An Analysis of Charisma and Humility: How Do These Characteristics

Influence Presidential Election and Retention in America?

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Abstract

Charisma and humility have been researched intensively in recent years, but none of these researchers has connected the two characteristics or studied their significance on political leadership. This capstone takes a deep dive into political leaders' charisma and humility – the factors that directly appeal to followers' self-identification and emotion – and their correlation with presidential election and retention. In this capstone, I define charisma and humility, identify key components of them based on past research and my own understanding, and measure them on both elected and non-elected political leaders in past presidential election cycles in the United States of America. The results of the study show that the presidential candidates who demonstrate a better overall performance of charisma and humility gain more support in presidential election and retention. The capstone also creates a model that would help explain the past election results and help foresee the future elections, and provides political leaders with some guidance on charisma and humility.

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Introduction

We live in a time when followers no longer fight side by side with their leaders, or simply choose the strongest and bravest warrior who wins in wars to be a leader – for example, Hector in Greek mythology. It is important to note that political leadership is under heavier public scrutiny and media exposure, and the way followers are judging and perceiving their leaders is shifting. However, the paradox of choice tells us that more choices and accesses to information doesn't guarantee that we make better judgments.

In the U.S. political arena, followers gather and assemble pieces of a political leader from rallies, television, newspapers, websites, and social media, and put the pieces together into a perceived image in their own heads. They choose their president based on that image, which is largely influenced by factors other than the leader's competence or experience. The presidential election result of 2016 that surprised many Americans is a good example.

This pattern is an inevitable result of the overpowering nature of perception, as well as the enlarged distance between leaders and followers. When Plato first pondered the question that who shall rule the state, he identified some of the most reasonable but also ambiguous responses as "the best," "the wisest," and "the one who masters the art of ruling." But he later pointed out in *The Republic* (1901) that the crew (the follower) is unable to choose a competent captain (the ruler) because the crew is beguiled, in part, by appearances. He said, "Imagine…a ship in which there is a captain who is taller and stronger than any of the crew, but he is a little deaf and has a similar infirmity in sight,

and his knowledge of navigation is not much better." And that claim has never been truer; it is almost impossible to actually evaluate leaders' competence or make rational decisions when followers bear a substantial distance from leaders – there's no way for followers to distinguish reality from perception.

Then, in the age of perception, on what do followers base presidential election choices? What are their drivers? Linguist and neuroscientist George Lakoff notes that people don't necessarily vote in their self-interest; they vote based in their identities (Lakoff, 2005). Professor Helio Fred Garcia also concludes in his book *The Power of Communication* (2012) that as human beings, our very first drive is to belong. He says we actually crave connection, attachment, and sociability. People choose to support a presidential candidate, not because they think he or she is the most competent, but because the leader is the person they want to be or identify with, or he or she has created a vision that they want to be part of.

To understand what is at stake when people choose to support a political leader, we need to know more about human psychology and neuroscience, particularly in the decision-making process. As George Washington University Neurology professor Richard Restak argues (2012), "we are not thinking machines. We're feeling machines who think." Professor Garcia explains that, no matter how sophisticated our prefrontal cortex (the part of the brain that governs reasoning) is, the Amygdala within the limbic system (the part of the brain that controls our emotions) can easily hijack our prefrontal cortex even without our awareness. That being said, it is so easy for emotions to trump

rational assessment. We are actually far more irrational and emotional than we are aware of.

So far we've understood that follower's self-identification and emotions are two key drivers in determining who they desire as their president. And this explains the importance of introducing charisma and humility in presidential election and retention. Although charisma and humility is not considered as a necessary trait in assessing a candidate, it appeals directly to followers' self-identification and emotions, and affects their decision-making process unconsciously. Unconscious influence is powerful because it gives the followers an ostensible belief that their decision is an exercise of free will.

Presidential election is anthropology to some extent, which only confuses and frustrates us unless we have a thorough understanding of the people who make the call – followers. Therefore, political leaders need to pay more attention to charisma and humility – to understand them, to learn to possess them, and to influence followers more effectively. Charisma and humility have been studied intensively in the past few years, and the two characters' positive influence has been widely accepted. But none of the research has studied their interactions when they come into play together, or bridged them to presidential election results. In light of the unique nature of our age, I hope here to create a more realistic and practical system to assess political leaders in follower's perspective based on these two complementary attributes. I will further explain why charisma and humility matter in literature review.

Problem Definition

In the ever-changing political arena of the U.S., political leaders are under stricter scrutiny and more media exposure, and followers are using brand new ways to perceive and assess them. Under this circumstance, and considering the drivers for followers to choose a political leader are emotions and self-identification, political leaders should pay more attention to charisma and humility, and there should be a way to measure those attributes in order to guide political leaders in presidential election and retention.

There has been an increasing amount of research indicating the positive correlation between leadership charisma, humility and high support and loyalty among followers. The question is, however, how do we define charisma and humility? Can we measure them? How? Given charisma and humility's important roles in leadership selection and retention, can charisma and humility be learned? The biggest challenge lies within the study of charisma and humility is that they are extremely personal, subtle, and emotional. Everyone knows what those concepts mean but nobody can explain them clearly, because the limbic system, the part of our brain that governs emotion, has no capability of language (Garcia, 2012). Hence, it is very hard to quantify and measure them.

However, Burns'(1978) & Bass's (1985) have built theories that break charismatic leadership down into several qualities and characteristics, and that identified the tactics used by charismatic leaders, which has provided us with a great guideline for learning charisma. Furthermore, following Burns and Bass's footsteps, Antonakis and Jacquart, studied charisma (2014) and argued that charismatic leaders use specific strategies in what and how they say things in order to create emotional links with followers. In this

way, they created a method to measure charisma based on rhetorical tactics employed by leaders, such as framing and creating a vision through metaphors, rhetorical questions, or stories. And for humility, there is also quite amount of research that succeeded in measuring it. For example, Jeffrey Charles Elliot's doctoral dissertation in Philosophy (2010) measured humility in four subscales: openness, self-forgetfulness, accurate self-assessment, and focus on others.

Thus, to answer the first question I brought up – yes, charisma and humility can be measured. And I will explain how to measure them in the next chapter.

Literature Review

Leadership definition

Before we look into charisma and humility's roles in leadership, we need a thorough understanding of what leadership means. The definition of leadership has been contested for decades. Richard A. Couto (2015) defined leadership from a broad and everyday-life perspective, which is "leadership takes initiative for shared values and the common good." But James MacGregor Burns, the authority of leadership studies, and Bernard M. Bass, who extended Burns' work, both argued that leadership is an influencing process that results from follower perceptions of leader behavior and follower attribution of leader dispositional characteristics, behaviors, and performance (Antonakis, 2002). Considering the essence of American politics and the top-level political leadership that I have based my study on, the later definition is obviously more viable. Therefore, it is important to understand that the key to leadership is influence, and obtaining and sustaining leadership position is the very result of influence.

German sociologist Max Weber who introduced the concept of charisma, first developed three ideal types of leaders: 1) Bureaucratic/transactional leaders, who rise from bureaucracy, "the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge." 2) Traditional leaders, such as princes, which are arbitrary exercises of power bound to loyalty and politics. 3) Charismatic heroes, individuals whose personalities differ from ordinary people and gifted with supernatural powers and heroic charismatic leadership qualities. The last type of leadership will be the focus of this paper.

Charisma

1. What is charisma?

The term *Charisma* was originally derived from an ancient Greek word that means "gift." Later adopted by the early Christian church, it described gifts from God enabling the receiver to exercise extraordinary practice such as healing or prophecy (Conger, Kanungo, Menon, & Mathur, 2009).

Max Weber defined it as "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary." (Weber, 1978, p.1115) Weber saw a charismatic leader as someone who is gifted with exemplary qualities and extremely high self-esteem, which largely differentiates him or her from average people. Such individuals have the extraordinary ability in influencing followers by articulating goals and ideas and the confidence in achieving them. They are able to inspire unquestioning loyalty and devotion from followers. They were perceived as possessing a power to heal the wrongs of the previous order. Based on Weber's three types of leadership theory, he also argues that charismatic leaders differ from other types of leaders because they rise simply on the basis of their exemplary qualities that are worshiped by ordinary people, instead of on the basis of any establishments, rules, or bureaucracies. They are seen to be bold game-changers against everything old, who usually rise from a crisis (Bass & Stogdill, 1990). This sets the tone for charismatic leadership for many successive researchers, such as Bass and Burns.

2. Why does charisma matter?

As discussed before, mankind's first drive is to belong. And according to John Antonakis, the expert of charismatic leadership and professor of organizational behavior, the process of followers' identification with a leader is the collective is a result of the leader's charisma. Charismatic leaders are liked and influence followers because followers identify with them (2002). Shamir, House and Arthur also argued (1993) in their self-concept based theory of charismatic leadership that people are motivated to self-express, to reinforce their self-worth, and to identify who they are. And if these self-concepts are expressed by or conceptualized in a charismatic leader or a collective, followers can identify themselves with that leader and that collective.

Thus, charisma has everything to do with individual's key drivers in selecting political leaders – self-identification and emotion, and this is why charisma is so vital in influencing followers. Antonakis and Jacquart in their study of charisma (2014) also proved the hypothesis that charisma will predict leader selection because charismatic leaders are always automatically perceived as effective leaders.

3. Bass & Burns: transformational/transforming leadership theory

James MacGregor Burns first introduced the concept of transforming leadership in 1978. Inspired by Abraham Maslow's motivational hierarchy, Burns argued that humans' motives can change, and that as lower motives are gratified, higher-level motives press for attention. In Maslow's theory, for example, if people's safety needs are gratified, they tend to pursue the need for inclusion and belonging. Hence, Burns pointed out that

leaders could satisfy needs and transform the motivation of followers (Goethals, 2015). Based on Burns' understanding of Maslow's formulation, he came up with the concept of "transactional leadership," which focus only on satisfying the existing needs of followers. This type of leadership refers to establishing goals, and rewarding or sanctioning of follower behavior on goal achievement – it is a "give and take" relationship. However, another type of leader devotes himself to engaging followers' high-level motives and making them believe in a vision to change, for example, "protecting our home" is a simple way to appeal to the soldier's sense of belonging that is often invoked by presidential leadership during rallies. Those leaders are known as "transforming/transformational leaders."

Bernard M. Bass (1985) extended Burns' work by explaining how transformational leadership could be measured, as well as how it impacts follower motivation and performance. The extent to which a leader is transformational is measured first by his or her influence on followers.

To decide what subscales could be used to measure charisma, Bass (1985) developed a charismatic leadership scale of ten items dealing with both the leader's behavior and the follower's reactions. In his experiment, he asked 143 senior U.S. Army officers to describe one transformational leader they had known in their career, using a 5-point scale of frequency, from 0= behavior not displayed at all to 4= displayed frequently. The first factor emerged was charismatic leadership, and the highest factor (in regard to follower's reaction) loadings were:

.87 I have complete faith in him/her

.86 Is a model for me to follow

.85 Makes me proud to be associated with him/her

The leader's behaviors seen as correlated with the charismatic factor were:

.71 Has a special gift of seeing what it is really important for me to consider

.71 Has a sense of mission that he/she transmits to me

Sixty-six percent of the covariance of all 143 items could be accounted for by the first factor of charismatic leadership.

Yukl (1994) drew some leadership tactics from Bass & Burns' transformational theory as follow: 1) Develop a challenging and attractive vision, together with the employees. 2) Tie the vision to a strategy for its achievement. 3) Develop the vision, specify and translate it to actions. 4) Express confidence, decisiveness and optimism about the vision and its implementation. 5) Realize the vision through small planned steps and small successes in the path for its full implementation

Burns and Bass's model provided us with a basic framework of measuring charismatic leadership, but it has its limitations. Charisma is just a subscale under Bass's transformational leadership, although transformational leadership and charismatic leadership are similar terms in the age of Max Weber and now. In the full range of leadership, the other three elements or subscales of transformational leadership are individualized consideration, intellectual stimulation, and inspirational motivation. Additionally, in contrast to most of the conceptualizations, the model treats vision as a

component of inspirational motivation instead of charisma. There's also a lack of comprehensive studies on identifying the behavioral dimensions and developing valid measurements of charismatic leadership in Burns and Bass' theory.

4. The Conger-Kanungo model of charismatic leadership

Conger and Kanungo (1987, 1988, 1992) developed a model of charismatic leadership that proposes distinguishing behavioral components perceived by the followers.

In this model, the leadership process in organizations can be conceptualized around three stages of activity. The three stages are environmental assessment, vision formulation and communication, and membership alignment and implementation. In the first stage, charismatic leadership differs from other leaders by means of the leader's high sensitivity to environmental opportunities and followers' needs. Charismatic leaders are always likely to be perceived as both critics of the status quo and agents of radical reform. In stage two, leaders' environmental assessment results in the formulation of a strategic direction for the organization's future. Charismatic leaders are distinguished by their formulation of a shared, idealized future and the inspirational articulation of the future. In stage three, the leader is expected to develop tactics to achieve the desired goals. Charismatic leaders are able to build trust through engaging in acts that followers interpret as involving great personal risk. Additionally, charismatic leaders are perceived to be deploying unconventional ways of achieving their visions.

Charismatic leaders differ from other leaders by their ability to formulate and articulate an inspirational vision and by behaviors and actions that cultivate an impression that they and their mission are extraordinary. In addition, charismatic leaders were revolutionary forces that offer a prophetic picture or vision of the future. They were perceived as processing a power to "heal" the wrongs of the previous order.

As such, individuals choose to follow such leaders, not only because of their formal authority, but also out of perceptions of their extraordinariness. Thus, Conger and Kanubgo argue that any measurement of charismatic leadership must be based on the followers' perceptions of specific behavioral attributes of the leader that generate such outcomes. As such, the Conger-Kanungo model assumes that charismatic leadership is an attribution based on followers' perceptions of their leader's behavior (Conger, Kanungo, Menon, & Mathur, 2009).

Based on this model, Conger and Kanungo (1994) developed a 25-item questionnaire measure ("C-K scale") of six behavioral dimensions of charismatic leadership, which are 1) environmental sensitivity; 2) sensitivity to members' needs; 3) does not maintain the status quo; 4) vision and articulation; 5) personal risk; 6) unconventional behavior. And then, the discriminant validity was assessed by a correlation analysis of the C-K scale and its subscales with four other leadership behavior measures: task-oriented, participative, people-oriented, and Bass charisma.

This model focuses on charismatic leadership's differentiations and identifies the behavioral dimensions of it, which largely makes up to Bass and Burns' model's limitation. It differs from Bass & Burns's theory in the way that it emphasizes on

followers' perceptions of leaders' behaviors, but Bass & Burns's model sees leaders' behaviors and followers' reactions equally important in measuring charismatic leadership.

5.   Conclusion

To sum up the insights and research on charisma and charismatic leadership from Max Weber, Antonkis, Bass, Burns, Conger, and Kanungo, I will define charisma as "a set of extraordinary qualities and behaviors that inspire admiration, loyalty, and devotion among people, and that naturally separate the individual who possess these qualities from average people." And charismatic leaders can be defined as "leaders who have remarkable influence over followers as a result of their inspiring visions, unconventional strategies, and exceptional qualities that are worshiped by followers."

As noted before, each theory of measuring charisma has its own strength and limitation, but they're mutually complementary in certain regards. Given all the past research and current situation, in order to introduce a more comprehensive and practical measure for charisma, I'd like to propose a 10-items scale of charisma, including both dimensions of leader behavior and follower perception. The ten indicators are:

Leader's behavior and attributes:

1)   <u>An idealized and even prophetic vision</u>. Having a captivating vision that projects an idealized future for the followers is the foremost characteristic for charismatic leaders. The vision that he or she proposes is most likely to be a challenge to the status quo, a promise to change what has been done wrong in

the past to actually excite follower's trust, sense of belonging, and sense of mission.

2) <u>Articulation</u>. The articulation of the vision is the key to help the vision reach the audience. Charismatic leaders are usually seen to be eloquent and persuasive – to be the masters of communications. Additionally, their tone of voice is always found as captivating and engaging.

3) <u>Sensitivity to the environment</u>. Charismatic leaders are most likely to rise from chaos or crisis. They tend to catch subtle trends and patterns of the world around us, which enables them to seize and even create opportunities before anyone else even notices. And this is the birth of their visions.

4) <u>High empathy</u>. To arouse trust and self-identification with the collective, charismatic leaders are gifted to empathize with each individual's needs and emotions, which usually results from their genuine interest in people. Charismatic leadership is actually more intuitive and sensitive than other types of leadership.

5) <u>Bold and unconventional strategies and tactics to achieve the vision</u>. Charismatic leaders' visions are convincing only when it goes hand-in-hand with revolutionary strategies and tactics in the process of vision implementation.

6) <u>Willingness to take risks</u>. Leaders are usually perceived as charismatic when they show their willingness to take great risks in making choices. The risk can be a personal risk or a collective risk that may help achieve the greater good or the collective goal. The charismatic leader stands out when no one else is able to make these "scary choices."

7) <u>Confidence in him or herself, as well as in followers</u>. Charismatic leaders usually have high self-esteem, but more importantly, in order to arouse followers' loyalty and devotion, they also have belief /faith in followers and let followers feel well-involved in reaching the collective goal.

8) <u>A strong will</u>. A strong will is a necessity for charismatic leaders. They usually have an inexorable will to do what they set mind to. And their drive and persistence can have such a strong influence over followers, and make the followers believe that they will definitely achieve their goals.

Followers' perception and reactions:

9) <u>High level of trust in the leader</u>. Followers trust no matter what the leader proposes or says, and have no doubt in the leader's abilities to reach the desired vision.

10) <u>Regard the leader as a model to follow</u>. Charismatic leaders are always perceived as a role model who's everything the followers want to be. They are even idolized sometimes, as they possess some heroic virtues or divine gifts. The followers also highly identify themselves with the leader. It's a more personal reaction, usually as a consequence of deep connection, trust, and admiration.

Humility

1. What is humility?

The dictionary definition of humility is "lack of pride" and "low view of one's importance." Originally, humility can be traced to the Latin terms humilis (i.e., lowly, humble, or literally ''on the ground'') and humus (i.e., earth). So it has long been associated with negative meanings such as weakness, lowness, and lack of confidence. (Rowatt, 2006) Especially when it comes to leadership, people would picture someone strong and confident, instead of humble. However, many have observed and proved that humility has many positive connotations. The past few years have also witnessed a soar in the study of humility, and people started to describe it as a virtue.

Psychologically, neuroscience professor Wade C. Rowatt (2006) defined humility as being humble, modest, down-to-earth, open-minded, and respectful of others. As defined by *Forbes* (Guthrie, 2013), humility in leadership is "being secure enough to recognize his or her weaknesses and to seek the input and talents of others." Management expert Ken Blanchard says: "People with humility do not think less of themselves; they just think about themselves less." (Dasa, 2014)

2.   Why does humility matter?

It seems charisma alone could appeal to followers' self-identification and emotions, then why humility? As Weber pointed out that charismatic leaders tend to be very self-confident, emotionally expressive, and have big egos, it is fair to note that an abuse of charisma could lead to narcissism, egocentrism, and arrogance (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2014). And when charisma and ego is so phenomenal that it gets in the way, it can make followers feel excluded, distant, and hard to relate to. In our age, U.S. citizens hold their freedom of choices dear, and request more transparency and less distance. Therefore,

charisma will be better studied when it's accompanied by a complementary characteristic – humility,

In the political arena, humility is often considered as a weakness instead of a strength, and it doesn't have a long history of being studied like charisma does. Fortunately, there has been a rise of studies of humility in leadership and its positive correlation with follower loyalty in recent years. A Catalyst study (2016) has shown that humility is one of the most important leadership factors in creating an inclusive environment to which followers can identify and have emotional connections. The rationales behind this are not hard to understand. Moving and influencing followers are largely not about the leader but the followers; it is about leaving the ego at bay, and listening to and understanding followers, and that is humility. Professor Garcia also explained the necessity of leadership humility in his company blog (2008), "humility helps leaders to connect with others up, down, and across the chain of command; to build organizations and cultures that more likely thrive; to understand the perspectives of other stakeholders." A great leader ought to be both exceptional and humble, and we've seen many precedents in the past, such as the most respected and admired American president Abraham Lincoln.

If charisma is a trait that differentiates a leader from their followers, then humility is something that makes the leader a living, breathing human being that leaves room for followers to relate to, as well as look up to. I therefore use humility as a complementary attribute of charisma in analyzing political leadership selection and retention. I won't overemphasize charisma in this paper and I acknowledge its dark side. What I wanted to

prove is a political leader's charisma would work best in moving people when it is coupled with a dollop of humility.

3.   Research on humility measurement

In Rowatt's 2006's study of an implicit measure of humility, he first points out some barriers on the existing self-report measure of humility, which is that some people may mimic behaviors typical of authentic humility to mask their real personalities. Thus, based on the existing Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), he developed the Humility-Arrogance IAT.

Table III. Zero-order correlations between implicit and explicit measures of humility and social–personality variables.

Social–personality variables	α	Implicit humility (Time 1)	Humility semantic differentials	Humility thermometer	Modesty (NEO-PI-R)	Humility–modesty (VIA-IS)
Positive psychological dimensions						
Implicit self-esteem	0.92	0.32**	0.24**	0.25**	0.06	−0.06
Rosenberg self-esteem	0.83	−0.03	0.28**	0.20*	0.03	0.10
Satisfaction with life	0.85	−0.06	0.28**	0.17	0.00	0.21
Forgiveness	0.58	0.00	0.19*	0.20*	0.10	0.02
Gratitude	0.76	−0.01	0.26**	0.20*	0.17	0.14
Spiritual transcendence	0.71	0.06	0.23*	0.30**	0.12	0.08
Optimism	0.75	−0.05	0.08	0.12	−0.06	−0.07
Agreeableness	0.80	0.07	0.47**	0.27**	0.24*	0.22
Neutral psychological dimensions						
Extraversion	0.89	−0.05	−0.06	−0.08	−0.14	−0.46**
Conscientiousness	0.79	−0.07	0.10	0.05	0.04	0.23
Openness	0.76	0.10	0.21*	0.05	−0.12	−0.12
Negative psychological dimensions						
Narcissism (40-item total)	0.89	−0.19*	−0.16	−0.10	−0.52**	−0.44**
Authority	0.87	−0.04	−0.02	−0.02	−0.23**	−0.29*
Self-sufficiency	0.69	0.04	0.22*	0.09	−0.15	0.10
Superiority	0.61	−0.13	0.00	0.17	−0.27**	−0.24
Exhibitionism	0.83	−0.24**	−0.35**	−0.21*	−0.49**	−0.53**
Exploitative	0.79	−0.05	−0.19*	−0.25**	−0.33**	−0.38**
Vanity	0.87	−0.18*	−0.31**	−0.12	−0.47**	−0.33*
Entitlement	0.69	−0.18*	−0.06	−0.07	−0.34**	−0.15
Depression	0.89	0.01	−0.08	−0.05	0.07	0.09
Unhealthy	0.52	−0.05	−0.21*	−0.22*	0.07	−0.19
Neuroticism	0.83	−0.13	−0.52**	−0.35**	−0.22*	−0.26*

Note: VIA-IS = Values in Action Inventory of Strengths. *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

(Table 1)

The investigation found that people who score high in implicit Humility IAT also perform well in models testing other positive psychological strengths, such as forgiveness,

implicit self-esteem, openness, agreeableness, strengths of temperance, and spiritual transcendence (see Table 1) (Rowatt et al., 2006). Therefore these positive correlations could be used to create psychological scale items for humility.

Tangney argues in her 2000's work on humility that, humility is not about viewing oneself negatively. She defined it as including:

- An accurate assessment of one's abilities and achievements;

- The ability to acknowledge one's mistakes, imperfections, gaps in

knowledge, and limitations;

- An openness to new ideas, contradictory information, and advice;

- A keeping of one's abilities and accomplishments–one's place in

the world – in perspective;

- A relatively low self-focus, a "forgetting of the self," while

recognizing that one is but one part of the larger universe;

- An appreciation of the many different ways that people and things

can contribute to our world.

In 2010, to support the assertion that humility is an underestimated positive psychology of human, Doctor Jeffrey Charles Elliott in University of Tennessee,

Knoxville developed a measure of dispositional humility with validity and reliability in 2010. The results of the study proved the in the 13-items scale, there were four principal components, which means these four components formed coherent subsets that are relatively independent from each other. The four principal components are: openness, self-forgetfulness, modest self-assessment, and focus on others (Elliott, 2010).

4.   Conclusion

Researchers have a hard time agreeing on the definition of humility but their definitions all have something in common. In conclusion, I'll define humility as "a virtue allowing people to have an accurate self-assessment and think less of themselves."

The measurement for humility I'll use is a five-item scale as follow:

1)   Openness. Usually perceived as approachable and relatable, people with humility have the candor to tell the truth, to offer transparency, to open up room for people to get close to them.

2)   Tolerance and forgiveness. Individual with humility is able to listen to contradictory opinions, accept honest advice, appreciate difference, and open to new ideas. Humility also requires one to not hold too much of a grudge against others, because he or she tends to be more understanding than others.

3)   An accurate self-assessment. They usually have an accurate assessment of themselves, including their abilities, strength, and accomplishment. An accurate self-assessment also means that they are able to recognize their mistakes and take responsibilities accordingly.

4) <u>Self-forgetfulness</u>. To have humility, one ought to view him or herself less importantly, which mean they value other people's inputs, and even put other people's interests before his or her own.

5) <u>Highly secure</u>. Contrary to common knowledge, people with humility actually have high self-esteem and sense of security. They assess themselves and the world precisely, so that other people's thoughts are less likely to get in the way of making their own choices and their self-assessment. They are also secure enough to show vulnerabilities, and has less caution and anxiety.

Research Design

The core of my research is to break down charisma and humility into several behavior-related indicators that are more objective, descriptive, and specific, which has been done in the literature review, and to identify charisma and humility's correlation to political leadership selection and retention.

First Part

The measurement of charisma and humility came from a heavy secondary research that is mainly based on Burns & Bass's charismatic leadership theory and Max Weber, John Antonakis's studies on charisma, and takes specifically humility into account, creating a more practical and adoptable theory in our age. Through a comprehensive study of the past research on charisma and humility, the capstone reached a conclusion, including a definition of both of the terms, and a 10-item scale measurement for charisma and a five-item scale measurement for humility. I chose not to create the measurement through survey or interviews because charisma and humility are two very personal and emotional terminologies. In this case people might not be able to actually "speak their mind," so I was concerned with the accuracy of the results and afraid that I could not reach a fixed conclusion that way.

Second Part

The second part of this capstone is an analysis of several presidential election cycles to identify the correlation between charisma and humility and presidential election and retention. This was a combination of secondary and primary research. I studied the

biographies, news reports, opinion polls, speeches, and interviews of the designated

political leaders (both the one who won and the one who lost in their respective election

cycle), and conducted in-depth interviews with people who either voted for them or had

close contact with them (i.e. the author of one of the biographies). During this process, I

applied the measurement on the study, classified those leaders' behaviors and attributes

into subscales under the two categories. Each identifiable item scores one within each

category. The last step was to quantify scores, to see if there would be certain correlation

between the scores of two categories and the election/retention results of the leader.

The designated election cycles I chose to study are: John F. Kennedy V.S. Richard

Nixon in 1960 and Nixon's 1969 - 1972 presidency, Bill Clinton V.S. George H. W.

Bush in 1992, Barack Obama V.S. John McCain in 2008, and 2016's election between

Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton.

The criteria for deciding which cycle or which leader to research is listed as follows:

a) The leader/cycle would better be widely known and documented, so that I can
   have enough materials to study based on.

b) The leaders who won are mostly remembered as charismatic or humble, or
   both.

c) The leaders are the more recent the better. The reasons for this are, first it
   would be more applicable to find interviewees for primary research if the leader
   is recent, and second the more recent the leader is, the less differentiation of the
   overall context of the election is. In the hope of finding the correlation between

charisma and humility and election/retention results, the study ought to keep other factors that may affect the election results to the minimum.

d) If the first three prerequisites are gratified, I choose leaders from both sides of the political aisle, from both sexes, and from as many ethnicities as possible, in order to keep the study objective and fair, and to eliminate the possible noise from those factors in the experiment.

The ultimate goal of this capstone it to build a model, which would be able to explain or predict the election/retention result on any given candidate whose charisma and humility score are known through applying the measurement I created.

Presidential Elections: Those Who Win and Those Who Lose

This part of the capstone is in the form of four case studies with two presidential candidates each. I will use the 10-item scale of charisma and the five-item scale of humility to identify and quantify how many charisma and humility scores each political leader has. And the materials I base my study on range from biographies, news reports, opinion polls, speeches, to interviews of the political leader. During the process of collecting evidence to either prove or disprove each attribute item, I collected materials primarily from the timeframe prior to or during that specific election, in order to best reflect the candidate's image at the time of the election.

As part of my primary research, I also conducted interviews with two subject matter experts. The criteria in choosing interviewees are that they either had relatively close contact with certain candidate or have exclusive knowledge/insights about these candidates at large.

Subject Matter Expert I (SME I) is the former chair of the Department of Political Science at one of the Ivy League Universities. SME I is also a Professor of Government, specialized in American politics, public opinion, policymaking, and political leadership, who frequently involves with poll analysis for presidential elections. Subject Matter Expert II (SME II) is a nationally recognized political consultant and the founder and president at a country's premier writing and consulting firm. SME II served as a spokesperson, speechwriter and campaign strategist for a successful Senate campaign, and worked in the Capital Hill as the Senator's communications advisor for more than five years, when SME II got the chance to meet President Bill Clinton in person. SME II

is also a frequent contributor/political commentator for many top-tier outlets and broadcasting networks. In my case studies below, I will quote them or paraphrase our conversations as one kind of credible evidences.

The case of John F. Kennedy V.S. Richard Nixon

1960's election was one of the closest presidential elections ever. The Democrats nominated John F. Kennedy, a senator from Massachusetts, for president. The Republicans nominated Vice President Richard M. Nixon to succeed Dwight D. Eisenhower. Kennedy won the election with 303 electoral votes, whereas Nixon got only 219. Kennedy also won the popular vote by a margin of less than 120,000. Kennedy became the first Catholic and the youngest elected president in America.

1.   John F. Kennedy

On the guest book of the Six Floor Museum in Dallas, which I visited in person, many visitors identified themselves and left comments for John Kennedy about his assassination. One of those notes says "The greatest man since Jesus Christ." People demonstrate how much they miss this man, whose presidency only lasted for less than a thousand days, whose lowest approval rating was 56%, according to Gallup, which is higher than most widely respected American presidents. The American historian Alan Brinkley best summarizes Kennedy in his biography *John F. Kennedy* (2012), "In his short presidency this reticent and pragmatic man became, in the eyes of the world, a charismatic leader who in his life and in his death, became a symbol of hope and purpose." Kennedy's personal

charm clearly helped in his election. As *The Atlantic* states, "A witty and articulate speaker, he seemed built for the age of television."

The historical context of the 1960's election campaign was dominated by a fear from people that a war with the Soviet Union was inevitable, according to a public opinion poll at that time (Jfklibrary.org, 2017). It was a time when the Cold War tension between the United States and the Soviet Union was rising, and the fears of communism were heightened because of Cuba's revolutionary new leader Fidel Castro's alliance with the Soviet Union.

Then there came John F. Kennedy. Kennedy's character became the major themes of his campaign. He pushed his messages of "get the country moving again," "a national purpose," and "a new frontier" forward. He came across as a symbol of youth, purpose and vigor, a force that could take the country where it should be, no matter what it takes. Arthur M. Schlesinger, who used to be a speechwriter and an aide for Kennedy, wrote in *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (1965), "The air has been stale and oppressive; now fresh winds were blowing. There was the excitement which comes from the injection of new man and new ideas, the release of energy which occurs when men of ideas have a chance to put them into practice." It's Schlesinger talking about Kennedy and his vision's rise above the clouded nation.

John F. Kennedy's characteristics had not only inspired people's confidence in him but also in themselves, as said in one of his most memorable lines from his inaugural address, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."

During the election, most people expressed concerns about Kennedy's youth and inexperience. However, his biggest obstacle remained as his Roman Catholicism (Brinkley, 2012). No Catholic had ever been elected before because American people were afraid that a Catholic's allegiance to the Pope would be placed before the national interests. Kennedy didn't choose to shun this identity. Instead of being on the defensive, he addressed the concerns directly and made the argument that his religion should not be the basis on which people decide to vote. His courage to confront accusations and take risks won him many voters back, regardless of the prevailing anti-Catholic feeling among Americans at that time. Kennedy also spoke up for Martin Luther King when King was arrested and supported civil rights, against the advice of many of his advisors. In fact, many white Southerners considered Kennedy the traitor to his race by the summer of 1963 (Maney, 2016). He risked losing the votes in the South and fought for what he considered right.

His courage and boldness were also captured in his response to the Soviet Union's success in sending the first human being, Yuri Gagarin, in space. He challenged his fellow Americans to land a man on the moon and return him back safely. In his address on the Nation's Space Effort that "We choose to go to the Moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard." During his administration, Alan Shepard became the first American to enter the space and return safely.

Another story highlighting his humility and courage was during his service in the southwest Pacific on patrol torpedo (PT) boats. In August of 1944, Kennedy's PT, the 109, was out one night, when a Japanese destroyer, fleeing U.S. attacks, crashed into the 109 and cut it right in two, killing two of Kennedy's crew. Kennedy then guided the remaining

men back to the hull. With the hull gradually sinking the next morning, he led his men to the nearest island. During that five-hour swim, he kept dragging his injured men and helped them make it to the shore. A then well-known story named *Survival* (1944) by John Hersey published in *New Yorker Magazine* did a thorough description of that rescue, and portrayed Kennedy as a modest, self-deprecating hero (Brinkley, 2012). The story, promoted dramatically by his father Joe Kennedy, offers us a window to peer into Kennedy's humility. Under those circumstances, the instinct to save his crewmembers and put his own safety behind could not be faked after all.

Burns (2009) recalled that in his interviews with John Kennedy in 1959, Kennedy was forthcoming about his early years. Journalists who interviewed Kennedy were often fascinated by his amenity and occasional candor. This openness could be attributed to his early years being a journalist himself, and his understanding of reporters' needs.

Granted his universal appeal, however, as an Irish prince from a wealthy family, Kennedy never got a chance to actually empathize with most Americans who were unlike him. Thus, except for his longtime passion about international affairs and the push towards success from his dad, he seemed have no idea why he was running for president. As Kennedy admitted in an interview with Burns (2009), most of his drive came from his father. Nigel Hamilton (2002) depicts Kennedy as a person with courage and charisma, but "a lack of seriousness of purpose."

Probably best described by Hamilton as having a "shy charisma," Kennedy embodied a balance of charisma and humility – a man with enough drive and ego to become the president, but not too much to keep people away. According to the research

above, Kennedy receives 8 charisma scores and 3 humility scores (Please refer to Table 2 and Table 3 for the full lists).

2.   Richard Nixon

In 1960, the vice president at that time phrased his campaign as a promise of peace and maintaining American military strength. Nixon stressed his eight years' experience in the White House and his commitment to fight communism. Contrary to Kennedy's wealthy background, Nixon created for himself an image of an average American who grew up in poor California and worked his way up. He told a story of the American dream that most Americans want to be part of.

The defining moment of 1960's election was the first televised debate between Nixon and Kennedy, without which most believe that Kennedy would have never won the election. The debate shaped the landscape of presidential elections as it offered a new way for people to get the perception of candidates. SME I recalled about that famous presidential debate, "As a speaker, Kennedy was very persuasive, not only looking good, he sounded good. And he exuded confidence." In the first debate on Sep. 26, 1960, Kennedy acted confident and well prepared, but Nixon looked pale and was clearly sweating from the pain of a knee injury. Nixon saw that debate as fatal, as such he refused to participate in any televised debates when he ran again in 1968 and in 1972.

However, the biggest difference that separates Nixon and Kennedy is the style they adopted in running and governing. In light of his 1960 success, Kennedy invented a new campaign style, named "Running Alone" by James MacGregor Burns (2009). That is, a

style detached from a heavy party affiliation and hunting for votes from independents or even the opposite party. Kennedy was secure and confident enough to run apart from, or even in conflict with the Democratic Party sometimes, which was a result of his "distaste for being part of the pack (Burns, 2009)" or, as put by his wife Jacqueline Kennedy, "his violent independence." However, Richard Nixon put personal loyalty to him above any allegiances. Burns says in his book *Running Alone* (2009)*,* "Desperately lonely at the top, Nixon shifted left and right in politics and policy, picking up support opportunistically even among liberal and especially conservative Democrats."

After the Watergate scandal, Nixon became the first commander-in-chief who resigned from his position in American history. The episode had set the theme for his biographies and researches going forward; it kept people pondering, why the lying? Why the desperate loneliness? Why the insecurity? In an article published in 1979, Professor Lloyd Etheredge built a psychological model largely by studying Nixon, whom he described as "suffering from a narcissistic personality disorder." He depicts Nixon as a divided man, who later put by Fawn M. Brodie (1983) in his book *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* as "nurtured by dreams of omnipotence on the one hand, and on the other depleted by an incurable sense of insecurity." It was like a negative loop: he was insecure and guarded, so he lied, and he was insecure and guarded, so he lied about lying. So there came this unapologetic man, who promised to "bring power back from Washington to allover America" but abused power, who carried a huge split between word and deed, and who refused to take any responsibility even after his massive failure in Watergate. He blamed at others. In his memoirs, he wrote, "Without [his attorney

general's wife] Martha [Mitchell], I'm sure that the Watergate thing would never have happened." (Brodie, 1983)

Nixon is also not the type of person who forgives. As the most unloved child in his family, he grew up with the feeling that his parents had nourished his body and ambition but also starved his soul. His younger brother Donald Nixon recalled about their infrequent fights, "He wouldn't argue much with me…but he went back listing things I have done. He didn't leave out a thing." (Brodie, 1983) The hostility and seriousness nurtured by his family gradually became a theme of his character and also a force of what had driven him.

However, as many biographers and historians argue, Watergate ought not to define Nixon and his presidency. The scandal said much about Nixon's character, and overshadowed much, as well. Nixon is complex. When historians or journalists tried to analyze his motives, they came up short. But what they all agreed on Nixon is that he was highly driven. This strong will to keep fighting no matter what was derived from Nixon's parents' shared determination that he should achieve success (Morgan, 2002). And it was indispensable to keep him forward whenever embarrassing, frustrating adversity struck his life (i.e. his defeat by Kennedy).

In Nixon's 1968 address accepting the party's presidential nomination, he did offer a very captivating future, in which he pledged to "bring power back from Washington to allover America," to "bring an honorable end to the war in Vietnam," and to "extend the hand of friendship to all people, to the Russian people, to the Chinese people, to all people in the world." Clearly he failed in some of his promises, but the world would

never forget that this man opened China, which was surely a shocking move at that time. Doing the unexpected was, and is, abnormal in American politics, especially given that Nixon got the conservative credentials, as an anti-communist and advocate of Taiwan. However, Nixon thought the unthinkable and paved his way to it. He first secretly sent his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, to China. And after he received Henry's note of successfully completing the mission, he announced Henry's trip and comforted with the line that the opening to China "will not be at the expense of our old friends [in Taiwan]." (Ignatius, 2017) David Ignatius wrote about Nixon in his article 40 years later, "Richard Nixon is hardly a role model, overall. But he was a clever strategist — never more so than in the opening to China that culminated in his February 1972 visit to Beijing." When we look back at that trip, it was surely beneficial. However, in order to do the right thing, Nixon put the U.S.-India relation and domestic public opinion at risk when he made the call. As Nixon said in 1990, "Nothing great can be accomplished without taking great risks." (Morgan, 2002)

"Complex" might even be too light to depict Nixon. He is a divided man made of hurt, driven by setbacks, but also carries the idealism of doing good through achieving success. Both his bright and dark sides made him who he was. He had his own special charisma but no humility. As we can see from Table 2 and Table 3, he received 7 charisma scores and 0 humility score.

Charisma	John F. Kennedy	Richard Nixon
1) Vision	✔	✔

2) Articulation	✔	✔
3) Sensitivity to the environment	✔	✔
4) High empathy		✔
5) Bold and unconventional strategies	✔	✔
6) Willingness to take risks	✔	✔
7) Confidence	✔	
8) A strong will		✔
9) High level of trust in the leader	✔	
10) Regard the leader as a role model	✔	

(Table 2)

Humility	John F. Kennedy	Richard Nixon
1) Openness	✔	
2) Tolerance and forgiveness		
3) An accurate self-assessment		
4) Self-forgetfulness	✔	

5) Highly secure	✔	

(Table 3)

The case of Bill Clinton V.S. George H. W. Bush

By 1992, incumbent President George H. W. Bush's approval ratings had sunk, and he became the fourth sitting U.S. president to lose re-election. Bill Clinton won the election by 370 electoral votes, compared to Bush's 168 votes. Clinton also led the popular vote by a margin of 5,800,000.

1. Bill Clinton

Bill Clinton's rise coincided with America's new Gilded Age, the late nineteenth-century era when the nation was "glittery on the outside but cheap and tawdry beneath the surface." (Mark Twain, 1996) It was an age when the country's destiny rested completely in the hands of industrial entrepreneurs, income inequality grew, and immigration and racial tensions intensified. As put by Patrick J. Maney, the presidents of that age were expected to perform miracles. Clinton was one of the handful people who had a nuanced view of the new Gilded Age, learned something from the original Gilded Age, and sensed the special needs of the era. He believed that the country was going through an inevitable change, and the sooner Americans accepted and adapted to it, the sooner they would enjoy its benefits (Maney, 2016). As said by SME II, the nation's appetite for

change, for the economic recovery, laid the foundation for Clinton. Clinton captured and tapped into those needs, and became the embodiment of a fresh start.

Clinton's vision was simple but strong – to move the nation from one era (industrial age) to another (information age), socially and economically. As he said when accepting the nomination of his party, "Tonight let us resolve to build that bridge to the 21st century, to meet our challenges, protect our basic values and prepare our people for the future." During his campaign, Clinton also promised opportunities for all, and an administration that "looked like America." With his overt emphasis on racial reconciliation, he encouraged Americans begin to see America's growing diversity as a strength and a reflection of our common humanity. And, he did live up to his promise – he hired more people of color and women than any president in history (Edmonds, 2011).

His civil rights legacy had also left a heavy trail in the LGBT community. He was the first president to select openly gay people for Administration positions. During his presidency, Clinton controversially issued two executive orders on behalf of the LGBT community, lifting the ban on security clearances for LGBT federal employees, and outlawing discrimination based on sexuality in the federal workforce. He also pushed passing the Hate Crimes Prevention Act for LGBT community and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act. He signed into law the anti-gay Defense of Marriage Act indeed, as many called his biggest policy mistake, but the nation would have been a far worse place for gay people without his unconventional first steps.

As the first baby boomer to win the White House, Clinton renovated the image of presidency and shortened the distance between the White House and the American people.

He had made it possible for a president to play a saxophone rendition of "Heartbreak Hotel" on Arsenio Hall's talk show, do an Elvis impersonation on *Imus in the Morning*, and eat Big Macs on the way back from jogging. People went crazy for him. As a *New York Times* reporter Todd Purdum (2000) put it, "Clinton made the modern presidency more understandable and approachable, and eliminated a substantial measure of the distance that had insulated the office and its occupants."

The first two years of the Clinton administration were full of frustrations. He failed to pass his health care reform plan, and endured the Republican takeover of Congress first time in 40 years. But being strongly confident and determined had never let him give up. The former House Speaker Newt Gingrich recalled that as long ago as 1993, at a White House ceremony, the president had said to him, "You know, I'm like that clown you had when you were a kid, and there's sand in the bottom: You knock it down and it comes back up. I'm not pretty, but I always come back up." (Purdum, 2000) So he came back from the defeat, culminating in his successful standoff with the Republicans over the budget and the passage of his welfare bill.

In retrospect, Clinton spoke frankly about his presidency and admitted his mistakes like no other presidents. In 2000, when asked about his failed health care reform plan, Clinton confessed that it was him trying to make the country swallow a program more ambitious than it wanted. He said, "It was my mistake, and it's the one I have to live with, like all my other mistakes." Though questioned by many on his sincerity, Clinton had a unique kind of humility that never positions himself in superiority. As he said many times during his presidency that the presidency is "just a job," and the president is just human

who has flaws. Clinton's former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin remembered him as a guy "easy to work with" because of his willingness to listen. Clinton told a reporter in an interview, "nobody's got a pointer on the truth, nobody is totally right, and we need to be doing more listening to each other and trying to find common ground."

Clinton's humility was also captured in his empathy and his interest in people. SME II recalled, what had impressed him the most about Bill Clinton was how much he genuinely cared about people and how much he was willing to be vulnerable. He said Clinton had a "genuine appreciation of people and their opinions, feelings, and concerns." Todd Purdum (2000) also wrote, "he used surpassing gifts of innate empathy to find a new presidential style of relating to the public, and to forge an extraordinary connection with ordinary Americans, especially minorities."

Though being very much a master of rhetoric, Bill Clinton was not considered as trustworthy enough. *New York Times* journalist William Safire (1992) wrote that Bill Clinton is good at "sophistry," a word that means "false argument or fallacious reasoning." He argues that Clinton was telling everything people wanted to hear but the truth. Todd Purdum (2000) also claims that even voters trusted Clinton to look out for their interests, they "consistently said they did not trust Mr. Clinton personally."

A documentary maker Ken Burns said that Bill Clinton was "someone who has moved us from one kind of world to another." As one of the milestones in American history, Clinton changed the role of presidency with his amicable, charismatic, but also approachable presence. He is the embodiment of the right blend of charisma and humility. Clinton gets 9 charisma scores and 4 humility scores as shown in Table 4 and Table 5.

2.   George H. W. Bush

George Herbert Walker Bush came from a privileged background – the Bush-Walker clan. Bush embodied more internalized family culture than any of his siblings; he is ambitious, hardworking and extremely competitive. He is also remembered as a reticent and modest leader, although "lacking in rhetorical gifts or charisma," as Timothy Natfali (2008) put it.

The Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Bush's senior year at Andover. He decided immediately to follow his father's footsteps and join the war. Neither the school's advice that young men stay in school, nor his father's similar advice deterred him. At the age of eighteen, he became the youngest pilot in the entire U.S. Navy in 1943.

Bush's strong willpower was derived partially from his deeply rooted sense of duty, and partially from his family expectations. His father Prescott Bush once introduced his son to the French ambassador in Washington saying, "This is my son George, and he is going to be the president of the United States one day." The tradition of Walkers and Bushes is to win, to be number one in everything, but to not claim credit for him or herself. This tradition almost became the theme of his character later on. As his younger brother Bucky recalled, once in a Christmas reunion, Bush failed to make a labyrinth game work. The next morning, he tried the labyrinth again and amazed Bucky, in a total reversal of the previous day's performance. Only later did Bucky learn that Bush secretly

practiced the game all night to master the game. This characteristic of Bush was also demonstrated in his "tendency to overdo." He tried very hard to prove himself. Just as Bush's evaluating teacher in high school put it, "Slow but a hard worker. Ambitious and self-confident, but perhaps not self-assertive enough." (Meacham, 2016)

On September 2, 1944, Bush flew his Avenger with its four 500-pound bombs as usual, but his plane was hit by some flak this time. When Bush failed to connect with his two crewmen through radio, he jumped out of the plane and fell in the water of Bonin Islands. Bush was rescued at sea by a U.S. submarine after a few hours' paddling, becoming the only survivor of that mission. As he spent the rest of his life suffering from the loss of his crew and pondering why he was saved while others were doomed, the war experience has added up to his gratefulness and humility. Bush was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for the mission. He later recalled that "They wrote it up as heroism, but it wasn't – it was just doing my job." (Meacham, 2016) Another case on his humility was in 1987, when right-wing publisher William Loeb died. Bush accepted the invitation to speak at a dinner honoring Loeb, even after he had abused Bush for years in print, labeling him as an incompetent hypocrite (Ajemian, 1987). As SME I said, "Bush was a steadfast relatively humble president."

Bush's whole political career had shown his capacity of making tough choices. He had a conservative temperament, but with a tendency to dislike any kind of extremism. Pragmatism, emotion, and risks were the cornerstones of Bush's decision-making process. His risk-taking penchant could be dated back to 1966. When Bush was still the young, fresh congressman of Houston, he became one of the sponsors of a bill ending the ban on

mailing or transporting condoms, risking blowback from social conservatives (Naftali, 2008). What's more, The Civil Rights Act of 1968 was a matter of bitter debate in Texas and Bush knew this well. However, he claimed, "It's just the right thing to do" and voted in favor of that law, against the wishes of the majority in his district.

Bush's choices could be better understood by taking his empathy into consideration. Described by his father as "exceedingly sensitive," Bush had proved to have the capacity to put himself in other people's shoes time and again. Jon Meacham wrote about Bush in an article published in the *New York Times* (2016), "As a child, Mr. Bush was nicknamed Have-Half for his tendency to split any treats in two to share with friends. His was an ethos of empathy. Mr. Bush always wondered about what "the other guy" was thinking and feeling."

However, what Bush had was mostly tendencies; he had few, if any, settled policy ideas. Bush failed to contemplate or articulate important polity positions. Specifically, a *TIME* magazine article published in 1987 called Bush out as being a "dangerously awkward speaker" and lacking vision. It said that a friend of Bush's had urged him to spend several days at Camp David thinking through his plans for his prospective presidency, to which Bush is said to have responded in exasperation, "Oh, the vision thing." The phrase has even become a metonym for failing to incorporate a great vision in political campaigns.

In 1998, he pledged to resist any tax increase, speaking his famous "read my lips" pledge. But in his second term he flip-flopped because of the faltering economy, as an attempt to secure his Republican nomination for the 1992 election. He successfully

secured the nomination, but that reversal damaged followers' trust in him. Bush was also reluctant to adapt to the trends of television and radio in the 90s. Compared to Clinton's youth, energy, and humor, "he seemed aloof and unapproachable," stated SME II.

Bush is plain in charisma, but performs well in humility. As Table 4 and Table 5 shown, Bush receives 5 charisma scores and 3 humility scores.

Charisma	Bill Clinton	George H. W. Bush
1) Vision	✔	
2) Articulation	✔	
3) Sensitivity to the environment	✔	✔
4) High empathy	✔	✔
5) Bold and unconventional strategies	✔	
6) Willingness to take risks	✔	✔
7) Confidence	✔	✔
8) A strong will	✔	✔
9) High level of trust in the leader		
10) Regard the leader as a role model	✔	

(Table 4)

Humility	Bill Clinton	George H. W. Bush
1) Openness	✔	
2) Tolerance and forgiveness	✔	✔
3) An accurate self-assessment	✔	✔
4) Self-forgetfulness		✔
5) Highly secure	✔	

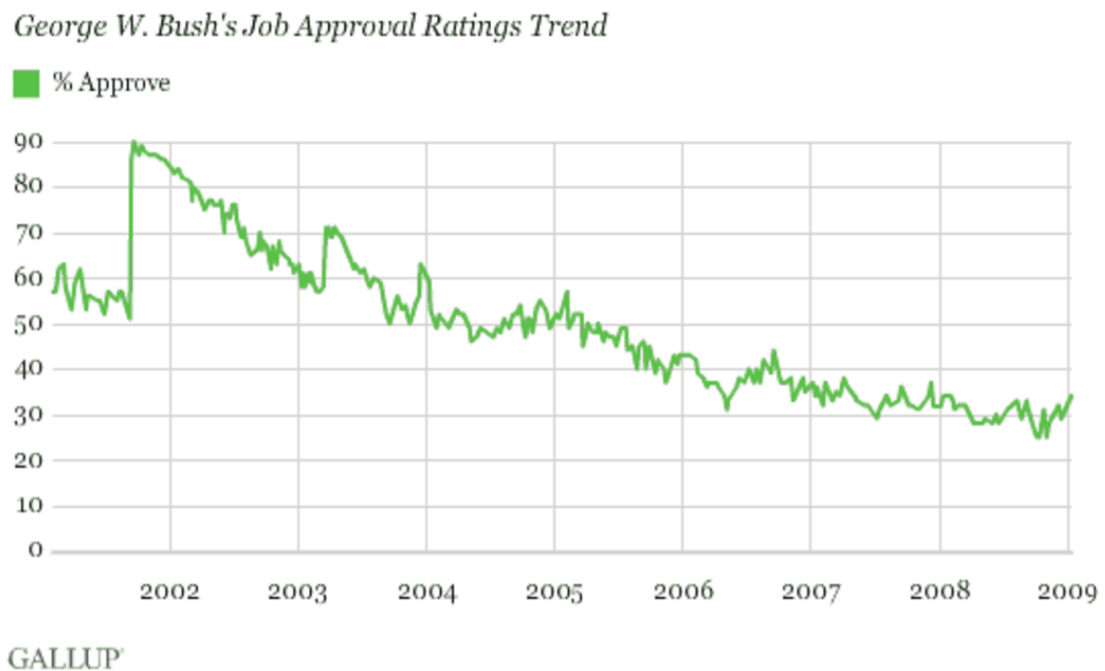**(Table 5)**

The case of Barack Obama V.S. John McCain

In 2008, Barack Obama became the first African-American to be elected president of the United States. With the highest voter turnout rate in four decades, Obama won the historic election with 365 votes of electoral college, compared to John McCain's 173 votes. He also prevailed in the popular vote by a margin of 9.7 million.

1.   Barack Obama

In 2008, the war in Iraq, begun in March 2003, continued into its fifth year with costs and casualties seemingly far disproportionate to any benefits gained. The federal budget rose from $5.7 trillion when George W. Bush took office for the first time to $9.2 trillion in January 2008. Gas prices soared, millions had no health care insurance, and Hurricane

Katrina revealed serious deficiencies in government responses. But it was the collapse of the housing bubble and the financial crisis developed after ultimately set the tone for the election. According to Gallup, by the summer of 2007, GW Bush's approval ratings had dropped from 90 percent in 2001 to less than 30 percent (Table 6). The public fatigue and loss of trust after GW Bush's seven years of administration caused Republicans to lose control of both the Senate and the House. At that point, a salvation was in demand, and the public was desperately looking for an embodiment of confidence, of strength, and of change on which they could place their hope.

George W. Bush Presidential Job Approval

(Table 6)

"It's time to turn the page." Obama asserted during his 2008 campaign. The historical backdrop offered Obama a platform to magnify his rhetorical skills and his idealistic vision filled with hope. When it comes to presidential candidate's ideas about the future of the country, Professor Molefi Kete Asante states in *Barack Obama: political frontiers and racial agency*, "In the case of Obama, the issues have been more visionary, idealistic, more a call to new agenda than the reiteration of persistent partisan issues from the old agenda." Obama's campaign featured hope and change, and focused on reforming the health care system, bringing a responsible end to the Iraq war, modernizing the military, and improving energy independence (Falcone, 2007). Another important message was his calling to unify a divided country, to bring equality, and to reach the idealistic notion of bipartisanship. His vision and his sense of mission inspired voters forcefully, and he successfully became the nation's projection of change and hope. He won the admiration from a larger group of young voters, a wider range of people, and from people who felt their trust was betrayed by the war. Professor Asante also claims that in the eyes of many people at that point, Obama was a man of social vision, of international peace, and of dreams of what could be to renovate the American spirit (2012).

Obama soon led in the polls in early September as a result of the economic crisis, and his lead was further strengthened by his performance in three presidential debates. In his responses to the financial crisis, Obama scored points with the public for his steadiness and coolness. Though being a Black presidential candidate, what admirably distinguished Obama's campaign was their refusal to play the race card or plead victim (The

Independent, 2008). In consistence with Obama's personality, it was a showcase of dignity, strength, and confidence.

Like anyone else, Obama's character was shaped by his family and his early life, and by what he chose to accept and reject from his own inheritance. A Black father, an often-absent White mother, and an upbringing by his White grandparents in Hawaii marked his early life with internal struggle as he sorted out his own identity. He once overheard his grandparents talking about how his grandmother was afraid of a Black man. As Obama navigated through his childhood traumas, and his instability moving from place to place, he had developed "a perfectionist's drive for unity," as put by a close friend, and the determination to avoid life's traps (Maraniss, 2014). His longing for unity burning under his cool exterior became his unshakable, idealistic willpower of bringing people together – people of various races, cultural backgrounds, political ideologies, and even people from different countries. The shaping of his personality also explained his caution, tendency to hold back, and his dislike of confrontation.

Obama's unifying effort started back in Chicago, the place he later identified as home. Obama worked as a community organizer in the neighborhoods of crime and poverty, organizing African Americans who were mostly financially poor and, in some cases, illiterate (Mendell, 2007). He chose to be exposed to the unjust and despair of this nation, to get to know those people's real needs, and most importantly, to be part of them. And it was when his clouded identity resolved, and the seed of his mission of "giving voice to the voiceless and power to the powerless" sprouted. In addition, being both biracial and cross-cultural, with the experience living with people of various backgrounds

through his life, fostered his sensibility and empathy to connect with a wide range of people. If he'd never gone into politics, he would have become a writer, as he admitted in his memoirs. Obama's emotion and visceral power seemed almost incompatible with his rise in politics, but "Obama holds that contradiction in subtle balance with his uncommon will and overriding sense of purpose," as put by David Maraniss in his book *Barack Obama*.

Due to his mission of unification and his life experience, Obama had developed extraordinary tolerance of difference and division. As Brad Berenson, a Harvard Law School classmate recalled, "We had the sense that…he genuinely cared what the conservatives had to say and what they thought and he would listen to their ideas with an open mind." When Obama served on the board of directors of the Black Law Students Association at Harvard Law, he also gave many inspirational speeches concerning the importance of cultures and ideas mixing on campus, with the hope that if students with different philosophies interacted more often, they would be less wary of opinions the opposite of their own (Mendell, 2007). Obama's humility was also reflected in his "understanding of the limits of American power, which was expressed in the way he governed," said SME II.

But Obama failed to live up to many of his promises. As shown in Table 7, his approval rating was 10 points lower when he exited than when he took office, with a low of 40 percent in late 2014. His extreme self-reliance had served as an asset, as well as a liability, for him in Washington, a place filled with people he simply couldn't get. The "change" he envisioned, the change of not only policies but also of how Washington

works, had also got in the way of his governing. SME II commented on Obama that "he failed in reaching out to people [in Washington], understand their concerns, cultivating relationships, and establish coalition." And this was where Obama's humility fell short – self-assessment and self-forgetfulness, in terms of what he thought he could achieve as a lone man. He failed to understand that holding on to idealism is sometimes about ego, that you can't push progressive ideas while selling bipartisanship, and that you can't make any progress without compromise. This is the paradox of Obama – a man who was open and genuine became somehow distant and secretive after he got into the White House (Maraniss, 2014), and a man who was one of the most successful politicians appeared to be so bad at practicing politics in the back rooms of Washington. Chunk Todd (2014) argues in his book *The Stranger: Barack Obama in the White House*, "At times both passive and arrogant, this is a president who is brilliant at communicating with voters and miserable at communicating with the folks they voted for,"

US President Barack Obama's approval rating over time
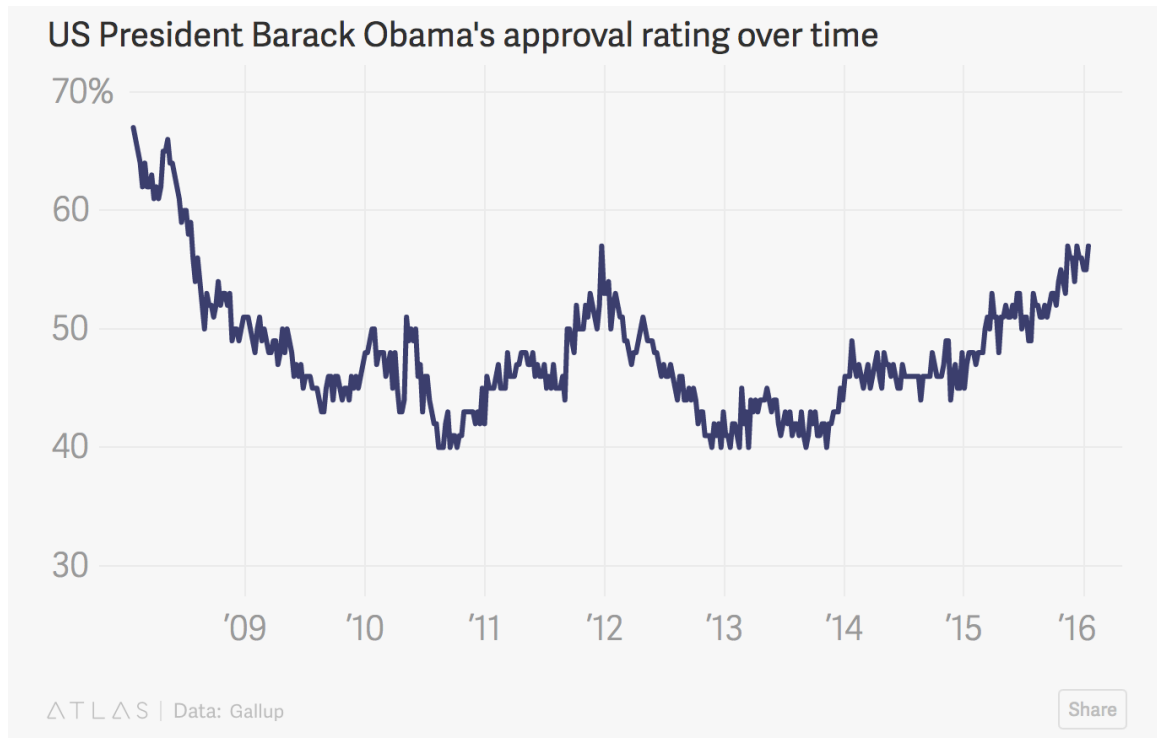
(**Table 7**)

Kellman, Obama's tutor of community organizing while in Chicago, remembered Obama, saying "He was idealistic, almost ridiculously so. You know, it is in his nature. He was a dreamer." (Mendell, 2007) Obama's charisma is almost irresistible when it comes to his genuine desire and strong determination of making significant and meaningful change to benefit people, real people. And being a master of humor and words naturally helped him transmit it to the public. He has his own kind of humility; however, he also has an ego big enough to overshadow much of that humility. As shown in Table 9 and Table 10, Obama scores 8 in charisma and 2 in humility.

2.   John McCain

In 2008, after serving as U.S. Senator from Arizona for four-terms, McCain had earned a media reputation as a "maverick" for his frequent high-profile clashes with his own party on certain issues. He angered his co-partisans by opposing GW Bush's tax cuts, federal same-sex marriage amendment, and promoting spending restraint (Ceaser, Busch, Pitney, 2011). According to *National Journal* (2006), in 2005, of the 70 Senator votes, McCain sided with liberals 12 times on economic issues, once on social policy, and once on foreign policy. John Heilemann wrote about McCain in his book *Game Change* (2010), "His winking irony and accessibility made him a favorite of the press." Witty, funny, and open, McCain had been a media darling for many years. As a Republican presidential candidate in 2000, he even offered open access to reporters and going so far as to call the media "his base." His willingness to take risks and be honest had portrayed him as a destination for the untarnished moral compass, which largely distinguished him from typical politicians in Washington.

McCain served as a naval aviator during the Vietnam War, and was captured and imprisoned by the North Vietnamese while on a bombing mission. He was a prisoner of war for five and a half years, during which he experienced severe torture. In 2008's campaign, McCain tried to paint Obama as an inexperienced, naïve celebrity with little substance, and labeled his ideas as socialist, and emphasized on his own lengthy record of military and public service. McCain stressed his war heroism, setting courage, honor, and sense of service as his campaign themes. He also continued to campaign on "the original maverick," arguing that he could work across the aisle and bring change to the unpopular Bush administration, which successfully won him primaries in Iowa and New Hampshire.

McCain had proved better at attracting independent voters than Republicans, however, which in return had also led to the rejection of him from his party in 2000.

Under the pressure from the Republicans and campaign donors in 2008, McCain gradually perpetuated some of Bush's policies and embraced so much Republican Establishment in order to secure the party's nomination. He successfully got the nomination, but this flip-flop on political theater heavily impaired voters' trust in him, especially independent voters who had supported him since the 2000 election. SME II said about McCain, "His integrity got corrupted by the party primary process, so that all of his appeals, which could have served him very well, got out of the window."
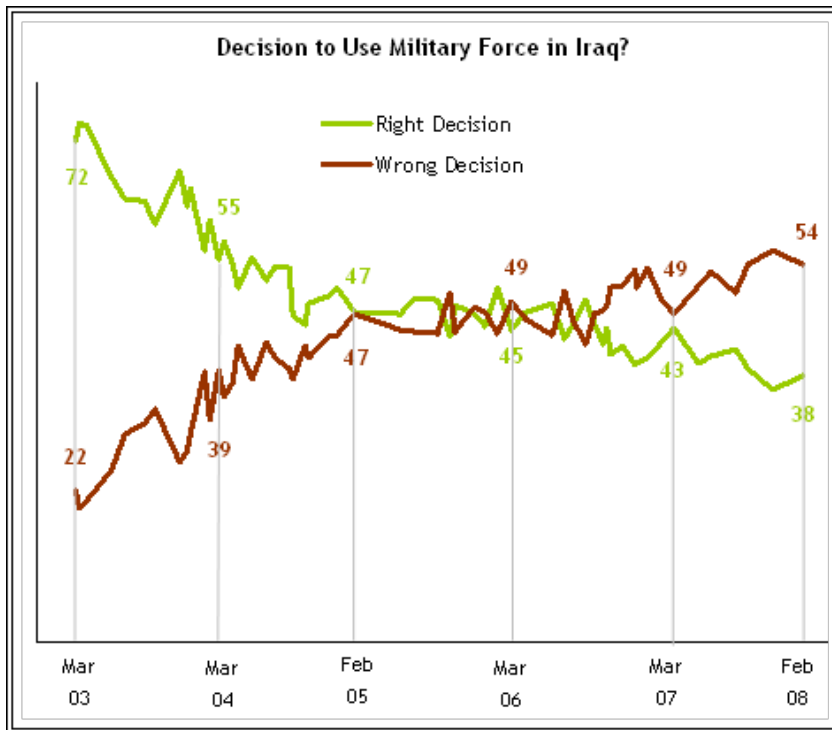
Nevertheless, nominating McCain was also the best shot the Republican could get in 2008, considering the extreme unpopularity of Bush's reign, the Democratic takeover of the House and the Senate, and McCain's independent image. However, McCain himself didn't seem to have enough drive or determination to win. John Heilemann uses "ultra-laissez-faire" to describe McCain's striking emotional detachment, saying he always seemed (spiritually) "absent" during the campaign. After McCain got the nomination, his campaign manager laid out plans for the next month ahead during a meeting with his advisors, the first thing McCain said was, *Do we really have to start this early?* Additionally, as a 71-year old candidate, he often asked his campaign manager if he was too old to run. His speechwriter Salter also warned him that do not just drift into a presidential (Heilemann, 2010). He had his reasons behind this hesitation – his age, his wife's opposition, and his aversion of pleading for money and endorsement. But when he

himself was unsure, he was unable to transmit a powerful, contagious decisiveness to voters like Obama did, and to project strength and confidence for the country.

McCain's 2008 campaign also stressed that "change is coming," but he emphasized on a "right change" that will "stop impeding Americans from doing what they have always done: overcome every obstacle to our progress, turn challenges into opportunities," as he said. He also promised that he will embark on the most ambitious national project in decades. Compared to Obama's appeals, McCain's vision was a little lackluster. Moreover, Mark Daniels wrote in 2008 that McCain's vision was "more in the vain of wishful thinking, embodying what most Americans would like to see between January, 2009 to January, 2013, with little sense of how McCain intends to get us there."

It turned out that McCain lacked not only just a catching vision or a contagious determination, but also the sensitivity to the environment. He voted for the Iraq war in 2003, and supported Bush's decision of troop surge in Iraq in 2007 (Johnson, 2007). And through his whole campaign, he continued advocating for the war and insisted that it should go on, without realizing how much negative sentiment for the war people had gradually developed. According to a public opinion poll from Pew (Table 8), in February 2007, fully two-thirds (67%) said the war in Iraq was not going well – the largest percentage expressing this view since the war began. He said, "I'd rather lose the campaign than lose a war." (Heilemann, 2010) As a military man, his adherence was almost respectful, however, as a presidential candidate, he did fail to understand or care about people's needs and feelings. Making matters worse, he initially responded to the Lehman Brothers' failure by saying that the economy was fundamentally strong, which

raised questions about his abilities to handle economic matters.

Decision to Use Military Force in Iraq?

— Right Decision
— Wrong Decision

72
55
47
47
49
45
49
43
54
38
22
39

Mar 03   Mar 04   Feb 05   Mar 06   Mar 07   Feb 08

(**Table 8**)

On the other hand, McCain's lack of confidence and security in this election could
also be attributed to his rational self-assessment. He knew from the beginning that "I'm
gonna do what I need to do, everything I need to do, and we'll probably lose." McCain
was well aware of his limitations on both physical and political sides. He was a
seventy-one and a cancer survivor, with a lifelong war injury. On the political side, his
many stances like on Iraq and on taxes would affect his popularity and fundraising.
Additionally, his efforts making himself more acceptable to the Republican establishment
exhausted him, yet he knew that he would never gain the full trust from conservative
activists and the religious right. McCain had a very thorough understanding of himself
and the election, but he "burdened with a sense of responsibility for letting everyone

down." (Heilemann, 2010) It explained some of the back-and-forth and uncertainties of him.

After being defeated by Obama in 2008, it's very interesting to find that McCain became a friend of Obama's chief of staff Denis McDonough and an aide of Obama on a variety of issues in 2013, such as guns' background-checking issue and a bipartisan immigration bill. McCain helped arrange Obama's outreach dinner with GOP senators, and he rejected their skepticism about proposals to restrain Social Security costs when the president's budget came out (Lawrence, 2013). McCain said, "I just want to get things done now." After returning to his job as a Senator, which he had always done well, he became a bridge between parties, putting aside his own presidential ambition and his animosity against Obama.

McCain is certainly humble. But without a combination with catching charism, the humility made it so hard for him to influence and persuade followers. As shown in Table 9 and Table 10, he scores 2 in charisma, but 3 in humility.

Charisma	Barack Obama	John McCain
1) Vision	✔	
2) Articulation	✔	✔
3) Sensitivity to the environment	✔	

4) High empathy	✔	
5) Bold and unconventional strategies		
6) Willingness to take risks		✔
7) Confidence	✔	
8) A strong will	✔	
9) High level of trust in the leader	✔	
10) Regard the leader as a role model	✔	

(**Table 9**)

Humility	Barack Obama	John McCain
1) Openness	✔	✔
2) Tolerance and forgiveness	✔	✔
3) An accurate self-assessment		✔
4) Self-forgetfulness		
5) Highly secure		

(**Table 10**)

The case on Donald J. Trump V.S. Hillary Clinton

1. Donald Trump

The historical context always plays a significant role in analyzing a presidential election cycle, especially for the 2016 election. Donald Trump became the first president with no previous political experience in the American history. Its uniqueness also resided in being one of those rare elections when pollsters failed to predict the result, and the electoral college didn't align with the popular vote.

In 2016, Gallup.com introduced a Presidential Election 2016: Key Indicators section that combines a variety of measures to collectively provide a thorough understanding of the 2016 context. Table 11 demonstrates the Americans' issue priorities for the next president, and Table 12 displays what Americans consider to be the most important problem facing the nation. "The economy," "immigration," and "jobs/unemployment" are three key indicators listed in top ten in both charts. It's also worth noting that 10 percent people mentioned "healthcare reform" as an issue priority and 14 percent thought "dissatisfaction with government" is the most important problem facing the nation. Class division intensified, and the working class felt they were squeezed by immigrants, by elites, and by their government. Suddenly it was the 1992 and 2008 election all again – "voters were looking for someone who would break with the status quo," said Douglas Brinkley (2016). There's also a pattern to bear in mind that whenever people hire a president from the opposite party, which usually happens when they're dissatisfied with the current president/administration, they're going to throw a person who possesses the qualities that his or her predecessor lacked into the White House. Jimmy Carter was the

opposite of Nixon, Clinton was the opposite of GHW Bush, and Obama was the opposite of GW Bush.

Most Important Problem

What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? [OPEN-ENDED]

	%
The economy	17
Dissatisfaction with government	12
Race relations/Racisim	10
Immigration/Illegal aliens	7
Elections/Election reform	7
National security	7
Unemployment/Jobs	6
Terrorism	5
Federal budget deficit/Federal debt	4
Poor healthcare/High cost of healthcare	4

Oct 5-9, 2016

GALLUP

(Table 11)

(Table 12)

Issue Priorities

Regardless of who wins the election, what single issue or challenge are you most interested in having the next president address when he or she takes office next January? [OPEN-ENDED]

	Mentioning
	%
The economy	19
Immigration	14
Healthcare/Healthcare costs/Healthcare reform	10
Defense/National Defense/Homeland security	9
Education	8
The federal deficit/The budget	7
Wages/Earning a decent wage/Decline of mdidle class	6
Jobs/Unemployment	6
Terrorism	5

May 18-22, 2016

GALLUP

"A lot of times, what prepares politicians for rising, is when the image they project is aligned with the demand of the time," said SME II. In 2015, when the public trust in government plunged to almost the lowest point for the past 57 years (as shown in Table 13), the real estate businessman from New York came into sight. He didn't speak or act like a typical politician, he was a rebellion of political correctness, he was a successful businessman who promised he would fix the economy with his excellent dealing skills even without elaborating how, he casted blunt and disrespectful language on immigrants, on people of colors, and on his rivals. He pledged to make America great again. Under that idea, Trump was going to correct all the "wrongdoings" of his predecessors, such as Obamacare and immigration, to break through the status quo of Washington, and to actually start to take care of America's problems and make some changes. Sounds

familiar? Yes, it was almost the definition of Weber's charismatic leaders. "Donald Trump was relatable in a very different way. He was able to say things that appeal to a lot of those people who felt disenfranchised and scared about the country's changing. That formed a connection in a different way." SME II commented on Trump's ability to inspire. Trump's campaign irritated and offended many, but his vision turned out to work very well for his voters. Motivated, excited, sick of the elites, his voters were inspired. They turned out. Ann Coulter writes in her book *In Trump We Trust* (2016), "Trump is the first hope Americans had in a very long time that it may not be over yet. Perhaps the country isn't finished. Maybe we could begin to reverse our losses." She also argues that Trump's policies that appalled the media, such as building a wall on the Mexico border, actually delighted his voters.
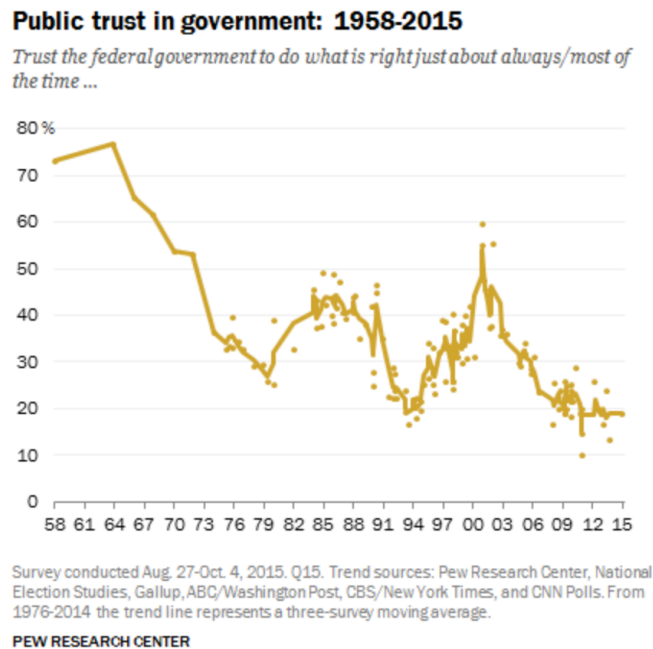
(Table 13)

The whole backdrop of 2016 prepared for Trump's rise, but without his capture of the demand of people he would have never gone this far. Trump's key, high-profile policy stances (if they count as policies) appealed directly to those issue priorities Gallup found out – "build the wall" to immigration, "make China pay" to the economy, "bring the jobs back home" to unemployment, and "repeal Obamacare" to healthcare reform. Granted many facts like in 2016 the unemployment rate dropped to the lowest since 2007 under Obama's watch, these issues appeared to be people's biggest concerns, let alone that the facts were easily hijacked by Trump's visceral persuasion. Trump saw it, and leveraged the elevated class and racial resentments to explain economic inequality. Trump's former adviser Sam Nunberg told CNN writer Thomas Lake, "That's the elite class telling you, 'we're smarter than you and you don't know what's good for you.' Further infuriating the voter, and making the voter more dedicated to Trump."

Trump's charisma was also made by his anti-Obama image. He projected strength, sometimes violence though, which many believed that Obama lacked. Preliminary exit polls suggested that Trump ended up winning white working-class voters by a wider margin then even Ronald Reagan (Tapper, 2016). And when we look at the breakdown of Obama's approval ratings overtime by race and ethnicity, his approval jumped almost 20 percent among whites (Gallup, 2016). "The voters who voted for Obama who believed that he would change Washington were disappointed, because their life got worse." SME II said. Thus, it was not that hard to make sense of the fact that many voters who voted for Obama ended up voting for Trump.

A *New York Times* reporter David Cay Johnson, who had followed Trump intensely since 1988 when he first moved to Atlantic City, writes in his book *The Making of Donald Trump* (2016) about when he first watched Trump's announcement of running, "Nearly every journalist treated his candidacy as a vanity project, not me…I knew that Trump has been talking about the presidency since 1985." Trump had tried to pursue the presidency in 1988, 2000, and 2012, and failed, apparently, except for the fact that these endeavors turned out to be business expediencies aiming at profit. His path to the presidency was well-calculated. The motives of many of his deeds remain incomprehensible. As a person not so forthcoming or candid, the truth would only be known to Trump himself. But one thing can be sure is that he shares his family value since his grandfather – a passion for money (Johnson 2016). Despite whether his drives were good or evil, he did successfully make himself a household name, and the U.S. president of course, through "sheer force of will," as put by Johnson.

In a stark contrast to previous elections, many Republican officials disavowed the person their party nominated, such as former president GHW Bush and former Secretary of State Colin Powell (Brinkley, 2016). But Trump, unconcerned and unapologetic, his self-confidence was almost formidable. In October, the *Washington Post* broke the story of a 2005 video of Trump bragging with an *Access Hollywood* anchor about how he could grab women by their private parts just because he was a star. His poll sank, and the story aroused a wave of harsh denunciations of him online and on the press. Even so, he refused to admit his mistake or take responsibility accordingly, but threatened to sue those women who had surfaced to accuse him of sexual assault. Classic Trump, as he writes in his book *Think Big*, "I always get even." In a motivational talk Trump delivered

in Colorado in 2005, he identified two recommendations on how to success in business. First was don't trust anyone, "be paranoid." And second was "If someone screws you, screw them back ten times over." As Johnson (2016) writes, "Trump is full of himself." Trump and humility are total strangers, because it seems that there's no such thing as "others" in his world. "I think he has no genuine humility, but he can fake one when he needs to," SME I commented on Trump's humility.

As displayed in Table 14 and Table 15, Trump scores 6 in charisma and 0 in humility.

2. Hillary Clinton

In 2001, after an eight-year wild ride on Clinton's presidency, after the lowest point of both their lives, the couple left the White House. While Clinton indulged himself in sadness, the then First Lady had made up her mind that the Clintons were going to come back one day, that she was going to rewrite her, her husband's, and America's history. She was moving forward to a decision some deemed as preposterous – she decided to run for the U.S. Senate from New York, where she had never lived, and become the first First Lady to run for office. A deputy who had served both Hillary and her husband said, "Every politician consultant in the world would say, Preposterous, it's goofy. Where did that come from? And she did it." (Bernstein, 2007)

It turned out that this fierce confidence and determination of hers was not born in one day. As Hillary's high school classmate Betsy Johnson recalled, "What they took for

conceit in Hillary probably was this sense of confidence that she'd always had. Always." (Anderson, 2015) In 1964, when Hillary still lived in the Chicago suburb of Park Ridge, she was this little girl, whose desperate craving was her father's approval and affection, which was only presented as a reward for her high achievement. And Hillary's mother would stroke the fire her father lit in her with affection and encouragement. She would tell Hillary "you should aim at a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court," or "Don't be a quitter. We're not quitters." (Anderson, 2015) The pattern of the extraordinary is, they all eventually lived up to the hope their parents buried in them, no matter in which way the hope was buried. The hope for Hillary, together with the causes she cared so deeply all the time, such as race tension and sexism that she had experienced since high school, forged her force of will, made her a fighter who never quits. Carl Bernstein also states in his book *A Woman in Charge* (2007), "If there's a single defining thread of Hillary's political, religious, and social development, in her belief and determination, from her teenage years onward, that the tragedy of race in America must be made right."

On September 5, 1995, Hillary stepped up to a podium at the United Nations in Beijing as she followed her calling. She said firmly, "It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights." Hillary implicitly called China out, a country where sexual discrimination and persecution was surprisingly pervasive at that time. It was so unusual for a first lady to deal even indirectly with superpower diplomacy, especially when the China-U.S. relation just began to recover (NBC, 1995). It was the beginning of her journey as a globally-recognized risk-taker and human rights fighter.

Even carrying it with exceptional articulation and detail, Hillary's vision in the 2016 election was far from seductive. Her website, listing 40 pages outlining policy positions and fact sheets, was in stark contrast to her Republican counterpart Trump's seven pages. For Americans, Hillary's policy-heavy proposals, her promises on quality, on inclusiveness, granted their importance, were almost cliché, let alone that many of her domestic policies and foreign policy were largely an extension of President Obama's. It was hard to find a defining feature of her agenda (Carroll, 2016). She also failed to break her image as the status quo, to be inspirational and persuasive. Douglas Brinkley (2016) argues that Clinton's former rival Bernie Sanders established a passion for his policy issues, such as global warming and Wall Street greed, which Hillary seemed to keep concealed. "Too many of her voters in states that mattered were sufficiently uninspired, so they didn't vote. She was the status quo in an election in which voters wanted to change." CNN writer Jake Tapper (2016) writes.

The single biggest concern of Hillary that got questioned most was her trustworthiness and transparency. A CNN poll in July 2015 suggested that 68 percent of Americans thought she wasn't honest or trustworthy. When the Times story about Hillary's using of private email server broke out, Hillary's initial response was that there was nothing classified on her server. She maintained that she had not broken any rule, and refused to turn over her server (CNN, 2015). Her responses evolved during her presidential campaign, and many of them were contradicted. Later after a government review discovered some classified information in her emails, she claimed that the materials deemed as classification was retroactively classified after Hillary had received them (*The Wall Street Journal*, 2015). During an interview with CNN, when asked about

her email practices, she said, "Everything I did was permitted. There was no law. There was no regulation." Hillary finally apologized during an ABC interview in September, saying "That was a mistake. I'm sorry about that," but still defended that what she did was allowed. In May 2016, the State Department Office of Inspector General released an 83-page report of Hillary's email controversy, criticizing Hillary in failing to seek legal approval for using the private email server and handling emails in a "not appropriate method." (Helderman, 2016)

Additionally, when the story first came out, many of her top advisers who devoted their lives to electing the first Madam President, such as her campaign manager Robby Mook, were in shock and surprise. It turned out that the issue was only known to her inner circle of loyalists (Tapper, 2016). Granted that Hillary carries a lot of scars, she had proven to be a politician who lacks candor or honesty, who are extremely cautious, and who puts personal loyalty above everything.

Hillary had also been criticized for being detached from voters since her 2008 campaign (Martin, 2015). When asked about Hillary's relatability, SME II said that "She failed to establish a powerful connection with voters." SME II continued arguing that Hillary were perceived as having a "closed personality" as being cold and suspicious, which turned people off.

However, that doesn't mean Hillary has no humility at all. In 1974, Hilary Rodham was an adviser of the House Judiciary Committee in D.C. during the Watergate scandal. Her work there impressed many superiors and colleagues. When Nixon resigned to avoid impeachment, Hillary could have had her pick of jobs: a position in a prestigious

Washington law firm, or, perhaps she could have explored the possibility of running for office herself in the federal government. She chose none of them. Hillary moved to Arkansas to marry Bill Clinton instead. She kept her family name, because "it showed that I was still me." (Bernstein, 2007) But she chose to adopt the name Hillary Clinton to assuage concerns and support her husband during his 1982 Arkansas governor campaign. Hillary was nothing less ambitious than Bill Clinton, however, what she did for her husband was not only just putting her own dreams of presidency on hold to focus on her husband's. Throughout their marriage, Clinton was accused of having affairs with Gennifer Flower, and later, the famous Monica Lewinsky, which led to his impeachment. After all Clinton's transgressions, the public humiliation of her came with the scandals, and all his lies that had undermined the legacy they built together, she stood by him and confronted all the crises head-on for Clinton (Estrich, 2006). Love itself probably was not enough to justify sacrifices and compromises like this; she demonstrated irrefutable tolerance and forgiveness, regardless of other rationales that might be only known between the couple.

SME II said, "To be the opposition of Bill Clinton was what made Hillary suffer. She lacks her husband's charisma, and the persuasion for people to believe her." Hillary fell short in charisma, as well as in humility. She scores 5 in charisma and 1 in humility.

Charisma	Donald J. Trump	Hillary Clinton
1) Vision	✔	

	Donald J. Trump	Hillary Clinton
2) Articulation		✔
3) Sensitivity to the environment	✔	
4) High empathy		
5) Bold and unconventional strategies	✔	✔
6) Willingness to take risks	✔	✔
7) Confidence	✔	✔
8) A strong will	✔	✔
9) High level of trust in the leader		
10) Regard the leader as a role model		

(**Table 14**)

Humility	Donald J. Trump	Hillary Clinton
1) Openness		
2) Tolerance and forgiveness		✔
3) An accurate self-assessment		
4) Self-forgetfulness		

5) Highly secure		

(Table 15)

Conclusions

Model and its implication

According to the research results, we draw the four graphs (Table 16) below. Each graph represents one election cycle as displayed. The x-axis is Charisma Score and y-axis is Humility Score. We took each candidate's charisma score (x) and humility (y) as this candidate's coordinate (x, y), and marked it on the regarding graph. Red dots represent winning candidates and blue dots represent losing candidates. The blue quarter circle shaded areas were drawn using the radius that equals to the distance from the blue dot to the origin. If we use the linear distance between each dot and the origin, the distance represented by z[1], as a representation of this candidate's overall performance of charisma and humility, then the blue shaded area means the overall performance of charisma and humility that is less/equal to the losing candidate. What we found in common is that, no matter how the x and y varies in each election cycle, the red dots always fall out of the blue shaded areas. That being said, *the z value, named as C-H Value, of the winning candidate is always greater than the z value of the losing candidate*. As long as we have a certain candidate's charisma score (x) and humility score (y), we'll be able to calculate his or her C-H Value and compare it to his or her rival's, so that we can have a better understanding of the election result.

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[1] Pythagorean Theorem $z=\sqrt{x^2 + y^2}$
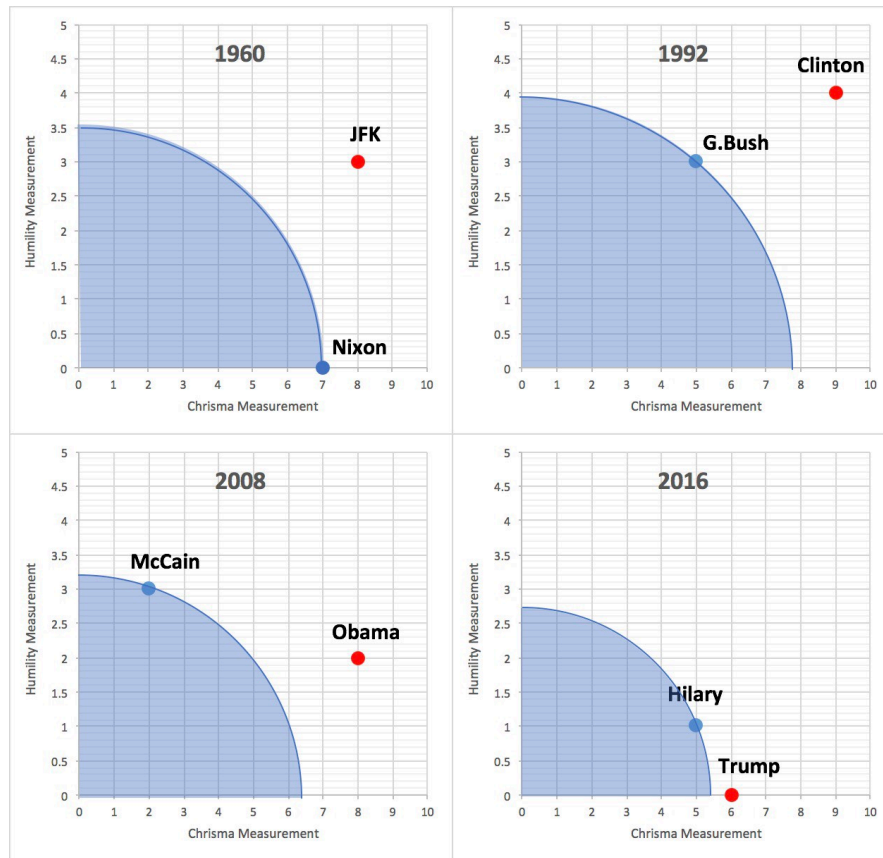
(Table 16)

Since the capstone only researched four election cycles, with only four pairs of data, it didn't allow us to build a more rigorous model. The model and its implications' accuracy has limitations, but there are many tendencies and patterns drawn from the research results that will be helpful in explaining past elections and in predicting future elections.

1) According to what was shown above, the winning candidate usually has a greater C-H Value than the losing candidate, which means that presidential candidates who have a better overall performance of charisma and humility gain more support in presidential election and retention.

2) Second, all the winners have a higher charisma score than their counterpart. It doesn't necessarily mean that charisma is more important than humility; it at least proved the positive correlation between charisma alone and presidential election result, which is that the more charisma the candidate demonstrates, the more likely he or she would win more support in the election.

3) If a candidate performs well in both charisma and humility (charisma score is greater than or equal to seven, humility score is greater than or equal to three), this candidate is very likely to be elected. For example, JFK and Bill Clinton.

4) What all the candidates who got elected have in common is they all possessed the following attributes: An idealistic vision, Sensitivity to the environment, and Confidence in him or herself, as well as in followers. And what those who lost the election all have in common is they all lacked the following attributes: High level trust in the leader, Regard the leader as a model to follow, and Highly secure. This may give us a better understanding in which items are more important than others.

Guidance on presidential election and retention

During my research process, many people I've talked to about this topic believed that charisma is overrated or that it's a born attribute that could not be learned. Granted that physical attractions, personalities, and certain temperament cannot be learned, or otherwise it would be faked. The definitions of charisma and humility vary, but the charisma and humility under the definitions and the measurement of this capstone can

absolutely be learned. One example is John F. Kennedy. Alan Brinkley writes in his book *John F. Kennedy* (2012) that when Kennedy first entered electoral politics, he was not an effective communicator. "Audiences found him awkward, stiff, and insecure. When he mingled with voters (which he was reluctant to do), he seemed aloof and uncomfortable." SME I also recalled, "When he first started [in politics] he was not that charismatic. He was not that kind of appealing leader that he turned out to be in 1960s." Unlike Bill Clinton, JFK's charisma was not born. And compared to charisma, humility would be easier to learn. Moreover, throughout the case studies of election cycles, it is fair to note that many of the shortcomings of certain campaigns could have been ameliorated, if not avoided, if they had taken charisma and humility more seriously.

Presidential elections have become more of elections in character than elections in policy. In another word, people eventually chose the person he or she liked. And perception happen to be the way of reflecting both character and policy in the web 2.0 age. Those who think charisma is overrated might underrated perception. The brutal facts are – people switch platforms 17 times per minute and have an average eight-second attention span, every waking second of a public figure is loaded with hot microphones and cameras, and the battlefield of presidential race shifted from the platform of Nixon-Kennedy debate to Trump's twitter and the behind-the-scene *Access Hollywood* video. Like it or not, alienating or underrating perception would cause political leaders more harm than good.

But learning to grasp and leverage perception is never about faking, but about *lowering oneself, understanding, and reaching out to people*. It's not about pretending to

be someone else; it's about *selectively revealing, in our own terms*. When we look at Bill Clinton, the king of perception, we don't necessarily think his image was faked, or he actually didn't care. He simply just "acted out" or amplified himself through perception, selectively, of course. If you care, let people know you care; if you're sincere, let people know you're sincere.

The following is some items of charisma/humility's measurement that I want to elaborate, emphasis, and offer recommendations.

1. Charisma

The most important item of charisma is vision. A clear and attractive vision is not only vital for followers but also for political leaders, because it means the candidate has at least contemplated thoroughly about his decision fighting for the presidency, in terms of what issues really matter to him or her and if he or she actually has a burning desire or determination to make regarding changes. That being said, a lack of vision can be a demonstration of indecisiveness, as in the case of John McCain, or of an absence of settled policy ideas, as in the case of GHW Bush. However, vision can be deemed as overrated sometimes because people fail to make it persuasive. To make the vision persuasive, it must be combined with other things. First, *combine it with bold strategies, and provide the nation with a blueprint of how to get there*. Second, *be consistent*. Never underestimate the public; they catch phonies. If candidates flipped on issues, or promised something against their established background or personality, they lose credibility. Just

take a look at GHW Bush's "read my lips" drama, or John McCain's several flip-flops during the 2008 campaign. The drop of Trump's approval rating after he took office was also partially due to the swing of his policy stances. Third, *less is more*. Don't be "all over the place," choose three to four issues that you (and followers) care the most, establish your passion and make them persuasive. The case on Trump and Hillary is the best example.

Second, articulation, or rhetorical skills, which is also very important but the easiest-to-learn item of charisma. Practice makes perfect. Research shows that public speaking is the number one scariest thing for Americans. So, I assume that every versed public speaker has had tremendous amount of practice. Same as public speaking skills, persuasive techniques could also be learned – there are rules and patterns to follow. Since how to be an effective communicator is not the focus of this capstone, I would recommend political leaders read books on this topic, such as *The Power of Communication* (Garcia, 2012), try to understand their audience more, and receive media trainings and trainings alike to improve rhetorical skills.

Sensitivity to the environment and high empathy are usually related. They all require the leader to live out of the bubble, to constantly obtain the nuanced understanding of followers and the world, and to plan accordingly. These two attributes sometimes mean the leader has to leave ego at bay and listen to followers' real expectations and feelings. Take McCain as an example, what consumed his campaign profusely, both in fundraising and winning voters, was his stubbornness in Iraq war. Clinton's "I feel your pain" is a cliché, as well as a powerful weapon.

Confidence is also crucial in being perceived as charismatic, because people won't place confidence in a person who don't have confidence in her or himself. I assume that every presidential candidate has high self-confidence, or otherwise they wouldn't choose to run. But remember to demonstrate it. Adopt a firm and strong tone of voice, use strong posture, and pay close attention to how you walk. These non-verbal details can be so important in influencing follower's judgement subconsciously when the candidate's every move is captured by the camera.

Last but not the least, high level of trust in the leader and regard the leader as a model to follow. These two items of followers' perceptions and reactions are the rarest attributes of charisma among political leaders. And these two items are related to one humility item – openness. High level of trust means followers trust this leader personally and trust this leader in fighting for them. To win this deep trust, the candidate has to be perceived as highly competent so that followers are willing and confident to be taken care of by this person. Second, the candidate also has to be open enough to win personal trust from followers. And when followers regard the leader as a model to follow, it takes the deep trust to the next level, to a more self-identification related level – the candidate needs to develop a strong connection with followers. And connection development also requires openness, requires certain level of exposure, and some room to get close to. Other perception also matters here, for example, if this candidate is a good father/mother and a good husband/wife, because the nation is just a bigger concept of family.

2. Humility.

To summarize humility very simply is just that a person admits he or she is human – nothing unlike others. Under this condition, this person would make mistakes, would have vulnerabilities, would not know the best answer to every question, would need other people. And humility should not only be a merit bearing at heart; it should be part of the perception of a candidate that needs to be demonstrated, to be made come across.

Those who were not supposed to fail but failed, failed hard on humility. I want to use Hillary as an example to elaborate, not because she has the worst humility, but because she was the one who was not supposed to fail, and that her campaign could have been fixed. When Hillary's camp didn't bother to fix her character flaws, the flaws that were much easier to fix than Trump's, and assumed that was something her voters should accept, they became strangers with humility.

Eight years' First Lady and co-president in the White House, eight years' Senator from New York, and four years' U.S. Secretary of State – no one had that kind of experience. And SME II also said, "In private, she is a person who incredibly cares, but she could not translate that posture she has in private in public. She could have been more open and vulnerable, to allow people connect and get close to her." Yes, the single biggest problem of Hillary is that she's too afraid to be exposed or vulnerable. So she seldom trust people, she dodged journalists' questions, she lied, and she was always on defensive as the whole world was out there after her. I admit that it has something to do with sexism; she has to fight ten times harder than men and be ten times tougher than man to prove to the patriarchal world that a woman can also be strong and competent enough to be in charge, to rule a country. But the point here is, the voters who chose not

to vote for her not because they doubted her competence, experience, or toughness, but her trustworthiness, her authenticity. A *Huffington Post* article about Hillary's unpopularity writes that she tried too hard in being perfect. An NBC reporter also writes, "What Hillary proves is that you can do 'everything right' and that's still going to be wrong." If Hillary had been more true to herself, been more open, been willing to admit her mistakes and limits, if she had not tried to make everything right by hiding and lying, America would have been a different place today.

I cannot stress more how important humility is for political leaders, especially openness and accurate self-assessment, the two interrelated items. The lack of accurate self-assessment is usually a reason for a person not to be open, because they're afraid to face who they really are, or to confront their mistakes and take responsibilities. We too often found when politicians tell the truth their polls go up, even the truth is not pretty. Human have the tendency to trust and to be trusted. When public figures telling us the truth, it means they admit that they're also just humans and they trust us to forgive or understand them, so we fulfill their wishes. Openness and vulnerability are so crucial in building connections between humans. So, first, *show candor now and then.* The public needs to be fed with who you really are, apart from that smart and sophisticated politician. Too much candor can be blunt of course. Second, *when it comes to scandals, get it all out as soon as possible, in your own terms*. Because the truth gets out sooner or later, and a politician loses more credibility, endures more harm in covering up the ugly truth than in the ugly truth itself, for instance, Clinton's impeachment.

Prospect

The capstone so far has proved that we're on the right track of finding the correlation between charisma, humility and presidential election result – charisma and humility do play an important role in presidential election and retention, and they are crucial in political leadership at large. However, as noted before, the biggest limitation of this capstone is the insufficiency of election cases researched, which means the insufficiency of data. Looking forward, if we can study more election cycles based on the charisma and humility measurements the capstone has created, we'll be able to build a more rigorous model with a higher accuracy of prediction, and to learn more patterns and tendencies that can benefit political leaders.

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