol.11).
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Vroom V.H. & Yetton, P.W. Leadership and decision making 1973, pittsburgh chimy of pittburgs press.
\end{itemize}
contrary to what contingency theory predicts.

One of the key tasks performed by leaders is making decisions. Indeed, a defining characteristic of leadership positions is that they are places where the "the buck stops" and concrete action must be taken. Yet leaders do not operate in social vacuum; even when they possess considerable power and authority, there is no guarantee that their decisions will be accepted or implemented by followers. Thus leadership is always something of a two way street, in which leaders influence followers and followers, in turn exert some degree of influence over leaders.

Given this fact, an intriguing question arises. In making decisions, how much participation by followers should leaders permit. According to normative theory of leadership by Vroom & Yetton 1973, this question is an important determinant of leader effectiveness. Leaders who permit an appropriate amount of participation by followers will generally be more effective, over the long haul, than leaders who permit either too much or too little. But how much participation is enough? Vroom and Yetton's Theory suggests that this depends on several issues relating , primarily, to the importance of the decision's being high in quality and the
importance of its being accepted by subordinates. For example, consider a situation in which a high-quality decision is crucial (The stakes are high), the leader has enough information or expertise to make the decision alone and acceptance by subordinates is not crucial (the decision will work even without their support). Here, a relatively autocratic style of decision is best. It is efficient and getting the decision implemented will cost very little. In contrast in a situation which requires high quality decision, the leader has enough information to make the decision alone, but acceptance by subordinates is crucial. The decision won't work without their active support. Here a more participative style would be preferable.

Vroom and Yetton's Theory suggests that by answering a series of such questions, leaders can arrive at the appropriate decision style. One that affords subordinates just the right amount of participation to maintain their morale while retaining, the highest degree of efficiency possible. In general, these guidelines and suggestions seem to work: Leaders who adopt their style of decision making to existing conditions are generally more successful than ones who are either uniformly autocratic or participative in style. First, it appears that most persons prefer a participative approach by their
leader were under conditions where normative theory recommends as autocratic style\(^{15}\) second, leaders and subordinates seem to differ in their reactions to various methods for reaching decisions leaders tend to prefer those methods suggested by the normative model in any given situation while subordinates tend to prefer participative strategies in all cases.\(^{16}\)

Third it appears that certain personal characteristics of leaders may play a key role determining the relatives effectiveness of various decision strategies.\(^{17}\) For example in situations involving conflicting opinions, only leaders who are relatively high in conflict handling skills should use the kind of participative decision making strategy recommended by the Vroom and Yetton model. Leaders low in conflict handling skills in contrast, obtain better results with a relatively autocratic style, despite the fact that

this is not predicted by the model.

**TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP:**

*Leadership through Vision and Charisma*

In the darkest days of the depression, the United States seemed poised on the brink of social chaos. With millions out of work and the economy in seemingly endless decline, despair rampant. Through his inspiring speeches "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself..." and vigorous actions, president Franklin Roosevelt pulled the nation back from the edge of violence saved the grand American experiment in political democracy.

World history is filled with similar examples. Down through the ages, some leaders have demonstrated extraordinary success in generating profound changes in the beliefs, perceptions, values and actions of their followers. Indeed it is not extreme to suggest that such persons have often served as key agents of social change, transforming entire societies through their works and actions. Individuals who accomplish such feats are often described as being 'transformational or charismatic leaders, and the terms seem fitting

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such persons do indeed transform social, political or economic reality; and they do seem to possess unusual and special skills that equip them for this. The word 'charisma' means gift in Greek. What personal characteristics make certain leaders charismatic? How do such leaders exert their profound effect upon many other persons? Systematic research on this issue has begun to yield some intriguing answers to these and related questions.

The Basic Nature of Charisma Traits or Relationship

At the first glance, it is tempting to assume that transformation or charismatic leaders are special by virtue of the possession of certain traits in other words, such leadership might be understood as an extension of the "great person theory" discussed earlier. While traits may play a role in transformational leadership, there is growing consensus that it makes more sense to understand such leadership as involving a special type of relationship between leaders and their followers.  

Within this framework, charismatic leadership rests more on

specific types of reactions by followers than on traits possessed by leaders. Such relations include: (1) levels of performance beyond those that would normally be expected; (2) high levels of devotion, loyalty, and reverence toward the leader; (3) enthusiasm for and excitement with the leader and the leader's ideas; and (4) a willingness on the part of subordinates to sacrifice their own personal interests for the sake of a larger collective goal. In short, transformation or charismatic leadership involves a special kind of leader-follower relationship, one in which the leader can, in the words of one author "Make ordinary people do extra-ordinary things in the face of adversity."

**The Behaviour of Transformational Leaders**

But what, precisely, do transformational or charismatic leaders do to generate this kind of relationship with their subordinates? Studies designed to answer this question point to the following general conclusions: such leaders gain the capacity to exert profound influence over others through many different tactics.

First, and perhaps the most important, transformational leaders propose a vision. They describe, usually in vivid, emotion

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provoking terms, an image of what their nation, group or organisation could and should become a dramatic example of such leadership is provided by the words of Martin Luther King, in his famous, "I have a Dream" Speech:

"So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed—we hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning "My country of the, sweet land of liberty..."

But transformational leaders do not simply describe a dream or vision; in addition, they offer a clear road map for attaining it; they test their followers, in straightforward terms, how to get from here to there. This too seems to be crucial, for a vision that seems perpetually out of reach, is unlikely to motivate people to try to attain.

Third transformational leaders engage in what Conger (1991) terms 'framing': They define the purpose of their movement or organisation in way that give meaning and purpose to what ever
actions they are requesting from followers. Perhaps the nature of framing is but illustrated by the well known anecdote of two stone cutters working on a cathedral in the middle ages when asked what they are doing, one replies, why, treating this stone, of course! The other replies "Building the world's most beautiful temple to the glory of God". Which person would be more likely to expand greater effort. The answer is obvious the latter.

In addition, transformational leaders often show greater than average willingness to take risk and image in unconventional actions in order to reach their stated goals. In order to help thwart the coup that threatened the budding democracy of his nation, Boris Yeltsin rushed to the Russian Parliament building, where he stood on top of the tank and pleaded with troops sent there by the hard liners to withdraw. In this manner he demonstrated his deep commitment to the forces of reform.

Other tactics shown by transformational leaders include high levels of self confidence in their followers; a high degree of concern for their followers' needs; excellent communication skills such as the ability to "read" others' reactions quickly and

accurately; and stirring personal style. Finally transformational leaders are often masters of impression management, engaging in many actions designed to enhance their attractiveness and appeal to others. When these forms of behaviour are added to the captivating and exciting visions they propound, or charismatic leaders begin to come sharply into focus. Their influence, it appears, does not stem from the possession of semi-magical traits; rather it is a logical result of a complex cluster of behaviours and techniques. In the final analysis, however, the essence of transformational leadership does appear to rest on the ability of such persons to inspire others, through their words, their vision and their actions. As Conger put it "If you as a leader can make an appealing dream seem like tomorrows' reality, your subordinates will freely choose to follow".

Are the kind of group processes we have discussed in this chapter universally present in all cultures? or do groups operate differently on different culture? indeed, cultural factors do play

an important role where group processes are concerned. Leadership style, concern with others and one's own face, preferred means of resolving conflict. These and many other aspects of behaviour in group affected by cultures. These persons from collectivistic and individualistic cultures differ appreciably in their preferred modes of resolving conflict. In order to fully understand groups therefore we must take account of the cultures in which they operate. Failure to do so is like trying to understand the growth of a beautiful plant without considering the soil that nurtures its roots.

NEW ADDITION
CHAPTER-II NEW ADDITION

RECENT THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

The current literature on political leadership deals with conceptual problems, levels of analysis, issues and counter factual questions. This is followed by a consideration of major modes of analysis for the study of political leadership. First we can consider the question of who precisely becomes a leader? Why some persons but not others rise to position of authority.

Are Leaders Born or Made?

According to Jean Blandel, leadership is both elusive and universal. It applies everywhere can be analyzed everywhere on the basis of universal criteria. What has to be discovered is how individuals come to exercise this power and, particularly, the forms of two-way relationships between leaders and environment: these will ultimately provide the means of classifying leaders in the truly systematic manner which has to emerge. Knowledge of personality and the personal characteristics of leaders are deficient and it is impossible to analyze precisely the characteristics of the society in which leaders emerge.\(^1\)

Blandel Jean says, one can begin, however, to monitor leaders’ goals.

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and societal expectations and classify types of leaders characteristics, and list and assess their behavior in order to draw more rigorous comparisons.

Studies of motivations of political elites have dealt almost exclusively with psychological variables, and they have focused on a single motivating factor that is held to be a universal applicability. Mustafa Rejai and Kay Phillips study of prominent political leaders of the present and the past finds that a mixture of psychological and sociological variables is likely to converge to explain the motivations of political elites. Social background variables coalesce with politicization experiences, situational encounters, psychological dynamics, and talents and skills toward elucidating the forces that catapult people toward political leadership roles.

In the opinion of Irene Etzersdorfer, the scholarly unprotected term; "leadership" is used for a number of different concepts. Debates conceal hidden and unsolved theoretical tension concerning the individual impact on the political process. In times of a strengthened call for the development of inter – and trans disciplinary approaches,

the neglect of studies concerning the systematic investigation of the links between “subject” and “politics” risks to give up a broad field of public interest to pseudo scholarly views or to “scientific approaches”, which draw a picture of a world ruled by rational calculations only. Approaches which also take into account the impact of the dark and chaotic parts of the psyche to politics are either popularized in a dilettante way or treated as mere epiphenomenon without any relevance in political life. Political science is currently being diverted from empirical, methodology based thinking, as well as from the hermeneutic approach.*^ Leadership studies promise to function as a potential focus of a re-evaluation of “politics” under the incorporation of the neighboring fields: social psychology, political psychology and psychoanalysis.

Perceptions of leadership quality depend upon personality traits. With John Major as a case study Phillio Jones, E John Hudson demonstrate that the most important personality attributes are those, which contribute to the belief that a leader can govern in a business-

like fashion. Changes in personality traits affect the rating of a leader and ratings affect a party’s electoral support.*4 Using this approach, perceptions of John Major’s personality are changed continuously to illustrate the impact on voters. A Monte Carlo simulation is introduced to allow for the likelihood that not everyone would perceive a personality change. This approach is preferable to alternatives and can explain why, on occasion, there has been dispute over the importance of party leadership in British general elections.

According to Kwaku Danson, autocratic political leadership in sub-Saharan Africa has created immense problems for the continent. Unless this situation is arrested through democratic reforms, Sub-Saharan Africa will continue its downward slide as registered on indices of economic production and social development. Personality and circumstances interact to determine whether a person will become a leader or not.*5 Different kinds of tasks require different kinds of leadership. It is apparent that the leadership that led Sub-Saharan

African countries to independence has proved incapable of solving the post-independence problems. Since we have no scientific evidence to show that African leaders possess genetic traits which contribute to autocratic tendencies, we have to place enough checks and balances in the political environment to ensure that rules and regulations are not violated by leaders. Therefore, those institutions that enforce the laws of the land must be strengthened. Through civic education, every African must work hard to ensure that the terms of leaders are limited, people's self confidence is promoted, and respect for life and property is enhanced.

The literature on stress and political leadership typically views such potential stressors as time-pressure, severe consequences for bad decisions, inadequate information, and conflicting demands as negative influences on political performance. We know, however, that many politicians thrive on or even require such circumstances. Drawing on medical, historical, psychiatric, psychological, and political science literature, Robert S. Robbin, Robert M Dorron proposes that there are at least there major types of leaders in regard to potential stressors: (1) sturdy warriors (who cope with or who even enjoy and are helped by events commonly reacted to by others as stressors); (2) battle-hungry
warriors (who are psychologically drawn to potential stressors and “cannot function”, well or badly, without them), and (3) frail warriors (who are unable to cope with stressors).*^ subcategories, including psychological and political dynamics, are provided.

The tension between moral aspirations and the demands of political achievement lead many to despair of the relationship between ethics and political leadership. Patrick J. Dobel builds upon the classic theory of normative prudence to argue that political prudence serves as a vital moral resource for leaders to bridge that gap. Political prudence covers the normative practices derived from the requirements of political achievement. The ethics of prudence focuses upon the obligation of a leader to achieve moral self-mastery, to attend to the context of a situation, and through deliberation and careful judgment to seek concrete outcomes that are legitimate and durable. Political prudence requires foresight, openness to experience and reason, timing, linking means and ends, seeking durability and legitimacy of outcomes, and building community. This account of political prudence argues that prudence is a necessary but not sufficient condition for ethical

leadership.*7

The congruence hypothesis based on implicit leader theory [Lord 2000] asserts that leadership effective should be related to the degree of fit between leader’s behaviour.

The globe project labeled implicit leadership theories held of members of a particular culture as culturally endorsed leadership theories (CLT). The group of societies will enable in this theory as the researcher cannot only test difference within countries but test the consistency of findings within and across cultural groupings.*8

Gender Difference in Leadership

Leadership process is confronted with several issues. Next we can look into the possibility of gender difference in leadership.

Virginia Sapiro believes it is possible to learn such about the significance of gender in political leadership using conventional empirical approaches of political psychology, they are not sufficient. At some point we must move to looking at real cases with all the complexities of history, associations, and partial visions that are the

hallmark of relationships between leaders and the public.*⁹ A symbolic politics approach suggested by Edlman’s work is proposed here, including an extended example of Margaret Thatcher.

Hege Skjeie finds Norwegian elite politics represents a rare exception to the general trend of exclusion of women from positions of political leadership. A man date of “difference” is now attached to women politicians. It has been used by women to get inside the power institutions, and is recognized as relevant. However, while most women politicians want to make a difference, they do not want to act too differently. In spite of their dramatic increase in numbers, there is still fear that deviations from established norms will be punished. Repeated often enough, the statement that “gender matters” may in turn convince the participants that change can in fact be achieved by no other contribution than the mere presence of women.*¹⁰

A symposium edited and introduced by Barbara URRELL, “The political leadership of women and public policymaking”, (pp. 565-568) Articles by Debra L. DODSON, “Change and continuity in the relationship between private responsibilities and public office holding:

the more things change, the more they stay the same”, (pp. 569-584)*11; Cindy Simon ROSENTHAL “A view of their own: women’s committee leadership styles and state legislatures”, pp. 585-600; Lesley Hyland Byland YRNE, “Feminists in power: women cabinet ministers in the New Democratic Party (NDP) government of Ontario, 1990-1995”, Mark P. ONES, “Legislator gender and legislator policy priorities in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies and the United State House of Representative”, Jesse ONAHUE, “It doesn’t matter: some cautionary findings about sex and representation form school committee conversations”; Annie Foster views support from international community for efforts promoting women’s’ participation in the political transitions currently taking place in Africa is visual for their success. The greatest need, according to many organizations and women’s groups, is the extension of voter education efforts to rural areas. Presented with democracy for the first time, women as well as men need to understand what the process entails as well as their own individual responsibilities in the procedure.12 rural women, especially,

12. Forster, Anne, Development and women’s’ political leadership: the missing link in sub-Saharan Africa. The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs 17(2), summer 1994, PP.101-116
may need to be assured and convinced of the relevance of this process to their everyday struggles for survival. Many groups are publishing pamphlets and traveling from village to village in order to offer this type of non-partisan education, some with the support of US grants. More financial resources are needed.

For almost a decade (1986-1996) Benazir Bhutto has been the most dynamic, somewhat controversial yet popular leader in Pakistan. Through two electoral contests 1988 and 1993, she has been able to assume the office of prime minister, a unique distinction in Pakistani politics. Saeeed Shafqat examines the attributes of her political leadership and provides an overview of strategies and policies devised by her Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government to manage the military, the economy, center-province relations, and foreign policy during her two terms in office and how she has performed as prime minister in the two periods.¹³

Bruce olav solheim's examination of the political and social characteristics particular to Scandinavia which have made women's rise to power more rapid than in other regions of the world. This study also explores how the resulting election of women has provided valuable

evidence of the impact of women leaders and their leadership style

Solheim begins with a critical view of feminist scholarship regarding the equality difference debate and the application of such research on the position of women in international politics. He concludes in their regard that leadership style may have less to do with gender than one might initially suspect.*14

Archival research and interviews with women in leading role provide the reader with a close look at the Scandinavian system with a view that will challenge gender stereotypes around the world.

3. WHETHER LEADER DETERMINES THE SITUATION OR SITUATION MAKES THE LEADER?

A discussion of leadership is incomplete without examining the age-old question whether leader determines the situation or situation makes the leaders? Jean Blondes and Cesar Carsino aim at analyzing the role that political leaders have played in the process of democratization in diverse geographical areas dating back to the second half of the 1980s. The authors suggest a theoretical model, which defines the role played by the environment and by the individual respectively in the context of societies undergoing change. The

analytical proposal focuses on four hypotheses on the centrality of leadership which explain the variables that determine the rise and fall of leaders during the process of political change. *15*

Mushirul Hasan study shows, the differences in the social base, ideological orientation and contrasting styles of leadership in India and Pakistan left their imprint on the course of events after independence. *16*... Although the structures and social composition of formal political parties mattered substantially, the striking contrast between India and Pakistan as also between the military rulers in west Pakistan and the Awami League in East Pakistan (later Bangladesh) was the charisma, popular appeal and moral authority of individual congress leaders and their extraordinary legitimacy in many parts of the country and among different sections of society. Today if the critique responsibility rests primarily with the congress party. It has failed to harness its own ideological resources to mobilize the minorities, the back ward castes and the dalits.


Applying the variables of economic development, political leadership and political legitimacy, Muthaiah Alagappa explores the prospects for democratization in East and Southeast Asian countries. The governing elite in several countries are not committed to democratization, but declining legitimacy and economic development have compelled them to explore alternative models. Two attractive models for countries like China, Vietnam, Burma and Indonesia are authoritarian pluralism and one party dominant democracy. However, the first contains the seeds of its own destruction while the second is under challenge in Japan itself. Thus while political change appears inevitable, the direction and pace of such change are not clear. Finally, while the democratic paradigm is certainly relevant to Asia, exclusive reliance on it will obscure the major political changes that are taking place in many Asian countries.*17... In the opinion of Peter John and Alistair Cole, the tension between leadership and democracy is always implicit in the governance of the contemporary city. The qualities that make local political systems work are the same ones that can undermine the claims of liberal democracy to be an effective and responsive type of government. The author states yet there are circumstances when

strong leadership combines with effective democratic control. There are creative pathways that local political leaders may take to mobilize local communities for collective action; and skilful leaders can raise the governing capacity of local communities.¹¹⁸ They further state that to achieve these contradictory aims, there are variety of leaderships styles that emerge in different contexts, and each has its costs and benefits.

According to Vanita Shastri, unlike the conventional view that equates India's economic liberalization with the 1991 fiscal crisis, in actuality, changes in industrial policy began almost a decade earlier a shift brought on by the ideas of Rajiv Gandhi (1985-1989). Change in industrial polices took place because by the mid-1980s a political leadership had emerged in alliance with a like-minded bureaucratic elite. Both were persuaded to act by ideas that gave a new direction to the decision-making process, one that necessitated "political management". While initiative for policy change came from within the state institutions, officials were not always will to formalize their preferences. Societal constraints did operate, influencing policy

outcome in various ways so as to push decision-makers to choose options acceptable to society. The ideas introduced by Rajiv Gandhi were not all adopted at the time, but by being in circulation and openly discussed, the innovations became eventually acceptable.*

Competent media performance and professional image-management are important resources of successful political leadership and public acceptance. Fritz Plasser.... deals with some critical aspects of Tele-Democracy” like the concepts of “video-style”, “tele-rhetoric” and “image-building” in form of state —of-the art report about recent findings in political communications research.* The first section anlayse specific developments in tactics and style of leadership performance in the mass media—especially television. The second part concentrates on recent trends in the media performance of Austrian chancellors. The final section deals with structural consequences for the logic and practice of democratic leadership.

Sara Dicky explores the connections between the South Indian cinema and politics, She focuses on M.G Ramachandran (popularly

Know as MGR), a film idol turned politician, who served as Chief Minister in Tamil Nadu for a decade before his death in 1987. She shows how MGR had crafted a film persona as a romantic hero and protector of the poor. In India, with its preference of political leaders who are attractive persons acting in altruistic ways, MGR then worked to transfer his film persona into political office. The electorate was so convinced that his political values mirrored his film roles that his reputation survived attacks by rivals and evidence of his own corruption and moral laxity. MGR used his fan clubs both as patronage networks and as means to display in real life his film reputation for altruism, thereby creating a reinforcing network of merit. These clubs, which are involved in range of film-oriented, political, and social service activities, are dominated by lower-class men.

According to Max Case in analyzing the democratic political process, political leadership is important. Element of leadership is the role politicians play in shaping public perceptions of politics, A


particular concern in this respect is that television with emphasis on the individual may in the long run depoliticize politics in the eyes of citizens and political process itself. Another aspect of leadership is the extent to which candidates for, and holders of, high political office influence voters, electoral choices.

Charles Robert Davidson explains the changing nature of political leadership in the Palestinian controlled territory. Describing the circumstances that placed Chairman Yasser Arafat and his governing structures at odds with more democratic civil organization, the author examines the steps necessary to bring national and sub national organizations together to form a lasting democratic government*. 23

According to Phillips Henderson, the presumption inherent in the 'policy wonk's style is that mastery of information ensures good results. But that does not seem to be the case for American president. Bill Clinton, like Jimmy Carter, has shown a propensity to be needlessly sidetracked by his compulsion for micro-managing policy. Clinton, like Carter appears to have entered the Presidency with no coherent ideology and no clear strategy for governance. The preoccupation of Clinton,  

and Carter with policy as an end in itself, or the elevation of policy over political leadership, is the principal flaw in the policy wonk’s approach to leadership. Information is only one factor in the complex milieu of Washington decision-making.* 24

Valenty Feldman and their contributors challenge the current state of political leadership studies by offering a variety of analytical methods from scholars around the world. While focused on American political leaders. The different approaches and vantage points offer fresh insights of the roles of cultural and political contact including the historical circumstances, environment factors and socializations agent that affect and shape American political leadership and performances.* 25

4. TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP:

Leadership Through Vision and Charisma

Finally we will examine various current theories concerning the basis of leaders effectiveness and new perspective that deals with


transformational aspect leadership. According to Stern Saxonberg and Robert C. Tucker's discussion of charismatic leadership provides the analytical framework for explaining Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus's rise and fall from power. Interviews with 24 members of the Czech political elite and a comparison to his first main political rival provide the main basis for showing that Klaus indeed was charismatic leader to come to power. Klaus's original success was due to a combination of his charisma is only situational, however, and does not automatically carry over to different structural conditions. After the new political and economic institutions stabilized, some of the very traits which made Klaus charismatic now became a hinder.*

In the opinion of Betty Glad the transformational task of bringing about a peaceful systematic resolution poses extraordinarily difficult problems. The process is made easier if the political leaders of the old and new order can cooperate. Gorbachev needed Yeltsin on his left, so that he, as the more moderate reformer, could bring the Communist Party along with him. But Yeltsin also needed Gorbachev to keep the institutional forces – party, bureaucracy, KGB from launching a full

26. Saxonberg, Steven, Vaclavklaus; the rise and fall and re-emergence of a charismatic (czec) leader East European politics and societies 13(2) 2000, PP. 391-418.
right-wing backlash. In South Africa, F.W de Klerk depended on Mandela needed de Klerk to moderate the reactionary forces within the National party and maintain the impetus for reform. Mandela and de Klerk were able to recognize their interdependence and the overriding importance of their mutual long-term goal. Gorbachev and Yeltsin, however got bogged down in power struggle that contributed to the dissolution of the USSR.*27

Political leadership is a key variable in the contemporary process of democratization. Powerful political leaders were also a salient feature of Canada’s transition from the authoritarian, governor-controlled regimes in the early 19th c. to modern democratic conditions in the 20th C. Canada’s political leadership tradition, which valued compromise and accommodation, is often hailed as exemplary but a has come in for considerable criticism since 1982 as Canadian politicians continue to fail in their attempts to find a basic constitutional definition of the Canadian state acceptable to Quebec and the rest of Canada. Cordon T. Stewart assesses the Canadian tradition and argues that the image of past Canadian leaders has conventionally been

27. Glad, Betty, Passing the baton; transformational political leadership from Gorbachev to Yelstin from De Clerk to Mandela, a political psychology 17(1). March 1996. PP.1-28.
idealized. An important lesson to be learned from the Canadian case is that leaders who assisted in the transition to democracy in North American worked often resorted to party building techniques of patronage, influence and corruption which are denounced when used by contemporary leaders in new democratic polities.*28

Stephen Skowronke reexamines the relationship between the political leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and the founding of the modern American presidency. It challenges the prevailing view that Roosevelt is properly seen as the prototypical modern president whose achievement was to institutionalize executive leadership in a new presidency was the creation of those who sought to thwart Roosevelt's ambitions. Roosevelt's distinction as a political leader is more properly found in the repudiate previously established commitments of ideology and interest and to force those who would defeat him to recognize new commitments. Comparisons with other great repudiators suggest a historical hemming of the most potent of all leadership postures.*29

Helen Drake opines, EC politics created new opportunities for

political leadership. Leadership of the integration process was provided first and foremost by national political leaders, with the EC’s supranational institution—the commission—playing a supporting role. Jacques Delors was the first commission president (1985-1995) significantly to redefine his role, and consequently to create a model for European, supranational political leadership.*30 Analyzing Jacques Delor’s discourse provides us with a methodological tool for understanding how he politicized the leadership role of the communism.

According to Barbata Sinclair...New Gingrich’s phenomenal successes in the 104th congress led many political scientists to question the discipline’s prevalent conception of congressional leadership. Most see congressional leaders as agents who must satisfy members’ expectations to get reelected. The change in the political context between the 104th and 105th congresses provides something of a natural experiment. A comparison of party leaderships in the 104th with leadership before the 104th as well as in the 105th allow us to assess the adequacy of principal-agent theory for making sense of a complicated, even exceptional, case. The author assess continuity and

change in the rate and type of House majority party leadership activity and in leadership strategies. Barbara Sinclair, compared with the Democratic leaderships of the late 1980's and early 1990's* 31...

The German chancellorship is one of the key political offices in western European liberal democracies. Alistair Cole situates chancellor Helmut Kohl’s leadership in the more general perspective of the study of political leadership in western Europe.*32... After an introduction to approaches to the study of political leadership, and an historical overview of the chancellorship of Helmut Kohl. It evaluate Kohl’s leadership in comparative perspective, both by comparing the German chancellor with his British, French and Italian counterparts and by situating him by reference to past German leaders.

In the study of Malaya political leadership Anthony S.KShome looks at the different leaders. From Tunkur Abudul Rahman (1957-70) to Dato. Ser. Dr. Mahatar Mohommed (1981-) He considers Dr. Mahtir Mohammed as a transformational leader.*33..

CONCLUSION

In modern societies, hereditary leadership is on the wane. Leaders are elected, appointed or rise to office because they have displayed certain qualities. In the current context, those who can be said to be born great are those who are born with leadership qualities. What then are these qualities? Names of acknowledged leaders of the twentieth century come to mind- Aung Sang Suu Kyi, Golda Meir, Mahatma Gandhi, Lee Kuan Yew, Mao Tse Tung, Nelson Mandela, Sukarno, Tengku Abdul Rahman, Margaret Thatcher, Mother Theresa, to name a few. So what made the leaders?

The ability to have others in a group accept and follow a leader requires a strong, dominant, extrovert personality, if not charisma. Leaders must have a vision and a capacity to inspire and motivate others. To galvanize others into action, a leader has to persuade and convince others to follow their way. The power of oratory is seen dearly in the leadership of Winston Churchill, integrity, consistency and steadfastness in the face of adversity are also qualities in leaders. Many of these qualities are often in born. This is certainly true of charisma and personality. However other qualities, that are associated with leadership, are not necessarily linked to personality; they are more
in the nature of skills that can be learnt. The ability to persuade and convince others to accept one's argument or reasoning is such a skill, albeit that some people are more gifted at it than others. Not every good speaker is Winston Churchill or a Lee Kuan Yew, for example. Good leaders should also have integrity of character and lead by example. These qualities, which go to make up character, can be instilled as well. She who seeks to lead needs to command respect. She has to know his/her subject and the people whom she is to lead. In current parlance, not only must she have intellect and character, but also equally important, she must have emotional quotient, or EQ.

Although some are born with leadership talents and personalities, there are those who are placed in positions where they are required to lead, but may not have these inborn qualities. These are persons who have greatness thrust upon them" such persons have to acquire the skills that their position calls for. To this extent then leaders arguably can be cultivate.

Experience shows that different situations call for different kinds of leadership. Times of war and times of peace call for different kinds of leaderships For example, Winston Churchill was a good wartime leader, but was less successful in peacetime. Likewise in the corporate
world now, we see the fall of the more flamboyant icons of the last
decade and the call for quieter type of leader who has the stamina to
pick up the pieces and put a company back together again. Vision with
a capital V is less important now than the ability for tedious detailed
work. To put it simply, different times call for leaders with different
qualities, personalities and skills.

Leadership is required in a variety of situations and setting. There
are world leaders, leaders of countries, of political parties, associations,
business organization, professional groups, clubs, and so on. Every
organization of human beings needs a leader even if he is just a primus
inter pares. In fact one can be a called a leader so on as there is another
person to led. Moreover, a person is no less a leader even if he holds
no office so long as he/she is in a position to influence the others in
the group.

These cursory observation led to the conclusion that theoretically
anyone can be called upon to lead in given situation, and ideally when
such an occasion does arise he/she must be ready to assume the position
and discharge the responsibilities.