

UNDERSTANDING DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP: SOME KEY ISSUES AND PERCEPTION WITH REFERENCE TO INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT

SARBAPRIYA RAY

Assistant Professor, Dept. of Commerce, Shyampur Siddheswari Mahavidyalaya, Calcutta University, India

ISHITA ADITYA RAY

Assistant Professor, Dept. of Political Science, Bejoy Narayan Mahavidyalaya, Burdwan University, India

Abstract

Appraising the concept of democratic leadership is essential in understanding both democratic leadership and the progress made in democratic movements. However, while the definition of democratic leadership is conflicting and insufficient in the leadership literature, there is no clear and well-developed definition of the term. At the very outset, the study appraises the definitions of democratic leadership found in the literature. Also this study suggests a structure of democratic leadership in democratic movements that has been applied in the context of India's freedom movement against British's tyrannical regime. The structure includes the contexts, motivations, characteristics, and outcomes of democratic leadership in democratic movements. The study considers sacrifice, courage, symbolism, citizen participation, and vision as major characteristics in the display of democratic leadership in various political, social, and cultural contexts. This study only pays attention to democratic leadership in such movements in India and considers Mahatma Gandhi of India as ideal model of democratic leadership in democratic movements. Applying the framework to Mahatma Gandhi of India, the study considers him as typical model of democratic leadership in democratic movements for achieving democracy in British ruled India because Mahatma Gandhi demonstrated crucial characteristics of democratic leadership. Above all, characteristics of democratic leadership that were shown by Mahatma Gandhi are discussed and compared with the framework of democratic leadership in democratic movements. Finally, the study concludes with some critical comments.

Introduction

Today we are the citizens of a free and democratic country, India, but 64 years back, India was not a liberated nation. British ruled India and a long struggle was carried out to achieve freedom for India. This Indian freedom struggle could have been an entirely impossible dream if it had not been people like Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. The whole India was guided competently by these people towards the attainment of independence. We call them leaders. The question here arises: why were these people chosen as leaders and what were their characteristics? The answer probably lies in the critical analysis of this article.

During the course of democratic movement in liberating British ruled India, democratic leadership played crucial function. Therefore, appraising the definition of democratic leadership is essential in understanding both democratic leadership and the progress made in democratic movements. However, while the definition of democratic leadership is conflicting and insufficient in the leadership literature, there is no clear and well-developed definition of the term. It often happens that when any work has to be carried out in a group situation for the attainment of goal, one person is chosen who leads the group. This person is called the leader and it is because of his/her characteristics that this person is chosen and given the title of a leader. Groups and organizations of all types develop and succeed under an effective leadership. A good leader is not only a good commander but is also able to extract work from his followers and channelise them towards the attainment of the goal. So, not only giving commands but also acceptance of requests also becomes an essential part of the leadership behavior. The leader applies his qualities and skills for achieving the group goals. So we can define as "Leaders are those who have the ability to influence the behavior of others without the use of force." A leader has to have some characteristics which differentiate him from other people. Some characteristics of successful leaders are that they are adaptable to situations, alert towards the social environment, cooperative, decisive, dependable, assertive, persistent and self-confident, knowledgeable. Leadership cannot survive without follower-ship. It is the willingness of people to follow that makes a person leader. People also follow those whom they witness as providing

means of achieving their goal. The personality characteristics of the leaders are different than other people.

Democratic Leadership: Meaning

The democratic leadership style is a very open and collegial style of running a team. Ideas move freely amongst the group and are discussed openly. Everyone is given a seat at the table, and discussion is relatively free-flowing. Democratic leadership, also known as participative leadership, is a type of leadership style in which members of the group take a more participative role in the decision-making process. Researchers have found that this learning style is usually one of the most effective and leads to higher productivity, better contributions from group members and increased group morale. Democratic leadership works best in situations where group members are skilled and eager to share their knowledge. It is also important to have plenty of time to allow people to contribute, develop a plan and then vote on the best course of action. This style is needed in dynamic and rapidly changing environments where very little can be taken as a constant. In these fast moving organizations, every option for improvement has to be considered to keep the group from falling out of date. The democratic leadership style means facilitating the conversation, encouraging people to share their ideas, and then synthesizing all the available information into the best possible decision. The democratic leader must also be able to communicate that decision back to the group to bring unity the plan is chosen. Because group members are encouraged to share their thoughts, democratic leadership can lead to better ideas and more creative solutions to problems. Group members also feel more involved and committed to projects, making them more likely to care about the end results. Research on leadership styles has also show that democratic leadership leads to higher productivity among group members. When situations change frequently, democratic leadership offers a great deal of flexibility to adapt to better ways of doing things. Unfortunately, it is also somewhat slow to make a decision in this structure, so while it may embrace newer and better methods; it might not do so very quickly. Democratic leadership style can bring the best out of an experienced and professional team. It capitalizes on their skills and talents by letting them share their views, rather than simply expecting them to conform. If a decision is very complex and broad, it is important to have the

different areas of expertise represented and contributing input – this is where democratic leader shines.

Anderson (1959) identified the democratic leader as one who shares decision making with the other members and therefore, democratic leadership is connected with higher morale in the majority of the situations. He denied that democratic leadership is associated with low productivity and high morale and that authoritarian leadership is associated with high productivity and low morale. Hackman and Johnson (1996) supported Anderson's explanation of the relationship between democratic leadership and productivity.

Democratic leadership is related with increased followers' productivity, satisfaction, involvement, and commitment (Hackman & Johnson, 1996). Member satisfaction and nominations for leadership are greater under democratic leadership (Bass, 1990; Stogdill, 1974). Although the significant drawbacks to democratic leadership are time consuming activities and lengthy debate over policy, participation plays a key role for increasing the productivity of leadership (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003; Hackman & Johnson). Consequently, the primary characteristics of democratic leadership signifies that group members are encouraged to share ideas and opinions, even though the leader retains the final say over decisions and members of the group feel more engaged in the process leading to encouragement of creativity. Participation is a core characteristic of democratic leadership; and the ideal of democratic leadership is friendly, helpful, and encouraging participation (Luthar, 1996). Again, Wilson, George, Wellins, and Byham (1994) categorized autocratic leadership, participative leadership, and high involvement leadership by the level of participation encouraged by the leader. Chemers (1984) also defined democratic leadership as emphasizing group participation. Thus, participation is the major characteristic of democratic leadership (Bass, 1990).

On the other hand, Kuczarski and Kuczarski (1995) talked about the distinctiveness of a democratic leader as erudite, influential, motivating, a winner of cooperation, a provider of logical consequences, encouraging, permitting of self-determination, guiding, a good listener and respecting, and situation-centered. Gastil (1994) defined the characteristics of democratic

leadership as distributing responsibility among the membership, empowering group members, and aiding the group's decision-making process.

The varied characteristics of democratic leadership contribute to the fact that there has been no clear definition of democratic leadership. Gastil (1994) argued that "the absence of a clear definition may have also contributed to the decreased amount of research on democratic leadership" (p. 956).

John Gastil talks about research on leadership and the development of a conception of democratic leadership, reminding the roles of leader and follower in this conception and illustrating it through the example of National Issues Forums.

Gastil argues that, in order to support democracy, there needs to be an understanding of the role of leaders in democratic functions. He suggests that early movements toward this goal (such as Kurt Lewin's definition of democratic leadership) were hampered by a lack of specific criteria to define leadership. He offers a definition that draws a distinction between leadership and authority, with leadership being a behavior and not a position.

In this definition, leadership is any action that helps the group to achieve its preferred states. Gastil asserts that a democratic leader has three primary functions (i) distributing responsibility so that all members of the group are responsible (ii) empowering the membership, and (iii) helping the group to deliberate. In order to analyze these functions, Gastil asserts that no one person could fully perform all of them, and he makes a case for leadership being a behavior which many members of the group should perform in turn. Gastil notes that, when not leading, group members would be followers who are:

- responsible for the well-being of the group
- accountable for their actions
- autonomous, and
- working with those who are leading

Gastil also presents a *decision tree*, a type of flow chart that illustrates a path which shows when groups should use a democratic process of leadership. The decision tree lists and orders the questions one must ask to determine the appropriateness of democracy and democratic leadership in a given situation. Starting at the trunk of the decision tree, one first assesses the nature of the problem. If the problem involves only one person, an autonomous decision can be reached, and a collective decision-making process is not necessary unless the person wishes to consult others.

If the problem involves more than one person, one moves up the decision tree to the next question. One follows the series of questions and progresses up the decision tree based on the answer and recommended Gastil illustrates the development of democratic leadership by using the example of the National Issues Forums. He notes that, in the NIF network, members of the network often trade the roles of leader and follower.

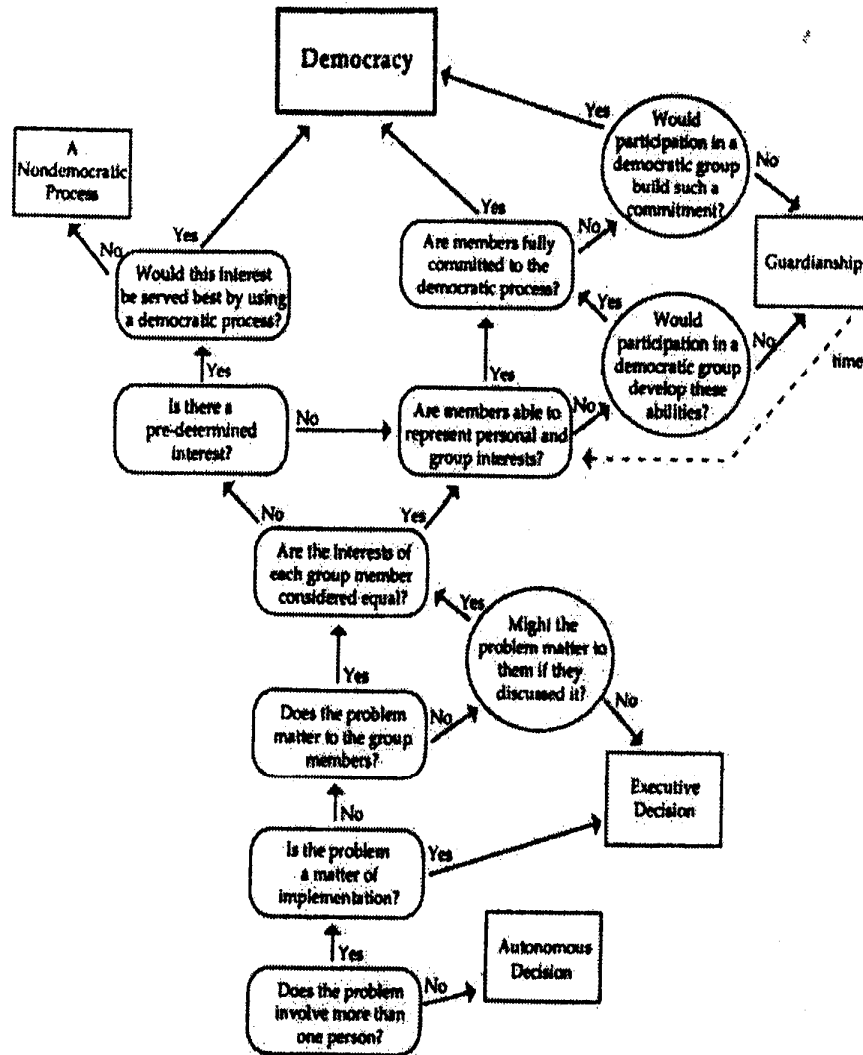


Fig. 1. Decision tree for democracy and democratic leadership.

Democracy is differentiated from *laissez-faire*, however, by the fact that a democratic leader is very active in motivating group discussion and group decisions; a *laissez-faire* leader plays a passive, hands-off role (White & Lippitt). The definitions of democratic leadership conceptualized by White and Lippitt (1960) emphasize group participation,

discussion, and group decisions encouraged by the leader. However, the democratic leader strives to be a regular group member in spirit without doing too much of the work (White & Lippitt). The key activity of the democratic leader is providing information or expanding the knowledge of the members of his or her group. The essential characteristic of democratic leadership is participation. Over several decades, control and participation have been defined as the main characteristics of autocratic and democratic leadership styles respectively. While participation is a core function of democratic leadership (Luthar, 1996), directive control and a top-down style with a heavy emphasis on command and control are the main characteristics of autocratic leadership.

The above discussion initiates us to mention some good fits for Democratic Leadership:

- **Creative groups (advertising, design):** Ideas need to flow in creative environments to find create new concepts and designs.
- **Consulting:** when paid to explore problems and find solutions, the leader's role will be to explore the possibilities in depth which means that there has to be a great deal of exploration and open discussion.
- **Much of the Service industry:** New ideas allow for more flexibility to changing customer demands.
- **Education:** Few places need to be opened to different ideas than education, both by educators and their students.

In order to make democratic leadership effective, the following steps should be undertaken:

- **Keep communication open:** If the marketplace of ideas is going to be open for business, everyone needs to feel comfortable enough to put their ideas on the table. The democratic leadership style thrives when all the considerations are laid out for everyone to examine.
- **Focus the discussion:** It's hard to keep unstructured discussion productive. It's the leader's job to balance being open to ideas and keeping everything on-topic. If

- the conversation begins to stray, the leader should remind everyone of the goal on hand and then steer it back and make sure to take note of off-topic comments and try to return to them when they are pertinent.
- **Be ready to commit:** In the democratic leadership style, one gets presented with so many possibilities and suggestions that it can be overwhelming and difficult to commit. But as the leader, when the time comes, he/she has to choose and do so with conviction. The team depends on the clear and unambiguous mandates to be committed.
 - **Respect the ideas:** The leader and his/her team might not agree with every idea. It is crucial that he creates a healthy environment where those ideas are entertained and considered --not maligned-- or the flow of ideas will slow to a trickle.
 - **Explain, but don't apologize:** The leader wants the advocates of the solutions that were not selected to understand that their thoughts were considered and had validity, but that ultimately he had strong reasons to go a different direction. It's important that the decision be communicated, but he should not apologize for deciding on what he thinks.

Since leadership plays a vital part in democratic movements, understanding the character of democratic leadership is crucial. However, the definition of democratic leadership is confusing (Gastil, 1994). Also, little research has defined democratic leadership in the context of democratic movements. The leadership literature does not provide adequate concentration to democratic leadership in such movements, focusing on democratic leadership within small groups and organizations. This study conceptualizes a structure of democratic leadership in democratic movements in India. The framework includes contexts, motivations, characteristics, and outcomes of democratic leadership (Sanghan Choi, 2007).

The study considers sacrifice, courage, symbolism, citizen participation, and vision as major characteristics in the display of democratic leadership in various political, social, and cultural contexts. Applying the framework to Mahatma Gandhi of India, the study

considers him as typical model of democratic leadership in democratic movements for achieving democracy in British ruled India because Mahatma Gandhi demonstrated crucial characteristics of democratic leadership.

Democratic leadership in the leadership literature fails to elucidate “democratic leadership in democratic movements”. The rationale behind this study is to delineate democratic leadership in democratic movements and introduce commendable model of democratic leadership for achieving democracy in political, socio-economical, and cultural contexts. This study defines democratic leadership in democratic movements as a political relationship among leaders and followers for achieving democracy through sacrifice, courage, symbolism, participation, and vision. The study also defines democratic movements as public struggles that are unequivocally pro-democracy for democratic reforms, political liberalization in which participants express these demands for democracy physically.

At the very outset, the study provides background information and appraises the definitions of democratic leadership found in the literature. Also this study suggests a structure of democratic leadership in democratic movements. The structure includes the contexts, motivations, characteristics, and outcomes of democratic leadership in democratic movements (Sanghan Choi, 2007). The typical model of democratic leadership in democratic movements is offered to apply the framework. The model is Mahatma Gandhi of India who has contributed to the establishment of democracy in our country, India. Above all, characteristics of democratic leadership that were shown by Mahatma Gandhi are discussed and compared with the framework of democratic leadership in democratic movements. Finally, the study concludes with some critical comments.

This study only pays attention to democratic leadership in such movements in India and considers Mahatma Gandhi of India as ideal model of democratic leadership in democratic movements .

Structure of democratic leadership in democratic movements

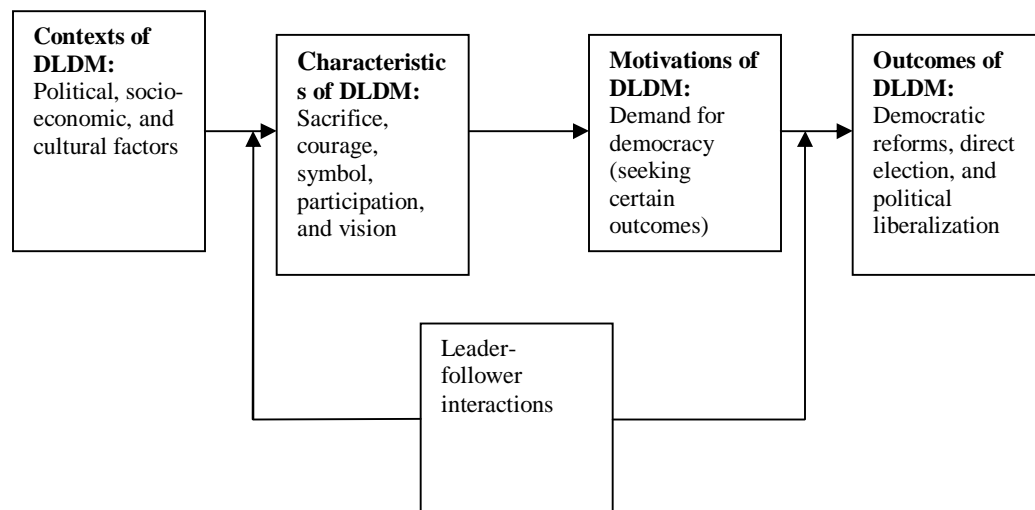
Democratic leadership does not grow in a single dimension and is essential in democratic movements for achieving democracy. Democratic enlightenment imposes very definite demands upon democratic leadership (Adorno, 1965). Thus, democratic movements depend on democratic leadership; it enhances democratic values and the common good (Adorno). Democratic leadership plays an integral role in achieving democracy because leadership is associated with public values, freedom, equality, and justice (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003). As public officials create public value (Moore, 2000), democratic leaders create democratic value. Democratic leadership relies on the fundamental value of democracy that is “a striving toward equality and freedom” (Waldo, 2001, p. 86). “If the democratic leadership spreads through economic, political, and cultural networks, it may make people even more prepared for democratic social change, making democratic leadership increasingly viable” (Gastil, p. 971).

Democratic leadership in small groups and organizations emphasizes group participation and member relationships, but it ignores the dimensions of democratic movements. Through the lens of groups and organizational behaviors, democratic leadership cannot adequately explain the dynamic dimensions of democratic movements because democratic leadership in democratic movements needs different characteristics for achieving democratic value, freedom, equality, and justice. These characteristics include sacrifice, courage, symbolism, participation, and vision. The following section proposes a framework of democratic leadership identified in democratic movements from the different lenses of political, socio-economical, and cultural contexts.

This study is in relation to India’s freedom movement against tyrannical British regime which proposes a framework of democratic leadership in democratic movements shown in Figure 2. Democratic leadership in democratic movements consists of contexts, motivations, characteristics, outcomes, and leader-follower interactions. The horizontal arrows in the framework portray an influence on another construct, whereas the vertical

arrows indicate the interactions between leaders and followers who engage in the motivations and characteristics of democratic leadership in democratic movements. Given the framework, this study defines democratic leadership in democratic movements as a political and social relationship among leaders and followers for achieving democracy through sacrifice, courage, symbolism, participation, and vision. The relationship implies that a leader affects and is affected by followers (Northouse, 1997). The relationship emphasizes that democratic leadership in democratic movements is an interactive event for democracy between the leaders and followers.

Fig. 2: Democratic leadership in Democratic Movement



The contexts, motivations, characteristics, and outcomes of democratic leadership in democratic movements are interconnected with each other. The political, socioeconomic, and cultural contexts lead the leaders and followers to desire more democracy (Minier, 2001). The demand for democracy is the fundamental motivation of democratic leadership in democratic movements. The demand for democracy seeks certain outcomes that include democratic reforms, direct elections, and political liberalization. The outcomes enhance human rights and the pursuit of happiness of the people in a democratic society. The outcomes are essential for the progress of democracy. In this

study, democracy means to entail a rule of law, promotion of civil and political liberties, and free and fair election; democratic progress is to promote legal, administrative, and social changes toward greater justice (Young, 2000).

Democratic movements are directly related to the political philosophy for establishing modern democracy and government (Minier, 2001). Democratic movements seek the demand for democracy under undemocratic situations and undemocratic government. Undemocratic situations create political, socio-economical, and cultural contexts of democratic movements that require critical characteristics of democratic leadership. The characteristics of democratic leadership in democratic movements are sacrifice, courage, symbolism, participation, and vision. These characteristics are essential to achieve democracy in democratic movements and play a significant role in the political, socioeconomic, and cultural context of democratic leadership in democratic movements.

First, it demands tremendous sacrifice and courage to achieve democracy on the part of democratic leaders as well as followers under undemocratic government or in situations of political oppression. The military regimes and dictators in the world in the past decades forfeited civil rights, freedom of speech, and democratic principles. Around the world, we are observing that democratic leaders have sacrificed and struggled against dictatorship and for democratic government.

During the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s; in India, many political prisoners made sacrifices for democracy. They were democratic leaders striving to achieve democratic values. Progress toward democracy meant making the sacrifice for it. Sacrifice involves courage. "Socrates said the first virtue is courage, and so he had to show courage in dying for what he believed." (Chandler, 1992, p. 68)

Second, organizational culture is recognized as a major dimension for the understanding and practice of leadership (Bass, 1990, Cameron & Quinn, 1999; Schein, 1985; Yukl, 2002).

Most definitions of organizational culture refer to a system of shared values and beliefs that produce norms of behavior in the organization (Bass, 1990; Koberg & Chusmir, 1987; Luthans, Peterson, & Ibrayeva, 1998; Schein, 1985). The created culture of the organization exerts an influence on the leader and shapes his or her actions and styles (Ogbonna & Harris, 2000; Schein, 1992). In a large scale organization such as a democratic movement, democratic leaders function as a model or symbol (Bell, 1965; Morgan, 1998).

Third, supportive culture is related to participation and involvement of followers (Cameron & Quinn, 1999; Shadur, Kienzle, & Rodwell, 1999). Supportive culture produces a friendly place where people share their values and encourage participation (Cameron & Quinn). Participation is an essential characteristic of democratic leadership. Courage and symbolism associated with democratic leadership comprise the power and influence to encourage participation and the premises for participation in democratic movements.

Finally, the most common characteristic of leadership is vision (Bass, 1990; Northhouse, 1997; Yukl, 2002). Under undemocratic and undeveloped economic situations, democratic leadership involves a vision for democratic values, human rights, equality, freedom, and welfare. The vision of democratic leadership is enhanced with courage and participation. Democratic leaders not only create a vision, they also instill it in the hearts of followers. Societies, governments, and nations that have to consolidate and guarantee the principle of democracy are the ultimate vision of leadership (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003). This vision cannot be accomplished without courage, participation, and the interactions between democratic leaders and followers in democratic movements.

These five characteristics of democratic leadership in democratic movements contributed a critical role in achieving the outcomes of democratic leadership. The outcomes refer to democratic reforms, and political liberalization that are the main goals of the demand for democracy. The outcomes and the demand are directly interconnected in democratic

movements because the demand seeks certain outcomes of the progress of democracy. The desired outcomes are aspects of democratic governance that entail democratic citizenship, democratic accountability, civic engagement, and the public interest (de Leon & Denhardt, 2000).

The characteristics of democratic leadership in democratic movements necessitate interactions between leaders and followers. First, under democratic movements, people who desire more democracy and follow democratic leaders also make sacrifices for achieving democracy. Democracy emerges with the blood of people since dictatorship in undemocratic government oppresses democratic movements, democratic leaders, and followers to retain undemocratic authority.

The sacrifice and enthusiasm of the democratic leader for democracy influence followers to respect and to symbolize him or her in the progress of democratic movements. The democratic leader wields a form of symbolic power that exerts a decisive influence on how people perceive their realities and the way they act (Morgan, 1998). The behaviors of the democratic leader become messages and directions for followers to act upon to achieve democracy. The behaviors and symbol of the democratic leader contribute to persuading followers who prefer democratic outcomes to participate in democratic movements. Thus, democratic leadership creates a symbol for democracy.

Since democratic movements are a great wave for social change, democratic leaders cannot move forward without the participation of followers. Thousands of people have embraced the desire to achieve democratic value around the world. Democratic leaders and followers work together to establish their democratic institutions. Participation is not only a core function during social change (Luthar, 1996), it is the power to build a democratic society. Participation is encouraged by the sacrifice, courage, symbolism, and vision of the democratic leaders in democratic movements.

Finally, the vision for democracy is a fundamental characteristic of democratic leadership since it creates the environment that leaders and followers pursue to improve their society and nation in terms of the demand for democracy. Achieving a vision requires motivation and inspiration; keeping people moving in the right direction despite major obstacles to change by appealing to basic but often untapped human needs, values, and emotions (Kotter, 1990). The interactions between democratic leaders and followers in democratic movements consolidate the vision for democracy during the process of the movement despite tremendous obstacles.

Model of democratic leadership in democratic movements: Mahatma Gandhi

The functions of democratic leaders in democratic movements have been noteworthy for the progress of democracy. Most of these leaders not only dedicated themselves to democracy but also sacrificed themselves for enhancing democracy. Although the leadership styles of these two leaders are different, the general principle of leadership paid attention on democratic value that involves human rights and establishes democratic government and societies.

In democratic movements during the 1920 to 1940s, democratic leaders extended democratic principles and progresses. Mahatma Gandhi of India demonstrated democratic leadership that stood out as an example of the progress for democracy in democratic movements.

Mahatma Gandhi's Leadership style: A close watch

Smart leaders don't take too many decisions. Rather they take very few decisions and are successful in creating great impact on the outcome. Such leaders don't work within the system but upon the system. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi's decision of breaking salt law at Dandi would have been a stupid act in normal circumstances. But he decided to travel from Ahmebad to Dandi, covering 830 kms on his feet and in the process, delivered number of speeches. This enlightened the people and they followed him. As a result of his move, *Dandi Yatra* became the symbol of freedom struggle. In the history of

5000 years of India, no other leader has been able to motivate the masses in a way which was made possible by Mahatma Gandhi. This was possible because Mahatma Gandhi tried to understand people in depth, which no other leader has succeeded.

An effective leader is one who knows how much force should be used and when. Mahatma Gandhi was the master of this art. When he launched civil disobedience movement against British rule, some protesters used violence in police station at *Chauri Chaura*. As a consequence, Mahatma Gandhi immediately called-off the movement despite opposition from every freedom fighter. The reason why Mahatma Gandhi called of the movement was that he feared that government may take strong action which the weak freedom movement may not be able to bear. Movement might have dissipated or fissioned out. But Mahatma Gandhi gave the call of "*DO or Die*" when he launched Quit India Movement. He knew that government has become weak because of the Second World War and could be crushed with little force. Even though violence was resorted to many places, but still Mahatma Gandhi continued with the movement. He had unique ability to take advantage of the opponent's weakness.

A shy and the timid boy became mature and confident man because of one event in his life, while travelling in a train, a white person in South Africa tried to throw him out because of his color, this made an everlasting impression on Mr. M. K. Gandhi and made him determined to fight against racial discrimination. Reasons which made him great were his capacity to understand the situation, understand the pulse of the people and deal with the problem creatively. Gandhi was clear in his vision that British could not be defeated through violence. Hence, he used his peaceful *Satyagraha* to protect against racial discrimination and economic exploitation under the British rule in India.

Another important decision taken by Mahatma Gandhi was about the relation between the leader and people. Immediately after coming to India from South Africa, he traveled throughout India. He reached the conclusion that he should come to the level of people of India and live like them in order to motivate them for freedom struggle.

In addition to Mahatma Gandhi's leadership contribution to freedom struggle, his other significant contribution was nurturing of new leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Abdul Kalam Azad, etc. Many of these leaders had different vision of future India that was not accepted by Mahatma Gandhi, but still, he encouraged them to express their views. This is a great attribute of creative leaders.

Gandhi's leadership role was extremely complex; and it seems worthwhile in a series concerned with leadership to examine this complexity. The nature of leadership is the clearest issue here, particularly the question of the group or groups within which Gandhi acted as leader, how those groups viewed their task and how Gandhi helped them to perform it. The reverse side of leadership's coin is the nature a following, the gradations of allegiance and commitment to the leader in terms of time and motivation. Moreover, analysis of the relationship of leader and followers yields evidence about the political environment within which that relationship existed. In Mahatma Gandhi's case, this may be particularly important because the fluctuations apparent over a long period may tell us much about changes in the nature of Indian politics. Another facet of Gandhi's leadership in 1930-34, dependent on both the influence of his public image on the *raj* and his effectiveness as a coalition-maker, was his role as negotiator with the government as Congress spokesman-a role far more striking and important than in 1920-22. Investigation of the major aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's Leadership activity in 1920-22 provides a foundation for an analysis of Gandhi's overall function as a leader in the political environment of the day. It is clear that Gandhi's "followers" were a mixed bag. Except for a small band of the ideologically committed, Mahatma Gandhi did not lead one particular group with a specific task to perform, whose members followed him because he enabled them to perform that task. Gandhi's leadership also performed the function of enabling Indian politicians to relate to each other in new ways.

Gandhi's political ideology and style predisposed him to personal negotiation with opponents, and the needs of both Congress and Government to have a medium for negotiation which produced the goods each side wanted confirmed him in this role. From

the beginning of 1932, however, negotiation ceased to be part of Mahatma Gandhi's leadership activity.

All leadership roles are goal oriented. Once a leadership role has been performed, it becomes appropriate to raise questions about the effectiveness of such leadership. As leadership role is determined by the interplay of many variables, the effectiveness also becomes a function of the dynamic inter-relations of the personality characteristics of the one who exercises leadership role, the personality traits of the members of the group and of the situation within each individual role. Besides, the effectiveness is also closely related to the leadership patterns, which, in turn, are continuously affected by the influences stemming from traditions, charismatic attributes and legal enactments.

Social scientists, however, agree that the effectiveness of any leadership role should always be assessed in relation to the attainment of goal / goals established either by cooperative and collaborative efforts of the leader or by group members themselves or by legal processes for the betterment of the entire group. The leadership which facilitates communication within the group, makes for better morale, increases member's satisfaction, promotes greater productivity and helps the group to move toward its goals without causing much friction among the group members, is usually understood as effective leadership. This suggests the need for special skills, personality resources and knowledge of the dynamics of leadership on the part of the leader, though undoubtedly, each member of the group contributes to the effectiveness in leadership.

In sum, Gandhiji showed some characteristics of democratic leadership in democratic movements with the tremendous support of his followers. He and his followers sacrificed themselves against the tyrannical system of government in the then British ruled India. He was symbolized as the leader of India against the system and for democratic reforms. As a result, the people of India achieved independence in 1947, gained political rights and democracy.

The sacrifice and enthusiasm of the democratic leader for democracy influence followers to respect and to symbolize him or her in the progress of democratic movements. The democratic leader wields a form of symbolic power that exerts a decisive influence on how people perceive their realities and the way they act (Morgan, 1998). The behaviors of the democratic leader become messages and directions for followers to act upon to achieve democracy. The behaviors and symbol of the democratic leader contribute to persuading followers who prefer democratic outcomes to participate in democratic movements. Thus, democratic leadership creates a symbol for democracy.

Since democratic movements are a great wave for social change, democratic leaders cannot move forward without the participation of followers. Thousands of people have embraced the desire to achieve democratic value around the world. Democratic leaders and followers work together to establish their democratic institutions. Participation is not only a core function during social change (Luthar, 1996), it is the power to build a democratic society. Participation is encouraged by the sacrifice, courage, symbolism, and vision of the democratic leaders in democratic movements.

Finally, the vision for democracy is a fundamental characteristic of democratic leadership since it creates the environment that leaders and followers pursue to improve their society and nation in terms of the demand for democracy. Achieving a vision requires motivation and inspiration; keeping people moving in the right direction despite major obstacles to change by appealing to basic but often untapped human needs, values, and emotions (Kotter, 1990). The interactions between democratic leaders and followers in democratic movements consolidate the vision for democracy during the process of the movement despite tremendous obstacles.

Analysis of the model

It is an established truth that democratic leadership in democratic movements is a practice for achieving democracy. Mahatma Gandhi can be considered ideal model of democratic leaders. Mahatma Gandhi struggled for peace, liberty, democracy and human rights, was popularly pronounced as 'Father of the Nation'.

Mahatma Gandhi had attempted to achieve liberation and democracy confronting political oppression of British and undeveloped economic situations through mass movements and citizens' participation of India. The oppressive rule of British regimes of dependent India produced unbalanced political and economical situations. With terrific sacrifice and political courage, he has devoted himself to attain human rights, freedom, equality, and democracy for people of India. His dream for democratic value positioned his struggles against tyrannical British regime. They became symbols and champions of democracy. People in India encouraged by Gandhi participated in enormous waves of democratic movements.

The sacrifice, courage, and vision of Mahatma Gandhi were the motivating factors for people's participation in democratic movements. Without the support and participation of people to work for country's liberation and democracy; Mahatma Gandhi along with his associate contemporary leaders could not achieve democracy. Democracy comes from the bottom up through the sacrifices of millions of ordinary people.

Table 1

Explicit characteristics of Mahatma Gandhi as India's front-ranking democratic leader

Traits of Mahatma Gandhi				
Sacrificing	Symbolism	Participation	Visions	Outcomes
Imprisoned several times and fast unto death against British oppression & liberation movement of India	'Father of Nation' and leader of masses	Citizens of India , Indian National Congress and Quit India Movement, 'Satyagrahas' against unjust laws	Nonviolence, peace, equality, non-racism, liberty and democracy	Abolishing tyrannical British rule and establishing sovereign, democratic free India

Without the sacrifice, courage, and vision of Mahatma Gandhi for peace, liberty and democracy; there could not be the progress made to protect human rights and secure equality, fraternity and democracy in our country. As a result; sacrifice, courage, and vision; as the characteristics of democratic leadership in democratic movements play important roles in achieving democracy and in encouraging participation of the people.

These characteristics of democratic leadership correlate with each other and contribute to creating supportive cultures among leaders and followers for achieving democracy.

For achieving democracy; sacrifice, courage, vision, symbolism, and participation are the critical characteristics of democratic leadership. It is true that Mahatma Gandhi not only demonstrated these characteristics of democratic leadership during their struggle for democracy; he also instilled his organizations with these characteristics. The demand for democracy in democratic movements motivated Mahatma Gandhi as well as his associate contemporary leaders and their people to hunt for democratic outcomes. Table 1 above portrays demonstrated common characteristics of Mahatma Gandhi in democratic movements.

While the significant role of democratic leadership in democratic movements focuses on achieving democracy; the characteristics of democratic leadership that include sacrifice, courage, vision, symbolism, and participation play key roles for the expansion of democracy. These characteristics of democratic leadership bring about democratic value productively and effectively. The productiveness and effectiveness of democratic leadership demand a long-term process because the process toward democracy entails enduring hardships, patience, and sacrifice.

Democratic leaders try to overcome hindrances arising in front of them with the support of followers. Mahatma Gandhi's struggles for democracy have paved the democratic road productively and effectively throughout the decades.

This study shows that Mahatma Gandhi who is considered democratic leader had the characteristics of democratic leadership.

Conclusion

During the 1920-40, Mahatma Gandhi played tremendous roles in achieving freedom and democracy of India. His democratic leadership influenced the historical progress of democratic thinking among his followers and contemporary leaders around India. The definitions of democratic leadership in the literature have been limited in explaining the

dynamic changes and progress in democratic movements as well as the roles of such democratic leaders. With the democratic leadership that Mahatma Gandhi had shown us; we should redefine the concept of democratic leadership and apply it to our current political and administrative contexts. It is well established from our discussion that sacrifice, courage, symbolism, participation, and vision are the characteristics of democratic leadership.

But, Gandhi was never completely able to overcome a deeply embedded tendency towards tolerating or accepting the "rights" he saw fundamentally bound with authority figures. In the feudal order that Gandhi was born in, the masses had no inherent rights, only duties towards the sovereign. And Gandhi was never able to completely reject this immoral paradigm. He was never fully able to complete the transition to a democratic order in which citizens enjoyed unchallengeable rights in addition to bearing duties towards each other. He did not comprehend that in a democratic society, the role of the state was to ensure the rights of the people, not to exercise any arbitrary hegemony over them. Moreover, in a democratic state, the masses could not be burdened with unnecessary duties, only those that obliged them to respect the rights of others, and required them to provide services in exchange for what they received from the state, or others in society.

While many of the qualities Gandhi sought to obtain from the masses were commendable and desirable qualities to strive for - one could not make such qualities conditions for granting the masses certain fundamental rights - such as freedom from hunger, homelessness and exploitation. And if the poor masses were enjoined to be more noble in character, then such requirements also had to be made mandatory for authority figures. In these ways, Gandhi's formulations were theoretically and practically inadequate. While there will always be admirers of Gandhi, intimate contact with his record reveals him to be a seriously flawed leader, popular more due to the particular conditions and circumstances of colonial (or post-colonial) India (and his untiring leadership during the Quit India Movement), rather than the visionary or enlightened nature of his general tactics and formulations. The India of the future might necessitate to come across beyond

the myth and mystique of "Mahatma Gandhi" if it hopes to build a more just and harmonious order.

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