



# Leadership Trait Analysis, Foreign Policy & Emerging Powers

A CASE OF MODI'S INDIA

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## Abstract

*How does an individual leader's leadership traits affect a country's foreign policy? Most studies on political leadership have attempted to answer that question by focusing on US Presidents and British Prime Ministers; emerging powers remain undertheorized. This study conducts a Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) of India's current Prime Minister Narendra Modi to answer that question. The results from LTA are then corroborated by conducting a controlled case comparison to find evidence for how Modi's leadership style has influenced India's foreign policy.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 TOPIC AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The term emerging powers is a broad and vague concept used generally in the field of International Relations and foreign policy to describe those countries that are in the process of expanding their material capacities, political and economic clout and are developing at a faster rate in comparison to other countries in the developing world (Stuenkel, 2016). A country is also an emerging power when it is large in geographical context and population and has a low per capita income in comparison to developed countries (Stuenkel, 2016). One of the most common acronyms associated with these countries is BRICS- Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. The acronym originated from a report by Goldman Sachs and was thereafter frequently used by journalists. But even scholars have noticed the importance of these countries with respect to their challenges to the traditional institutes and their influence on regional dynamics (Wehner, 2017).

One of the ways through which these countries pose those challenges and exert their influence is through their foreign policy. The voting pattern within the UN Security Council during the Arab Spring is one such example. Even though the Libyan intervention was approved by the UN Security Council, all BRICS nations except South Africa abstained from voting and ensured that a consensus was delayed, fragile and difficult to arrive upon (Tank, 2012, p:2). This voting pattern clearly indicated the global split present within the United Nations. The BRICS abstinence is an indicator for the established powers that their authority could be questioned (Borger, 2011). But how do these countries arrive at such decisions? Are these decisions influenced by specific leadership style of leaders in these countries? By conducting a Leadership Trait Analysis (hereafter referred to as LTA) of India's current prime minister, Narendra Modi this study attempts to answer the question: How does an individual leader's leadership traits affect a country's foreign policy? LTA has been developed by Margaret Hermann (Hermann, 2002) and this thesis uses that theory to critically analyze the changes, if any, brought by Modi. The results of LTA are then further corroborated by conducting a controlled case comparison. Most studies dealing with political leadership have focused on American presidents or British prime ministers (Hermann & Kaarbo 1998 p:244; Kaarbo, 1997 p:555). Leadership

analysis of emerging countries are rare (Mitchell, 2007; Gorener & Ucal 2011) and remain undertheorized.

Narendra Modi has shown a keen interest in the foreign affairs of India. His administration is on the verge of completing its first term in 2019. When Modi came to power back in 2014, he had promised to usher in changes domestically and internationally. His strong personality has often been discussed for the success of his party's win and how he has charmed his way through the global platform (Mishra, 2015). An early assessment of his administration has also shown how he has been influential in connecting India with the world (Pant, 2017). Moreover, current developments among BRICS countries highlight that India is predicted to outshine China in economic growth making India an economic powerhouse (Bulloch, 2017).

## 1.2 SOCIETAL AND ACADEMIC RELEVANCE

Foreign policy seeks to explain how different agents involved in the decisional process influence the decision taken by an international actor (Stuart, 2008 p:577). This makes foreign policy a challenging and multifarious subfield of International Relations. But its interdisciplinary approach also helps in filling the gap between excessive theory and factual reality (Stuart, 2008 p:577). This dynamic nature of foreign policy presents a high potential for societal implications.

International Relations is generally concerned with the study of states and non-state actors and their actions. In that respect, they are assumed to be autonomous actors interacting with one another and are considered to be separate from the individuals who represent them, run them or take decisions on behalf of them. This dichotomy then overlooks the role of the individual which should not be the case. It is the individual who cooperates, perceives, competes and assesses. It is the individual who takes decisions on behalf of the states and most importantly formulates policies (Kelman, 1970, p:1). This makes the assessment of a leader's leadership style and the effect it has on the country's foreign policy quite important. The individual is also significant because quite often the decision-making ability rests with an individual on behalf of the state. Debates within International Relations quite often neglect the individual for more state and system-oriented approaches. However,

historical explanations have provided considerable causal explanations to the role of individual political leaders (Levy, 2013). Moreover, studying foreign policy through the lens of the individual is useful in analyzing how international relations function and to interpret the changes in the international system (Kelman, 1970 p:2).

As discussed above emerging powers are changing the current world order by pursuing a bigger role in international institutions and connecting with regional organizations (Tank, 2012 p:1). Therefore, focusing on the individual in these countries could be helpful in assessing and determining a pattern in the foreign policy of these countries.

Academically, the extant literature available on emerging powers discusses their foreign policies, their perceptions on global public goods such as climate change and the norms (democracy, human rights) they practice in their own countries (Stuenkel, 2016). Among the BRICS nations, China's rise in the global order is often discussed in the context of how peaceful the rise shall be. India, on the other hand, has been studied from the perspective of its policy towards its neighbor Pakistan, its use of its soft power tools such as yoga and Bollywood and the role it has played in Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) (Pratap, 2015; Hall, 2012; Thussu, 2013). In the context of leadership's effect on foreign policy as well, India has been studied in depth and over different time periods. David Mitchell conducted a study in 2007 in which he examined four prominent leaders of the country- Jawahar Lal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi and Atal Bihari Vajpayee. His study concluded that all these leaders demonstrated 'strategic' and 'opportunistic' styles of leadership (Mitchell, 2007). It has been over a decade since this study was published and India has seen a change in its leadership since then. The current prime minister took over from Dr. Manmohan Singh in May 2014. Modi's increased interest in foreign affairs of India has already created journalistic avenues for an assessment of India's 'neighborhood diplomacy' (Kaura, 2018). This study would be filling the gap by providing for a more systematic assessment of Modi's time in office. This study would also help in making a comparison and assess if Modi has followed similar styles or has substantively affected Indian foreign policy.

This thesis is divided into seven sections. The section with literature review provides an overview of the existing debates and the findings and hypothesis related to the topic. It will

discuss the previous work in the field of leadership trait analysis and foreign policy. The section containing theory discusses the theoretical framework, the variables, and hypothesis to be tested for this research. The section on research design justifies the case selection, data collection and the method of analysis. The section on results and analysis presents the findings of LTA and the controlled case comparison analyzes those findings. Section seven compares Modi to Vajpayee in the context of Pakistan. The two cases which are compared are Kargil conflict of 1999 and India's 'surgical strikes' against Pakistan in September 2016. Lastly, the concluding section summarizes the findings together with the limitations of this study and recommendations for future research.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section discusses the existing research and the overarching debates on the concepts of leadership and foreign policy decision making. The section first briefly discusses how the application of psychological factors gained importance in studying foreign policymaking. It then discusses the work that has used leadership as the focal point for understanding foreign policymaking. Lastly, the section concludes with work that has been done on foreign policy strategies of emerging powers.

Traditionally, the analysis of foreign policy decision-making was done by historians studying diplomacy or political biographers. Due to this, the subfield of foreign policy analysis was more illustrative than it was theoretical. It was also more focused on explaining the outcome rather than looking at the process. The entire paradigm provided general interpretations of the events. Moreover, this approach assumed a rationalist framework which assumes that states advance their national interests and national leaders intend to maximize these interests (Levy, 2013, p:306).

But in the late nineteenth century, American scholars started developing scientific methods to study foreign policy decision-making processes. These developments in academia came as a response to a rise in security and threat-related issues and soon American policymakers were interested in studying psychological traits of foreign leaders in order to assess future confrontations (Stuart, 2008).

One of the most important works that laid out the foundations for approaching the analysis of foreign policy from a decision-making perspective came from Richard Snyder, H.W. Bruck and Burton Sapin's work (Stuart, 2008: p:581). Their work provided a convincing argument for the fact that state action is the action taken by the individual who acts on behalf of the state. One of the main assumptions for their work was on the need to focus on the decision unit who pursued a specific objective (Stuart, 2008, p:582; Snyder, Bruck & Burton, 2002).

Another interesting development in the 1970's in the field of foreign policy was Comparative Foreign Policy (CFP). This new approach was developed from James Rosenau's (1971) work on pre-theory in Foreign Policy in which Rosenau argued that academics should clearly state down their assumptions before they begin to study a situation's effect on decision-making (Stuart, 2008). Rosenau's CFP was criticized for being too ambitious but it was an approach that included different levels of analysis: the individual, societal and systemic (Rosenau, 1971; Stuart, 2008).

When discussing the various agents (individual, societal and systemic) in decision-making the work of Harold and Margaret Sprout deserves a special mention. The Sprouts made a distinction between the psychological and the operational milieu for studying the outcome and process involved in foreign-policy making. They found that the agents involved in a decision and the process would be determined by psychological milieu and the operational milieu would determine the outcome of those processes (Sprout & Sprout, 1965, p:119-120; Stuart, 2008). The psychological milieu gained popularity among scholars. This field drew heavily from cognitive psychology. Robert Jervis is one of the scholars who has contributed significantly to the field of cognitive psychology. His work *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Jervis, 1976) proved to be a landmark in the application of cognitive psychology in foreign policy. His most recent work, *How Statesmen Think* also demonstrates the importance of psychological needs in international politics and how people think, perceive their environment and make decisions (Jervis, 2017, p:2).

The psychological explanations of foreign policy actions were helpful in tackling the problems which arose from assuming rationality of states. As Hudson notes, foreign policy analysis is actor specific since what happens among nations is a result of human decision making (Hudson, 2005 p:1). In their study, Forsberg and Pursiainen (2017) apply the cognitive and psychological factors such as belief systems, personality characters, and emotions to Russia's decision to annex Crimea. They apply several psychological theories to study Russian foreign policy and find that these theories partially explain Russia's decision. Studies have also found that psychological factors provide an explanation for

decision making in coalition cabinets. In her article, Kaarbo (2008) finds that psychological processes such as group polarization, persuasion etc. and other psychological factors are important in coalition cabinets. Kaarbo argues that these factors are reinforced by institutional factors and they complement the whole process (Kaarbo, 2008). Another study done by Kaarbo and Beasley find that psychological factors are important in providing explanations for the extreme behavior of parliamentary democracies. They find that if a cabinet has more parties and a weak parliament then it is more prone to make extreme decisions (Beasley & Kaarbo, 2014). But these cognitive psychological approaches could not be equated with individual approaches.

The role of the individual in the field of International Relations and the sub-field of foreign policy has been a recurrent theme. The study of politics through the lens of the individual is rooted in the interdisciplinary field of political psychology and scholars have attempted to study powerful personalities as case studies and what motivates them (Post, 2003). One of the methods applied to study individual political leaders is through content analysis of their speeches and public statements. However, in the initial days of these methods, they lacked a clear structure for coding and comparing an individual's verbal output (Stuart, 2008). Alexander George tackled this problem by developing the method of 'operational code analysis' (Walker, 1990). The method helps in classifying and comparing individual leaders based on certain political beliefs which are assumed to influence the leader's perception of the world and how they make foreign policy decisions (George, 1969; Stuart 2008). The other prominent method of analysis that has been widely used is 'leadership trait analysis.' Margaret Hermann's contribution is quite relevant in this field. Hermann's methods have been widely used throughout the field to assess various political personalities and her research has spanned over two decades. It is important to highlight that much of the literature connecting leadership style to foreign policy decision-making has focused on US presidents (see: Hermann & Preston, 1994, Mitchell, 2005, Gallagher & Allen, 2014). Several studies have applied the operational code analysis technique to US presidents to explain certain policy decisions (see: Walker & Falkowski, 1984; Walker, Schafer & Young, 1999; Renshon, 2009). This can partly be attributed the hegemonic role the US has played in world affairs. But the presidential government system in the US also

provides a convenient framework for analysis since all governing powers are concentrated in one single individual.

The prime minister in parliamentary systems on the other hand, has been understudied, which motivated Juliet Kaarbo to develop a framework for research. Despite several countries having parliamentary systems and the prime minister being important in them, the British prime minister has been studied the most (Kaarbo, 1997 p:555). In their pilot study, Hermann and Kaarbo analyze the leadership styles of prime ministers and study the cases of British Prime Ministers and German Chancellors. Their study finds evidence for a direct link between leadership styles of the prime ministers and their decisions in the foreign policy-making process (Hermann & Kaarbo 1998, p:256). In his study, Samuel Rohrer (2014) analyzes the effect of three personality traits: conceptual complexity, need for power and ability to control events on the perceived effectiveness of British Prime Ministers in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. His study uses the dataset of British prime ministers from 1902-2004 and he finds that leaders who score high on these traits were considered significantly more effective during their time in office. Another study conducted by Stephen Dyson (2006) finds that the UK's decision to engage in the Iraq war can be attributed to the personal characteristics of Tony Blair. Dyson also studies the same personality traits as Rohrer and finds that Blair has low conceptual complexity, high need for power and a high belief in his ability to control events.

An overview of the literature helps in identifying the gap in the literature on leadership and foreign policymaking. Firstly, the US president has been studied heavily in comparison to prime ministers and even among prime ministers, there is an excess on British prime ministers. Prime Ministers from other countries do not have in-depth studied dedicated to them. As Kaarbo (1997) notes, the research on prime ministers and their leadership styles has studied the variation between different countries, such as in the special edition of *West European Politics* published in 1991 that was dedicated to the study of prime ministers in countries such as Norway, Germany, France Italy, Spain and Great Britain. The articles included in the special edition separately account for differences in Prime Ministers of these countries. Kaarbo argues that this 'country-by-country approach' does not cover the

differences within a single country that could be connected to the leadership style of the leader (Kaarbo, 1997 p:555; also see *West European Politics*, Volume 14 Issue 2, 1991). This also highlights the dearth of studies on Non-Western countries. However, this does not imply that there are no studies at all.

Emerging powers have certainly caught the attention of scholars in the last two decades due to their ascendancy. While reviewing the current debates about studying emerging powers, Cooper and Flesmes note that a large part of these debates has tried to answer the puzzle of whether these countries are willing to work with the established institutions or whether they seek to establish their own norms (Cooper & Flesmes, 2013). For instance, constructivists look at the role of identities and norms present in these countries and whether they present a threat to the current order (Mielniczuk, 2013). But such studies are mainly limited to the rise of China (see Alden & Large, 2015). Furthermore, this literature has been restricted in considering these countries under the BRICS umbrella, which has neglected the individual role of these countries. In addition to those debates, how these countries have come to display collective grievances for historical events has been widely covered. Cooper and Flesmes term this display of collective grievance as an establishment of the neo-Westphalian system which establishes state sovereignty and non-intervention as the guiding principles (Cooper & Flesmes, 2013, p:952).

A focus on leadership of the emerging powers is quite a rare instance in the current literature. Few studies have applied LTA to the leaders of non-Western countries including those of Turkey, India, and Serbia (see Gorener & Ucal, 2011; Kesgin, 2012; Mitchell, 2007; Knauff, 2017). Gorener & Ucal (2011) and Kesgin (2012) focus on Turkey but different leaders. Gorener and Ucal (2011) focus on Recep Tayyip Erdogan while Kesgin (2012) focuses on Tansu Ciller. Both studies find that the leadership styles of the two leaders have had an effect on Turkey's foreign policy under their respective rule. Knauff (2017) on the other hand, uses the example of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to illustrate the shortcomings of the LTA method. India has been used as a case before by Mitchell (2007) who studied the foreign policy strategy of India under Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi and Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Mitchell looks at India's foreign policy

towards Pakistan in particular. He uses different disputes between India and Pakistan during each leader's reign as illustrative case studies to determine India's foreign policy. Although his study covers different prime ministers spanning over different time periods, his sole focus on Pakistan does not consider India's behavior with other countries. Moreover, since the time the study was published, the regime change has been quite dramatic in India. This change has certainly been noticed by scholars and media alike. Considering that, experts in the field have begun assessing the changes brought about by prime minister Modi in India's foreign policy as his first term reaches to a close. The focus has been the point that *International Affairs* dedicated an entire issue to India in its January 2017 edition. The issue covers India's rise 70 years after independence and this edition is the first ever where India has been the focus of a mainstream international academic journal. One of the key objectives to keep India as the focus was also to assess India's foreign policy under Modi. The articles covered in this issue discuss India and its foreign policy under Modi by considering variables such as ideas, norms, interests of India's external partners, institutions, perceptions, beliefs and individual leaders as well (Miller & Sullivan de Estrada, 2017 p:2). Rajesh Basrur assesses the Modi doctrine's distinctiveness on how India applies her material power, how she interacts with major powers and how she pursues recognition (Basrur, 2017). Basrur's major focus remains the Hindu element in Modi's foreign policy but he argues that this has not changed the fundamentals of Indian foreign policy. Miller and Sullivan de Estrada on the other hand argue that he has worked within political constraints (Miller & Sullivan de Estrada, 2017). Although, these studies consider how Modi has changed the foreign policy of India, they do so by considering other factors and the role of his leadership style is not studied or considered as an important factor that could account for the changes.

Thus, this study would be filling the gap for different debates about emerging powers, the role of leadership and foreign policy decision making within international relations. The focus on Modi's leadership style would paint a more comprehensive picture of Modi. It could help in understanding different decisions he has taken so far or would take in his last year before the next general elections 2019.

### 3. THEORY

This section of the thesis describes the theoretical framework used for a comprehensive evaluation of the personality trait of Narendra Modi. This study draws largely from the field of Political Psychology in International Relations. The main theory used for analysis is Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) developed by Margaret Hermann (Hermann, 2002). This study uses this literature to identify necessary variables and hypothesis.

#### 3.1 POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Political psychology as a sub-field of International Relations has received scarce attention from scholars. The overarching debates have mostly been between the realist, liberal or constructivist approaches (Levy, 2013). Scholars interested in applying the political psychology perspective to political leadership are keen to understand what factors influence an individual to be a leader, what characteristics of a leader can affect their political actions and what the conditions are under which a leader's personality and experiences influence the political units under them (Hermann, 2013, p:1). This study falls under the category of the second question which deals with political leaders' personality and its effect on their political actions and more specifically on foreign policy decision making. There are a few theories that discuss the role of the individual and LTA is one of those theories that are related to the personality of the individual (Knauff, 2017). This theory provides a better understanding of the personality traits as it takes into account some of the important elements that are necessary to learn about the leader. These include the beliefs, their openness to information and their motivations (Hermann, 2013, p:4).

#### 3.2 LEADERSHIP TRAIT ANALYSIS THEORY

The LTA theory was developed by Margaret Hermann in 1980. Hermann developed a norming group by assessing the leadership style of 87 heads of state from 46 countries and 122 national leaders from 48 countries that included revolutionary leaders, members of cabinets, leaders of opposition parties and terrorist leaders (Hermann, 2002). The LTA method was developed by doing an explicit content analysis of the verbal output either

through the spontaneous form of communication such as interviews or press statements given by these leaders (Hermann, 2002, p:2).

### 3.3 VARIABLES AND HYPOTHESES

#### *Independent Variable – Leadership Style*

‘Leadership style is defined as the ways in which leaders relate to those around them and how they structure interactions, norms, rules and the principles they use to guide themselves. This could be fellow cabinet ministers, counterparts or other constituents (Hermann, 2002, p:5)’. By assessing the individual differences of over 122 leaders over the last two decades, Hermann has developed certain leadership styles that leaders use in order to guide themselves in their interactions with their colleagues or counterparts. These styles have been developed by answering three broad questions (Hermann, 2002, p:5):

- 1) How do leaders react to political constraints in their environment: do they respect or challenge such constraints?
- 2) How open are leaders to incoming information: do they selectively use information or are they open to information directing their response?
- 3) What are the reasons for seeking their positions: are leaders driven by the internal focus of attention or by relationships that can be formed with salient constituents?

By answering these questions, it can be determined how responsive the leader is to the political context and to what extent they are going to control their surroundings or be controlled by them. The combination of answers to these questions helps in determining a profile. Each question is answered by looking at certain traits which are discussed in detail in the methodology section. A more in-depth discussion of these questions can be found in Hermann’s manual for LTA (Hermann, 2002). A brief overview is presented below:

- 1) By determining the leader’s sensitivity to political constraints, it can be known how important it is for the leader to be controlling of and influential on their surroundings and the restrictions these surroundings pose as opposed to being adjusting in different situations and being open to the challenges of domestic and international pressures. Leaders who are inclined to challenge constraints tend to

meet all the situations head-on and deal with the problem of the moment in a forceful manner. Such leaders respond quickly to a problem and are decisive in nature (Hermann & Kaarbo, 1998; Suedfeld, 1992). Such leaders are then interested in maintaining control over policymaking. On the other hand, leaders who respect constraints are more empathetic to the surrounding. They look into the details of how relevant parties perceive an event and seek their support when necessary. These leaders are flexible, look for ripe moments and are supportive of consensus building. The personality traits used to answer this question are: belief in ability to control events and need for power.

- 2) By determining a leader's openness to information, it can be known how leaders will respond to a specific situation: do they already choose a response to a problem and then assess the problem or do they assess each problem separately and then choose a response. Leaders who tend to do the former are less open to information and have a clear vision or agenda they want to reinforce. They only absorb the information which matches their predesigned agenda and often overlook information that disconfirms that. Leaders who act on the latter, are interested in knowing the problem and listen to different actors involved in the process. After taking cues from relevant sources and considering all the options on the table, they make a choice. The personality traits used to answer this question are self-confidence and conceptual complexity.
- 3) By determining the leaders' motivation for a position, it can be known whether they are driven by a certain internal focus or whether they are in that position to get an evaluation from those who constitute the environment. It also helps to understand how far a leader would go to protect those with whom they associate in terms of ideology, values, and principles, for example, the political party of the leader. Thus, assessing a leader's motivation is important to know why the leader chose the office and his or her need to maintain the group he or she is leading. Leaders who are driven by a goal are interested in applying effective methods that would help them achieve their goal. Leaders who are driven by relationship look for persuasion and marketing their goal. The personality traits used to answer this question are task

focus, in-group bias and distrust of others. The motivation for seeking the office is determined by task versus the relationship focus and the salience of identification with the group is determined by distrust of others and in-group bias.

These classifications have evolved in response to the debate whether leaders are born with certain inclinations or whether they respond to challenges depending on their situations (Hermann, Preston et.al 200 p:86). After analyzing how leaders react to constraints and how they process information Hermann (2002) has identified four leadership styles. After adding the leader's motivation to these styles, eight more styles can be differentiated which allows measuring the effects of those styles. These types are discussed below briefly and have been adapted from Hermann's manual on LTA (Hermann, 2002) and another paper co-authored by her (see Hermann, Preston, Korany et.al, 2001).

**Response to Constraints and Openness to information: Crusaders, Strategists, Pragmatists, and Opportunists.**

- 1) *Crusaders*: These leaders tend to challenge constraints and are relatively closed to information. They crusade for a position and are generally not sensitive to their political constraints. They do not wait for the right time to take action but just find a way. They are able to construct a convincing narrative for themselves and those who are around them with the information they have.
- 2) *Opportunists*: These types of leaders are just the opposite of crusaders. They respect the political constraints they are in and are open to new information. They are highly sensitive to the political settings they work in. They base their decisions on what others around them think is important.
- 3) *Strategists*: These leaders are a different shade of crusaders since they do challenge constraints but are open to new information. They do have a set agenda about what they want to achieve but they seek the information that is most viable to achieve their goal.

- 4) *Pragmatists*: These leaders respect constraints but tend to be closed to new information. They are concerned with taking those decisions which ensure some progress but do not cross the boundaries they are working in. They look for the right time to push for their agenda but can be quick in giving in to the pressure.

### **Effects of the leadership style based on the motivation of the leader**

- 1) *Expansionistic (Crusader)*: This kind of leadership style is characterized by a challenging attitude towards the constraints with being close to information and the main focus remains on expanding one's power and influence.
- 2) *Evangelistic (Crusader)*: This kind of leaders tend to challenge constraints and are closed to information as well. However, their main focus is relationship oriented and they believe in persuading everyone around them to accept their message and join their cause.
- 3) *Incremental (Strategists)*: Incremental leaders are also the type of leaders who challenge constraints but they tend to be more open towards the incoming information. They are task oriented but they tend to maintain their flexibility and maneuverability and try to avoid those obstacles that limit both.
- 4) *Charismatic (Strategists)*: These leaders also challenge the constraints but are open to incoming information. But since they are relationship oriented, they engage everyone else in the process and prompt them to act on it.
- 5) *Directive (Pragmatist)*: This kind of leadership is characterized by a respect towards the constraints but being close to incoming information. These leaders are task oriented as well so they ensure that they are personally guiding the policy which is consistent with their own perceptions.
- 6) *Consultative (Pragmatist)*: These leaders also respect the constraints but are closed to incoming information. They are more focused on the relations so they tend to make decisions taking the opinion of important others into consideration but also assess the situation particularly. `

- 7) *Reactive (Opportunistic)*: Reactive leaders also tend to respect the political constraints but are open to any incoming information. Such leaders tend to be goal driven and assess what is possible in the current situation considering the nature of the problem and what others would allow.
- 8) *Accommodative (Opportunistic)*: Lastly, accommodative leaders are the ones who respect their constraints and are open to new information. In terms of motivation, these leaders tend to be relationship oriented and they are focused on reconciling differences, consensus building, empowering others and be accountable in the whole process.

Table 1 Summarizes this discussion (Leadership Style as a Function of Responsiveness to Constraints, Openness to information and Motivation).

Table 1. Leadership styles as responsiveness to constraints, openness to information & motivation (Hermann, 2002 p:9).

<b>Responsiveness to constraints</b>	<b>Openness to information</b>	<b>Motivation</b>	
		Problem Focus	Relationship Focus
Challenge (Crusader)	Close	<i>Expansionistic</i>	<i>Evangelistic</i>
Challenge (Strategists)	Open	<i>Incremental</i>	<i>Charismatic</i>
Respect (Pragmatists)	Close	<i>Directive</i>	<i>Consultative</i>
Respect (Opportunists)	Open	<i>Reactive</i>	<i>Accommodative</i>

### *Dependent Variable – Foreign Policy decision making*

The foreign policy of a nation comprises the general activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states (Britannica, 2018). In order to study the effects of leadership on foreign policy decision-making, Hermann and Kaarbo (1998) adapt the framework from studies conducted on American presidents. In another study, Juliet Kaarbo (1997) provides a framework to study foreign-policy decision making as well. This study adapts the framework to study the dependent variable from these two studies.

Hermann and Kaarbo observed from the literature on American presidents that the leadership style effects the involvement of the presidents in decision making and the strategies they use to manage the choice process (Hermann & Kaarbo, 1998, p:245). These two components can further be studied through various indicators. The degree of involvement is often related to how important a particular subject or an issue is to the leader. If the leader is more interested in that particular arena, the more involved they want to be in the process and as a result, they would want more control over the policy. The other component of the involvement aspect comes from the previous experience the leader might have had in the field. The focus of involvement deals with the leader's functions. A leader can either focus on policy achievement or on organizational survival. Leaders inclined to achieve policy goals are looking to address the problems in an effective manner. In contrast, leaders interested in the survival of the organization view the cabinet as a community of interlocking parts. Such a leader tries to increase the interdependence within the cabinet and empower everyone involved.

In terms of management strategy, this study looks at the leader's preferred way of managing information, conflict and who becomes the locus of decision making. In a parliamentary setting, information circulates among different ministries. However, since the prime minister is the executive head, he or she can choose how to review this information. The prime minister could either be content with the information collected and provided by the ministries or show a greater degree of involvement from his or her

end. In terms of managing conflict, the effect is studied in terms of what role a leader takes when he or she is dealing with a conflict. This means a leader could act as an advocator who imposes his or her own opinions or act as an arbitrator who chooses to seek consensus. A leader could also choose not to be involved at all. Lastly, who becomes the locus of decision making is decided by the prime minister. In a cabinet setting, a large part of what the government can do depends on the political party's concerns as well. The prime minister has to deal with his or her own party members and other parties involved in the coalition. Leaders could then choose to include those party members who share their views or they could also include people who disagree with them to have a wider policy base.

Based on this, the study hypothesizes:

*H<sub>0</sub>: A leader's leadership style does not have an effect on a country's foreign policy decision-making.*

*H<sub>1</sub>: A leader's leadership style has an effect on a country's foreign policy decision-making.*

#### 4. RESEARCH DESIGN

This section briefly discusses the research methodology that the author employs in order to test the above-mentioned hypothesis. The research design of this study is largely based on the research design of Margaret Hermann and Julia Kaarbo's pilot study in which they applied the LTA method to German and British Prime Ministers (Hermann & Kaarbo, 1998). The case of India under Modi serves the purpose of a building block case study. The software Profiler plus was used to develop a profile of Modi and the effect on Indian foreign policy. To further examine the link between the two variables, a controlled case comparison was conducted.

##### 4.1 CASE SELECTION

###### *LTA*

Building block case studies are those kinds of studies which identify a common pattern or are helpful in serving a heuristic purpose (George & Bennett, 2004, p:76). In their study, Hermann and Kaarbo (1998 p:250) justify the selection of German and British prime ministers on the grounds of case comparability and the differences these countries have in their systems. The two countries are similar in the sense that they are relatively rich nations, with a significant influence in world affairs and have West European parliamentary democracies. They are different in the sense that the German chancellor has his or her role and duties codified in the constitution whereas the British prime minister does not. Furthermore, British prime ministers deal with a single party in the cabinet while German chancellors have to deal with coalition politics.

India under Modi's administration is an interesting case for a few reasons. Firstly, the country is the biggest democracy in the world and has similarities with both the British and the German political system. Like the German chancellor, the Indian prime minister is also constrained by coalition politics. Modi's administration is heading the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), a coalition started by his predecessor Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 1998 (Britannica, 2018).

Due to its colonial history, India adopted the British parliamentary system. The Indian parliament is also divided into two chambers: the Lok Sabha or the lower house and Rajya Sabha or the upper house. The lower house is the most powerful institution in the country as the members of this chamber are the direct representatives of the citizens of the country. The party that gets the majority in general elections forms the ruling government for five years. The head of this party is then the prime minister of India, who has the executive powers of the country. The Indian parliament of India has the supreme authority to make policies on any item that appears on the union list and that also includes foreign policy of the country. This then makes the Indian prime minister responsible for the foreign policy of India (Badatya, 2015).

Unlike the British prime minister, the roles and duties of the Indian prime minister are codified in the Indian constitution. The constitution of India does not mention the prime minister often, however, the prime minister's role is defined as the head of Council of Ministers who advises the president of India (Article 74(1), The Constitution of India). The president is responsible for appointing all the ministers including, the prime minister. The prime minister then advises the president on the appointment of other ministers (Article 75(1), The Constitution of India).

In addition to this, Modi has been an influential and controversial public figure since his tenure as the chief minister of the Western state of Gujarat. The 2002 communal riots of Gujarat between Hindus and Muslims was an episode which caused a huge controversy in the country and Modi was accused of deliberately not stopping violence (Majumder, 2011). The consequences of that incident resulted in his visa being revoked by the United States. He became the only individual who was denied a visa for violating a law of religious freedom (Mann, 2014). His election campaign of 2013 showcased an unprecedented vigor for BJP. In just a few months he did over 5000 appearances, physically and digitally (Singh 2014). This drew the attention of the entire country, making it one of the most interesting election campaigns India had ever witnessed. Analysts of the campaign also concluded that large part of the success of the campaign and the victory could be attributed to his strong personality (Singh, 2014). Even after the controversy surrounding him, he is considered to

be a popular leader and his personality has compensated for his inexperience of working at the Union government and New Delhi (Rao, 2016). Thus, the similarities and differences between the British and German systems and Modi's personality make Modi's India a crucial case. A case becomes a crucial case when it can accurately be described by a theory (Gerring, 2007 p:232).

### *CONTROLLED CASE COMPARISON*

Controlled case comparison is a method in which 'most similar' cases are compared to check if the independent variable does have an effect. These most-similar cases are those ideal cases which are comparable in all respects and show a variance in the main variable of interest. The similarities in these most similar cases keep potential relevant variables constant which isolates the main independent variable. As a result, the hypothesized causal link between the independent variable becomes clearer to analyze (George & Bennett, 2004 p:81).

Hermann, Preston et. al (2001 p:100) suggest that since the LTA method derives different personality types based on extreme scores on a leader's response to constraints, openness to information and motivation for action, those types are considered to be absolute types. Therefore, the traits for which the leader has moderate scores, he or she can switch between different leadership styles. The isolation of the independent variable in a controlled case comparison then complements the results derived from LTA by establishing a clearer causal link.

Modi's case is compared to his predecessor Atal Bihari Vajpayee in context of Pakistan. Modi and Vajpayee have similarities for a few relevant variables and a variation on their leadership style (independent variable).

The two leaders have often been compared since it is under Modi's premiership that BJP came to power after a decade rule of the Congress party (Subramanian, 2014). Within the political party as well, both Vajpayee and Modi started out as party workers in *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS), the Hindu National Volunteer Organization which has a controversial past in Indian history for openly displaying Hindu extremism and advocating

hate for other religious minorities in India (Joshi, 2014). The ideological factor of BJP and RSS is important to consider. As Hermann & Hermann (1989) argue that a group is more likely to reach a quick consensus if all members share the same belief or ideology (p:367). This could have prompted both Modi and Vajpayee to take quick and similar decisions towards Pakistan given that the India-Pakistan conflict has lasted since the two states became independent in 1947 (Paul, 2005: p:3). However, where Modi has advocated his pro-Hindu stance (Joshi,2018), Vajpayee was more moderate within BJP (Mitchell, 2007 p:274).

Another important factor to consider is the effect of the NDA coalition. Kaarbo & Beasley (2014) find that parliamentary democracies with coalitions are more likely to make extreme decisions in foreign policy. Vajpayee led the NDA coalition from 1998 to 2004 in which BJP had a slightly bigger margin which gave him more freedom to shape policy (Mitchell, 2007 p:278). Modi currently leads the NDA as well and the BJP holds even a larger margin now than it did under Vajpayee (Firstpost, 2014). As Blarel and van Willigen (2016) argue that the coalition factor is important to consider in a multi-cultural country like India where smaller parties do influence the debates on foreign policy (see Asthana & Jacob, 2017). Thus, Modi and Vajpayee are most similar their political party, previous experience, the coalition they are leading and India's conflict with Pakistan making ideal for most similar cases.

#### 4.2 DATA COLLECTION

In order to analyze the personality traits and the leadership style of politicians, obtaining firsthand information through psychological tests is logistically difficult. The most reliable method in this respect would be the analysis of their public appearances, statements, and speeches. This mode of interaction certainly would not present the personal traits of the individual but it could be helpful in revealing how the individual behaves in the capacity of a politician. Consequently, the general public could expect them to act in the same capacity when making decisions but the results should be assessed with caution. This research makes use of speeches and interviews made by prime minister Modi on different important occasions during his tenure as the prime minister. This included his speeches on

Republic Day and Independence Day of India and his address to the Indian diaspora on his foreign tours and state visits. Hermann (2002) recommends that since speeches are not always written by politicians themselves, a more spontaneous form of communication was also used in the form of interviews which are less prepared and present more accuracy in the results. But this study had to rely on speeches to supplement the data. The time period for this data collection was between January 2013 and April 2018. This was mainly because Modi's administration has been in power since 2014 and he began his campaign a year before that. This data is accessible through the website of Indian Ministry of External Affairs, archives on the Narendra Modi website and the websites of various Indian news channels (see appendix).

Hermann argues that most people contextualize their communication based on the situational cues (Hermann, 2002, p:34). This implies that they would determine what to say depending on the situation they are in. Since political leaders address different issues all the time, their profiles are more likely to change. Therefore, in order to have optimal results in profile construction, it is necessary to have a diversity in the materials analyzed. This diversity is also important in noting if there is a variance in the personality type of Modi when he deals with different topics and audiences. The diversity of the material is categorized as recommended by Hermann (Hermann, 2002, p:35; see appendix for an overview of the topics covered).

- a) *Nature of topics covered:* The material used contains the speeches and interviews which covered a wide range of topics. This was done to check if the profile showed variation with respect to the topics being discussed. Dividing the material was also helpful in suggesting if there was a specific topic Modi showed particular affinity to. Different topics in Modi's interviews and speeches include his policies such as *Swachh Bharat Make in India*, his stance on corruption, black money, Brexit, minorities in India etc.
- b) *Nature of audience:* All the interviews and speeches made by leaders are conducted in different settings keeping in mind the target audience. This is crucial in Modi's context because of India's regional and cultural diversity.

Thus, it is important to include as much diversity as possible within the available sources. The difference in audience is covered by how Modi interacts with the domestic audience in India and the international audience, specifically the Indian diaspora in various countries.

- c) *Effects of events and tenure in office:* Specific events that happen during a leader's tenure are capable of defining the entire tenure itself for the leader. This could mean some important negotiations, scandals or agreements signed or broken. Furthermore, for democratic societies, it is important to include the material before and after the elections. Therefore, for this reason, certain interviews given by Modi before May 2014 are also included in the material. This included his speeches on International Yoga Day, demonization etc.

To avoid selection bias, the material is selected based on above categories. A representative sample from each category is selected, depending on the availability. The total number of pieces of text analyzed is 50, as recommended by Hermann (2002) since less than 50 samples could affect the profile. Of these 50 pieces, 35 are interviews and the other 15 are supplemented by speeches.

#### 4.3 METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The biggest contribution in the field of leadership analysis comes from the work of Margaret Hermann. The author used the software Profiler+ which is based on the technique developed by Hermann in order to analyze the content and assess the personality type of Modi. The data available in English is limited or is a loose translation from Hindi which could have affected the content of the interviews and the speeches. Profiler+ is an automated content analysis program that identifies cognitive and personality traits based on the statements made by the leaders (Levine & Young, 2014).

The software provided various coding schemes to analyze different texts. This research used the Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) code to analyze the text and construct a profile of Modi. The LTA coding scheme uses seven personality traits to assess the leadership

style of a leader. Hermann's years of work and previous research using LTA to study political behavior has found these seven traits particularly important in understanding how leaders deal with constraints, process information and what motivates them (Hermann, 1980; Hermann & Hermann, 1989; Hermann, 1994; Kaarbo & Hermann, 1998; Rohrer, 2014). How leaders react to constraints lets us know whether a leader respects or challenges those constraints. The assessment of leader's conceptual complexity and self-confidence tells us how open or close they are to information. Lastly, measuring their in-group bias, general distrust and preference of problem-solving functions tell us their motivation (Hermann, 1998; p:10). It is important to note that this method makes a simple assumption that the more leader uses certain words in their communication the more important is that content for them. The scores for Modi were compared to 87 heads of states and 122 political leaders from various government positions in the Middle East, Africa, post-Soviet countries and western developed democracies. These profiles and scores were gathered by Hermann from her work (Hermann, 2002, p:11).

How these traits are coded and how they help in constructing a profile is discussed briefly. The more detailed version can be found in the codebook developed by Margaret Hermann for Personality Assessment-at-a-Distance (PAD) technique (Hermann, 2002).

1. *The belief that one can influence or control what happens:* The belief in one's own ability to control events is the perception of the world in which the leaders believe that they have a degree of control over the situations they find themselves in (Hermann, 2002, p:13). It defines how strongly the leader is convinced that they can exert their influence on the political situations (Knauff, 2017, p:7). This personality trait is coded with words which indicated that the leader is interested in pursuing an agenda or is willing to pursue an action; mainly action verbs. The main focus of score on this trait is to determine how often the leader proposes or takes an action. A score on this trait is determined by calculating the percentage of times the verbs used by the leader in a speech or an interview indicated that they took an action. The overall score is then the average of this percentage divided by the total number of responses being examined. Leaders who score high on this trait are

generally pro-active in taking decisions and show a more hands-on approach towards the policy-making process. They prefer taking control of situations and avoid delegating authority to subordinates. They try to ensure that whatever initiatives have been started are completed. These leaders tend to believe in themselves and therefore do not compromise easily (Hermann, 2002, p:14).

On the other hand, leaders who are low on this trait are controlled more by the situation itself. They are less likely to take responsibility and let other take the initiatives. They are willing to compromise and delegate authority to their subordinates (Hermann, 2002, p:15).

2. *Need for power*: As it suggests, this trait helps in determining the concern a leader might have for establishing, maintaining or restoring their power. It is defined by how strongly leader in question wants to gain control over others and establish dominance on them. This trait is also coded by focusing on action verbs. A score for this trait is determined by calculating the percentage of times the verbs in an interview response or speech have engaged in a behavior such as a) proposal of strong or forceful action, threat or accusation b) provision of unsolicited advice c) regulation of someone else's behavior d) persuading or arguing with someone to avoid arriving at a conclusion e) trying to gain fame through action and f) concerned with their reputation. When leaders score high on this trait, they try to control or manipulate the people and the work settings around them. When leaders score low on this trait, they are usually not interested in being in charge. They are willing to drop their self-interests and are more interested in representing their group(s) (Hermann, 2002, p:17).
3. *Self-Confidence*: This trait translates as how leaders assess their significance to and caliber to have an impact on the political surroundings (Knauff, 2017, p:7). It indicates how much importance does the individual give to themselves. Quite often, this trait develops when individuals compare themselves to someone else, this quality makes this trait highly contextual (Hermann, 2002, p:20). This trait is coded by focusing on pronouns such as 'me', 'myself', 'I', and 'mine,' However, the use of these pronouns should meet three criteria; does the speaker say that they are

- initiating an activity, want to be viewed as an authoritative figure or are receiving positive response from the other person. The score for this trait is the calculation of the percentage of times these pronouns are used in the communication which meets the three conditions. The overall score of the leader is their average percentage across all the total number of responses (Hermann, 2002 p:21).
4. *Conceptual Complexity*: Conceptual complexity is determined by the various degrees of variation and individual shows when they describe other individuals, places, things etc. (Hermann, 2002 p:22). This trait helps in determining how a leader perceives the world and how they categorize different things. Individuals who are high on complexity tend to see a variation in an argument through different vantage points whereas conceptually simple individuals see things through limited categories. The coding for this trait is done by looking for words which show classification. For example, high complexity is associated with words such as approximately, possibility. Low complexity is indicated by words such as certainly, absolutely or for sure (Hermann, 2002 p:22) This trait is also calculated as an average percentage across all the responses.
  5. *Task focus*: Political leaders are generally performing two tasks when they are in the position of authority: helping the group they are associated with to realize its goals and to boost the morale and the spirit of the group. While performing these functions, leaders could be anywhere on the spectrum with one end being the completion of the task (solving problems) and the other end being ensuring the functioning of the group (building relationships). Task focus then represents how much emphasis a leader puts while interacting with problems that face the government (Hermann, 2002, p:25). This trait helps in determining whether the leader is more focused on solving the problem or is more concerned about the feelings and the needs of others. Leaders who score high on the problem-solving aspect, assume the leadership for the purpose of completing the goal of the respective group. On the other hand, leaders who focus on building relationships want to maintain the cohesiveness of the group. This trait is coded is just like conceptual complexity and the focus remains on specific words. Words which

indicate task orientation are accomplishment, achievement, plan, proposition. The relationship aspect is indicated by words such as disappointment, forgiveness, liberation, appreciation. The score for this trait is determined by calculating the percentage of task-oriented words relative to a total number of task focus and relationship building words. The overall score is the average percentage of all the responses which are examined (Hermann, 2002, p:26).

6. *Ingroup Bias*: Ingroup bias is the perception of the worldview where the groups the leader belongs to, is the principal agent. The group is the center of the world and the leader shows strong emotional bonds towards the group and a will to maintain the status and the culture of the group. Any decisions the leader takes are made by keeping the group as the priority. This trait is coded by focusing on words or phrases which refer to the leaders' own group. The leader could refer to the group in several ways. Words which indicate a favorable attitude are; progressive, peace-loving, successful. The leader could also indicate strength by using words such as powerful, capable and group maintenance is indicated by phrases such 'need to defend' or 'must maintain our.' If the leader's response matches any of these criteria they show an ingroup bias. Leaders who score high on this trait are highly invested in their group. They associate with the group strongly and any threat to the group is a huge concern for leaders. This, however, does not imply that leaders who score low on this trait do not associate with the group. The score for this trait is the percentage of times a leader suggests ingroups that meet the criteria outlined above. This trait is also an average across all interview responses (Hermann, 2002, p:29).
7. *Distrust of others*: As the name suggests, this trait determines how the leader displays a general feeling of uneasiness, mistrust, and wariness about others. This trait shows how suspicious leaders are of the actions and motives of others. Leaders who score high on this trait have doubts about the motives and actions of others and in particular of those people who are a potential competitor of their position (the leaders of the political party in the opposition; some other political rival etc. are such examples). Certainly, being distrustful is a large part of politics but leaders who score high on this trait tend to do everything by themselves and find it hard to

even trust their advisers. Leaders who score low on this trait put this distrust into perspective and depend on the context of the situation (Hermann, 2002, p:32). This trait is coded by focusing on nouns or noun phrases which are not referring to the leader or the leader's group. The leader could show uneasiness about this person or show concern about their activities. They could also perceive their actions as detrimental, harmful or as certain obstacles. The score for this trait is determined by calculating the percentage of times in a response that they show distrust. The overall score is the average of these percentages across all the responses examined. Table 2 Summarizes the discussion of these traits below.

Table. 2 Summary of the discussion

<b>Leadership style</b>	<b>Personality trait</b>
<b>Response to political constraints</b>	Belief of control or influence
	Need for power
<b>Openness to information</b>	Self-confidence
	Conceptual Complexity
<b>Motivation</b>	Task-focus
	Ingroup Bias
	Distrust of others

## 5. RESULTS

This section presents the results obtained after running Modi's verbal output data through Profiler+. Through those results then, a profile is constructed which based on the codebook provided by Margaret Hermann (2002). The overall scores of each trait were calculated which were then compared to the norming group. Based on that comparison, Modi's scores were determined on a scale of average, low or high. The average here is the average score of all the 87 leaders. One standard deviation above that average implies the score is in the high range which means the leader scores high on that trait. Similarly, one standard deviation below that average implies the score is in the low range which means the leader scores low on that trait. Based on the variation of high and low a profile was constructed for Modi to determine his leadership style presented in table 1 above. The analysis part then discusses the results with the empirical implementation of foreign policy under Modi. Table 3 summarizes Modi's scores how they compare to the norming group 87 heads of states.

Table 3. Modi's score compared to the 87 leaders.

Personality Trait	Modi's average	High Indicators	Low Indicators	Comparison (Norming Group 87 Heads of States)	Result
Belief in control of events	0.35	1758	3153	Average = 0.44 Low < 0.30 High > 0.58	Average
Need for power	0.26	1254	3549	Average = 0.50 Low < 0.37 High > 0.62	Low
Self Confidence	0.32	1045	2200	Average = .62 Low < 0.44 High > 0.81	Low
Conceptual Complexity	0.60	5368	3452	Average = .44 Low < 0.32 High > 0.56	High
Distrust of others	0.10	369	3188	Average = .41 Low < 0.25 High > 0.56	Low
In group Bias	0.13	433	2816	Average = .42 Low < 0.32 High > 0.53	Low
Task orientation	0.63	3731	2144	Average = .59 Low < 0.46 High > 0.71	Average

## CONSTRUCTING A PROFILE

As discussed in table 2, the leadership style is determined by answering three questions. The combination of different traits helps in answering those questions. The questions and the traits are discussed below. The details about the interpretation of the results are based on Hermann's (2002) codebook. The details about the personality types have been based on Hermann, Preston et.al. (2001).

### 1. How do leaders react to political constraints?

The traits used to determine the answer to this question are 'belief can control the events' and 'need for power.' Leaders who score high on both these scores are more likely to challenge the constraints. Leaders are willing to push the limits of what is possible. They are keen on being in-charge of everything and also in knowing what is happening. Most importantly, these leaders are skillful in getting things done the way they want. The exact opposite of these leaders are the ones who score low on both the traits. These leaders respect the constraints they work in. The leaders who score an average on both the traits can respond depending on the situation. If the situation requires pushing the limits they would do so but generally, they are more likely to work within the constraints. Leaders who score high on belief to control events but are low in need for power are prone to challenging constraints but they are not able to read the reaction of the people involved. Leaders who are low on the trait belief of controlling events but high on need for power also challenge constraints but they are more skillful in playing the role behind the scenes. Table 4 below summarizes the discussion.

Table 4. Reaction to Constraints (Hermann, 2002; p:13).

<b>Need for power</b>	<b>Belief in the ability to control events</b>	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
<i>Low</i>	Respect	Challenge
<i>High</i>	Challenge	Challenge

Modi's score on these two traits shows that he is average to low on his belief in controlling events and low on a need for power. His overall average of 0.35 on his belief to control events puts him slightly above the low score of 0.30. This implies that Modi falls in the category of those leaders who tend to respect the constraints.

## 2. How open are the leaders to incoming information?

The traits used to determine the answer to this question are a leader's 'self-confidence' and 'conceptual complexity.' The score for these two traits indicate how the leader relates themselves to others based on which they consider the information coming in for them. If the leader scores high on both these traits, they are likely to be more open to information and think strategically. They tend to have the best of both qualities. Their self-confidence makes them patient but they also check what is feasible in the respective situation. If the leaders score low on these traits they are more likely to be closed to incoming information. These leaders are more likely to make a decision based on what they think will please others around them. Leaders who score high on self-confidence and low on conceptual complexity are also closed to incoming information. Due to this high self-confidence, these leaders tend to fit the environment as per their perceptions. Lastly, leaders who score low on self-confidence and high on conceptual complexity are open to information. These leaders pay heed to others around them and they pick from the environment they are in. Table 5 below summarizes these combinations.

Table 5. Openness to information (Hermann, 2002; p:20).

<b>Self-Confidence &amp; Conceptual Complexity</b>	<b>Openness to information</b>
<i>Self-Confidence &amp; Conceptual Complexity: High</i>	Open
<i>Self-Confidence &amp; Conceptual Complexity: Low</i>	Closed
<i>Self-Confidence &gt; Conceptual Complexity</i>	Closed
<i>Conceptual Complexity &gt; Self-Confidence</i>	Open

Modi scores a 0.32 on self-confidence indicating that he is low on self-confidence. On the other hand, his score of 0.60 on conceptual complexity makes for a high score. Based on that he falls into the last category. This implies that he would be open to contextual information coming his way and he is quite aware of the environment he works in.

### 3. What motivates the leader to seek the office?

Lastly, the leaders score on the remaining three traits help in determining the leader's motivation to seek their position in the office. The leader's scores on task orientation help in determining what function of being a leader motivates the individual more: are they more interested in focusing on the problems that the government faces or are they driven by the needs and feelings of the various components. Leaders who score high on this trait tend to be more driven by the problems. They seek the position to solve the issues facing the organization/nation/government and are very goal driven. Leaders who score low on this trait are more driven by their focus on relationships. These leaders are keen on maintaining the spirit of their group or the important constituents of the organization or the nation they represent. Leaders who are an average on this trait tend to be skillful in switching from goal to relationships. These leaders are quite

charismatic as they take cues from the situation. Table 6 summarizes the discussion below.

Table 6. Leader’s motivation for seeking office (Hermann, 2002; p:25).

<b>Task Orientation</b>	<b>Motivation for seeking office</b>
<i>High</i>	Problem
<i>Average</i>	Context-specific; switch easily
<i>Low</i>	Relationship

The traits ‘in-group bias’ and ‘distrust of others’ help in determining the leader’s perceptions about the world. These traits help in determining if the leader perceives the world as a place full of threats or opportunities.

Leaders who score high on ingroup bias tend to be quite attached to the respective group they represent. They are focused on maintaining a separate identity of that group since they view the world as a place full of threats. Leaders who score low on in-group bias are also loyal to their groups but they do not get carried away by that emotion. They tend to rationalize the actions and weigh their options before they make a decision.

Leaders who score high on the trait distrust of others also exhibit similar traits such as those of ingroup bias. They perceive the world as a place full of threats and are always suspicious of other’s motives. Leaders who score low on this trait are also suspicious of other’s actions, as one would expect in politics. But such leaders tend to put things into perspective.

Based on that, leaders who score low on both the trait do not see the world as a threatening place. They deal with conflicts facing their country or administration on a case by case basis. They want to take advantage of the opportunities and build relations out of them. Leaders who score high on both the traits perceive the world of international politics as a battleground. They are sensitive to slightest of criticism and all interactions for them are zero-sum. Leaders who score low on ingroup bias and high on distrust of others, tend to perceive the world full of conflicts as well. But such leaders tend to realize that other

countries are also working within certain constraints and they tend to capitalize on opportunities to build relations but still exercise caution. Lastly, leaders who score high on ingroup bias and low on distrust for others, tend to focus more on solving problems and handling threats even if certain situations could provide opportunities. Table 7 summarizes the discussion below.

Table 7. Perception of the world (Hermann, 2002; p:28).

<b>Ingroup Bias</b>	<b>Distrust of Others</b>	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
<b><i>Low</i></b>	Perceive the world as non-threatening and build relationships	Build relationships while being vigilant
<b><i>High</i></b>	Focus on threats but some opportunities are for relationships.	Entirely focus on eliminating the threats.

Modi’s scores a 0.13 on ingroup bias and a 0.10 on distrust of others. This puts him on a low scale for both the traits. Such leaders are more responsive than reactive. They consider each issue on a case-by-case basis. Overall, Modi scores low on two traits and low to moderate on the other trait. This makes his overall motivation for task orientation as low and relationship focus high.

Thus, the combination of all the scores determines that:

1. Modi is someone who respects the constraints within which he works.
2. He is the kind of leader who is open to incoming information.
3. And he is motivated by building relationships.

The data suggestion leads us to ascertain that he is an opportunist in his leadership style. Opportunists are highly sensitive to contextual information as that is the guiding force for these leaders. These leaders form their opinion based on what others around them seem to be pushing. Their decision-making style involves bargaining and involving everyone in the process. They are versatile in their approach as they adjust their behavior to match the situation. Modi's response to motivation further indicates that he is someone who is driven by relationships rather than problems. The effect of an opportunistic leadership style combined with a relationship focus results further differentiates his style as accommodative. As it suggests, for such leaders finding a compromise in every situation is an important political skill. Their actions are guided by how they would be able to align all the important constituencies relating to a specific problem.

## 6. ANALYSIS

This section compares the results presented in the previous section with the empirical developments under Modi. The developments are considered on a domestic and an international level in order to see if the claims of the profile construction corroborate with actual actions. The analysis is done by using the indicators posited for the effect on the dependent variable: foreign policy decision making in the theory section. This evidence is gathered from different writings which have studied Modi's governance during his time as the chief minister of Gujarat and consequently as the prime minister.

### 6.1 DOES MODI RESPECT CONSTRAINTS?

There has been much debate about what role constraints play in a leader's decision-making process. There are several ways in which the leader can engage in the constraints they find themselves in. In a domestic setting, for instance, leaders could use foreign policy to distract the opposition's attention or include them in the process or use it to have an agreement with the opposition (Hermann, Preston et. al, 2001; p:90). As Hermann et.al. (Hermann, Preston et al. 2001: p:91) observe leaders who are driven by context are:

- 1) more sensitive towards their surroundings
- 2) consider the opinions of all the relevant constituencies in order to build support
- 3) they are willing to bargain and compromise and
- 4) focus on specific cases.

These observations and descriptions to an extent can be described as characteristics of populist politics (Molloy, 2018). Such leaders tend to cater to the political winds. They claim that they are there to represent the unified will of the people and are against the 'corrupt elite' (Molloy, 2018). Scholars observing the changes in the Indian political context ever since Modi took over have remarked quite often that he is a leader driven by his strong ideology of *Hindutva* or the Hindu nationalism which adheres to strict rules and strives for religiously driven politics (Miller & Sullivan de Estrada, 2017, p:29). Since the time India became a republic, the majority of the population has been predominantly Hindu. However, the Indian leadership in India's early years of nation formation ensured

that secularism was institutionalized as one of the important pillars of the country (Ganguly, 2015, p:1). But all that changed after Modi was at the helm of affairs. Experts have observed a change in this secularism under Modi as it has become more Hindu centric.

The Babri Masjid's demolition case provides an example of this shift in secularism. The mosque demolition has been a long- disputed case between the Hindus and the Muslims in India and almost 25 years since the demolition the Hindutva movement has gained momentum in that region. There has been a rise in demand for the construction of a temple at the same spot where the mosque once stood (Krishnan, 2017). Modi fits in the whole puzzle in terms of how he has neither supported the issue vehemently ever since he became the prime minister nor has he been voiced his opinion against it. The location of the dispute also holds considerable significance here since Ayodhya city is located in the Northern-Central state of Uttar Pradesh, which is also the biggest constituency of the country. While campaigning during the regional elections for Uttar Pradesh, Modi was smart in selling ideas of development and progress for the state rather than advocating for Hindutva (Prasad, 2017). This shows that Modi has been adept at connecting with the relevant constituencies.

Another relevant aspect that Modi connected to is the common people of India. Quite often, in order to relate with the so-called 'common man' of India, Modi has also described himself as someone who was an outsider in New Delhi and the central politics of India. He was quick on capitalizing on that personal history by presenting himself as a son of a tea seller who had to work hard in order to be in the position of a prime minister of the largest democracy in the world (Ebbighausen, 2017). Modi has never been a member of parliament and is the first prime minister to hold the office directly after being the chief minister of a state (Nanda, 2014: p:6). The common man thread has been an important aspect of Indian politics. The current Chief Minister of Delhi also won the Delhi elections on this emotion in 2015 (Glencorse, 2015). This because Indians often perceived the political system in their country as corrupt and the majority of Indians consider themselves as 'common:' someone with no influence, political say or any power. Therefore, when politicians drive this emotion, they often present a future filled with hope (Glenscore, 2015).

Leaders who respect constraints are also comfortable in functioning in a flexible environment where they are more comfortable in sharing their power and the time involved in gaining a consensus (Hermann, Preston et.al., 2001 p:91). One of the most ambitious decisions taken by Modi was a huge tax overhaul of India with the Goods and Services Tax (GST) bill. The (GST) tax bill was a reform in order to unify the entire country into one unifying market and do away with other state level taxes. The tax bill was proposed by the previous government but Modi was patient enough to compromise and negotiate with the opposition to pass the bill after nearly two years being in power (Reuters, 2016).

Thus, Modi's emphasis on the ideology of Hindutva, his tactful campaigning for Uttar Pradesh's elections and his negotiating patience are suggestive of his respectful behavior towards constraints.

## 6.2 IS MODI OPEN TO INFORMATION?

The results indicate that Modi is someone who is an opportunist and someone who is open to information. Such leaders respond to a situation depending on the context. These leaders are 'cue-takers' who make their decisions based on what others important in their political environment think is important. Since these leaders arrive on the scene with a clean slate, they define their position on a certain problem by looking for information. Leaders who are crusaders and strategists tend to have a clear agenda in mind and they only seek information which confirms their pre-conceived notions. But the opportunists tend to absorb all the available information and then make their decision (Hermann, Preston, et.al. 2001p:87; Hermann & Kaarbo, 1998 p:253).

Throughout the last four years of Modi's administration, his decisions and actions have been closely monitored by experts and analysts. On the questions of whether Modi is open to information or not, a mixed opinion can be obtained. This implies that some of his actions do confirm his cue-taking behavior while others indicate that he is a leader with a pre-set agenda.

In 2017, after the state elections in Uttar Pradesh, prime minister Modi decided to pitch Yogi Adityanath as the chief minister of that state. A member of the Indian parliament, he

had been representing and winning the Gorakhpur constituency in Uttar Pradesh since 1998 (Firstpost, 2017). Prior to his appointment as the chief minister, Adityanath had been vocal about his pro-Hindutva thoughts and right-wing values (The New York Times, 2017). Modi's decision was criticized heavily since as political figure, Adityanath has been associated with several controversial incidents including the communal violence in Uttar Pradesh in 2007. His speeches were thought to be provocative enough to cause riots in the region and his eventual arrest had led to further unrest (Indian Express, 2017). Despite such allegations and a controversial track record, Adityanath commanded respect in the region and among the majority of Hindus of the state. The appointment had come as a surprise in itself since Modi had heavily campaigned for economic development of the region instead of Hindutva. But experts reported that Modi decided to choose Yogi as the leader because of his popularity, political clout and that he was respected among all the castes in the region (Singh, 2017). Since Uttar Pradesh is the biggest state of India in terms of its population, it also has the biggest representation in the lower house. Therefore, Modi's decision to appoint Adityanath based on his popularity in the region is indicative of how receptive he is to signals of the political context.

Another example which illustrates Modi's openness to information has been his engagement with China specifically. China is bigger than India in terms of population, economy, and size. India's growth is discussed under China's shadow and Modi has been vigilant of that. Long before Modi took over as the prime minister India and China shared an almost parallel growth story and a similar approach to redefine the world order (Lancaster, 2005). But the two countries have also shared their set of differences. The two countries are cautious of each other but also comply with each other's requests as and when needed. This is evident from India's decision to not join China's Belt and Road Initiative (The Express Tribune, 2018). But they have also signed deals with each other worth \$22 billion (BBC News, 2015).

Modi has been cognizant of those facts and he has skillfully used his past experiences with China. While his time as the chief minister of Gujarat he visited China four times and as the prime minister he has continued to engage and berate China (Ganguly, Chauthaiwale

& Sinha, 2016). Days after he took over the office, few of his ministers had already interacted with their counterparts in China (Madan, 2014). His very first visit to China in 2015 resulted in business pacts worth billions of dollars, a joint task force between the two countries, hotlines for military disputes and an e-visa facility for Chinese nationals (Livemint, 2015). But he has also been critical of China by addressing its strategic rise and not giving in to any threats (Thakker, 2018). China was opposed to Modi's visit to the North-Eastern state of Arunachal Pradesh as China claims a part of it as South Tibet (Roche 2018). But Modi made an official visit to the state even among Chinese protests.

However, certain themes can be highlighted in Modi's foreign policy actions which have been consistent. This consistency is contradictory to his personality traits as one would expect from the results. Opportunists wait for the right opportunity and then make their decision. As Hermann and Kaarbo observe, John Major was such a leader who had an opportunist orientation to his politics. As a result, he did not have much direction for his foreign policy (Hermann & Kaarbo, 1998 p: 253). However, Modi's 'neighborhood first' policy is a clear example of how he has plans for maintaining a peaceful neighborhood for India. On multiple occasions, he has indicated that a peaceful and secure neighborhood is crucial for India's development. Some of his first overseas visits started with countries such as Nepal and Bhutan (Madan, 2014). Another theme that has been evident in Modi's modus operandi is his focus in the Indian diaspora on his foreign visits. Interactions with the Indian community have usually been a highlight of his diplomatic visits. He has marketed this community as a strong workforce which strengthens India's image as a benevolent giver of benefits (Chaulia, 2016 p:22).

Thus, Modi's decision to appoint Yogi Adityanath as the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh and his strategies to deal with China indicate that he is a leader who is open to information and his decisions are contextually dependent. However, his neighborhood first policy and the way he markets the Indian diaspora abroad shows that he is someone who does have a vision and does not entirely depend on cue-taking.

### 6.3 IS MODI DRIVEN BY RELATIONSHIPS?

Modi's opportunist leadership style is determined by his results based on how he respects constraints and how open to new information. This informs us about what is central to his political agenda (Hermann, Preston, 2001 p:98). When the results of his motivation are added to this information, his leadership style can further be differentiated as more accommodative. He is someone who is motivated by relationships. But since his scores on the trait orientation are an average, he also shows signs of reactive leadership style.

Accommodative leaders are focused on making compromises and building consensus. They are inclined to empower others around them. They are also focused on making a network and pay high attention to interpersonal skills and maintaining their own image. Of all the three aspects of his personality, Modi's orientation towards relationships stands out the most. Reactive leaders, on the other hand, look at a particular problem and how that problem can be managed with the possible resources in the most efficient manner possible (Hermann, Preston et.al. 2001, p:94). A few examples illustrate this.

To begin with, in the last four years Modi has established and revived India's relations with several countries. He has traveled to over 40 countries and in most places, he made a mark as the first Indian leader to visit in decades. These included Mongolia, Fiji, Ireland, Sweden, Australia, UAE, Nepal and Israel to name a few (Punit, 2015). In addition to that, he has ensured to maintain India's ties with the old partners such as the USA, Germany and Russia (Madan, 2014). He has also been adept in building a personal rapport with some of the leaders in these countries. A noteworthy mention was that of the former US president Barack Obama. In 2015, he became the first US president to be honored as the chief guest on India's Republic Day Parade (BBC News, 2015). Moreover, Modi announced the news unconventionally via Twitter and the White House had responded through the same medium (Schaffer, 2014). But Modi has also been careful of not overlooking his immediate neighbors. He indicated the neighborhood as his priority by extending an invitation to all the leaders of SAARC nations on the occasion of his swearing-in ceremony as the prime minister (Swami, 2014).

In terms of empowering others around him, Modi has often advocated for an increased role of 'competitive-federalism.' The term is understood as the increase in the autonomy of the states to pursue their political, economic and policy-related goals. States compete among themselves and are held accountable for their actions (Sharma & Swenden, 2018 p: 56). In his time in office, he has pushed for a greater role for states in engaging in foreign policy (Jacob, 2016). The current administration cannot entirely take the credit for this development as Indian states engaged in foreign policy before 2014 as well (Maini, 2017). However, Modi's government has shown renewed interest in the subject as there have been better attempts to institutionalize the involvement of the states. This was evident with the decision in 2014 to establish a 'State Division' within the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) to promote the interaction between Indian states officials and foreign dignitaries of other countries (Asthana & Jacob, 2017 p:324). These attempts show Modi's accommodating attitude but the main control on foreign policy still remains fairly centralized. Though it is not a one-way arrangement. As Asthana and Jacob observe, that Indian states also tend to engage only in those sectors which directly concern them and the central government has been keen on maintaining that arrangement (Asthana & Jacob, 2017 p:337). This interest in maintaining the status quo corroborates Modi's reactive leadership style since a greater degree of control allows for an assessment of each problem on an individual basis.

Broadly the decision-making process is affected by the involvement of the leader and the way they use management strategies to make choices. The degree of involvement is depicted by the leader's interest and experience the foreign policy decision making. The management strategies are depicted by how the leader manages information, how the leader deals with conflicts and who the leader includes in their advisory system.

Modi's packed foreign visits in over 40 countries are suggestive of his high interest in the area. On mostly all the foreign visits, Modi has ensured that he played the role of the chief articulator (Acharya, 2014). His personal engagement with the foreign dignitaries shows that he is keen on being the principal agent in matters pertaining to foreign policy. It has been observed that this keenness on Modi part is to the extent that he has not been

accompanied on these tours by Sushma Swaraj, his minister for external affairs (Acharya, 2014). Modi's experience in foreign affairs did not start after he took over the prime minister's office. As the chief minister of Gujarat, he had traveled to India's close neighbors such as China, Singapore and Malaysia. He ensured that he attracted heavy FDI for the state which did result in some great infrastructural developments of the state (Das, 2017). Through his policies, he cut down the rampant red tapism and managed to bring companies such as Ford and Suzuki to set up their operations in the state (Wagh, 2017). This high interest and experience, however, is opposite to what would one expect of a leader with an accommodative leader since such leaders believe in including everyone in the process. But as discussed, this need to control the events could also be explained by his moderate score on the trait for task focus.

Modi's political campaign was promised with good governance and bringing decisiveness to the center of Indian politics. It has been reported by those who work closely with him that he personally looks into the information during his visits (Sharma, 2016). On managing the locus of the decision, Modi has been inclusive in deciding who gets to be in his cabinet. The cabinet expansion he did back in 2016 was one of the biggest in the last few years and also included several ministers from minority castes (Sabri, 2016). He also appointed Sushma Swaraj as the first woman External Affairs Minister in 2014 (The Economic Times, 2014). In 2017, he also appointed Nirmala Sitharaman as the Defence Minister, making her the first woman dedicated to the portfolio in its entirety (Hebbar, 2017). The inclusion of women ministers and ministers of minority castes is reflective of Modi's inclusive behavior. This is because women remain under-represented in the Indian parliament (Jamil, 2017) and the role of caste is ingrained heavily in Indian politics (Veemaraja, 2015). By having such representation Modi has ensured inclusivity in his cabinet and has managed BJP better in that respect (Rowlatt, 2015).

## 7. VAJPAYEE VS MODI IN CONTEXT OF PAKISTAN

The different examples discussed above indicate that Modi's leadership style might have had an impact on India's foreign policy. However, to ascertain a stronger link, it is important to further analyze his leadership style with respect to a specific issue. The author analyzes the surgical strikes conducted by India in September 2016. Modi's decision is then compared to Atal Bihari Vajpayee's decision during the Kargil war of 1999. The author draws from David Mitchell's study of 2007 on the leadership style Indian prime ministers (Mitchell, 2007).

### *KARGIL 1999*

The Kargil conflict between India and Pakistan lasted between May and July 1999. The conflict started when the Pakistani army troops along with terrorists intruded into Indian territory. It was reported that the intrusion was strategically planned as the troops and the terrorists positioned themselves on central locations, giving them an advantage at the beginning of the conflict (The Economic Times, 2017). The Indian army was informed by local villagers about the presence of Pakistani soldiers on the Indian side of LOC and 'Operation Vijay' was launched (Mitchell, 2007 p:277; The Economic Times, 2017). At first, the army's response was slow as they undermined the gravity of the situation. It was only by the end of May that the Indian administration realized the incursion was greater than they had expected with over 800 soldiers who had captured three different sectors in the region (Mitchell, 2007, p:277). The operation was declared successful on 26 July 1999 and the Indian army cleared all the sectors of Pakistani intruders (The Economic Times, 2017).

### *SURGICAL STRIKES 2016*

The India-Pakistan border issue continues to be one of the most enduring conflicts in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. It started after the British rule ended in 1947 and two different states were born. Since then, the conflict has continually erupted into crisis and cyclical skirmishes (Paul, 2005 p:3). On the morning of 18 September 2016, four suspected militants from Pakistan crossed the Line of Control (LOC) and attacked an Indian army camp at Uri in Baramulla District of Kashmir. The attack resulted in the death of 17 Indian

soldiers and injured 19 others, making it one of the deadliest attacks in recent times (The Times of India, 2016). Nearly ten days after the attack, the Indian army decided to respond aggressively by carrying out surgical strikes in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK). These strikes were reported as ‘first of its kind response in recent times’ (The Economic Times, 2016).

### *EFFECT OF LEADERSHIP STYLE*

In order to analyze the effect of leadership style, the author compares Modi’s decision to allow surgical strikes in 2016, to Vajpayee’s decision during the Kargil conflict in 1999.

The author draws from David Mitchell’s study: *Determining Indian Foreign Policy: An Examination of Prime Ministerial Leadership Styles* (Mitchell, 2007) for Vajpayee’s analysis. This study is specifically chosen since Mitchell also uses LTA to explain the foreign policy decision making in India; overall and with respect to Pakistan.

In his study, Mitchell finds that Vajpayee moderate scores on all the traits and he determines that Vajpayee’s leadership style switches between strategic and opportunistic (Mitchell 2007, p:259). He then contextualizes the profile of all the leaders by analyzing their statements towards Pakistan. Mitchell finds that Vajpayee’s scores for Pakistan do not change dramatically and are similar to his overall scores (Mitchell, 2007 p:260). Based on that analysis, Mitchell concludes that Vajpayee has an incremental and reactive (see table 1) leadership style (Mitchell, 2007 p:260). Leaders with an incremental leadership style are strategists who are keen on keeping control over their foreign policy decision in order to have the flexibility to make decisions depending on the available time to increase their chance to get what they want (Hermann, Preston et.al. 2001, p:98). Leaders with reactive leadership style are those opportunists who deal with problems on a case-by-case basis and work with the available resources and the political support they have (Hermann, Preston et.al. 2001, p:99). Mitchell observes that Vajpayee had decided to limit India’s military response in order to deny Pakistan an opportunity to play the victim and appeal to the international community which Pakistan eventually did (Mitchell, 2007, p:278). Furthermore, Vajpayee’s decision also avoided a nuclear response from Pakistan as the

conflict had occurred when both the countries had conducted nuclear tests (Mitchell, 2007 p:280).

Modi's decision to allow the surgical strikes on the other hand were almost completely opposite of what Vajpayee did during Kargil conflict. Modi's decision was more aggressive and fundamentally different since the Indian soldiers crossed the LOC and attacked nearby Pakistani border posts (Khan, 2016).

Due to limited availability of data, a separate profile for Modi with respect to Pakistan could not be developed. Instead, the author assumes that Modi should have acted in the same way as Vajpayee. This assumption is based on the nuclear deterrence theory that argues that the actions of a potential attacking nation can be stopped with the threat of using nuclear weapons and indicating that the costs involved will be too high or the success rate of those actions would be low (Gerson, 2009 p:34). Kenneth Waltz is a believer of this school of thought as well as he believes that the spread of nuclear weapons would avert conflicts (Waltz, 1981). As per this theory then, Modi should have acted rationally and should not have allowed those surgical strikes since Pakistan is also a nuclear state.

In spite of such high stakes involved, Modi gave a green signal and strikes were carried out in September 2016. This decision then can be explained by Modi's opportunistic leadership style. Kashmir has been and continues to be the most contentious issue between the two states since their inception. As a result, the domestic pressures are always high for any leader on both the sides. In Pakistan, any leader is always compelled to fight for the cause of uniting Kashmir with Pakistan (Saideman, 2005 p:223). Indian leaders on the other hand, repeatedly resist Pakistan's efforts and face the pressure to maintain the status quo (Saideman, 2005 p:203). Thus, after the attacks Modi's biggest concern was managing the domestic expectations as Indians were out of patience and Modi's administration had witnessed a string of other major attacks, adding to the pressure (Talukdar, 2016).

Modi's opportunist leadership style is best captured by Nitin Gokhale in his book *Securing India the Modi Way: Pathankot, Surgical Strikes and more* (Gokhale, 2017). In the book, Gokhale includes the narrative of Modi's close aides who describe how he arrived at the decision. Modi was aware of the public sentiment and the building criticism, but Modi did

not let the criticism get to him. He considered all options, economic, diplomatic and political which India could use against Pakistan. Modi also attended a briefing from India's top brass for security which included the Defence Minister of India Manohar Parrikar, the Chief of Indian Army General Dalbir Singh and the National Security Advisor Ajit Doval. It was after this briefing when Modi decided that sending a special force across the LOC would be the best option (Gokhale, 2017).

This behavior demonstrated by Modi makes sense in light of his opportunist leadership style. By looking into all the options India had and judging the public sentiment, Modi indicated that he was open to contextual information. Furthermore, during the briefing, he surrounded himself with all the important position holders in India's security realm to judge what these important others were pushing for. In all, Modi showed respect for his constraints and was cautious of taking into account all the possible actions and their consequences which also exhibited Modi's accommodative leadership style. Modi's decision to listen to his advisers was similar to George Bush's decision-making style after Iraq invaded Kuwait (Hermann, Preston et.al. 2001 p:118). Bush was also an accommodative leader who had also explored a range of options with his team of advisers before he took the decision to intervene in the Gulf Crisis (Hermann, Preston et.al 2001 p:117).

Lastly, Modi and Vajpayee are from the same party (BJP) which minimizes the possibility of BJP's *Hindutva* ideology affecting the decision-making process. Furthermore, in 1998 the BJP under Vajpayee enjoyed a majority in the NDA coalition government which gave him a freer hand in the decision making and not be bothered by smaller parties within that coalition (Mitchell 2007, p:278). Modi currently has a similar advantage since under his leadership BJP produced a single-party majority since 1984 (Firstpost, 2014) which would have restricted the influence of other smaller parties in the coalition. Thus, this comparison of Modi's decision to allow the surgical strikes and Vajpayee's decision during the Kargil conflict provides evidence to accept the hypothesis that Modi's leadership style could have affected the Indian foreign policy decision-making.

## 8. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis conducted a Leadership Trait Analysis of India's current prime minister Narendra Modi to determine how his leadership style might have affected the foreign policy decision making of India. By building upon the existing work of Margaret Hermann, Juliet Kaarbo and David Mitchell (Kaarbo, 1997; Hermann & Kaarbo, 1998; Hermann, 2002; Mitchell, 2007) this study found mixed evidence in domestic and international decisions of Modi for his leadership style and its effect on the foreign policy decision making of India. In order to further confirm a link, a controlled case comparison was conducted where Modi's decision to carry out surgical strikes in 2016 was compared to Atal Bihari Vajpayee's decision making during the Kargil conflict in 1999. A controlled comparison was conducted because of similarities between the two leaders. The controlled comparison controlled for alternative causal factors such as the political party's ideology (both leaders are from BJP) and the effect of smaller parties in a coalition (Vajpayee ruled the coalition in 1998 and Modi finishes his first term in 2019). The result of controlled comparison was promising enough to accept the hypothesis that Modi's leadership style affected India's foreign policy decision-making. The surgical strike ended India's years of 'strategic restraint (Jagannathan, 2016). A comparison in the decision-making process between the two leaders provides evidence that Modi's leadership style had an effect on this decision.

As Hermann and Kaarbo (1998) observe, before their pilot study LTA method had only been applied to US presidents (p:256). Their pilot study extended the scope of LTA's applicability by testing on British prime ministers and German chancellors. As this study discussed in earlier sections, that an overview of the existing literature in LTA highlights that LTA has mostly been focused on Western leaders. Leaders of emerging powers remain understudied with a few exceptions. This study expands the applicability of LTA by applying it to India, an important emerging power. India's case had similarities with both British and German system and future research could certainly apply it to another emerging power with similar systems or a completely different system. LTA can also be utilized to study the effect of leadership style on domestic politics (Hermann, Preston et.al 2001 p:100). Future research could certainly apply LTA on other emerging countries and

compare the effect of leadership style on domestic and foreign policy. As Hermann & Kaarbo (1998) suggest that future research could also study if leadership style is restricted by a parliamentary system of that country (p:256). The results from this study and Mitchell's work could provide a good starting point for India.

The results of this study indicate that Modi respects his constraints and is open to contextual information which makes him an opportunist. He is more relationship oriented which further distinguishes his style as accommodative. As an opportunist, he has been sensitive to his political environment and as an accommodative leader, he has ensured to consider important others around him. However, these results should be dealt with caution as the study had certain procedural limitations. The first limitation came in the form of limited data sources. Although it was feasible to conduct at-a-distance personality trait analysis for Modi, the limited data of interviews were supplemented with speeches. The second limitation stems from a language barrier which also affected the availability of the data. Modi's preferred mode of communication is Hindi and the software Profiler+ can only process the text in English. One way of getting around this problem would have been using machine-translated text and using Google Translate. There is evidence that Google Translate is a useful tool as it produces results which are comparable to results produced by human-translations (Vries et.al 2018). However, this evidence is based on testing the translations of languages such as French, Spanish, Danish, German and Polish (Vries et.al. p:3). Hindi has a different script and an initial test of translation did not produce reliable results. Due to limited resources and the paucity of time, the author could not assess the reliability of Google Translate for Hindi. Earlier studies which have attempted to study non-English speaking leaders have also encountered similar issues (see Ozdamar, 2017). Thirdly, LTA belongs to the subfield of political psychology which gives it an interdisciplinary approach (Knauft 2017). The analysis of the results could benefit more if the researcher has adequate training in psychology as that would enrich the discussion from a psychological perspective as well. Learning from such limitations, future researchers could further test LTA on emerging powers to expand the scientific knowledge in political leadership.

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## 10. APPENDIX <sup>i</sup>

### *INTERVIEWS<sup>ii</sup>*

UAE Visit (2018, 07 February) - <https://www.narendramodi.in/today-is-my-favourite-day-narendra-modi-538836>

Israel Visit (2017, 03 July) - <https://www.narendramodi.in/modi-israel-is-perceived-as-a-technological-powerhouse-536152>

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Overview of topics to contextualize the profile

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<b>General Classification</b>	<b>Topics covered</b>
<b>Nature of topics</b>	Security, Relations other countries, Opinion about other leaders, Domestic policies (GST, Swachh Bharat), BJP' performance, Technological developments, Regional issues, Violence on women, Religion.
<b>Nature of audience</b>	Indian diaspora abroad, Different heads of States, Domestic audience, Media and Press of other countries.
<b>Effects of Events</b>	Demonetization, Terrorist attacks in Pathankot and Uri.

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<sup>i</sup> All sources have been retrieved on 3 May 2018.

<sup>ii</sup> Certain platforms are repeated to account for the variance in topics covered and responses by Modi before and after he became the Prime Minister