

CHAPTER 2

LEADERSHIP AND PROTEST MOVEMENT DYNAMICS: THEORETICAL EXPLORATIONS

In classical writings, no distinction was made between 'elites' and 'leaders'. However, not all political elites are leaders. Conversely, many leaders are not elites, in that they do not hold elite position. Rather, leadership is a relational term- it describes the most important characteristic of relationship between leaders and followers (Welsh, 1973, pp. 120-26). Thus, the concept of leadership has implied the need to examine patterns of interaction among elites, between elites and non-elites, and between elite and potentials or non active elites (Welsh, 1997, p.18). Hence, there are almost as many different definitions of leadership as there are people who have tried to define it (Stogdill, 1974, p.7). We shall dwell on some prominent definitions for the sake of conceptual clarity, with particular reference to the Western and Indian traditions on the understanding of the concept of leadership, however, only with reference to prominent representative works from each tradition.

CONCEPTUALISING LEADERSHIP: WESTERN AND INDIAN TRADITIONS IN PERSPECTIVE

Generally leadership in western writings is defined as "action over human beings that is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition of conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers" (Burns, 1978, p. 12). It is closely related to the use of power "...The probability the one actor within a social relationship

will be in position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability exists" (Weber, 1947, p. 17); and authority – the right or the capacity or both to have proposals of perceptions or instructions accepted without recourse of persuasion, bargaining or force (McLean, 1996). Western scholars in their studies analyze leadership as a concept linked to their theoretical position. All leaders exercise their leadership in certain time and in certain place. That is what to large extent determines the way and the success of the leadership. There are scholars that stand for the importance of the personality; others claim that the leadership environment determines the success. Elgie (1995, pp. 9-23), an interactionist, claims that both of the two components matter. The leader's personality works through the ambitions of the leader and the leadership style. Leadership environment is further divided into two broad categories: first, the institutional settings, and second, needs of the society. The division between the two factors (personality of the leader and leadership environment) is strictly set as well as the distinction between leader and the led.

Thomas Carlyle in his *The Leader as a Hero* (1907) claims that the personality of a man is what determines the leadership and is crucial in whole process. He says that everything we see in the world is rationally accomplished and is done by one rational person. People like the person more if the person is more heroic and people are attracted by his capability. He claims that great men transform the environment when they come to power to improve their leadership. They make themselves

famous and make the followers follow. That is the nature of human society.

Sigmund Freud talks about the importance of the personality as a *Great Man* and as a *Leader as a Group Ideal*. Freud talks about the inevitability of one person as a leader going back in history when one despotic and powerful male led a horde. He bases his ideas on leadership on his understanding of human psychology. He distinguishes between two types of psychology: the psychology of the leader – one person, and, the psychology of member of a group. These categories can also be understood as of a leader and a follower. According to Freud leadership is a natural image of society. Leader is admired and trusted, but he might also be feared and hated. What really matters only the fact that he is followed. According to Freudian understanding of leadership, there are two parts of leadership that concern the leader. They are: the personal features of a leader; and, the idea promoted by a leader. Each of these features is important and forms the characteristics and the style of the leadership. The focus on the idea promoted by leader was an important tendency and factor in the writings of Freud. He tried to scientifically explain the human nature and types of psychology, but the first half of 20th century indicated the democratic norms and following the idea rather than a person. It became rational to explain personal interests by collective benefits and ideas. Interpretation and argumentation was a part of leader's success. But the psychologies still remained two and each

individual, according to Freud, could have one – the individual (leaders) or group psychology.

James Macgregor Burns distinguishes between *Power Wielders* and *Leaders*. “Power Wielders” refer to the legal or rational authority (Weber). It means that a person has an office and is granted a certain legitimate power, but that does not mean that the individual exercises the influence and would have many followers. It leads to the assumption that such person would not be a leader, but an authority. The environment – the existing institutional system, can grant that. Leader is the one who makes the change and has the influence over other people that are known as his followers. The main difference between *power wielders* and *leaders* is that leaders have the resources according to their motives, but *power wielders* have their purposes according to their resources (Burns, *ibid.* p.12-22). Motivation and reasoning is seen as essential part of leadership that determines not only the success of a leader in terms of followers, but also in terms of implementing the leader’s idea or motive. The followers in this case determine if person is a leader or a power wielder. The nature of the human society or the order of the world then determines that either the leader has resources to fulfill their motives or the person has purposes or motives according to the resources available. It is a system based on a balance of resources.

The division of leaders and people with authority is not consistent in writing of Western scholars. For example Max Weber writes about

bureaucracy as a form of governing. Leaders are an integrative part of bureaucracy; in fact, bureaucracy is an element of leadership environment. Therefore the authority given to a individual is treated as a beneficial leadership environment rather than factors that makes leader less likely to practice leadership. Max Weber distinguishes between three types of legitimate authority. They can be also taken as three bases or reasons of why people have become the leaders (Weber, 1947, pp. 328-363). They are: First, *Rational or Legal Base* –wherein people become leaders according to the legal structure of the state, they have fulfilled all the formal requirements. This base gives them a legal right to take the office and be a formal leader with all the attached rights and duties; Second, *Traditional Base* – wherein people become the leaders according to a belief or traditions and customs. This gives the power and influence, but since it is based on the belief and tradition in minds of the followers, it can change according to the change in the environment; and Finally, *Charismatic Base* – wherein the belief is in the qualities of a person, and the followers have a persistent trust and will to follow the leader. Ann Ruth Willner (1984, pp. 3-8) goes on analyzing these types of influence, especially focusing on the charismatic authority. She says that the legal authority is based on the right and the belief in the right to give certain commands. The traditional authority depends on the status of a person. She claims that these two types of authority therefore give the power and refer to the certain office or status, giving the frame for the power. The leadership becomes framed by granted authority, that is, status. Charismatic leadership still exists, but it is rather an exception. By

giving power on rational or traditional bases, legitimacy is the factor of following. Binding or legitimate norms are the ones that are followed by people. Therefore the one issuing the norms has exercised a good leadership.

Robert Tucker (1982, pp. 71-75) talks about non-constituted leadership, which is hard to be applied to any frames, as they are not constituted. These are leaders that have no legal authority. They deal not that much with the power as with the influence. As they do not hold a legal position they do not have to restrict themselves to any frame or follow any norms as there is no contract between them and the leadership environment. People follow them not because of legal grounds, but beliefs. Usually the idea of the leader is what makes one the leader and the charisma what keeps one a leader. On one hand the non-constituted leadership is weaker as it lacks the legal and traditional authority and can rely only on charisma. On the other hand this type of leadership is much more flexible and cross-discursive. It involves higher risk of not succeeding, but has the capacity to achieve more effective result in case of success.

As described elsewhere in the present chapter, influence is the factor that allows leadership to be exercised. Talcott Parsons has divided leaders according to the types of influence they exercise. He distinguishes between four main types of influence. They are: (a) Political influence – influence that gives the power to have the person's political decisions binding to the public; (b) Fiduciary influence – influence from the right to

allocate resources in the situation of plural interests; (c) Influence through appeal to different loyalties; and, (d) Influence orientated to the interpretation of norms which provides the balance between value commitments and particular interests in certain situations (Parsons, 1969, p. 419) . By coming up these types of influence Parsons gives the idea of flexible set of resources. There are several options of what balance of types of influences should have to be to make a change or exercise leadership. There is no certain or absolute model of what a successful leader is of who the person is. Diversity in leadership qualities implies also diversity of leadership personalities. If one option is not optimal, the other can be chosen. Leader is not perceived as an absolute figure. He or she is associated with certain time, place and leadership style. Leaders can be *changed* if the necessary qualities or resources for successful leadership are known. By defining the types of influence, the defined image of a leader is created.

However, the recent works on leadership may be obtained from Aldon Morris and Suzanne Staggenborg (2002) in their *Leadership in Social Movements* define movement leaders as strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movements. Peter G Northouse (2007, p.3) defines leadership as "a process whereby an individuals influence a group of individual to achieve a common goal." Hence, leadership permits multitudes of definitions. Despite the multitudes of ways in which leadership is conceptualised, the following components are discernible in the phenomenon of leadership: (a)

leadership as a process; (b) leadership involves influence; (c) leadership occurs in a group contexts; and (d) leadership involves goal attainment.

As mentioned above, the Western scholars tend to use the techniques of classifications and segmentation to study leaders. The concept of leadership involves a certain status and means that allow a person to hold the position. The success of the leader is determined by the extent to which he/she is followed. Every individual can be placed on the leadership - follower scale.

Asian value system differs radically from the western one. The Asian notions of leadership are, therefore, different in terms of their orientations vis-à-vis their western counterparts. Asian view of leadership is *spiritual*. The notion of leadership is understood as 'walking behind people. It believes that in order to guide people, the leader must put himself behind them. Contrarily, the western understanding of leadership style is '*hands-on*', walking ahead of people. Leadership is performed in front. However, Asian notions of leadership is not a holistic concept: the notion further varies from country to country, shaped by its own socio-philosophical groundings. Indian Philosophical tradition from Vedic philosophy to *Bhagawat Gita* to Upanishads and to the writings of Kautilya, is replete with references to the notions of leadership and leadership styles.

Thirukkural, one of the oldest Indian treatise, is regarded as a Tamil Vedanta, an acclaimed original Indian work on management that is more than 2000 years old. Thirukkural deals with the leadership theory in its chapter-39 entitled 'leadership excellence.' Thirukkural's leadership theory represents a composite model of Traits theory, Behavioral theory, Social Cognitive Resource theory, and Ethical theory of leadership. According to Thirukkural the 'big' four qualities of a leader are: never failing daring courage, magnanimity, intelligence and enthusiasm. This couplet emphasizes the behavioral aspect of the leader and the ethical aspects of the behavior as well. Thirukkural states that the whole world will celebrate the leader if only he is simple looking and easily accessible and devoid of harshness in all his words

The *Bhagavad-Gita on Effective Leadership: Timeless Wisdom for Leaders* by Pujan Roka (2006), specifically addresses the leadership lessons contained in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, one of the primary sources of Vedic philosophical thought. While much of the Bhagavad Gita is filled with references to God and other spiritual matters, strong moral advice and leadership lessons can be drawn from the text. When Arjuna questions his actions as a soldier, Krishna explains to him that each position, including soldier has a role to play in the cosmos. Leaders must be aware of that role and be prepared to respond to the responsibilities imposed by their position. As stated in the Gita, *Perfection is attained when each attends diligently to his duty* (18:45). Leaders have a duty to effectively influence others, and this duty can manifest itself in a number

of different approaches, however, the leader must maintain his/her values and not waver from those duties, and values. *The wise man who has conquered his mind and is absorbed in the Self is a lamp which does not flicker, since it stands sheltered from every will (6:19).*

Kautilya's view on leadership is derived from a holistic point of view. His view is built on deeper human values that ameliorate the connection between citizens and their leaders. Servant leadership is an approach to leadership development, coined and defined by Robert Greenleaf. However, the concept is thousands of years older than this. Chanakya or Kautilya, the famous strategic thinker from ancient India, wrote about servant leadership in his 4th century book Arthashastra. He clearly stated that the king [leader] shall consider as good, not what pleases himself but what pleases his subjects [followers]. He argued that the king [leader] is a paid servant and enjoys the resources of the state together with the people.

Hind Swaraj, written by Gandhi in 1938, before Indian independence, deals with how India should be governed (or led). In it, Gandhi contrasts the British style of colonialism with how he feels an independent India would rule itself, and he provides a plan for getting there: *satyagraha*, variously translated as soul-force, truth-force, or love-force. Key to Gandhi's vision of independent India is the idea of individual leadership and self-reliance. In this way, Gandhi describes *satyagraha* as a type of individual leadership.

As revealed, Western leadership tends to be much more task-oriented contrary to the Asian leadership which is a much more holistic model focusing on trust, harmony and interrelationships among people. Today's contemporary Asian leadership paradigms reflect the deeply rooted philosophical aspects of Indian and Chinese thought

THEORIES AND MODELS OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership is the ability to influence a group towards the achievement of goal. Leadership has been discussed and analysed from different theoretical perspectives, models and approaches. They are:

- **Traits Theory** (See Brymen, 1992; Kirkpatrick and Locke, 1991; Lord, DeVader and Allizer, 1986; Mann 1959; Zaccro, Kemp and Bader, 2004 for details), which holds that "it is the personal qualities and characteristics that differentiate leaders from non-leaders" (Robbins, p.332). The traits that make for leadership are "ambitions and energy, the desire to lead, honesty and integrity, self-confidence, intelligence, high self-monitoring and the relevant knowledge (Ibid.) The basic assumption of traits theory is that leaders are born rather than made. "Most of the dozens of traits that emerged in various leadership reviews could be subsumed under one of the Big Five and that this approach results in consistent and strong support for traits as predictors of leadership (Ibid, p-333). The *Big Five Model* of personality lists five traits

namely extroversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and openness to experience as the leadership personality.

- To **Situation Theory** (Blanchard 1985; Fernandez and Vecchio 1997; Graeff 1983 and 1997), the effective behaviour depends on the follower ability and motivation and they listed four follower situations namely: unable and unwilling, unable and willing, able and unwilling and able and willing (Robbins, Ibid. pp-342-343).
- **Contingency Theory** (Fielder 1964; Strub and Gracia 1981) of leadership states that the effective group performance depends on the proper match between the leader's style and the degree to which the situation gives control to the leader. Situation refers to leader-member relation, task structure and position power and that the situation required a particular type of leadership style namely relationship oriented style or task oriented style.
- As per **Path-Goal Theory** (Evans 1996; House 1996; House and Mitchell 1974; Indvik 1986; Schriesheim and Neider 1996; Stinson and Johnson 1975; Wofford and Liska 1993) it is leader's job to assist followers in attaining their goals and to provide the necessary direction and support to ensure that their goals are compatible with the overall objectives of the group or organization.

- In **Leader-Member Exchange theory** (Harter and Evanecy 2002; Liden, Wayne and Stilwewl 1993; Scandura 1999; Schriesheim, Castro and Koglisier 1999), the leader differentiates among followers as 'in-groups' and 'out-groups'.
- **Transformational Theory** (Evalio and Gibbon 1988; Bass 1990 and 1998; Bass and Evalio 1993; Konger 1999; Kuhnert 1994; kunhert and Lewis 1987; Yukl 1999) argues that transformational leaders shift the values, beliefs and needs of their followers through charisma, inspiration, intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration (Luthan, p-561-562). Social cognitive approach treats that 'leaders are causal determinants and that influence subordinates independent of followers' behaviour or the situation (Ibid, p-563). "The leader and the subordinates have a negotiable, reciprocal, interactive relationship and are consciously aware of how they can modify (influence) each others' behaviour through cognitions and the contingent environment" (Ibid, p-564).
- **Charismatic Leadership Theory** states that charismatic leaders are those who by the force of their personal abilities are capable of having profound and extraordinary effect on followers (Luthan, p. 560). Charismatic leaders are characterized by self-confidence and confidence in the subordinates, ideological vision, and the use of personal example," (Ibid.); "Vision and articulation, personal

risk, environmental sensitivity, sensitivity to followers needs, unconventional behaviour (Robbins, p. 363).

- In the **Cognition Resource Theory**, the stress unfavorably affects a situation and that intelligence and experience can lessen the influence of stress on the leader.
- **Leader Participation Model** provides a set of rules to determine the form and amount of participation in decision-making in different situation. There have been modern theoretical processes of leadership.
- The **Substitutes for Leadership Theory** tries to point out that some things are beyond leaders' control; leaders do not have mystical powers over people. The situation plays a role. However the substitutes idea does not negate the leadership; but it may put a more realistic boundary on what leadership is capable of achieving from substitutes. The neutralizers are subordinate characteristics (experience, ability and training); task characteristics (structured and routine work; feedback within the task, intrinsically satisfying task), organization characteristics (cohesive work groups, low position power of leader, formalization, inflexibility, leader physically isolated from subordinates).

- **Authentic Leadership Model** is a process that draws from both positive psychological capabilities and a highly developed organizational context, which results in both greater self-awareness and self-regulated positive behaviour on the part of leaders and associates, fostering positive development. The authentic leader is confident, hopeful, optimistic, resilient, transparent, moral /ethical, future oriented, and gives priority to developing associates to be leaders.
- **Self-Leadership Model** refers to a set of processes through which individuals control their own behaviour. They do this by developing leadership capacity in others and nurturing followers so they no longer need to depend on formal leaders for direction and motivation (Robbins, p. 372). This is done through model self leadership, encouraging followers to create self-set goals, encourage the use of self-rewards to strengthen and increase desirable behavior, create positive thought patterns, create a climate of self-leadership and encourage self-criticism (Ibid, p.372).
- **Ethical leadership Model** refers to the leadership model wedded with ethical behavior (i.e. the means used by the leader to achieve the goals and the moral contents of the goals). Unethical leaders are more likely to use their charisma to enhance power over followers, directed towards self-serving ends.

Other important theories, approaches and models of leadership may include, skills approach (Mamford, 2000; Katz 1955; Mamford, Zaccaro and Connelly and Marx 2000; Yammarino, 2000), style approach (Likert 1967; Missumi 1985; Stogdill 1963), team perspective (Chambers and Aimen (eds) 1993; LaFasto and Larsen 1987; Parker 1990; Steward and Manz 1995; Zaccaro, Rattman and Marx 2001), psychodynamic approach (Schiffer 1973; Weiner, Jobe and Ferrnor 1985), women and leadership (Bartol and Buterfield 1976; Beirnet and Wortmen 1991; Copper and Lewis 1999; Dubbins and platz 1986; Eagly and Carly 2003; Eagly and Johnson 1990; Eagly and Kario 1991; Engen, Ledeen and Williams 2001; Hoyt and Blascovich 2006 and Wirth 2001), culture and leadership (House et al, 2004), and the perspective of leadership ethics (Arosen 2001; Ciulla, 1998 and 2003; Dalala Costa 1998; Gini 1998; Johnson 2005) .

However, it is not to suggest that the leadership theories are limited to these theories and models. There may be many more models and theories of leadership developed as heuristic devices in the study of leadership depending upon the time-space contexts.

TYOLOGIES OF LEADERSHIP STYLES

Different Types of leadership styles include the following:

- **The Laissez-faire** “leave it be” leadership (Lewin, Liippit, & White, 1939) is the leadership style that gives no continuous feedback or supervision because the employees are highly experienced and needs little supervision to obtain the expected outcome. On the other hand, this type of style is also associated to leaders that don’t lead at all, failing in supervising its team members, resulting in lack of control and higher costs, bad service or failure to meet deadlines.
- **The Bureaucratic Leader** (Weber, 1905) is very structured and follows the procedures as they had been established. This type of leadership has no space to explore new ways to solve problems and is usually slow paced to ensure approval of the ladders stated by the company. Leaders ensure that all the steps had been followed prior sending it to the next level of authority. Universities, hospitals, banks and government usually requires this type of leader in its organizations to ensure quality, increase security and decrease corruption. Leaders that try to speed up the process will only lead to frustration and anxiety.
- **The Charismatic Leader** (Weber, 1905) leads by infusing energy and eagerness into to their team members. This type of leader has to be committed to the organization for the long run. Otherwise, charismatic leaders are a risk for the company when they decide

to resign for other opportunities because his/her staff only saw the success of the division or project thanks to the leader and not the team. It takes time and hard work to gain the employees confidence back with other type of leadership.

- In the case of **Autocratic Leadership** (Lewin, Liippit, & White, 1939) we could say that is when the it has been given the power to take decisions based solely on his person, having total authority to its. This leadership style is good for employees that needs close supervision to perform certain tasks. Creative employees and team players resent this type of leadership, not being able to enhance processes or decision making, resulting in job dissatisfaction.
- **The Democratic Leader** (Lewin, Liippit, & White, 1939) means that even though you want to hear your team's ideas, the leader will study those ideas and will take the final decision. Team players contributes to the final decision thus increasing employee satisfaction and ownership, feeling their input was considered when the final decision was taken. When changes arises, this type of leadership help the team assimilate the changes better and rapidly than other styles, knowing they were consulted and contributed to the decision making process, minimizing resistance and intolerance. It's important to highlight that this type of style is

not recommended when decisions are needed in a short period of time or at the moment.

- **People-Oriented Leader** (Fiendler, 1967) is the one that in order to comply with effectiveness and efficiency, supports, train and develop his personnel increasing job satisfaction and genuine interest to do a good job.
- **Task Oriented Leaders** (Fiendler, 1967) are those who focus on the job, and concentrate in the specific tasks assigned to each employee to reach goal accomplishment. This leadership style suffers the same motivation issues as autocratic leadership, showing no involvement in the teams needs. It requires close supervision and control to achieve expected results.
- **A Servant Leader** (Greenleaf, 1977) is the leader that facilitates goal accomplishment by giving its team members what they need in order to be productive. Is an instrument employees uses to reach the goal rather than an commanding voice that moves to change. This leadership style, as well as democratic leadership tends to achieve the results in a slower motion than other styles, although employee engagement is higher.

- **A Transaction Leader** (Burns, 1978) is the power given to a certain person to perform certain tasks and reward or punish for the team's performance. It gives the opportunity to manager to lead the group and the group agrees to follow his lead to accomplish a predetermined goal in exchange of something else. Power is given to the leader to evaluate, correct and train his subordinates when productivity is not up to the desired results and reward effectiveness when expected outcome is reached.
- **A Transformation Leader** (Burns, 1978) is the one who motivates his team to be effective and efficient. Communication is the base for goal achievement focusing the group in the final desired outcome or goal attainment. This leader is highly visible and uses chain of command to get the job done. Transformational leaders focus on the big picture, needing to be surrounded by people who take care of the details. The leader is always looking for ways to ideas that moves the organization to reach the company's vision.
- **The Environment Leader** (Carmazzi, 2005) is the one who nurtures group or organisational environment to affect the emotional and psychological perception of an individual's place in that group or organisation. An understanding and application of group psychology and dynamics is essential for this style to be effective. The leader uses organisational culture to inspire

individuals to and develop leaders at all levels. This leadership style is relies on creating an education matrix where groups interactively learn the fundamental psychology of group dynamics and culture from each other. The leader uses this psychology, and complementary language, to influence direction through the members of the inspired group to do what is required for the benefit of all.

- **The Situation leader** (Joseph Praveen Kumar, Hersey, Blanchard, & Johnson, 2008) is the leader that uses different leadership styles depending on the situation and the type of employee that is been supervised.

LEADERSHIP AND PROTEST MOVEMENT DYNAMICS

Leadership is a process by which a person influences others to accomplish an objective and directs the organization in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent. Leaders carry out this process by applying their leadership attributes, such as beliefs, values, ethics, character, knowledge, and skills. Therefore, leaders are responsible for mobilizing individuals to act collectively and in accordance with organizational guidelines. The leadership of a protest movement mobilizes individuals through its structure, connectivity to local networks, and framing of its ideology. The study of leadership within protest movements remains slim despite its importance to social movements

themselves. Although a host of scholars feel that leadership in protest movements has yet to be adequately theorized (see for instance, Aminzade et al., 2001; Barker et al., 2001; Klandermans, 1989; Melucci, 1996; Morris 1999; Zurcher and Snow, 1981), yet Aldon Morris and Suzanne Staggenborg (2002) hold that leaders are critical to protest movements: they inspire commitment, mobilize resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands, and influence outcomes. A key theoretical issue the present research indulges in is the study of the extent to which the characteristics and actions of leaders, as opposed to structural conditions, matter in protest movement dynamics. Hence, there have been recent attempts to understand the role of leadership in protest movement dynamics in the West. However, such a study is still wanting in India.

In this context, the present study attempts to analyse the leadership in Indian protest movement, analyze their leadership styles and techniques and how each of these influences movement objectives, ideologies and strategies, and evaluate their role in protest movement dynamics. This shall be done by way of analysis of leadership and their role in influencing the nature, character and content of the two movements under study in the following sections.

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