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The role of rhetoric content in charismatic leadership: A content analysis of a Singaporean leader's speeches

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ABSTRACT

This study provides an extension to the Charismatic Leadership theories by delineating the roles of rhetoric content: in frame alignment and trust building. Propositions were developed from past literature on the rhetorical behaviors of Charismatic Leadership and the interpersonal trust literature. An empirical study was then conducted to test the propositions developed and it was found that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew use the Singapore National Day Rally speeches in limited ways to align frames and build trust.

INTRODUCTION

To most people, charisma is a mystical and almost magical form of attraction between the charismatic one and them. Often, followers are captivated by inspirational speeches such as Martin Luther King's "I have a dream" and J. F. Kennedy's "Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country". Although leaders can be seen as charismatic without being spellbinding orators, the ability to capture an audience through striking oratory plays an important part in the formation of charisma (Bryman, 1992). In fact, several theories of charismatic leadership have found that the ability to articulate well is inherent in charismatic leaders (e.g., Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Den Hartog & Verburg, 1997; Shamir, Arthur & House, 1994). Despite the apparent consensus on the importance of charismatic leaders' rhetoric, the relationship between the content of the speeches and charismatic leadership has not received much attention from theorists and researchers. Only a few studies have explored the content of charismatic leaders' rhetoric (e.g., Shamir, Arthur & House, 1994; Den Hartog & Verburg, 1997). A recent study quantified rhetoric and greatness and found that U.S. presidents who engaged in more image-based rhetoric are rated higher in charisma and greatness (Emrich, Brower, Feldman, & Garland, 2000). Many scholars and researchers have studied the delivery aspects of the rhetorical behaviors and found that charismatic leaders project a powerful, confident and dynamic presence through delivery factors like eye-contact, fluency, gestures, facial expressiveness, eloquence, energy and tone voice variety (Bass, 1985, 1990; Bryman, 1992; Hollandy & Coombs, 1993, 1994; Willner, 1984). Other studies on charismatic leaders' rhetoric behavior have focused on the use of linguistic devices (Den Hartog & Verburg, 1997), communication strategies (Fiol, Harris & House, 1999), image management (Gardner & Avolio, 1998) and vision delivery (Hollandy & Coombs, 1993, 1994; Awamleh & Gardner, 1999).

The other concept that has not received much attention is the building of trust through the leaders' rhetoric. Despite assertions on its importance (e.g., Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Boal & Bryson, 1988) trust has not been strongly integrated into the charismatic leadership literature. Only Podsakoff, Mackenzie, Moorman & Fetter

(1990) have explored trust as a potential mediator in transformational leadership. Therefore, it is also the objective of this study to understand the role of rhetorical behavior as a tool for building trust in charismatic leaders.

This study therefore seeks to fill the gap on the literature development of charismatic leaders' rhetoric behavior by focusing on the "message side" of the rhetoric. Although studies (Hollandy & Coombs, 1993, 1994; Awamleh & Gardner, 1998) have shown that delivery is a greater determinant of perceived charisma than the speech content, the charismatic leaders must also engage in "meaning making" or "framing" (Conger, 1989). This study argues that delivery alone can do no more than arouse enthusiasm and short-term emotions while leaving the belief systems of the followers unaffected. This study departs from the current focus of the literature by analyzing the relationship between the rhetoric content and charisma and proposing two major roles for leaders' use of language: frame alignment and trust building.

FRAME ALIGNMENT

To understand how the charismatic leader uses language to make meaning that is highly motivational, the concept of framing is important. Frame alignment (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986) refers to the linkage of individual and leader interpretative orientations in such a way that some set of followers' interests, values and beliefs and the leader's activities, goals and ideology become congruent and complementary. Similarly, charismatic leaders frame their vision or interpret events so as to make them more meaningful to their followers (Conger & Kanungo, 1987, 1994; Fiol, Harris & House, 1999; Shamir, Arthur & House, 1994). To achieve such alignment, charismatic leaders (a) Provide a force for change, (b) Appeal to history, (c) Emphasize followers' self efficacy and (d) Emphasize a collective identity.

Provide a Force for Change

Charismatic leaders challenge the status quo and act as agents of radical reform (Conger & Kanungo, 1998). This study argues that charismatic leaders provide the force for change by highlighting the intolerable state of the status quo while advocating the future goals as idealized and attractive. In fact, the more idealized the future goals, the more discrepant they become in relation to the status quo and as a result, the more likely the leader is attributed with extraordinary visions.

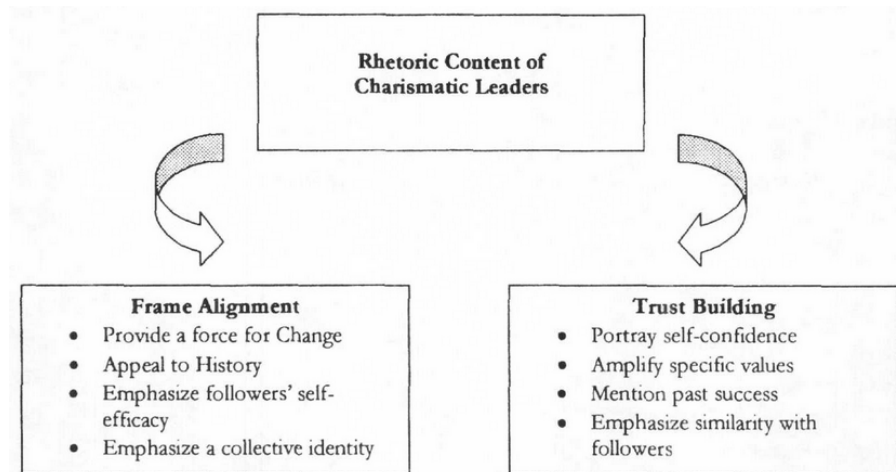


Figure 1. Relationship between rhetoric content and charisma

Bass (1985) asserted that charismatic leaders identify and articulate the serious threats faced by his followers while raising their level of conscious awareness concerning the threats. In the same vein, Conger & Kanungo (1987, 1994, 1998) proposed that the ability to recognize deficiencies in the present environment distinguishes charismatic leaders from non-charismatic leaders. Deluga (1998) examined 39 American presidents and found proactivity to be connected with charismatic leadership. Proactivity closely mirrors Conger and Kanungo's definition of environmental sensitivity as both behaviors identify opportunities for constructive change and question the existing circumstances. Hence,

Proposition 1(A): Charismatic leaders identify and articulate the serious threats faced by the followers to increase their awareness.

Other than articulating present threats and deficiencies, charismatic leaders also articulate an attractive future to the followers to motivate them to work towards the goal. The vision can provide a sense of continuity for followers by linking present status quo to a vivid image of a better future for the organization. Many approaches to charismatic leadership have emphasized the importance of providing an idealized image of the future for followers (e.g., Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Conger, 1989; Sashkin, 1988). In fact, while non-charismatic leaders tend to emphasize proximal, specific goals, charismatic leaders tend to emphasize vague and distal goals and utopian outcomes (e.g., House, 1977, Conger, 1989, Shamir et al., 1994). Hence,

Proposition 1(B): Charismatic leaders articulate an idealized goal that promises an attractive future state of affairs that is valued by the followers.

Appeal to History

According to Shamir, House & Arthur (1993), people strive for a sense of self-consistency that includes a sense of congruence and continuity between the past, the present and the future. The sense of "evolving" is central for a

sense of meaningfulness and hence the alignment acts as a motivating force. Winner (1984) asserted that charismatic leaders link present behaviors to past events by citing historical examples. In line with their earlier theory, Shamir et al. (1994) analyzed a speech of a charismatic leader, Jesse Jackson, and found that Jackson made several references to historical events and historical figures in linking their legacies and the continuity Jackson's leadership provides.

Proposition 2: Charismatic leaders implicate the self-concept of followers by referring to their common history.

Emphasize Followers' Self Efficacy

According to Bandura (1986), perceptions of self-efficacy are potent motivational forces. Charismatic leaders increase follower perceptions of self-efficacy by having high performance expectations of followers and expressing confidence in followers' ability to contribute to the goal (Bass, 1985; Howell & Higgins, 1990; Shamir et al., 1994). Since distant leaders usually meet their followers as a group, they are likely to address the group rather than the individual (Yagil, 1998). Thus, though distant charismatic leaders might not be able to influence individual follower's self-esteem and self-efficacy directly, they influence through expressing confidence in the ability of the group as a whole. There is substantial evidence that followers rise to the challenge of high performance expectations of their leader (e.g., Eden, 1990). Research on the "Pygmalion effect" found that people perform better when a leader has high expectations for them and shows confidence in them (Eden, 1990; Eden & Shani, 1982). In its general form, people tend to try to confirm rather than disconfirm positive beliefs that other have about them.

Proposition 3: Charismatic leaders motivate their followers by communicating high performance expectations of the followers and expressing strong confidence in followers' ability to meet the goal.

Emphasize a Collective Identity

Many researchers and scholars have stressed the importance of collective identity for distinguishing one's group from other groups (e.g., Bennis & Nanus, 1985). The collective identity brings meaning to individual lives and effort by connecting them to larger entities and to concerns that transcend their own limited existence. Consistent with these scholars, Shamir et al. (1994) hypothesized that charismatic leaders make more references to the collective identity and fewer references to individual self-interest. Shamir et al. (1994) found that different metaphors were used by Jackson in his speech to emphasize a shared collective identity while Roberts (1985) found that the leader helped followers feel as if they make a difference by helping to making them recognize the value of working together toward common objectives. Parallel to the findings, Den Hartog & Verburg (1997) also found that charismatic leaders refer to the collective identities frequently in their speeches.

Proposition 4: Charismatic leaders align the followers' identity and values to the articulated goals by emphasizing a need for collective identity.

TRUST BUILDING

Strong trust in the leader is considered a defining element of charismatic relationship (House, 1977) and a key component of the transformational leadership process (Podsakoff et al., 1990). Other than the role of framing in charismatic leaders' rhetorical behavior, this study argues that charismatic leaders also build trust through the use of rhetoric. Past research on trust has focused mainly on interpersonal trust in an organization in the context of close leadership situations (e.g., Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995). However, it is also likely that the conditions of trust building in distant leadership situations are similar. Charismatic leaders in distant leadership situations also portray selfconfidence, amplify specific values, mention past success and emphasize similarity with followers.

Portray Self-Confidence

According to House (1977), one important personal characteristic that contributes to charismatic leadership is a high level of self-confidence. Burns (1978), Bass (1985), Bennis and Nanus (1985), Conger and Kanungo (1987) and Sashkin (1988) also assert that charismatic leaders demonstrate determination, optimism, self-confidence, and confidence in themselves and the ability to accomplish the mission and realize the vision. Self-confidence is important since the future state envisioned by the charismatic leader is usually radically different from the present stage and thus, self-confidence is needed in the face of high risks. According to Kirkpatrick & Locke (1991), self-confidence plays an important role in decision-making and in gaining others' trust.

Consistent with House's theory, charismatic leaders have been shown to possess especially high levels of self-esteem. Even when discouraged or confronted by repeated failures, these leaders steadfastly portray a confident image in public (Gardner & Avolio, 1998). Such confidence in themselves and in their followers empowers the followers and elevates their self-esteem (Shamir, House & Arthur, 1993).

Proposition 5: Charismatic leaders portray self-confidence and this is reflected in their speeches.

Amplify Specific Values

In their analysis of social movement, Snow et al. (1986) describe the frame amplification process where specific values or beliefs are amplified by movement leaders to ensure follower participation. Charismatic leaders also amplify or elevate values that are held in regard by followers to win the support of the followers (Conger & Kanungo, 1998). Shamir et al. (1994) refer to value amplification by proposing that in comparison with speeches of non-charismatic leaders, the speeches of charismatic leaders will contain more references to values and moral justification. While analyzing Jackson's speech, Shamir et al. (1994) found the use of moral arguments in several parts of the speech to justify certain actions. In fact the hallmark of transformational leadership is to raise the followers to "more principled levels" (Burns, 1978). This proposition was supported by Conger and Kanungo (1998) who contrasted speeches made by both charismatic and non-charismatic leaders. The charismatic leader, Mary Kay Ash of Mary Kay Cosmetics, amplified values by asserting "God first, family second, and career third." while the non-charismatic leader did not.

The concept of amplifying specific values parallels the construct of integrity as discussed by many trust scholars (e.g., Mayer et al., 1995). According to Mayer et al. (1995), the relationship between integrity and trust involves the trustor's (i.e., the followers) perception that the trustee (i.e., the charismatic leader) adheres to a set of principles that the trustor finds acceptable. The set of principles is referred to as the set of values amplified by charismatic leaders in this study.

Proposition 6: Charismatic leaders amplify specific values that are held by their followers to gain their trust.

Mention Past Success

Weber (1947) speaks of the necessity of charismatic leaders to "prove" their extraordinary powers to the follower. Strong adherents of Weber also argue that success serves to validate the leaders' charisma and affirm his extraordinary power (e.g., Conger, 1989). As pointed out by Etzioni (1975), charisma is acquired through achievement and has to be achieved over and over again by the leader. In addition, distant followers tend to attribute charisma to the leader based on observed organizational success (Bryman, 1992; Waldman & Yammarino 1999). As observed by Gerth & Mills (1946), as long as the image of success and effectiveness a leader can be sustained, the charismatic leaders remain deified by his supporters. Similarly, House (1977) also argued that charismatic leaders engage in image building to create an impression of competence and success.

In the trust literature, ability has been considered as an essential element of trust (e.g., Mayer et al., 1995). Others use the word competence to define a similar construct (e.g., Butler, 1991). All of these are similar to past successes as ability and competence are validated through successful events undertaken by the leader. According to Zucker (1986), trust can be tied to past or expected exchange such as reputation.

Proposition 7: Charismatic leaders refer to past successes (real or perceived) to gain the trust of their followers.

Emphasize Similarity with Followers

Followers of charismatic leaders identify with their leaders and emulate their behaviors (Bass, Avolio & Goodheim, 1987; House, 1977). This behavior, however, is incongruent with another characteristic of these followers- their perception of the leader as an extraordinary or even superhuman person. Katz & Kahn (1978), acknowledging this incongruity, argue that although distance is a necessary condition for charismatic leadership, the leader must be like the followers in some obvious ways in order to form a common bond and achieve emotional identification.

According to Shamir et al. (1993), charismatic leaders point out similarities in background and experiences between him and followers in order to demonstrate his belonging to the same collectivity and to posit himself as a "representative character" as well as a potential role model. Support for this proposition can be found in Shamir et al.'s (1994) analysis of Jesse Jackson's speeches. This familiarity with and similarity to the leader, and the relatively realistic perception of his or her traits are likely to encourage identification with the leader and at the same time, build interpersonal trust.

The essence of pointing out the similarities between the leader and the followers is to gain their trust. Trust can be built between the charismatic leader and the followers when there is a perception that they have similar characteristics (e.g., Zucker, 1986). According to Zucker (1986), social similarity can be a source of trust. Characteristic-based trust is based on norms of obligation and co-operation rooted in social similarity-the expectations that a person can or cannot be trusted because of family background, age, social or financial position, ethnicity, and so forth. Common characteristics may provide an inclination to trust and because, trust begets trust (Gambetta, 1988), may institute a positive, self-reinforcing process of interaction.

Proposition 8: Charismatic leaders point out similarities in background and experience between him and followers in their speeches.

METHODS

Samples and Procedures

Content analysis was used to analyze Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's speeches. Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". In this study, inferences made from the speeches constitute significant elements in understanding the orator's behavior.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew is one of Asia's most famous statesmen and he has long been renowned for his crisp opinions and sharp analytical mind. Undoubtedly, modern Singapore owes her success to Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. Mr. Lee Kuan's Yew's speeches are chosen as the source of content. Although one might argue that professional speechwriters create most of the politicians' speeches, substantial evidence demonstrates that the speeches generally reflect the presidents' personalities (House, Woycke & Spangler, 1991). House et al. (1991) found that motive scores derived from the motive imagery in the inaugural addresses of all elected presidents predicted both presidential leader style and presidential effectiveness. Thus, the study of the rhetoric content of Mr Lee's speeches should also reflect his style of leadership. The time frame of 1959-1990 was chosen because Singapore gained self-government in 1959 and became an independent nation in 1965 with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew as the Prime Minister. Although Mr. Lee Kuan Yew delivered many speeches on different occasions, the National Day Rally speeches were chosen as the National Day Rally is an annual event where he addresses a wide, national audience; "Mr Lee. Kuan Yew has spoken at the National Day Rally every year... speaking on and on in a flow of eloquence for several hours at a stretch with convincing arguments at which Singaporeans marvel and on which the world media focus their attention." (Lim, 1991:2).

Twenty-six full speeches were collected from the National Archives of Singapore. The Archives do not hold copies of speeches in the years 1961, 1989 and 1990. In addition, no National Day Rally was given on 9th of August 1965 as Singapore was declared independent that year. Given that the years 1989 and 1990 were significant years in terms of succession issue, the socio-political climate for these years will be analyzed in conjunction with those faced with the change in leadership. The theme is chosen as the unit of analysis because there are many messages and the theme is a single assertion about a subject and is among the most useful units of content analysis.

Operationalization of Propositions

A good operational definition is a valid representation of the analyst's concepts and is sufficiently precise that it guides coders to produce reliable judgements (Holsti 1969). To ensure reliability of the data, the precise meaning and definition of each proposition is operationalized for the analysis and is appended in Table 1. Two coders were trained to understand the peculiarities of the coding task (Krippendorff, 1980). Ignorant of the study propositions, the coders then each coded a sample of the same ten random speeches and discrepancies were discussed and resolved. Actual coding then proceeded when the training is completed.

Three types of reliability pertinent to content analysis: stability, reproducibility and accuracy were assessed (Krippendorff, 1980). Stability is the extent to which the results of the content classification are invariant over time and is ascertained when the same content is coded more than once by the same coder. Stability is present if consistency is achieved. Here, the researcher, having coded the data once, refined the categories and re-coded the data again. With this, intra-coder reliability is ensured. Reproducibility, also known as the inter-coder reliability, refers to the extent to which content classification produce the same results when the same text is coded by more than one coder. The simple percentage of the agreement between two judges is used to assess the convergence of the coding of both coders. Next, the numbers of themes that are commonly coded up by both coders are tabulated for each category. The percentage of agreement is calculated by dividing the number of matched themes by the total number of different themes found. Except for the theme "idealized goal/vision", the percentage of agreement for each category is at least 75% and above in coding the 26 speeches. Cohen's kappa, the overall inter-coder reliability, was found to be 0.78. Accuracy does not apply to this study as it is the extent to which the classification of test corresponds to a standard or norm and there is no such established norm or framework.

RESULTS

Overview of Presence of Themes

An objective of the study was to understand the extent to which Mr. Lee Kuan Yew used rhetoric to engage in frame alignment and trust building. Twenty-six National Day Rally speeches given by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew were analyzed according to the propositions developed and operationalized (see Table 2). Some speeches did not reflect the themes that were in the coding framework. They include: education for the younger generation (1985, 1979, 1977, 1976), the need to learn from the success of other countries (1983, 1980, 1978, 1972), and future strategies of Singapore (1988, 1981, 1979).

In some years, more than one identified theme was found in a single speech. For example, in the 1980 Speech, Mr. Lee mentioned threats in the Singapore's environment as well as the need to foster a collective identity. Hence, the percentages of speeches reflecting the themes do not add up to 100%. Out of the nine propositions, it was found that threats in the environment (N= 17) and past success (N= 14) were found in more than half of the speeches analyzed.

Propositions	Operationalization	Propositions	Operationalization
<p>Proposition 1(A): Charismatic leaders identify and articulate the serious threats faced by the followers to increase their awareness.</p> <p>Proposition 1(B): Charismatic leaders articulate an idealized goal that promises an attractive future state of affairs that is valued by the followers.</p> <p>Proposition 2: Charismatic leaders implicate the self-concept of followers by referring to their common history.</p> <p>Proposition 3: Charismatic leaders motivate their followers by communicating high performance expectations of the followers and expressing strong confidence in followers' ability to meet the goal.</p> <p>Proposition 4: Charismatic leaders align the followers' identity and values to the articulated goals by emphasizing a need for collective identity.</p>	<p>Threats are operationally defined as any problem that endangers the survival, security or success of a country or company and are divided into: Societal demographics, Technology, Political regulatory, Social and cultural trends, Economy and International affairs.</p> <p>Following the definition of Boal & Bryson (1988) and Conger & Kanungo (1998), vision is defined as a set of idealized goals that represents a perspective shared by followers and meets the following characteristics; able to meet the needs of followers, is a standard of excellence, and expresses hope and optimism.</p> <p>Common history is operationally defined as a) to appeal to past events that give followers a sense of congruence and continuity and b) to appeal to past heroic figures so that the leader can emphasize their legacies and the continuity between their heroism and his leadership.</p> <p>Defined as crediting <i>past</i> achievements to followers and showing confidence that they are able to do just as well in the future.</p> <p>Defined as any emphasis on integrating the different ethnic groups so as to achieve a shared/collective identity. The leader may stress on a common future despite the diversity or highlight the necessity of having a collective identity to build a stronger country.</p>	<p>Proposition 5: Charismatic leaders portray self-confidence and this is reflected in their speeches.</p> <p>Proposition 6: Charismatic leaders amplify specific values that are held by their followers to gain their trust.</p> <p>Proposition 7: Charismatic leaders refer to past successes (real or perceived) to gain the trust of their followers.</p> <p>Proposition 8: Charismatic leaders point out similarities in background and experience between him and followers in their speeches.</p>	<p><i>Hanxu</i> (implicitness or indirectness) is considered a social rule in Chinese culture. Thus, Mr. Lee may not express his confidence explicitly but may instead use associative referent terms such as "we", "us" or "Singapore". In this proposition, the leaders do not refer to the past achievements, instead, they look into the <i>future</i> and express confidence that they are able to meet the challenges and difficult times ahead.</p> <p>Values that are most cherished by Singaporeans are coded. They are democracy, family harmony, peace, and respect.</p> <p>Mr. Lee's success can be viewed in terms of Singapore's success as the focus is on his capability as the leader of Singapore. Hence, it is any decision that has proven to be a success through economical indicators or non-economical indicators.</p> <p>In this study, <i>experience</i> and <i>background</i> are operationally defined as any self-disclosure which suggests that just like his followers, he has also suffered a period of difficulty or misfortune.</p>

Table 1. Operationalization of Propositions

Articulate Threats in Environment

As mentioned earlier, the articulation of threats in the environment was a common theme found in many of the speeches. The threats in the environment were operationally defined as problems that threaten the survival, security or success of the country. In the 17 speeches that highlighted the threats to Singapore, 31 threats were brought to the attention of Singapore. Each of the 31 threats was further classified into six areas (see Table 3). It was evident that threats in the social and cultural trend of Singapore (N = 10) were of the utmost concern in the speeches while threats to Singapore's technology state was highlighted only once.

Table 2. Themes Present in the Speeches

Theme Categories	Presence of Themes in National Day Rally speeches of PM Lee Kuan Yew (N = 26)	
	Number of Speeches	Percentage of Speeches (%)
Articulate threats in environment	17*	65.3
Ideological goal/vision	5	21.7
Appeal to history	4	15.4
Increase followers' self-efficacy	13	50.0
Emphasize a collective identity	7	30.0
Show self-confidence	9	34.6
Amplify specific values	8**	30.8
Mention success	14	53.8
Emphasize similarity with followers	1	3.8

*Note: 17 of the speeches contain themes which articulate threats in the environment but 31 threats are coded in these speeches in total.

**Note: 8 of the speeches have themes which promote specific values but in total, 9 values are promoted

Threats to Singapore's economy were articulated in nine of the speeches. These threats ranked second to the threats to social and cultural trends. Generally, Mr. Lee spoke of the vulnerability of a small nation and the consequences on the economy of Singapore. In the 1982 rally he said: "We have no plantations or mines, no river to dam up for hydro-power and irrigation, but only people on a small piece of land, once bankrupt, we shall not recover. If our economy goes down, our able and talented Singaporeans will emigrate to richer countries."

Six of the speeches analyzed contained references to threats posed by the international affairs, three contained references to the threat posed by society demographics while two contained references to threats in the political regulatory. An example of a threat posed by the international affairs was articulated in the 1983 rally "... Now some words of caution. There is one-in-three risks that the American recovery can stall next year ..."

A threat posed by the society demographics was mentioned in 1967's rally: "Every large family is a drag not just on the father and mother but on the whole community. ". In 1975, the threat of a large population was brought up again, "But we are still very far from just reproducing ourselves. It has to go down until we just reproduce ourselves or we are in for very big troubles unsolvable problems....". The rapidly rising population was a serious problem in the 1960s and 1970s as too large a population would impose unbearable strains on Singapore's economy.

Table 3. Types of Threats and Values Identified in the Speeches

Types of Threats	Number of Threats Identified in Each Category	Percentage of Total Threats Identified (%)
Societal Demographics	3	9.7
Technology	1	3.2
Social and Cultural	10	32.2
International Affairs	6	19.4
Political Regulatory	2	6.5
Economy	9	29.0
Total	31	100.0

Types of Values	Number of Amplifications in each Value Category	Percentage of all values amplified (%)
Democracy	4	44.4
Family Harmony	0	0.0
Peace	3	33.3
Respect	0	0.0
Others: Meritocracy	2	22.2
Total	9	100

Threats to political regulatory were defined operationally as any problems stemming from the governance of Singapore. An example of a possible threat posed the political regulatory was articulated in 1984's rally, "... the danger is that there is nothing to prevent a future government from running through these reserves (Central Provident Fund). In 5 year spending spree, Singapore can be rendered prostrate and bankrupt..." Mr. Lee was urging Singaporeans to choose their government wisely as he reiterated his point in another speech by stressing "Remember, elected governments are only as good as people who chose them...." (1988).

Ideological Goal/Vision

Themes which suggest that Mr. Lee was articulating a vision or an idealized goal appeared in five of the twenty-six speeches analyzed. The findings came as a surprise as Mr. Lee has often been noted to be "a man of great vision". One possible reason is the notion of hanxu (implicitness or indirectness) in the Chinese culture. Hence, even though he may hold great visions for Singapore, he did not raise them explicitly as utopian outcomes, if over emphasized, may not be within Singapore's latitude of acceptance. Some visions Mr. Lee articulated were: "To build a society which, as it progresses, improves, flourishes and gives an equally satisfying life to one and all..." (1966), "We can and we will make this the cleanest and greenest city in South Asian. . (1967).

Appeal to History

Few appeals to history were made, only four out of twenty-six speeches appeal to past events that give followers a sense of congruence and continuity but no appeal was made to the historical figures. Although Mr. Lee mentioned Raffles' (the founder of Singapore) foresight in seeing the value of Singapore's strategic location for trade and communications, there was no link of the legacy of Raffles' with his. In contrast, Jesse Jackson presented his leadership as springing from the heroes of the civil rights movement (Shamir et al., 1994).

Increase Followers' Self-Efficacy

It was observed that the recurring of themes that increases followers' self-efficacy through encouragement was moderate. Only thirteen out of twenty-six speeches contained the themes. In the themes found, they emphasized Singaporean's ability to meet it in the past despite the daunting problems that were besetting them. Mr. Lee told Singaporeans to "Never be depressed, never be deflated by setbacks. We suffered setbacks. We face facts..." (1966), "Without a hinterland to support us, only seven years ago, when we separated from Malaysia, thought we could not survive. But we have ... A faint-hearted people would have given up long ago. We never give in, never mind giving up..." (1972), "We dared to achieve. We had the courage and the ability to make it..." (1979).

Emphasize a Collective Identity

This was found in seven of the speeches. Singapore is a multicultural society comprising of ethnic cultures from three Asian communities (Malay, Chinese and Indian). When Mr. Lee emphasized a collective identity, he was referring to the cooperation between the different ethnic groups so as to merge themselves in the identity of a bigger whole.

Show Self-Confidence

The number of speeches that have themes that reflected his selfconfidence was high (N = 9). Consistent with the earlier suggestion on hanxu as being part of Mr. Lee's rhetorical behavior, Mr. Lee has shown indirectness while showing self-confidence. In the speeches, "I" was seldom used to express confidence. Instead, Mr. Lee used "we" while showing confidence in the future; "We can and we shall overcome the problems the future has in store for us. ..." (1968), "We will strive and we will make 4%, 5%, 6%, 7%, maybe 8% growth mark..." (1979).

Amplify Specific Values

Among the values that Mr. Lee has promoted in his speeches, democracy (N=4), peace (N=3) and meritocracy (N=2) were found in Mr. Lee's speeches. Generally, when Mr. Lee amplify peace, he was referring to the inter-

community cooperation within the society. For example, "To keep this happy state of affairs, religion must not get mixed up in politics otherwise a clash of political views can easily turn in to a clash of religious beliefs. Then there will be deep enmity between our different religious communities and our society will come to grief." (1987).

Mr. Lee also amplified meritocracy. Although meritocracy was originally not included in the coding framework, Mr. Lee's speeches were scattered with assertions like "If we give everyone-regardless of race, language, culture - an equally satisfying life, then surely that must be a benevolent or a beneficial influence on the whole region...." (1966) and in 1970, "Nobody is privileged because of his parents' status or wealth. Our children all go to the same schools. They get into universities on merit. They get jobs and promotions on merit". Phrases such as "equal society", "equal rights" and equality among various communities" were repeated eight times throughout the 1962 National Day Rally's speech.

Mention Success

Success measured as higher Gross Domestic Product (GDP), better living standards and opportunities for everybody were also mentioned in the National Day Rally speeches. These successes were related to Singapore's success as we are analyzing the speeches of Mr. Lee, the leader of Singapore. Some examples are: "1972 marks the successful conclusion of a period of great trials and tribulations. . . " (1972), "We gave had another successful year. The economy has again surged forward... " (1969).

Emphasize Similarity with Followers

It is observed that Mr. Lee hardly emphasized similarity between the followers and himself, operationalized as revelations of hardship and difficulties. Only on one occasion did he mention that " . . . I have been through one (world crisis) in 1923-33. I remember vividly although I was less than 10 years old because my grandparents lost their wealth ... Several of my uncles were jobless... "(1984). From this self-disclosure, Mr. Lee was trying to shorten the distance between him and the followers and that he, the leader of Singapore was not spared poverty and hardship.

Comparison of Predominant Themes Across Time

We also examined the predominant themes over time (Table 4). Intercoder reliability was 0.95. Unlike the earlier analysis where more than one theme can be found in each speech, the analysis here focuses on one dominant theme in each year. The major themes in the twenty-six speeches analyzed were roughly divided into four time periods. In the early 1960s, Mr. Lee made many references to collective identity in the speeches. Between 1967 to 1971, he increased followers' efficacy by encouraging them to work harder towards a better future. This was followed by another thirteen years of speeches (1973 to 1985) where greater emphasis was on the threats in the environment. The last three speeches focused on the ability of the Second Generation ministers.

Table 4. Comparison of Predominant Themes Across Time

	YEAR																																					
	60	62	63	64	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	
1*											X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X													
2																																						
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4					X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X																									
5	X	X			X	X	X																															
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*Theme Categories

1.Threats in Environment

2.Ideological Goal/Vision

3.Appeal to History

4.Increase Followers' Efficacy

5.Emphasize a Collective Identity

6.Show Self Confidence

7.Amplify Values

8.Mention Success

9.Emphasize Similarity with Followers

10.Success of Second Generation Ministers

1960-1966

In the early 1960s, the speeches were heavily characterized by the emphasis on collective identity. For example, in 1964's speech, Mr. Lee used the word "common" 7 times to stress that despite the diversity among the races, they shared a common destiny. He continued to emphasize a need for collective identity in 1966 by saying, "We believed-and-we still believed- that the salvation lies in an integrated society... with common values, common attitudes, a common outlook, certainly a common language and a common culture."

The theme of collective identity is dominant during this period in time because self-government was only attained in 1959. In May that year Singapore's first general election was held and the first Government of the State of Singapore was sworn in on June 5, with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew as Singapore's first Prime Minister. In May 1961, the Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, proposed closer political and economic cooperation between the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei in the form of a merger by creating a central government responsibility for defense, foreign affairs and internal security, but local autonomy in matters pertaining to education and labor. Malaysia, consisting of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo (now Sabah) was therefore formed on 16 September 1963. The merger however, proved to be short-lived and Singapore was separated from the rest of Malaysia on 9 August 1965 to become a sovereign, democratic and independent nation. This signals the start of Singapore's struggle to survive and prosper on its own. Mr. Lee therefore had to create a sense of national identity and consciousness among a disparate population of immigrants.

1967-1971

Mr. Lee emphasized increasing followers' efficacy through encouragement between 1967-1971. This is probably because during this period of time, Singapore was beset by doubts on her economic viability due to the lack of a hinterland. Hence, during this period of time, the government launched a massive industrialization program. The Employment Act and the Industrial Relations (Amendment) Act were also passed in 1968 to promote industrial peace and discipline among the workforce.

As mentioned in Mr. Lee's 1971 speech, World Bank experts predicted that Singapore would face a recession with serious unemployment by 1971. Presumably, Mr. Lee felt that there was a need to assure Singaporeans that they can make it by showing confidence in their capabilities. In the speech delivered in 1968, there was a particular heavier emphasis on followers' ability to overcome whatever challenges that come into their path; "... Great changes are taking place in and around us. But if we give our best, and nothing less then our best will do, we can and we shall overcome the problems the future has in store for us... " (1968).

1973-1995

Between 1973 to 1985, Mr. Lee put greater emphasis on the threats in the environment which can danger the survival, security or success of Singapore. It is interesting to note that these threats dominated the themes in National Day Rally speeches for a relatively longer period of time, the oil crisis in 1973-1974 and 1977-1978 being one of the main threats to the nation. During this period of time, Singapore's economy was fledging and Mr. Lee shifted his emphasis from the importance of collective identity to threats in the environment. The threats articulated mostly pertained to social and cultural trends in that Singaporeans have become used to the good life and expect their educational qualifications to carry them through the 1985 economic recession. One example was the threat resulting from the "take things for granted" mentality characterized by the fact that "Expectations have gone up. All the time their expectations goes up and up, believing that it is always going to be up the escalator... " (1975), "... so many of us take Singapore for granted. When it is not clean somebody writes to the newspaper ... when things are going well, nobody questions the amount of effort it takes to make sure it is going well... " (1976).

1986-1988

Finally, for three consecutive years, from 1986 to 1988, Mr. Lee spoke of how the Second Generation ministers were able to lead Singapore out of the recession which started in 1985. Mr. Lee planned for his succession by instilling confidence in the new batch of ministers; "... the policies to get us out of recession and back into growth have been settled by my younger colleagues..." (1986), "...that a younger generation of our workers and

union leaders has worked successfully with the younger Ministers to get us out of the recession has given foreign investors confidence in the longer-term future of Singapore... " (1987).

As early as the 1980s, Mr. Lee has started introducing his Second Generation ministers to the country. In fact, these ministers were given the responsibility for running the campaign for the 1984 elections. By 1988, Mr. Lee affirmed the leadership style of the Second Generation ministers in that after the 1988 General Elections, Mr. Lee acknowledged the new leaders' independence and stated that "I would have forced the opposition to fight on my issues, and not allowed them to run around and come up with spurious and ridiculous ideas and diffuse the focus... But perhaps that is the way in which a younger electorate prefers to have issues debated. So be it." Although there were issues regarding the political succession of Mr. Goh Chok Tong, Mr. Lee had, on many occasions, affirmed his successor as one that was chosen by his own peers and that Mr. Goh would lead "an able, competent, and honest administration" (excerpt of speech given by Mr. Lee at the People's Action Party Ordinary Party Conference, 18 November, 1990). Mr. Lee's confidence and assurance of continuity in Singapore's viability has provided for the smooth transition of leadership to Mr. Goh Chok Tong on 28th November 1990.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The empirical portion of this study examined the extent to which Mr. Lee Kuan Yew used rhetoric, a key element of charismatic leadership to achieve two main objectives; frame alignment and trust building. To achieve frame-alignment, this study proposed that charismatic leaders provide a force for change, appeal to history, emphasize followers' self-efficacy and emphasize a collective identity. It was found that Mr. Lee provided a force for change by identifying and articulating the threats in the environment. In addition, between 1973-85, threats were the predominant themes in the National Day Rally speeches. However, weak support was found in the propositions such as articulating of an idealized goal/vision, appealing to history, emphasizing followers' self efficacy and emphasizing a collective identity. Themes that reflected these propositions appeared in less than half of the speeches analyzed.

On the other hand, in building trust, this study proposed that charismatic leaders portray self-confidence, amplify specific values, mention past success and emphasize similarity with followers. Strong support was seen in the portrayal of self-confidence as evident in the recurring themes that appeared in twenty of the speeches analyzed. However, the rest of the propositions were not well supported in the speeches.

From the above analysis, we concluded that Mr. Lee used his speeches to mainly warn Singapore of the threats and to build confidence in his ability. This finding, however, was limited by the choice of studying only National Day Rally speeches. In addition, other determinants of charismatic leadership such as personality traits and behavior, effects on followers, and leadership style were not studied.

Theoretically this paper extends the charismatic leadership theory by integrating empirical studies and case studies to offer a set of propositions on the "message" side of the rhetorical behavior. This theoretical extension

is important since it implies that charismatic leaders do not win the support of followers simply through fluid eloquence, but also through meaning making. The integration of charismatic leadership and trust in this study extends the current literature. Though many scholars and researchers have identified the importance of trust in charismatic leadership, little theoretical extension has been given to the literature development in this direction.

The practical implications of the study pertain primarily to leadership training. Although the major theories of charisma can be characterized as descriptive in nature, they share the underlying premise that charisma is trainable. Leaders of large enterprises that span across geographical constraints are usually not able to exercise leadership through traditional face-to-face encounters or direct supervision (House, Spangler & Woycke, 1991). However, through the use of rhetoric and technology, charismatic leaders can infuse seemingly disconnected organizational activities with shared values and a sense of unified purpose, providing a common identity to highly dispersed members and link them to the organizational mission (Shamir, 1999). Many studies have shown that leaders who are perceived as charismatic receive higher performance ratings, are seen as more effective leaders, and have more highly motivated and satisfied followers than others in similar leadership positions. Thus, in order for the vision communicated in the speech to create longer lasting effects, content is as important as composition and delivery of the speech. With this in mind, the set of propositions developed can be used to help the leaders prepare speeches that are more effective and crucial to changing their belief systems. The selection of National Day Rally speeches poses a major constraint on the conclusions drawn. In particular, National Day Rally speeches were used by Mr. Lee to take stock of the country's progress and hence the speeches were rather factual. Election rally speeches may have been more suitable as emotion is usually aroused during the electrifying campaigning. However, no archive of such speeches is available.

Jung, Bass & Sosik (1995) have suggested that charisma is more easily transmitted in collectivistic cultures. To date, the empirical studies on charismatic leadership on a cross-cultural basis have focused on the leaders' behavior and attributes (e.g., Den Hartog, House, Hanges, Ruiz-Quintanilla, Dorfman & Associates, 1999). Researchers can enlarge the scope of this study by studying the speeches of charismatic leaders at the crosscultural level. According to Hall (1976), the Chinese follow a schema of high context communication whereby indirectness, implicitness and non-verbal expression are emphasized. The differences between the rhetoric of political leaders and business leaders, especially those who head large enterprises, could be further explored.

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